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'1899. THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON. CORRESPONDENCE WITH SECRETARY OF STATE, LORD SALISBURY, & A. GODLEY.'

Holding Institution	British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers
Reference	Mss Eur F111/158
Date(s)	1900? (CE, Gregorian)
Written in	English in Latin
Extent and Format	1 volume (358 folios)
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About this record

This volume comprises printed copies of correspondence, dated 22 January 1898-29 December 1899, of Lord Curzon
of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, with Lord Salisbury [Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury], Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Sir John Arthur Godley, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India.The beginning of the volume contains a detailed index of names, places and subjects (ff 3-21). This is followed by correspondence from Lord Salisbury and Arthur Godley to Lord Curzon, numbered 1-78 (ff 22-180) and correspondence from Lord Curzon to Lord Salisbury and Godley, numbered 1-66 (ff 185-354).A wide variety of subjects are covered, including matters relating to:

- Afghanistan, including the Amir [Amīr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān] and Russian relations with Afghanistan
- The Army in India
- The Persian Gulf, particularly the traffic of arms and the activities of other European powers in the region
- British policy and political relations in India, including Native States

- Health and disease, particularly plague
- China, including Russian activity in the country and China's claims over Tibet
- Financial and administrative matters
- Ecclesiastical affairs in India
- Education in India
- Famine in India
- British relations with France, including negotiations regarding Siam [Thailand] and Africa
- Proposals for and construction and extension of railways in British India, Persia, Afghanistan, and China
- Recommendations and awards of Honours of the United Kingdom to the British Indian Army and Government and to indigenous Indian rulers and dignitaries
- Judicial affairs in India
- The Koweit [Kuwait] Protectorate, including relations with Turkey
- Muscat, namely British policy in the region and relations with France, Germany, and Russia
- British policy in Persia [Iran]
- British relations with Russia notably in connection with India, Persia, Afghanistan, China and Tibet
- The prospect of war in the Transvaal [South African Republic]
- Trade
- Agriculture.

Folio 182 is a newspaper cutting. There is no date and it is not certain which publication it has been taken from. The contents of the article appear unrelated to that of anything in the volume and thus it is likely that it has been misfiled.

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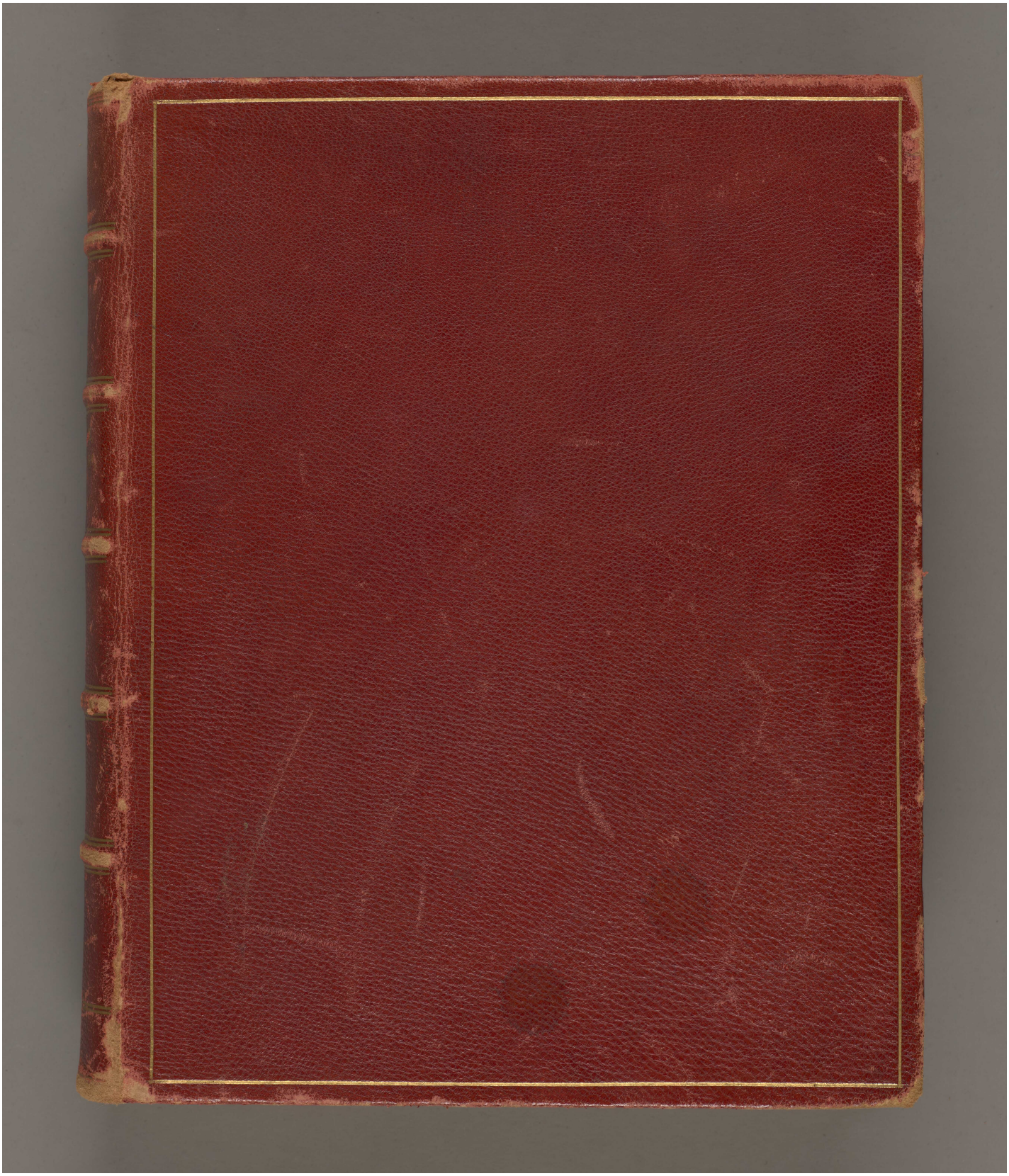

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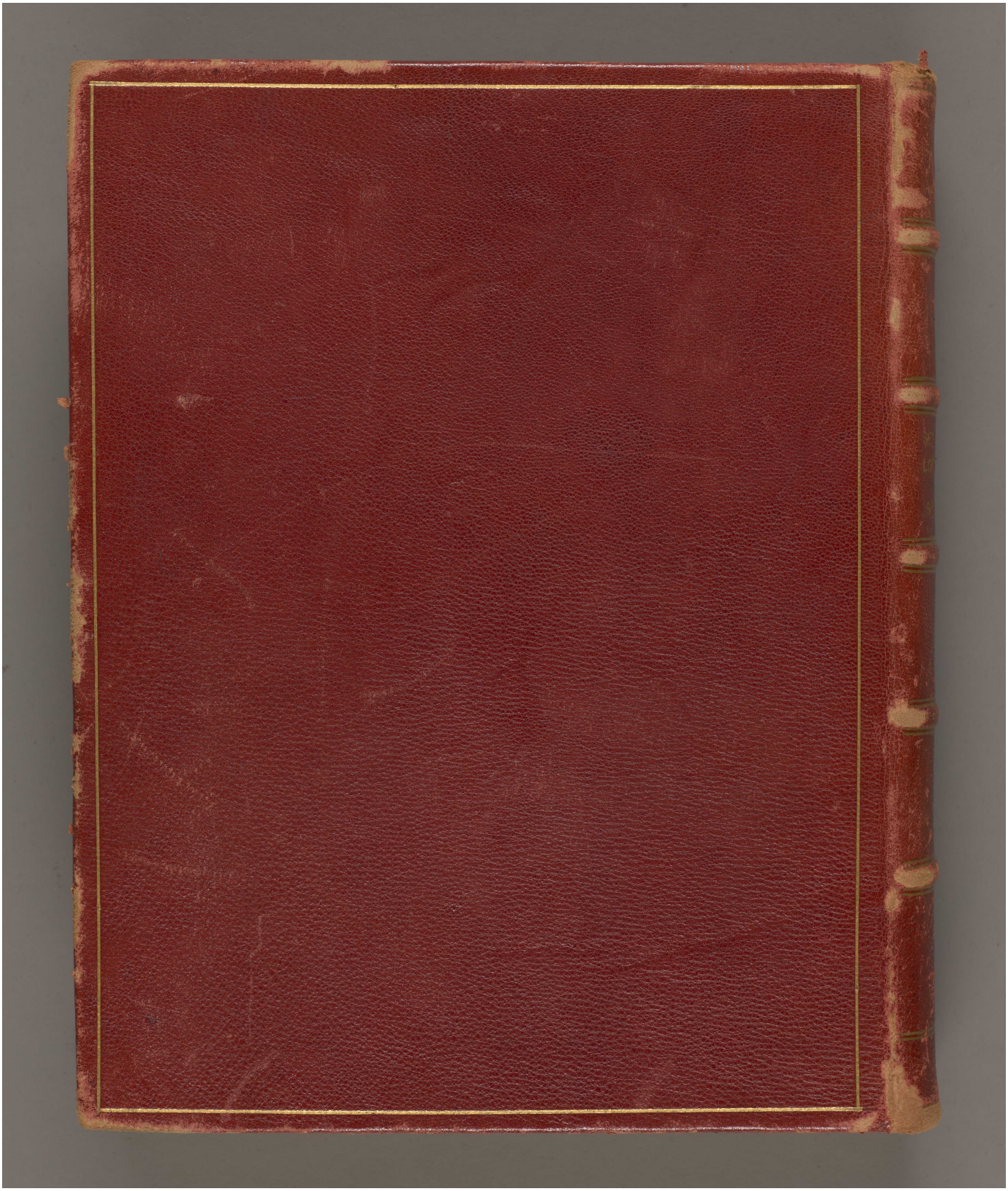

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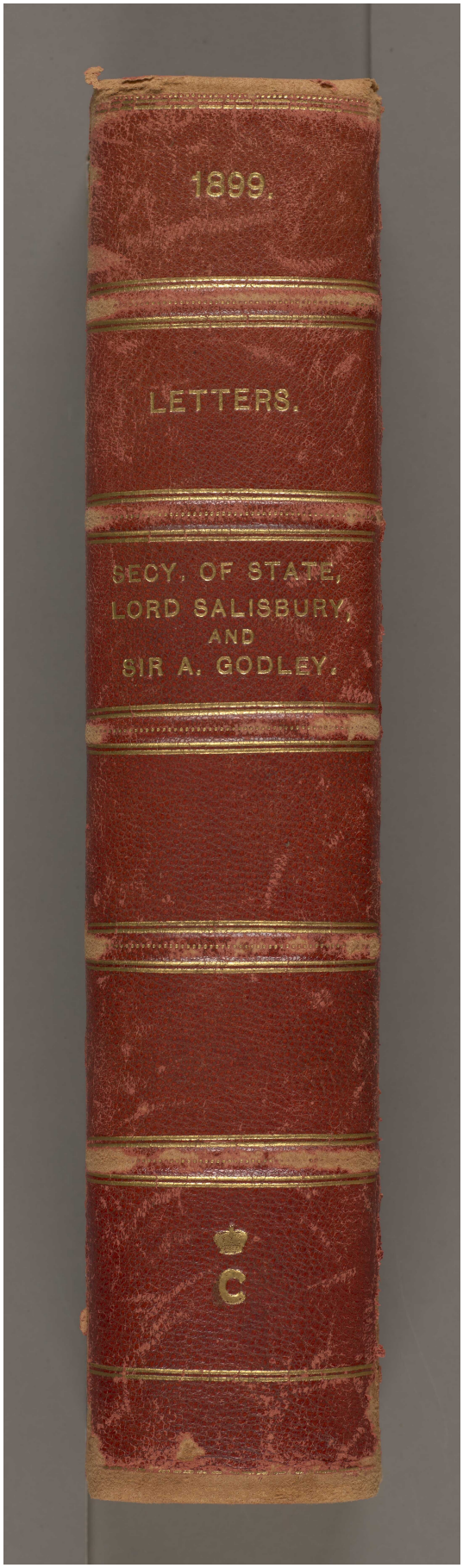

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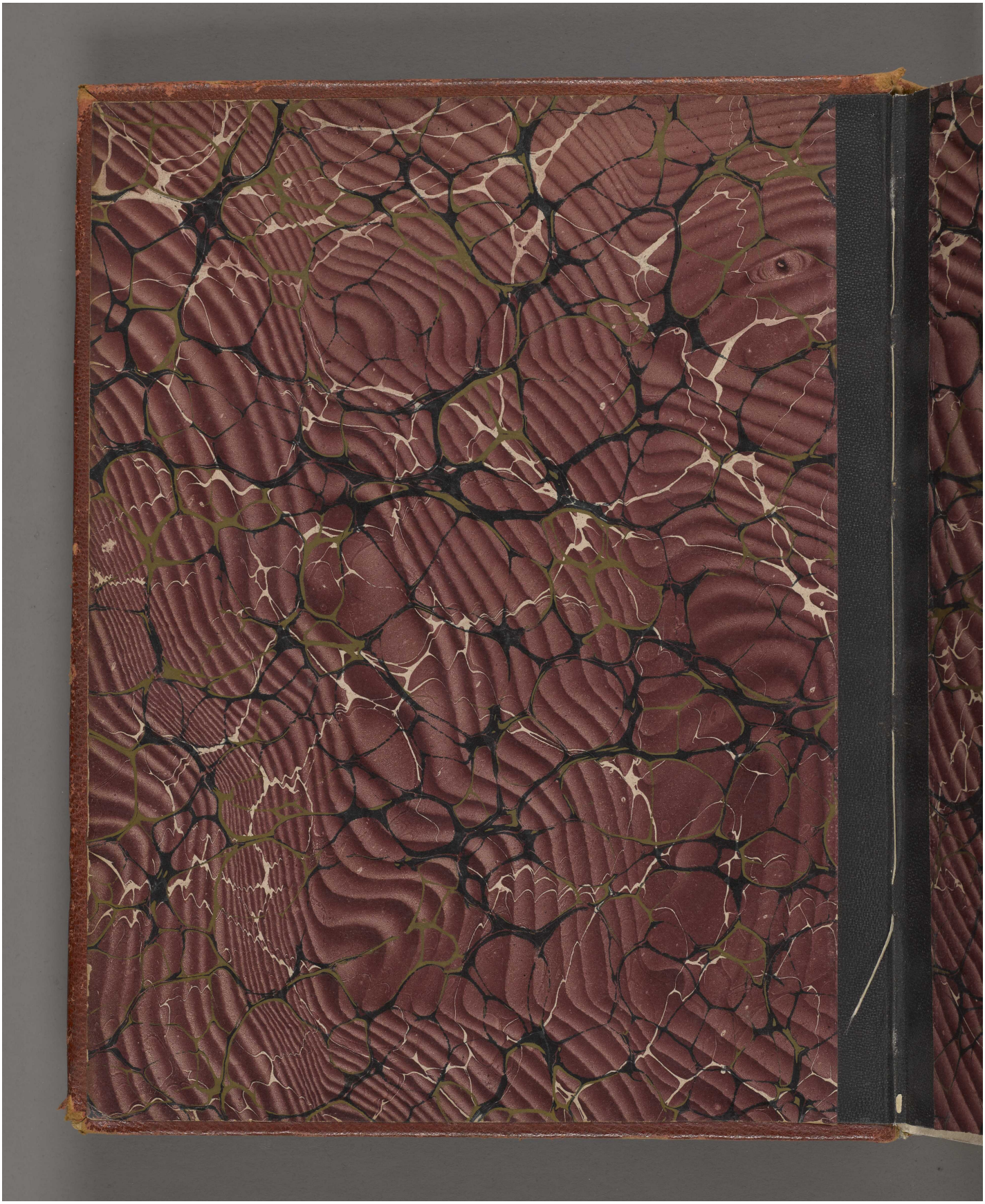

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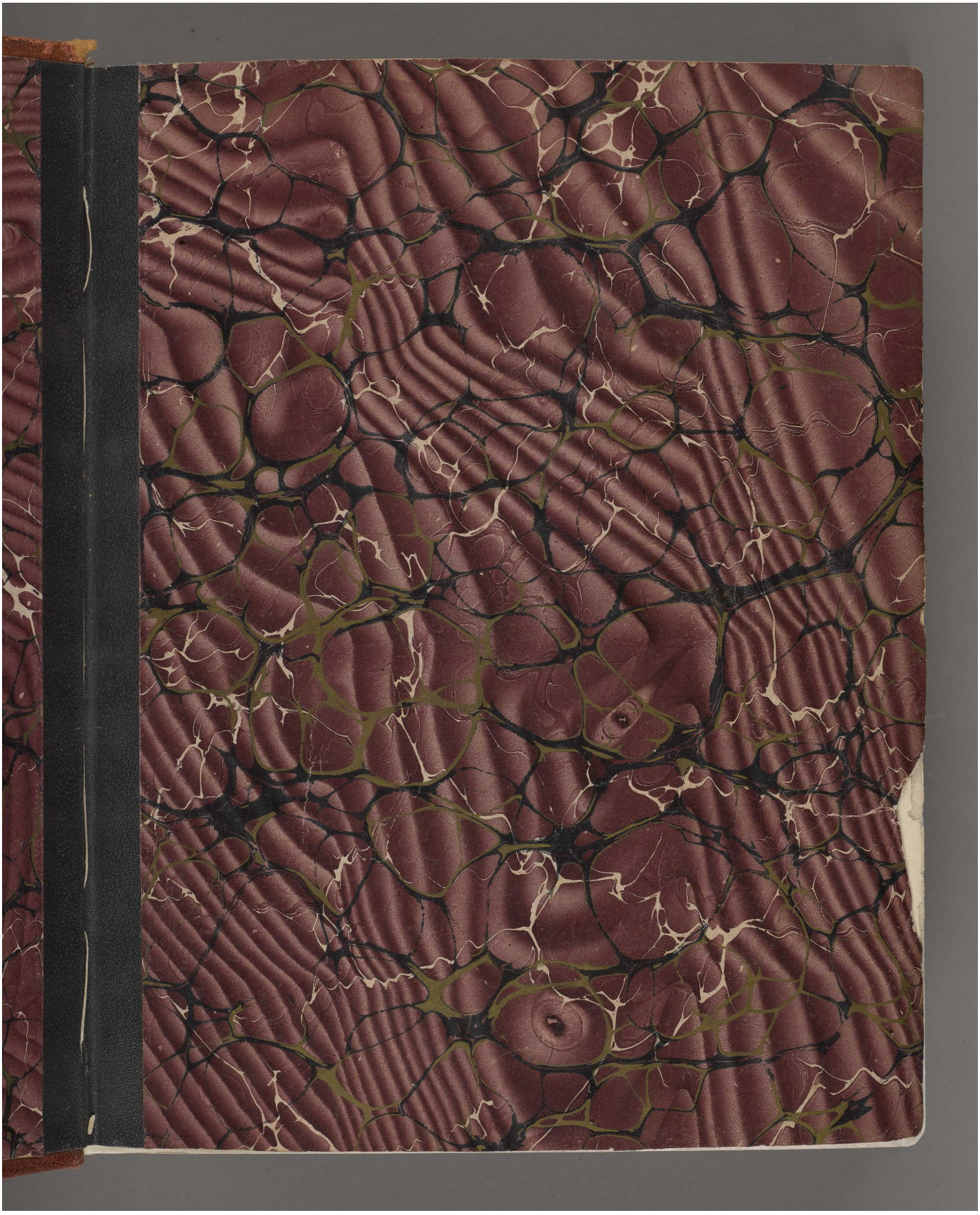

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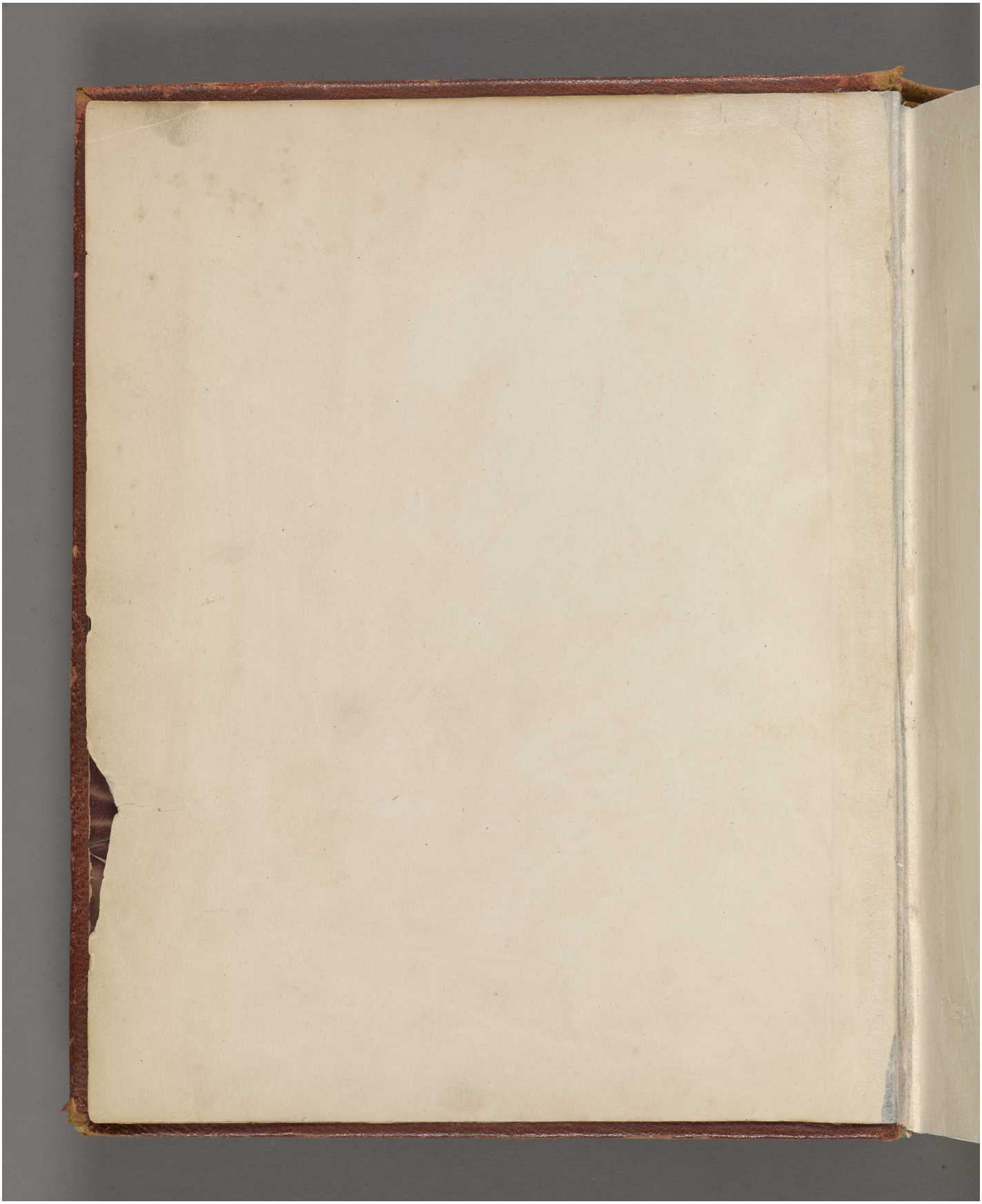

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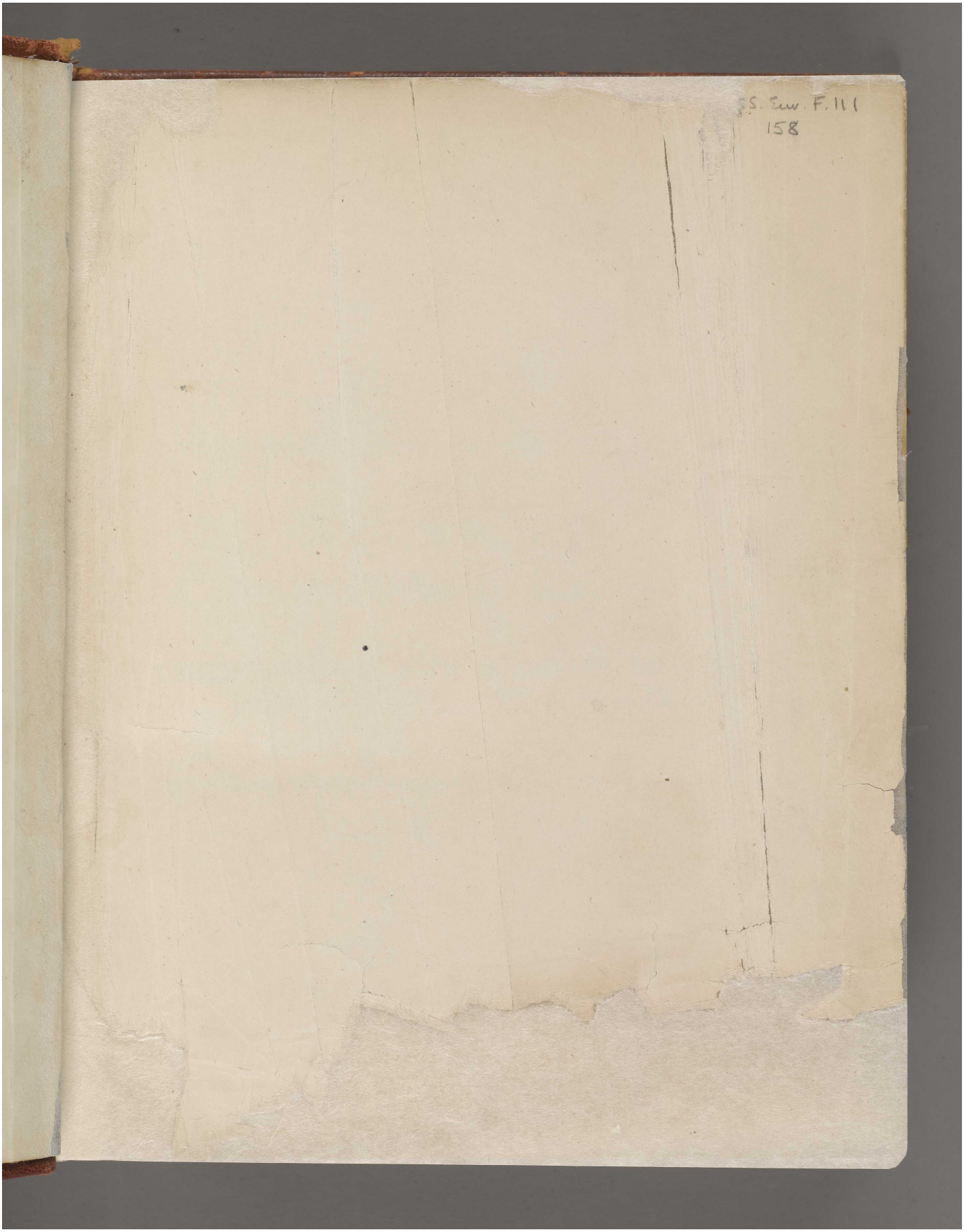

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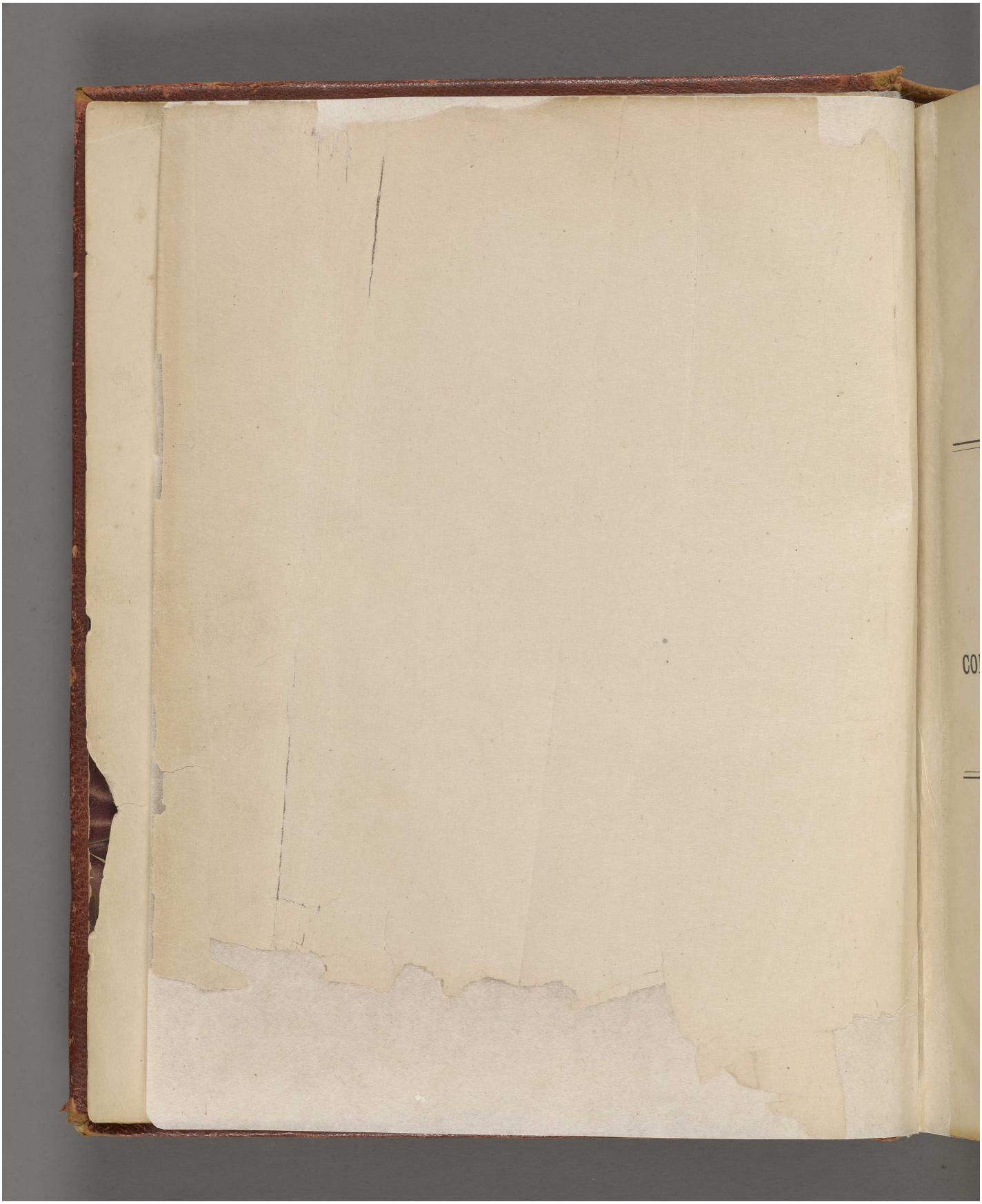

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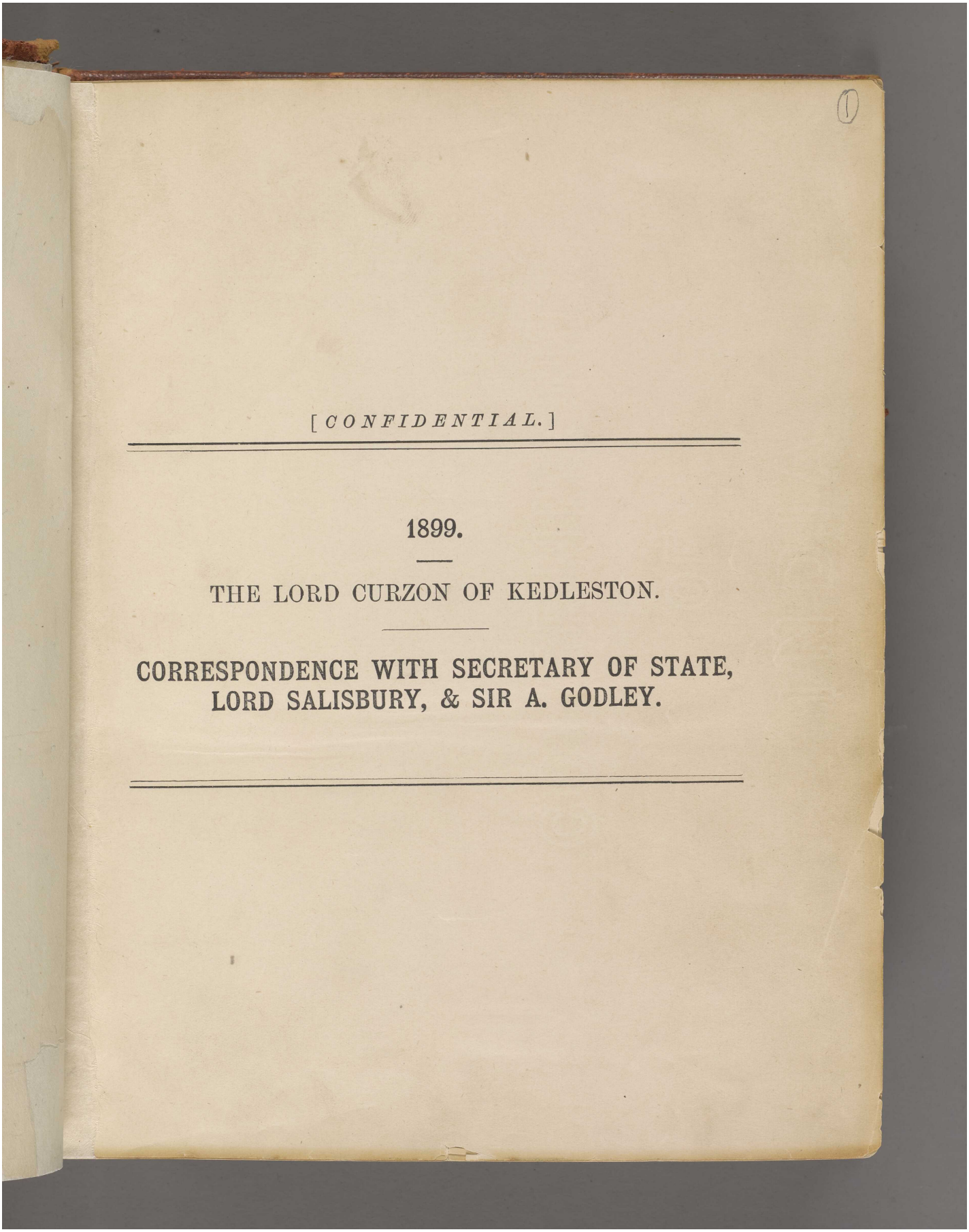

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1899.

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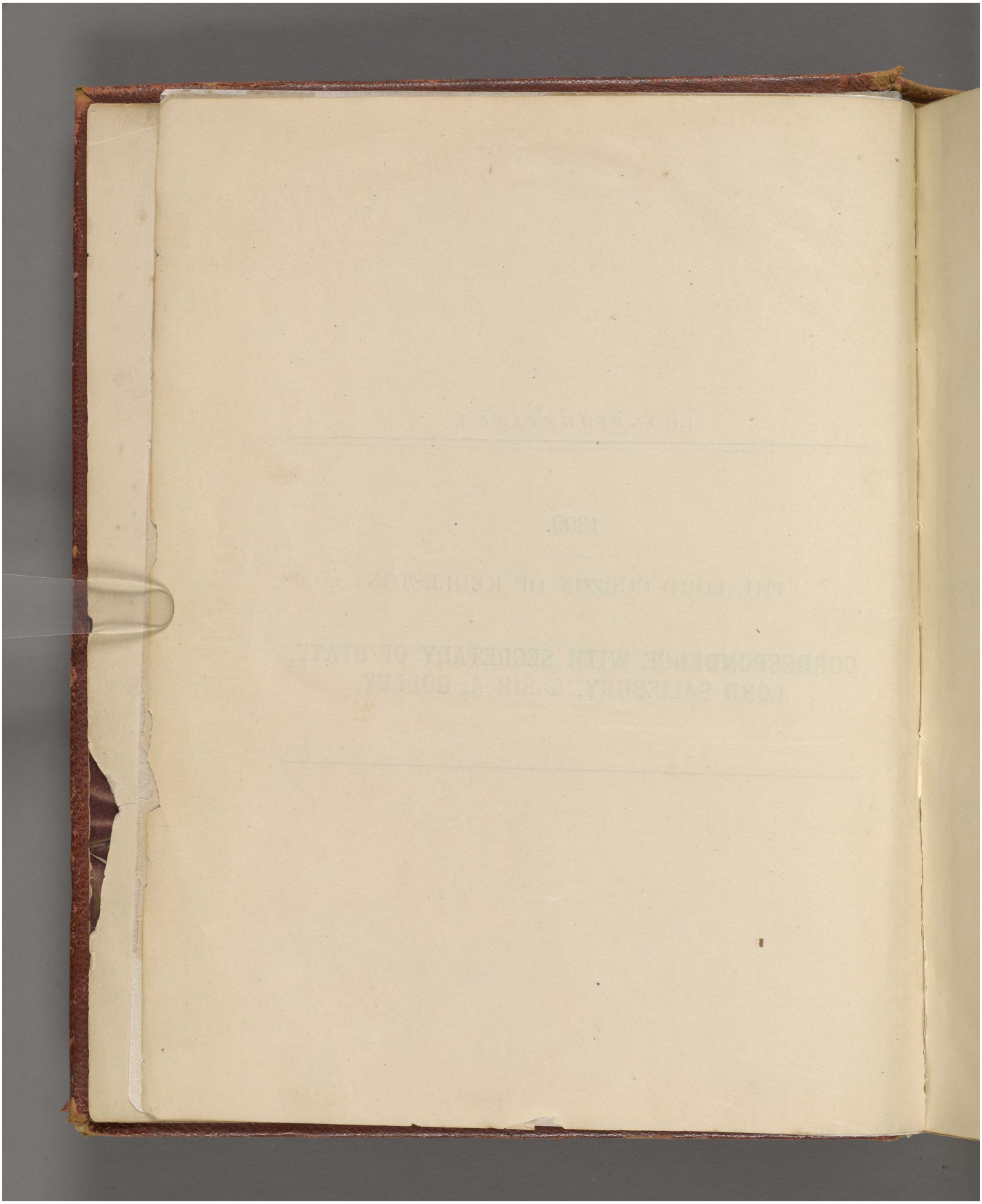

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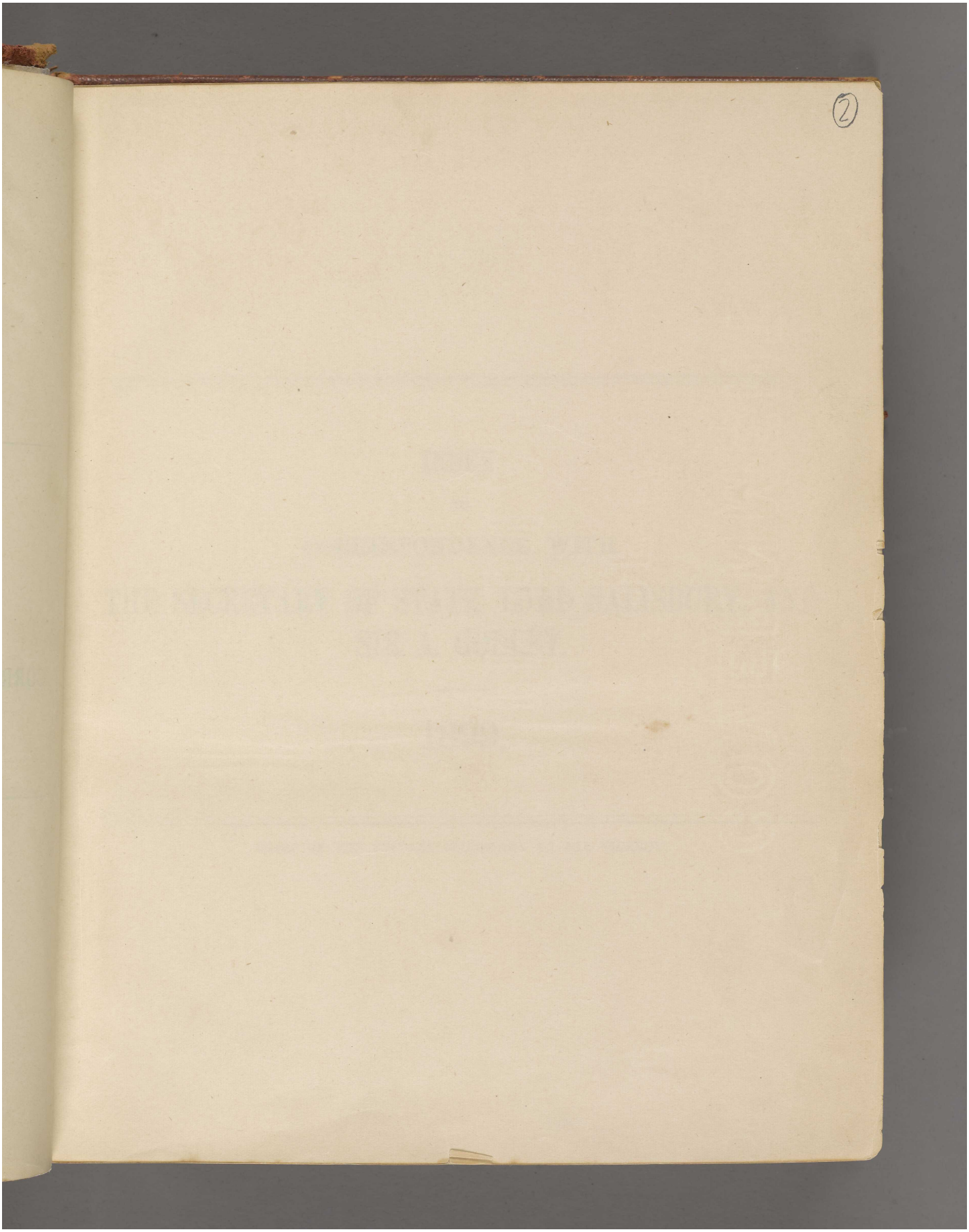

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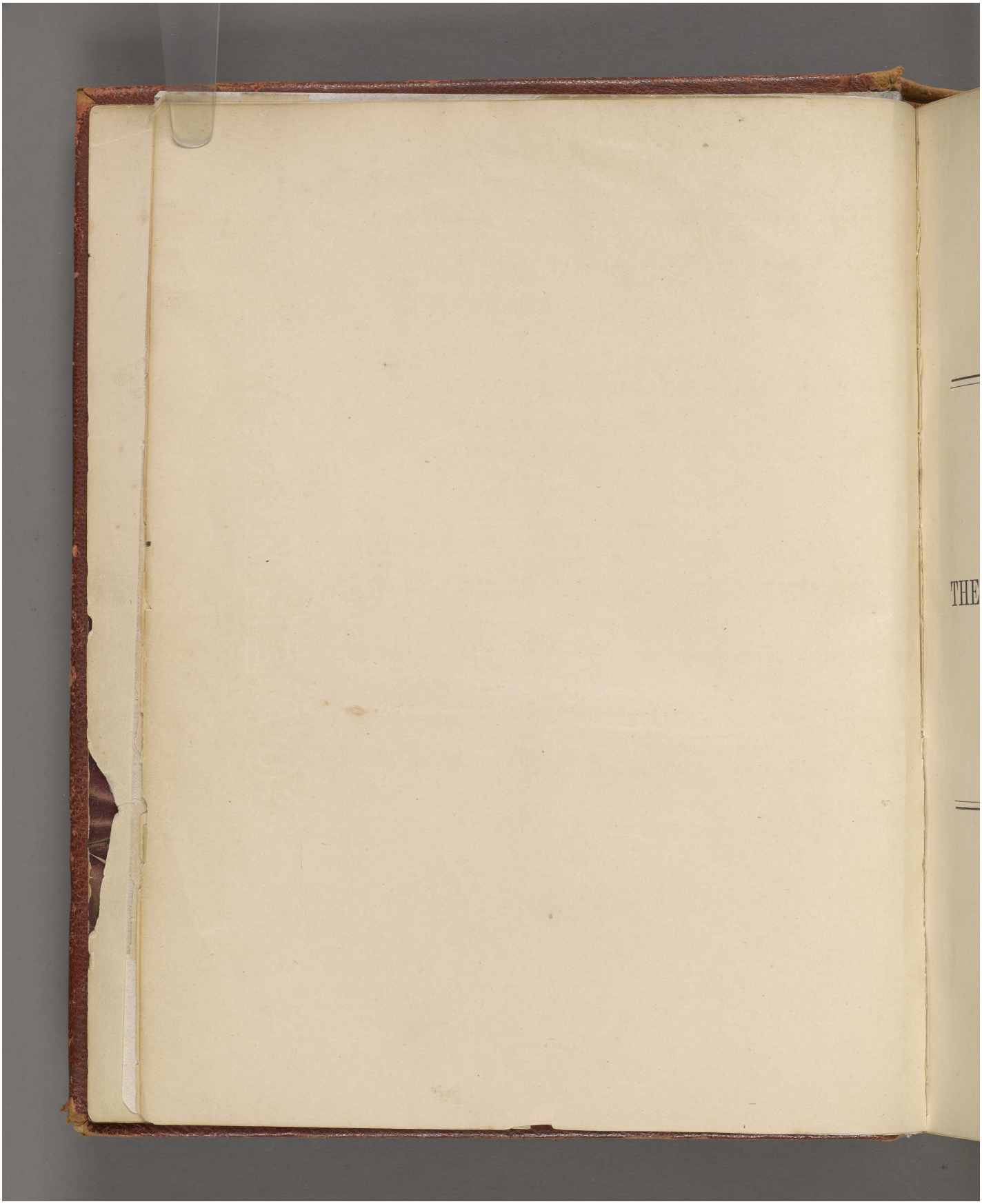

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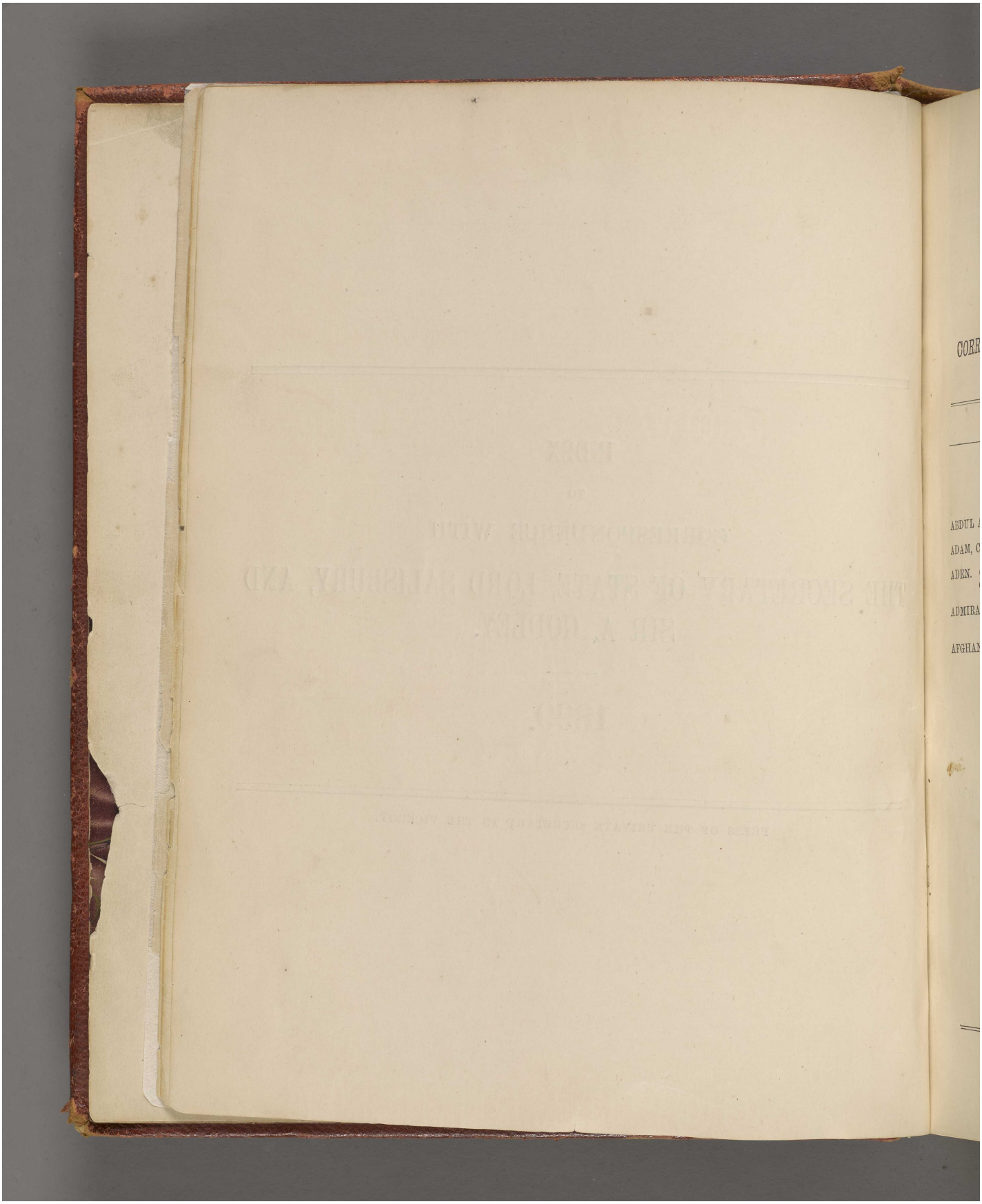

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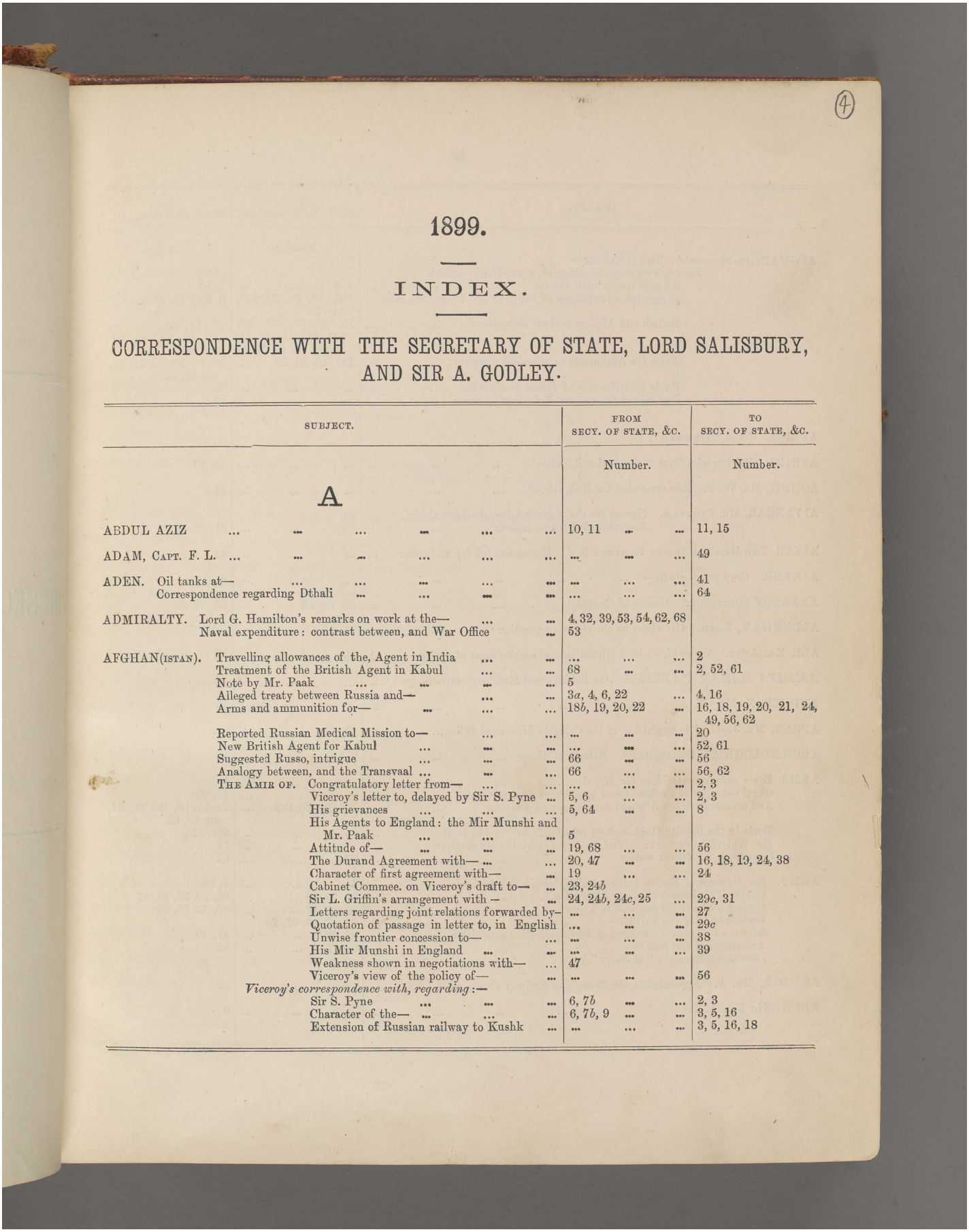

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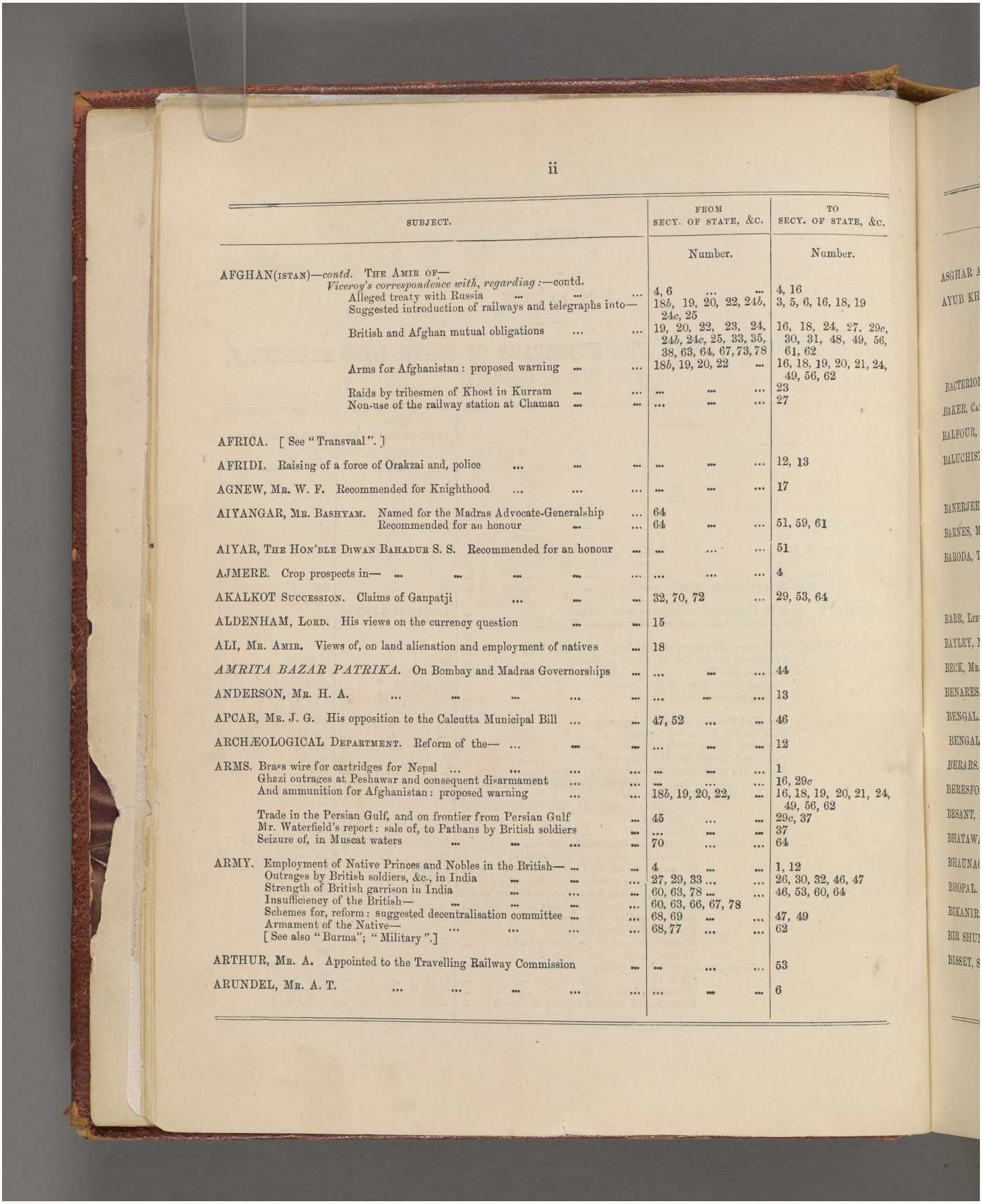

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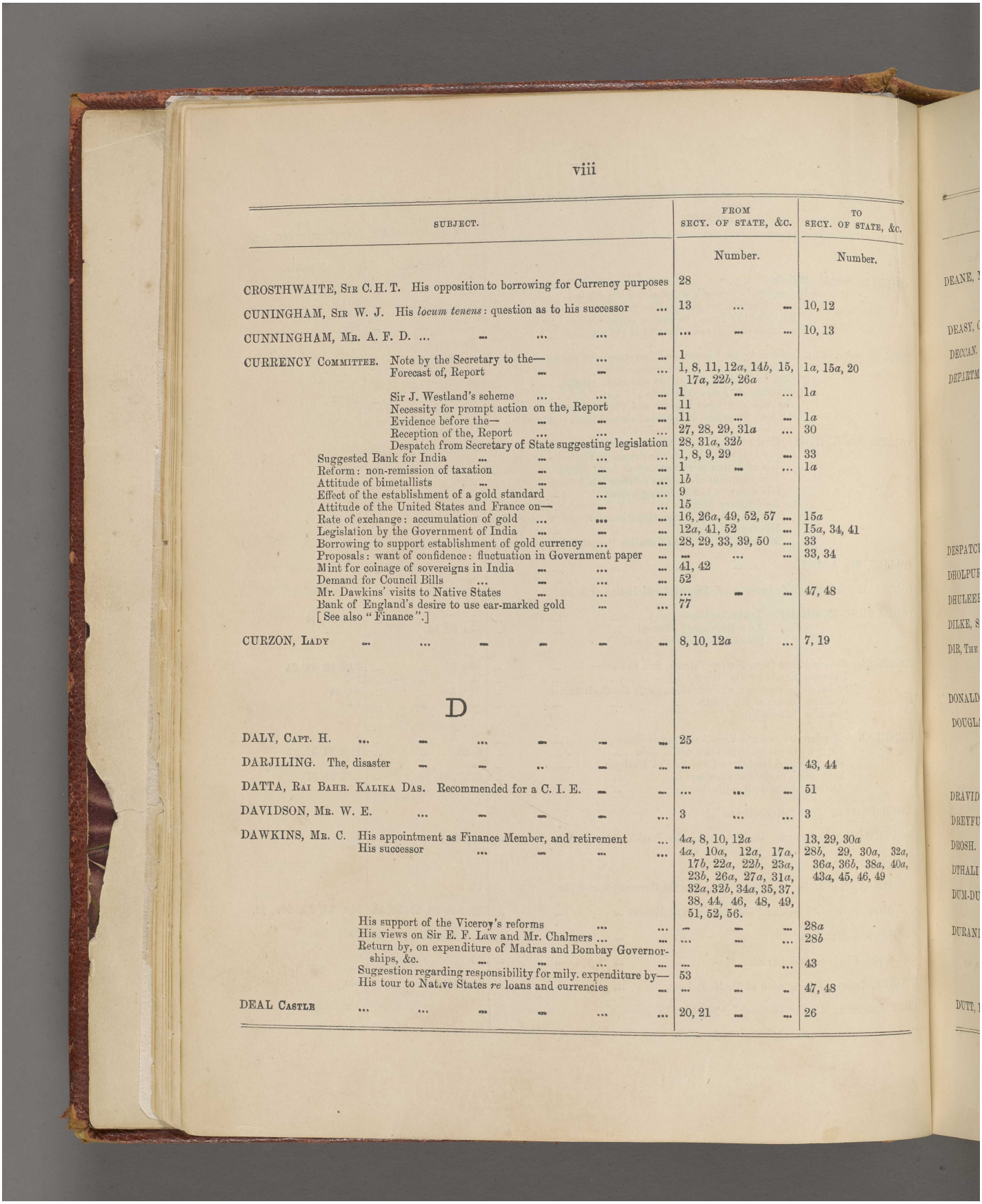

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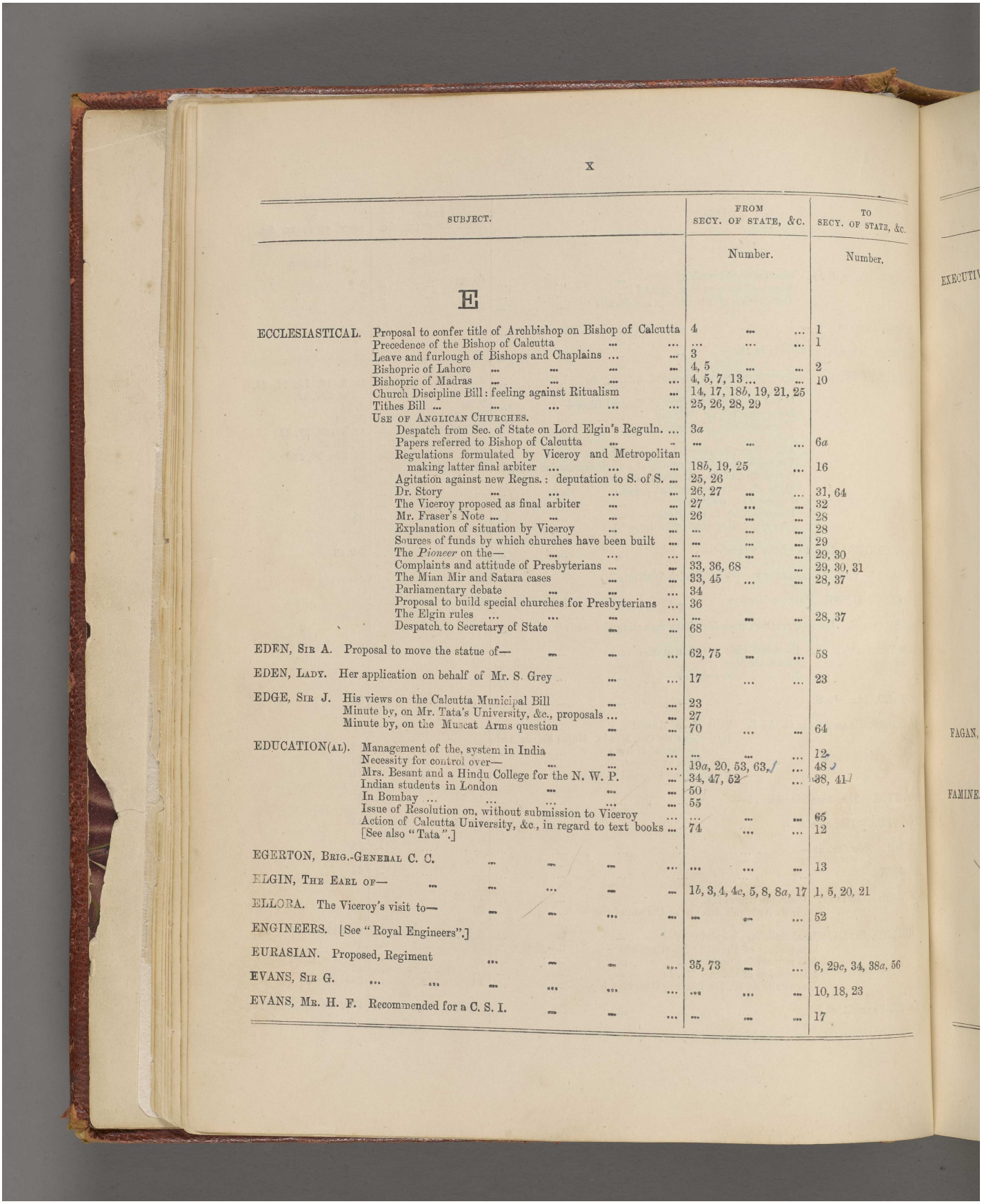

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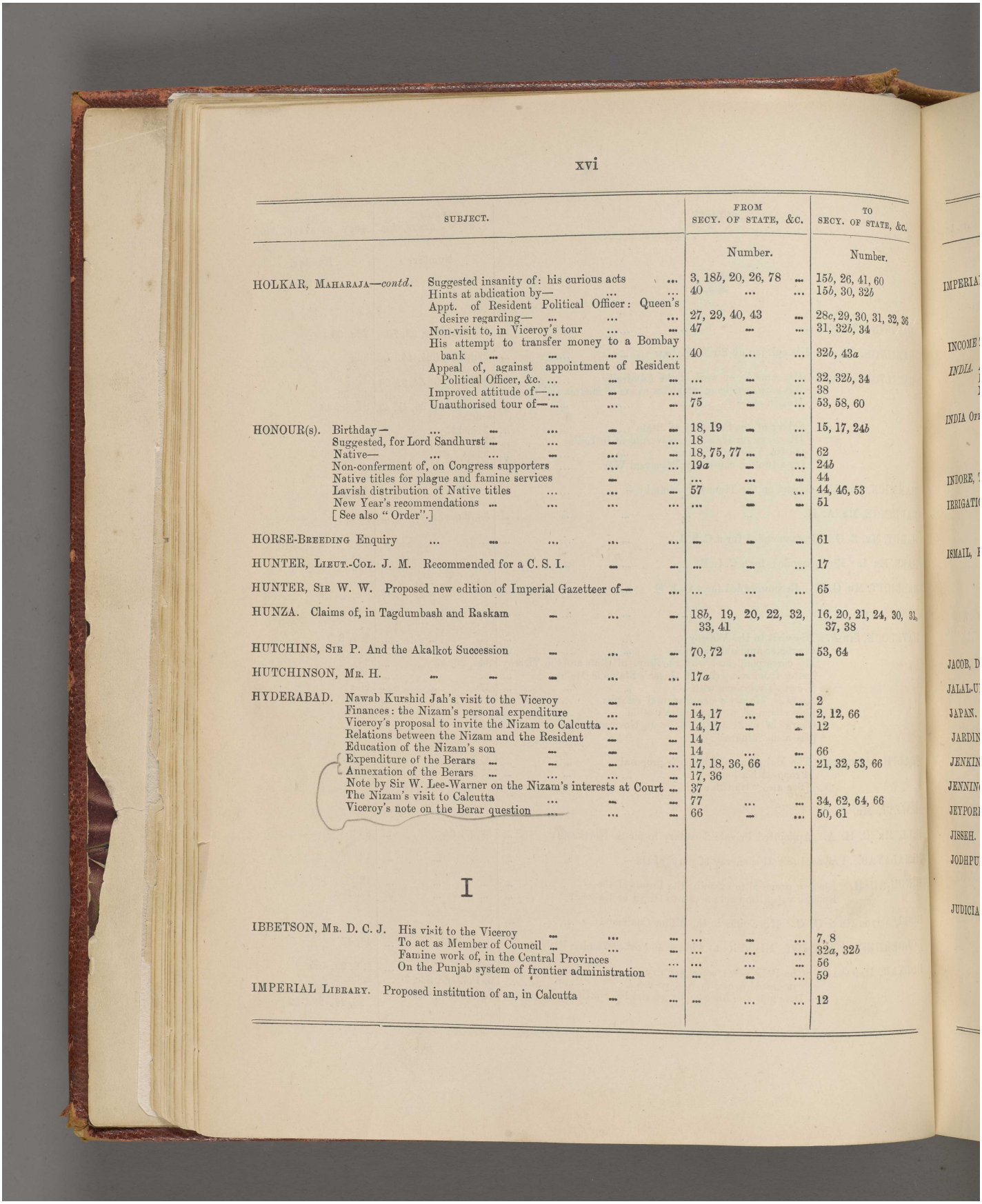

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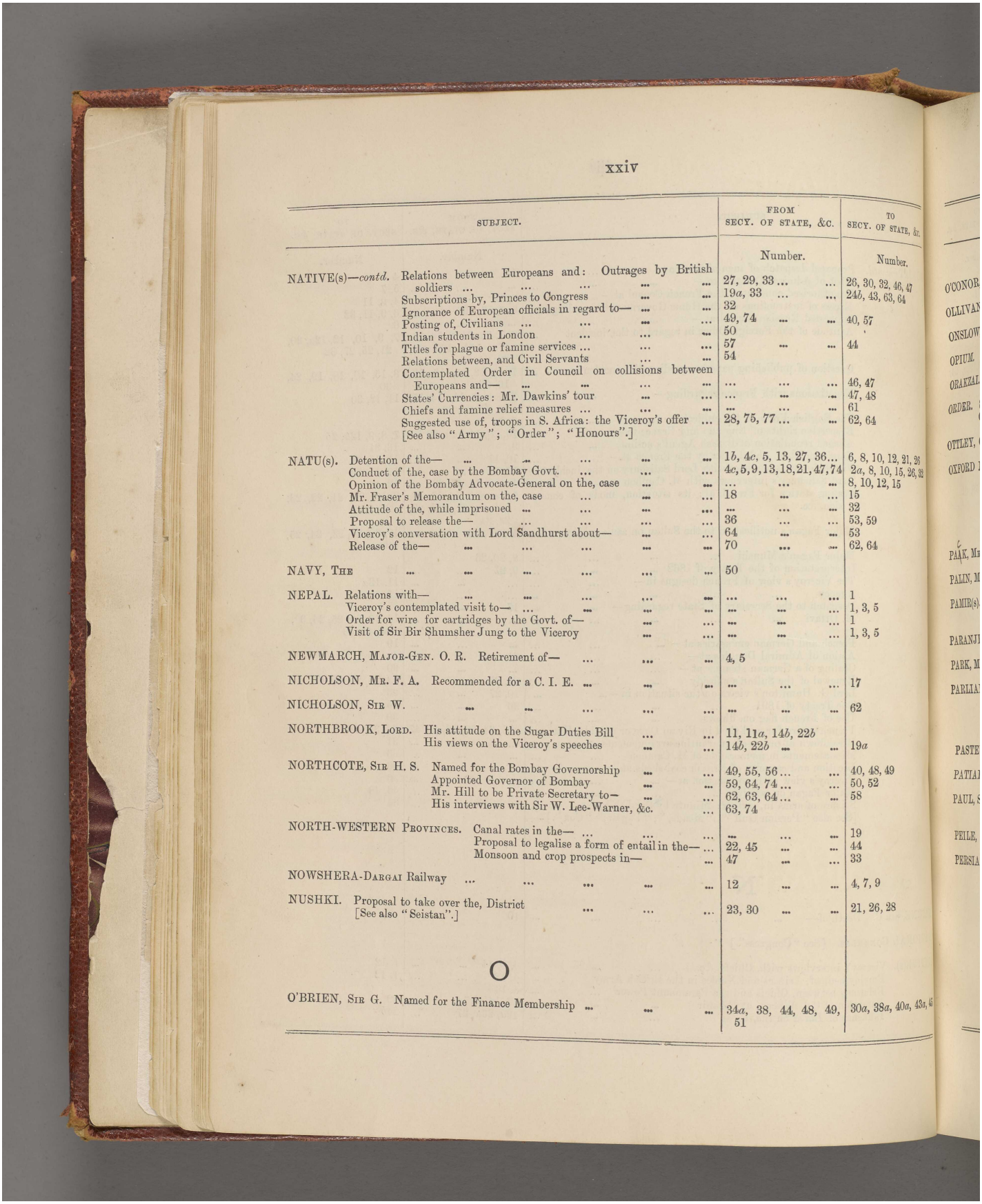

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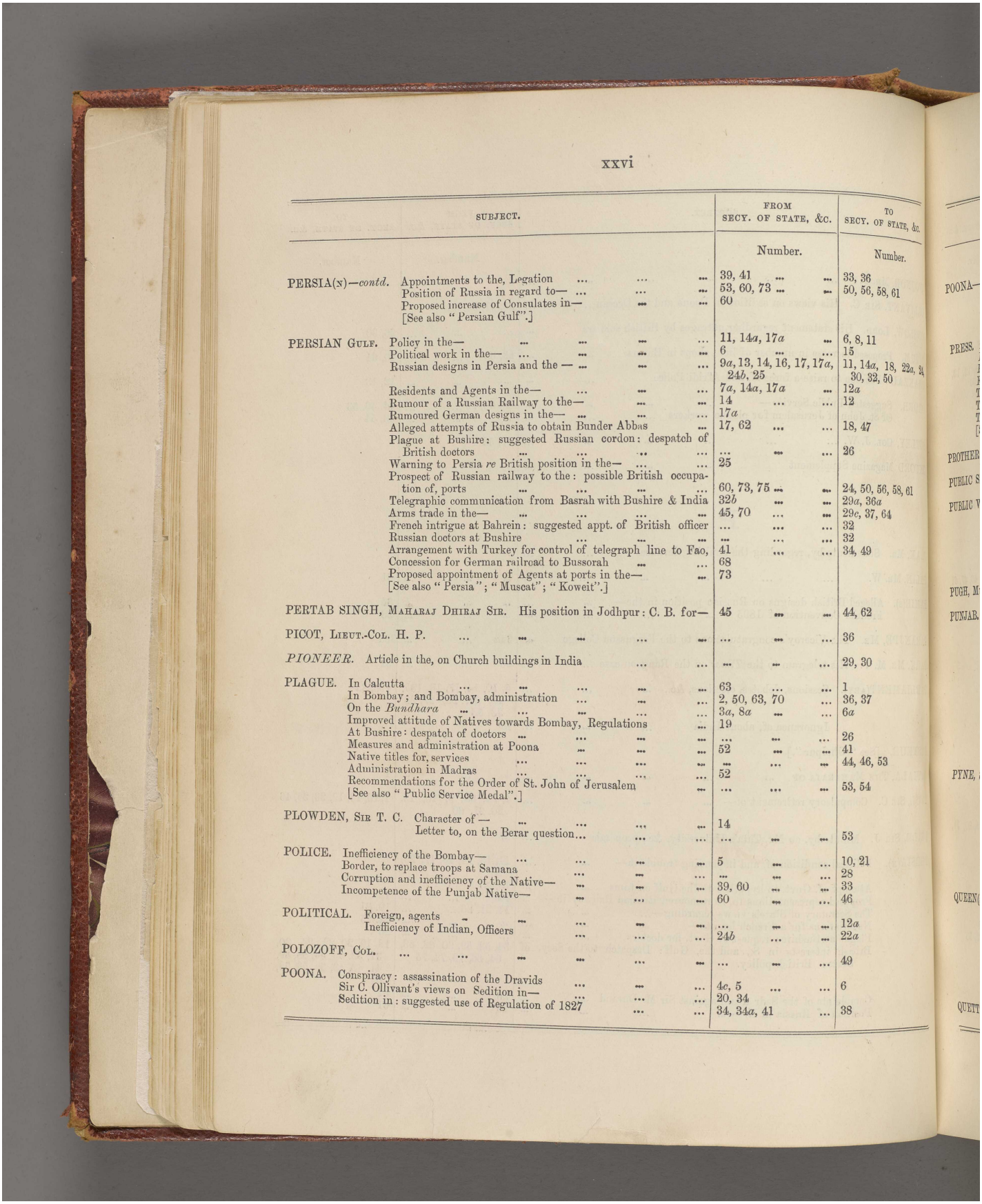

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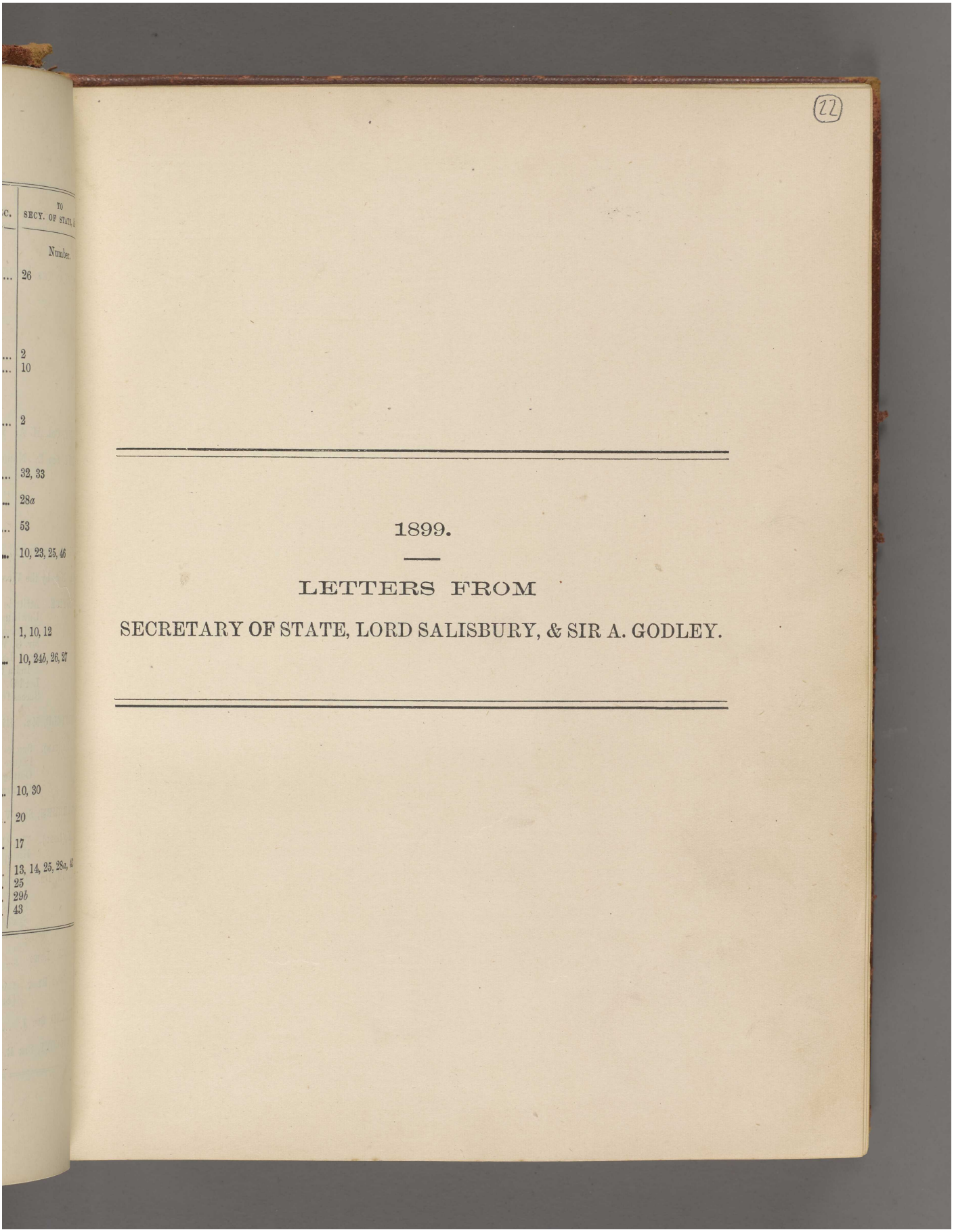

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LETTERS FROM

SECRETARY OF STATE, LORD SALISBURY, & SIR A. GODLEY.

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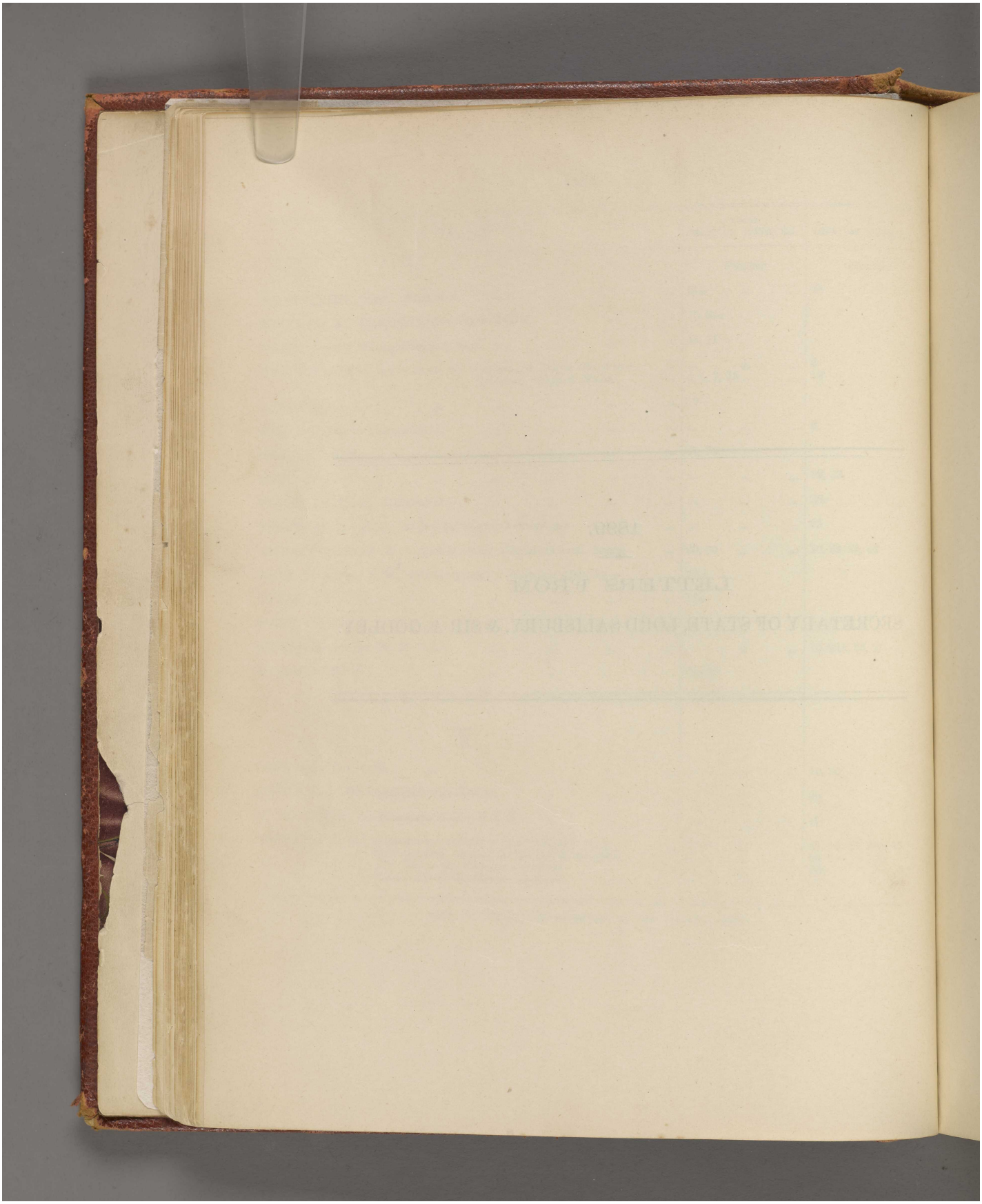

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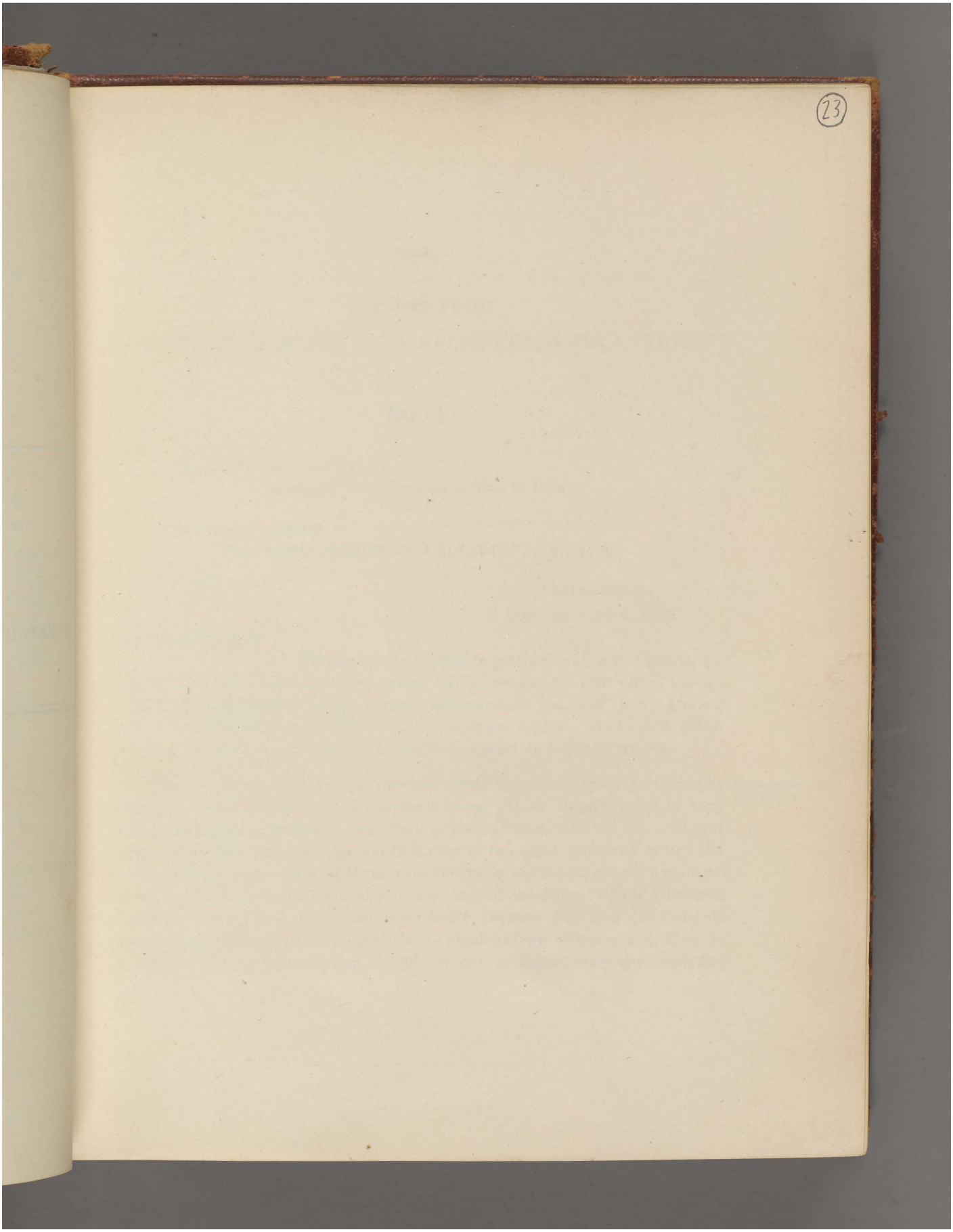

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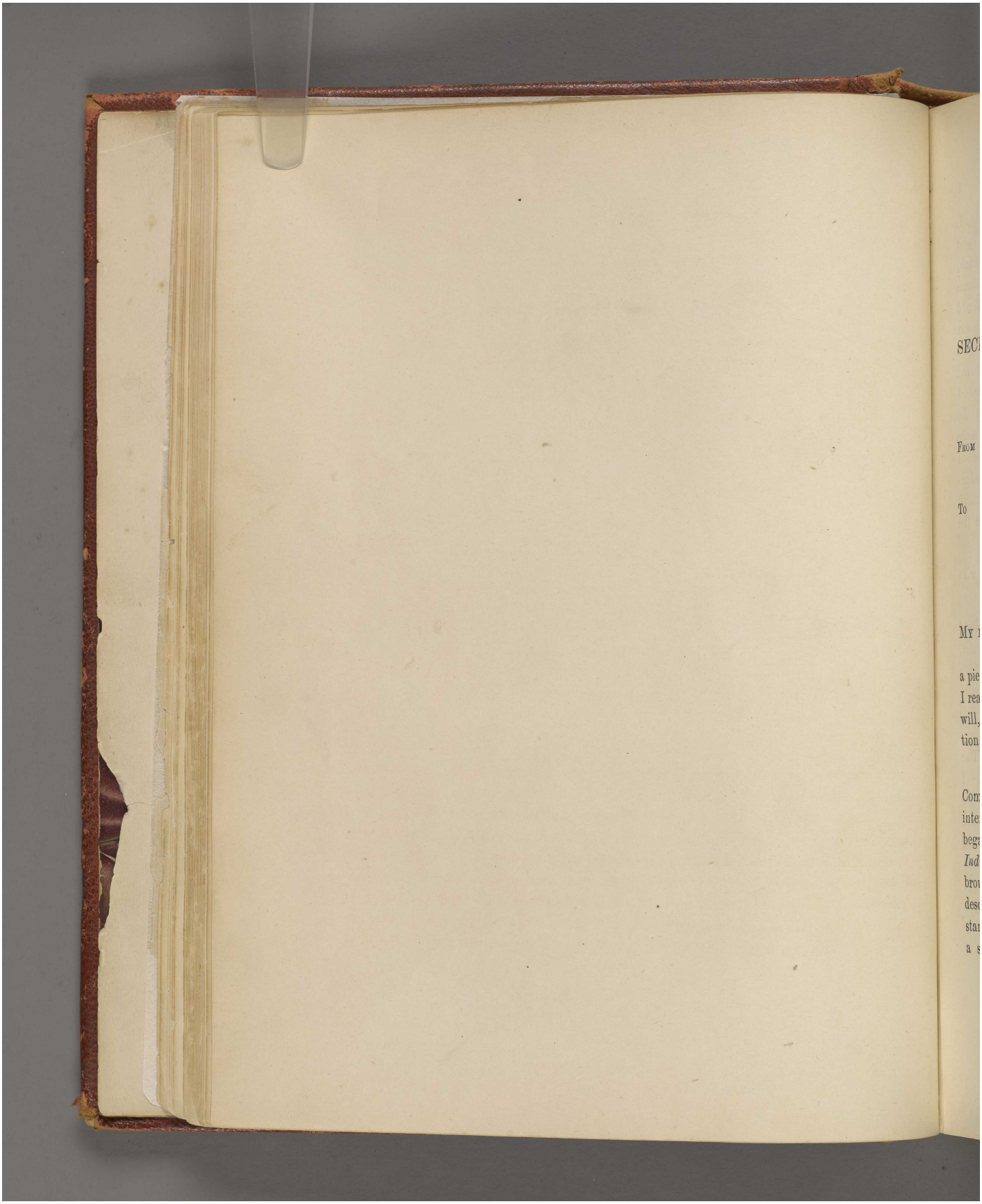

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1899.

LETTERS FROM

SECRETARY OF STATE, LORD SALISBURY, & SIR A. GODLEY.

No. 1.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
December 22nd, 1898.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I begin my first letter to you, according to custom, on a piece of letter-paper (not note-paper) out of respect for your office, though I really have very little to say beyond hoping that you and Lady Curzon will, when this reaches you, have had a prosperous voyage. As to your reception in India I feel no doubts, and therefore express no hopes or wishes.

Currency Committee's Report.

Two or three days ago I received from the Secretary to the Currency Committee the Note of which I enclose a copy. It is to my mind a very interesting and remarkable fact that a body of men, who for the most part began without any decided opinion in favour of the gold standard policy *for India*, while two or three of them were decidedly against it, should have been brought, by the mere strength of the case, to the condition which Chalmers describes. And it is the more remarkable because the case for the gold standard was placed before them with the disadvantage of being tacked on to a scheme for its introduction which no one in this country approved, and

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Currency Reform.

which fell dead as soon as the Government witnesses had been examined. You will have very soon to begin thinking about your Budget, and I hope you will see that Westland does what he can to prepare for the reform which, if it comes, must be carried out by his successor. We heard a rumour some time ago that he was thinking about a reduction of taxation, which would not have suited Dawkins' book (or ours) at all, so Lord George sent a telegram about it. What we want is to get the biggest surplus we can; and, if all goes well till next April or May, I think that your Viceroyalty may be remembered for a financial reform which alone will be enough to make (it?) famous. I should mention that, whereas Chalmers speaks of May as the date when the Committee will report, I have very good reason to think that March is more likely. On January 12th Alfred Rothschild is going to give evidence in favour of a gold standard *and currency*, and, in order to facilitate the introduction of the new currency, is going to propound a scheme for a great Bank of India, which is to have the same relations with your Government that the Bank of England has with the Government at home.

I feel that I ought to apologize for beginning at once to bore you with a subject of this kind, but it is so important that you will forgive me.

Sugar Duties.

I was glad to hear that Lord George spoke to you, before you started, about the proposal to try the experiment of countervailing duties in India. Wingfield, the Under Secretary at the Colonial Office, spoke to me about it three or four weeks ago, saying what a boon it would be to the Colonies. Personally I am strongly in favour of such duties, both here and in India; but in this country unfortunately all sorts of interests have been allowed to grow up under the bounty system which make it difficult, if not impossible. The moral is that if it is to be done in India, the sooner it is done the better. I do not pretend to say how it would be received in Parliament—that is for my betters—but I feel sure that the India Office would be favourable, and we are told it would be popular in India. I can't help thinking (though this is not my business) that if this step were taken in India, it would have a very considerable effect on our commercial relations in Europe. It would be something like the Fashoda incident, which showed that we were not to be bullied with impunity beyond a certain point; so I hope you may soon be able to turn this subject over in your mind.

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On the 24th we are going to telegraph for an opinion about Koweit. We have kept the telegram back till then, in order that the subject may not be disposed of without being brought before you personally. Koweit.

I have written more than I thought I should, and will only add my best wishes for 1899.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

P. S.—On reading my letter over I add one word, which is probably quite unnecessary. But it may be worth while to remind you that, although the possibility of currency reform is an excellent reason for not reducing taxation next March, it would be very impolitic to put it forward as *the* reason, or even as *a* reason, if it can be avoided. The silverites would at once begin talking about the starving millions, ground down by taxation in order to enrich the gold-bugs, &c., and the Native Press would no doubt take it up. In fact they will probably do so anyhow; but, clearly, the less said about it the better. Reduction of taxation.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Note by the Secretary to the Currency Committee.

No. 1a.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
January 3rd, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Just one line to say that I will not trouble you for the next fortnight with letters from here, as I am sure you will wish to have time to turn round before expressing an opinion on any question of importance.

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Financial surplus.

I see by a private note from Westland that the surplus will probably be over five crores. You will have to sit tight upon it, though I think there will be no objection to making good out of this great sum the heavy discount on our 2½ per cent. loan raised this year. The amount of the discount is so large that we proposed to spread its repayment over a considerable number of years.

Pray take care of yourself, and do not at the commencement try too much.

I thought both your speech and Elgin's equally excellent in tone and substance, and a not unpleasant contrast as reflecting the different characteristics of their two utterers.

Wishing you and Lady Curzon a very happy and prosperous New Year,

believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 1b.

FROM
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
January 6th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I write, as I told you I should, when I have very little to say. Of late there has been something like a lull in Indian affairs:

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1*b* (4*a*)

but I could not let the auspicious day, on which we have heard of your assumption of office, pass by without sending you a greeting.

Koweit. We sent you yesterday an important telegram, really from Lord Salisbury, about Koweit. It seemed to me to put the thing on the right footing: we don't want Koweit, but we don't want any one else to have it. This sounds rather bad, when it is baldly stated; but it is the true explanation of a good deal of our diplomacy, and it is not really as bad as it sounds. Lyall is inclined to think that it is already too late to prevent Turkey from disposing of the place as she pleases. I do not, for my own part, see why it should be more difficult now than it was some time ago, but if it is, we shall soon be aware of the fact.

Condition of India. It is interesting to reflect that every telegram which we receive henceforward will come from you, and not from Elgin, but I don't expect to perceive much difference in your telegraphic style, at any rate for the present. I am sincerely glad that Elgin has got out of harness without any more troubles on the frontier or elsewhere: he has had more than his share, and during these last few months I have felt very anxious that he should be able to hand India over to you in a prosperous condition.

Finance. As to finance, nothing could look better for the present: may it last! So far as I can judge by conversation with the few people with whom one can talk on the subject, people's minds are getting accustomed to the idea of a gold standard, and the bimetallists seem to be stricken dumb.

The Natus. I hope you will, as soon as possible, post yourself up in the case of the two Natus. We are sure to hear more about it when Parliament meets. Meanwhile the Government of Bombay have sent us a letter on the subject, with enclosures which (as usual in the case of Bombay) are incomplete, and we are telegraphing for more information. Did you say anything to Sandhurst about this, or did he to you? I hope you had satisfactory talks with him and with Elgin.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

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No. 2.

FROM
THE RIGHT HONB'LE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
January 17*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Just one line to acknowledge your letter of the 31st ultimo.

Lord Curzon's reception in India. His speeches.

I hear from all accounts that your reception was one of extreme cordiality. The crowd was exceptionally numerous and remarkably demonstrative for an Oriental crowd. I thought all your speeches have been singularly happy: you have throughout struck the right note—one of sympathy towards the appeals made to you, but reserving to yourself complete freedom of action in dealing hereafter with the many subjects brought under your notice.

Reticence of the Bombay Govt.

I am sure you are right in your interpretation of the reticence of the Bombay Government. Sandhurst is not well served by his Private Secretary, and not sufficiently in communication with the different Departments. Sandhurst insisted from the first upon undertaking personally the charge of the operations against plague. I warned him from the first that he would find the duties very burdensome, and he would find himself as Governor personally associated with the enforcement of rules and regulations that would be generally unpalatable to the customs and instincts of the natives. But he insisted upon taking this department of work under his special charge, with the result that he has hardly had sufficient time to attend to other branches of administration connected with his Government. It is almost inconceivable that he should believe that he has kept the Supreme Government and the Secretary of State adequately supplied with information as to what he is doing. In my private letters I have tried every conceivable method of inducing him to be

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more communicative. I began with hints, then a suggestion, then remonstrance, and finally directions, and all in vain. I hope that your personal interview with him will be more effective than my admonitions on paper, and that for the future neither of us will have to complain of being in the dark as regards transactions in Bombay.

Nothing of importance has occurred since you left, or anything so pressing as to necessitate my now troubling you; but I will write fully on one or two matters next week.

Hoping that you and Lady Curzon are none the worse for your ceremonial fatigues,

believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 3.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
January 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Thanks for your letter of the 5th instant.

Now that all the ceremonies connected with your reception are over, you must be gratified by the uniform good-will and enthusiasm with which you and Lady Curzon have been everywhere received. I think your speeches have contributed in no small degree to this happy result. In receiving deputations you show the highest art, namely, that of giving good, but not always palatable, advice to the people who come to question you, and of leaving unanswered the queries and suggestions which they lay before you, and yet you sent the deputations away happy.

Lord Curzon's reception in India.

Replies to addresses.

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I was afraid, from Lord Elgin's indifference to ceremony and to the efficiency of his household, and also from Durand's want of knowledge, that his régime had greatly deteriorated from that of his predecessor; but I do not think you will find much difficulty, with your knowledge and the capable staff you have taken out, in bringing things up to the old standard, and very likely in improving upon it.

I imagine Bombay lends itself much more to ceremonial entry, from the width of its streets and quays, than does Calcutta; and the western population, I think, from closer contact with Europe, are generally more demonstrative.

Nothing of any real importance has occurred here since you left.

Koweit. I went over to the Foreign Office to ascertain from the Prime Minister what it exactly was that he wanted us to do in Koweit. In the first letter from the Foreign Office we were told that the question of a protectorate there was one entirely for the discretion of the Indian Government, and that upon the Indian Government must fall the entire burden of maintaining and defending such a protectorate. Later on, from information which the Foreign Office received from Constantinople and St. Petersburgh, they became very keen to push through some arrangement by which the Sheikh of Koweit would undertake not to alienate or lease his land. I therefore told the Prime Minister that, whilst we were perfectly willing to act as his agents in carrying out his wishes, we could not undertake in an emergency to send troops from India to defend this place. He entirely agreed, and has written a letter to us to that effect. We are, therefore, practically as free from the defence of Koweit, should it be attacked, as we are from defending Somali Land against the Abyssinians. I have been very anxious, in all questions affecting territories so remote from India, to establish this understanding with the Foreign Office. Our military establishments in India are barely adequate to the duties which they have to perform there along the frontier, and it would, therefore, be very unwise to squander our scarcely sufficient forces in enterprises so far removed from India's vital interests.

Muscat. The orders given in reference to Muscat were discussed in Cabinet. It is pretty clear that the two arrangements in connection with Muscat to which we are a party, namely, the treaty with France, and our separate engagement with the Sultan in 1891, are not compatible one with another. In the first

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we undertake to respect the independent rights of the Sultan, and this clearly includes the power to lease territory for a coaling station: the lease to a foreign Power of a coaling station is apparently inconsistent with the Sultan's undertaking to us in 1891. The hoisting of our flag, as suggested, may possibly raise some controversy at Paris; but, after thinking it over, I come to the conclusion that it is really the least dangerous method of preventing the boats of a French man-of-war from landing and occupying territory which we by treaty have reserved to ourselves. A landing party of that kind can only be stopped by the boats being sunk, or by force being exercised on shore when the crews attempt to land. In both cases personal collision is likely, and this would lead to more serious international complications than any animated diplomatic discussion carried on in Paris or London. The stoppage of the Sultan's subsidy may throw him more than ever into the arms of France; but it is just as well to bring things to a head: they have been drifting there for a long time, and some sharp action of this kind is necessary to improve an otherwise almost intolerable position.

Sugar Duties.

A Despatch goes out by this mail in connection with the Sugar Duties in the sense which we had arranged. I had the substance of it telegraphed to you, as I understand that your legislative session is over by the middle of March, and the imposition of countervailing duties may, in practice, be found a more difficult operation than we had anticipated.

Legal Member of Council.

We have been hunting about everywhere to try and get some competent man to replace Chalmers. But the choice is very limited. The emoluments of the office are not good enough: there is no pension attached to the five years' tenure of office; and thus a man, cut off from his practice, and not necessarily entitled to judicial office on the expiration of his term, may find himself without employ or remuneration. Sir Alexander Miller very much reduced the prestige of the office; for as, previous to his becoming Member, everyone who held that office received, in a short time after they returned from India, some post of judicial importance, he from his incapacity has been left out in the cold, and there he will remain. This fact is present to the minds of most of those to whom an offer is made. Raleigh is undoubtedly the ablest of the men whose names were brought before me. I met him when I stopped at All Souls with you some years ago. He is such a curious taciturn piece of goods that I could not quite make him out, and I was afraid that he might be a difficult man as a colleague; but on receipt of your telegram, preferring him to Davidson, who really was the only other man in the running, I have written to him offering him the post.

Leave of Bishops and Chaplains.

By this mail also goes out a letter relating to the leave and furlough of Bishops and Chaplains. Welldon was anxious that these rules should be

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brought to your notice before he arrived in India, as he thought that, after he had once accepted office, any attempt on his part to secure their revision with a view of obtaining more liberal terms would have such a personal flavour about it that you would have some difficulty in deciding the matter on its merits.

Maharaja Holkar.

Elgin tells me that he thinks a course has been agreed upon in connection with Holkar's recent misbehaviour, which will give him a chance of climbing down if he is sane enough to do so. The last Despatch that we addressed to the Government of India in connection with Holkar was drafted in the sense that he was scarcely responsible for his actions; for I felt that, if ever it became necessary to take so strong a step as deposition, you would be less likely to frighten the Native Princes generally if you took that step, not on the plea of misgovernment but of insanity. Although both insanity and misgovernment may be said to be matters of opinion, Holkar's conduct is such as to give very substantial facts in support of insanity; and interference by the Indian Government, based on such evidence, would be more readily acquiesced in by ruling natives than if supported by the other contention.

Lord Elgin.

I entirely agree with your estimate of Elgin. He has a great grip of business, and a very strong hold over those with whom he personally comes in contact. From first to last he has always had his Council in hand and under command, and during the crises of 1897 I think no official, either military or civilian, came in contact with him to receive orders who did not leave his presence with a sense that there was a most fearless and determined man at the head of affairs. I have frequently pressed my high sense of the excellent and unostentatious work that he has done upon the Prime Minister, and, I am glad to say, with such effect that he is to have the vacant K. G.

Lord Curzon's health.

I was sorry to hear from one or two quarters that you have not been sleeping well. I sympathise with you, as I am not unfrequently troubled by occasional attacks of insomnia. I do implore you to save yourself, so far as you can, during the commencement of your assumption of duties, for, like many high-strung and thorough-bred men, you will probably feel easier and quieter when you are well settled in harness.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 3a.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
January 27th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

You have found yourself plunged, sooner than you perhaps expected, into foreign politics by these affairs of Koweit and Muscat. I am a little disturbed about the programme which has been sanctioned, in case the French appear at Bunder Jisseh. I do not see clearly what the hoisting of the British flag, which is to take place in that event, is meant to imply. But no doubt the Foreign Office know what they are about, and are deliberately intending to reply to a *coup d'épingle* by a *coup de pied*, if the need arises. We were amused by your telegram asking for a suitable form of threat: I hope the result was satisfactory to you. Our reply was submitted to Lord Salisbury, and was partly drafted by him.

Persian Gulf affairs.

I have just seen a despatch from Sir F. Lascelles, in which he says that the German Emperor told him positively that a treaty existed between Russia and Afghanistan. Lascelles said he thought it impossible, and referred to the fact that Mouravieff had denied the assertion that such a treaty had been recently concluded. The Emperor said that this made no difference to his belief in the treaty; but, later in the day, meeting Lascelles again, he said that he had now been informed by Osten Sachen that the treaty had existed for about a year, so that Mouravieff might have justified himself by emphasizing the word "recently." It is proposed to telegraph this to you for what it is worth. I wonder what you think of it? To me it seems rather probable that a secret understanding of some kind may have been come to. The time when the "treaty" is alleged to have been made would coincide with that of our frontier troubles of last year.

Alleged Treaty between Russia and Afghanistan.

Talking of that: in two recent Despatches from your Government (drafted, no doubt, before you were installed), you (or your prodecessor) refer to the tribal territory as "beyond the frontier," or "beyond the North-West Frontier." Surely your departments ought to be cautioned against this. I am rather sensitive about it, because there is nothing to which Wedderburn and his friends are more anxious to pin us than to an admission of this kind, and I have drafted at least half a dozen answers to questions in the House of Commons, in 1897 and 1898, which were framed with that object. Have you been turning your attention yet to the question of "frontier arrangements," and are you beginning to see your way at all?

Reference to tribal territory as "beyond the frontier."

Frontier arrangements.

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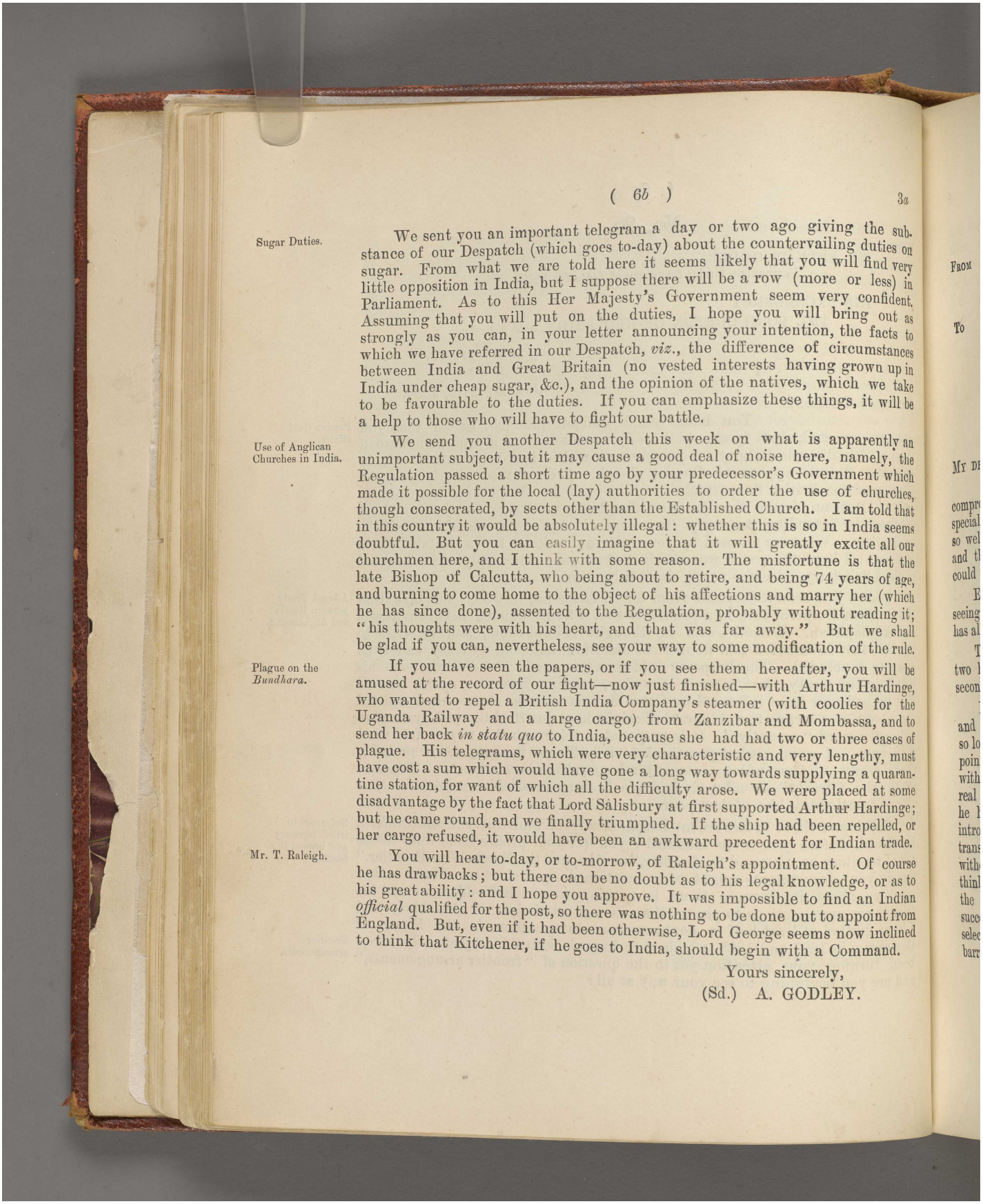

Sugar Duties.

We sent you an important telegram a day or two ago giving the substance of our Despatch (which goes to-day) about the countervailing duties on sugar. From what we are told here it seems likely that you will find very little opposition in India, but I suppose there will be a row (more or less) in Parliament. As to this Her Majesty's Government seem very confident. Assuming that you will put on the duties, I hope you will bring out as strongly as you can, in your letter announcing your intention, the facts to which we have referred in our Despatch, *viz.*, the difference of circumstances between India and Great Britain (no vested interests having grown up in India under cheap sugar, &c.), and the opinion of the natives, which we take to be favourable to the duties. If you can emphasize these things, it will be a help to those who will have to fight our battle.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

We send you another Despatch this week on what is apparently an unimportant subject, but it may cause a good deal of noise here, namely, the Regulation passed a short time ago by your predecessor's Government which made it possible for the local (lay) authorities to order the use of churches, though consecrated, by sects other than the Established Church. I am told that in this country it would be absolutely illegal: whether this is so in India seems doubtful. But you can easily imagine that it will greatly excite all our churchmen here, and I think with some reason. The misfortune is that the late Bishop of Calcutta, who being about to retire, and being 74 years of age, and burning to come home to the object of his affections and marry her (which he has since done), assented to the Regulation, probably without reading it; "his thoughts were with his heart, and that was far away." But we shall be glad if you can, nevertheless, see your way to some modification of the rule.

Plague on the *Bundhara*.

If you have seen the papers, or if you see them hereafter, you will be amused at the record of our fight—now just finished—with Arthur Hardinge, who wanted to repel a British India Company's steamer (with coolies for the Uganda Railway and a large cargo) from Zanzibar and Mombassa, and to send her back *in statu quo* to India, because she had had two or three cases of plague. His telegrams, which were very characteristic and very lengthy, must have cost a sum which would have gone a long way towards supplying a quarantine station, for want of which all the difficulty arose. We were placed at some disadvantage by the fact that Lord Salisbury at first supported Arthur Hardinge; but he came round, and we finally triumphed. If the ship had been repelled, or her cargo refused, it would have been an awkward precedent for Indian trade.

Mr. T. Raleigh.

You will hear to-day, or to-morrow, of Raleigh's appointment. Of course he has drawbacks; but there can be no doubt as to his legal knowledge, or as to his great ability: and I hope you approve. It was impossible to find an Indian *official* qualified for the post, so there was nothing to be done but to appoint from England. But, even if it had been otherwise, Lord George seems now inclined to think that Kitchener, if he goes to India, should begin with a Command.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

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No. 4.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
February 2nd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I was very glad to get your letter giving so full and comprehensive an account of your proceedings and interviews. It was specially gratifying to all of us here to know that you and Lady Curzon stood so well the strain of the exceptional work attending your installation in office, and that everything seemed to be going on as well as your best friends could wish. — Lord Curzon's assumption of the Viceroyalty.

Elgin arrives here on Sunday, and I will take an early opportunity of seeing him; and he will then no doubt repeat to me a good deal of what he has already told you. — Lord Elgin.

Taking the subjects with which your letter deals, I will divide them into two heads—firstly, those dealing with individuals and appointments, and, secondly, those which touch upon general questions.

I was a little doubtful whether Raleigh would be a *persona grata* to you, and one with whom you thought you could work cordially and pleasantly for so long a time as five years. Your telegrams, however, re-assured me on this point. Raleigh's letters have impressed me very favourably. He speaks with curious diffidence about his powers, and, unless his language belies his real mind, I do not think you will have much difficulty with him, even where he happens to differ from you. I have got a short Bill, which I hope to introduce this year in the House of Commons, which enables officials to be transferred from the Colonial to the Imperial or Indian Service, and *vice versâ*, without break in the continuity of service which counts for pension; and I think I can dovetail into this Bill a few words which will hereafter make the post of Legal Member for Council pensionable. If we can only succeed in making this alteration, we shall very largely increase the area of selection, and be no longer confined, as we practically are now, to bachelor barristers. — Mr. Raleigh as Legal Member of Council. — Bill to enable transfer of Colonial officials to India.

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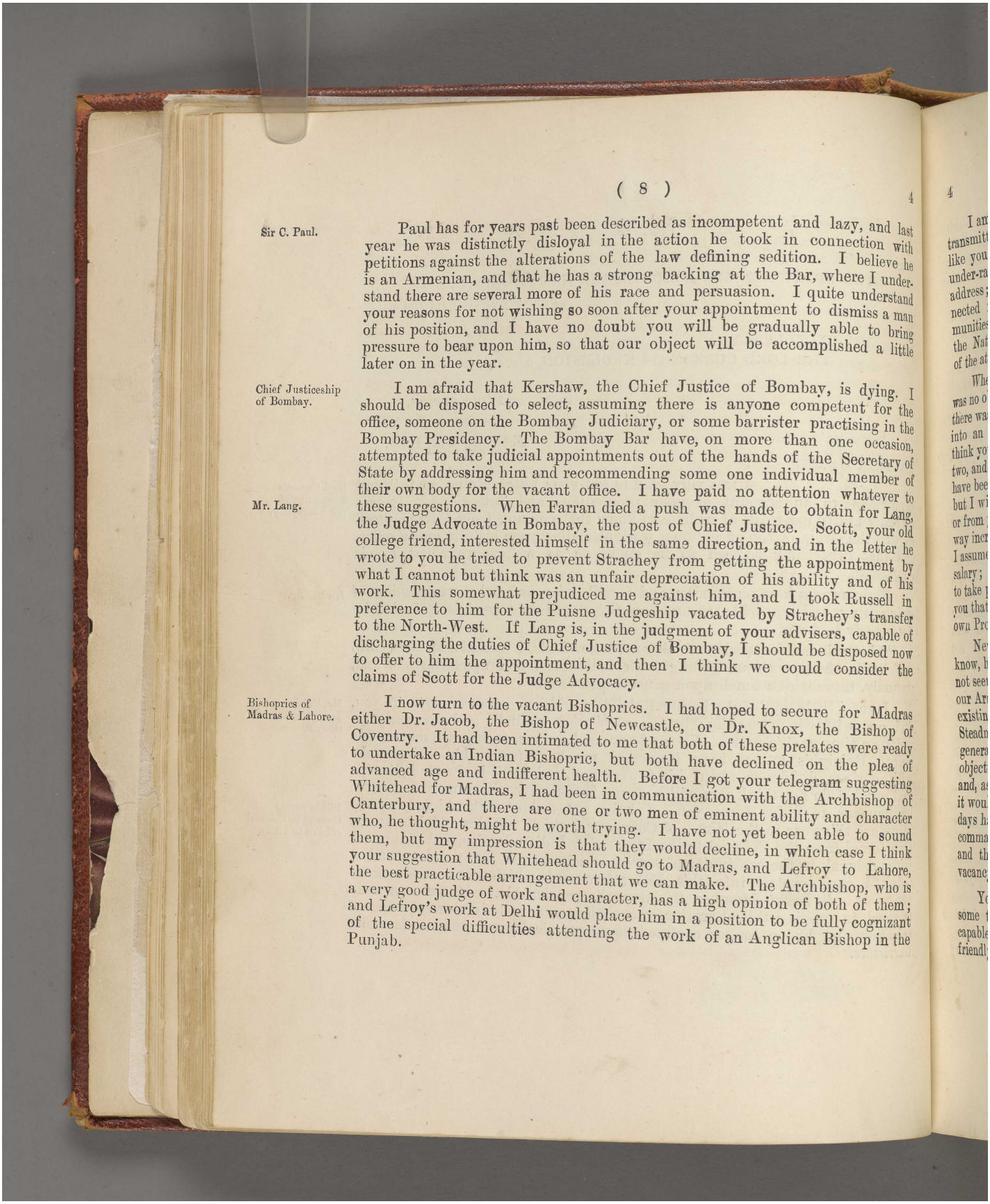

Sir C. Paul.

Paul has for years past been described as incompetent and lazy, and last year he was distinctly disloyal in the action he took in connection with petitions against the alterations of the law defining sedition. I believe he is an Armenian, and that he has a strong backing at the Bar, where I understand there are several more of his race and persuasion. I quite understand your reasons for not wishing so soon after your appointment to dismiss a man of his position, and I have no doubt you will be gradually able to bring pressure to bear upon him, so that our object will be accomplished a little later on in the year.

Chief Justiceship of Bombay.

I am afraid that Kershaw, the Chief Justice of Bombay, is dying. I should be disposed to select, assuming there is anyone competent for the office, someone on the Bombay Judiciary, or some barrister practising in the Bombay Presidency. The Bombay Bar have, on more than one occasion, attempted to take judicial appointments out of the hands of the Secretary of State by addressing him and recommending some one individual member of their own body for the vacant office. I have paid no attention whatever to these suggestions. When Farran died a push was made to obtain for Lang, the Judge Advocate in Bombay, the post of Chief Justice. Scott, your old college friend, interested himself in the same direction, and in the letter he wrote to you he tried to prevent Strachey from getting the appointment by what I cannot but think was an unfair depreciation of his ability and of his work. This somewhat prejudiced me against him, and I took Russell in preference to him for the Puisne Judgeship vacated by Strachey's transfer to the North-West. If Lang is, in the judgment of your advisers, capable of discharging the duties of Chief Justice of Bombay, I should be disposed now to offer to him the appointment, and then I think we could consider the claims of Scott for the Judge Advocacy.

Mr. Lang.

Bishopries of Madras & Lahore.

I now turn to the vacant Bishopries. I had hoped to secure for Madras either Dr. Jacob, the Bishop of Newcastle, or Dr. Knox, the Bishop of Coventry. It had been intimated to me that both of these prelates were ready to undertake an Indian Bishopric, but both have declined on the plea of advanced age and indifferent health. Before I got your telegram suggesting Whitehead for Madras, I had been in communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and there are one or two men of eminent ability and character who, he thought, might be worth trying. I have not yet been able to sound them, but my impression is that they would decline, in which case I think your suggestion that Whitehead should go to Madras, and Lefroy to Lahore, the best practicable arrangement that we can make. The Archbishop, who is a very good judge of work and character, has a high opinion of both of them; and Lefroy's work at Delhi would place him in a position to be fully cognizant of the special difficulties attending the work of an Anglican Bishop in the Punjab.

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I am very sorry to learn that Welldon's incautious expressions have been transmitted to India, and have created an animus against him. Those of us, like you and me, who have been for many years in politics, are apt perhaps to under-rate the importance of occasional incautious utterances in a speech or address; but, when a questionable expression is telegraphed out and disconnected from the context, it apparently does, in the susceptible Indian communities, stir up bad feeling and cause considerable offence. In looking through the Native Press articles of the last month, I was struck by the vehemence of the attacks made upon Welldon.

Dr Welldon's public utterances.

When I last saw him I told him, or rather led him to infer, that if there was no objection raised here on the part of the various people I consulted, and there was no legal objection to the Metropolitan of India being converted into an Archbishop, I would make that submission to the Queen. But I think your reasons are sound for postponing any such change for a year or two, and therefore I will write to Welldon and explain to him that objections have been urged from influential quarters against the change being made now, but I will take great care not to let him know that they emanated from India or from you. Assuming hereafter that the title is given, it will not in any way increase the powers of the Metropolitan or raise his pay. His precedence, I assume, will be exalted, and precedence is almost as burning a question as salary; but I will bear in mind what you say. I think an Archbishop ought to take precedence, as he does here, of the head of the law, but I agree with you that he should not take precedence of any Lieutenant-Governor in his own Province.

Proposal to confer the title of Archbishop on the Bishop of Calcutta.

Newmarch, our Military Secretary here, will retire in May next. As you know, he is a very capable official and an excellent draftsman. But he does not seem to me to be quite sufficiently in touch with the fighting element of our Army. Economy and a minute knowledge and rigid interpretation of existing regulations are his strong points. Lockhart suggested to me General Steadman as his successor. I find, on enquiry into his record, that he is generally well spoken of, and is undoubtedly a man of tact and ability. My objection to him was that I believed he belonged to the Madras Staff Corps, and, as you may have to lay a heavy hand on the Madras Army, I thought it would be inconvenient to have an official here who in his early military days had been associated with that Army. But I find that, though he held commands in the Madras Division, he belongs to the Bengal Staff Corps, and therefore I am now disposed to favourably consider his name for the vacancy.

Military Secretaryship at the India Office.

General Steadman.

You seem to have had quite a levée of Native Princes and Chiefs. For some time past I have been told that Scindia is a very interesting and capable young Prince, who, moreover, has the advantage of being really friendly to us. I believe his tutor is now in Mysore, and that his present

Maharaja Scindia.

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satisfactory characteristics are largely due to the judicious manner in which he was handled during his earlier years. A limited visit of three months to England would do him no harm, and if he came alone, that is if he is the only considerable Native Prince in London, we could contrive to make his visit very pleasant and useful to him.

Sir Gerald FitzGerald.

I had hoped that, in consequence of certain controversies arising from conversations which passed between the present Political Aide-de-Camp and the Aga Khan, I might have been able to get rid of FitzGerald; but I am afraid, poor fellow! he cannot afford to give up the income of his office, as he has crippled himself for life by magnanimously taking upon himself the duty of paying his father's debts. His ignorance of native languages and his deafness, and that curious manner of assumption which some Irishmen assume, combine to thoroughly disqualify him for the duties of Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State, and from what I can hear I am afraid that he has rubbed up a good many distinguished Natives during the past few years during their visits to England. But the result of the row that has recently occurred will, I think, make him more careful in future, and prevent him from over-zeal in so shadowing Native potentates whilst in this country as to make their lives rather a burden to them.

Gaekwar of Baroda and the Bombay Government.

The Government of Bombay have for years past had a grudge against the Gaekwar. I have never yet been able to extract any adequate reason for this antipathy. He is tenacious of his rights, and uses every means at his disposal for the purpose of supporting them, and in that way he has occasionally crossed the path of the Bombay Government, especially in connection with some complicated jurisdictions which the Gaekwar, in common with the Peishwa, holds over Kathiawar and other places in the Presidency of Bombay. He is undoubtedly a man of ability, is very rich, and I believe governs his principalities well. I used to know his Resident, Colonel Martelli: we were in the Army together, and he is a pleasant tactful man. I certainly think it would be worth your while to cultivate kinder relations with the Gaekwar, and I have no doubt that, if you personally come in contact with him, you will be able to extract from him what, if any, grievance he has against the Bombay Government. Few, if any, of our great feudatories love the Paramount Power, and I am not at all sure that in several cases this antipathy is not largely due to tactlessness, mistakes, and undue interference on the part of the various Foreign Offices and Political Residents.

The Maharaja of Patiala.

What do you think of Patiala? I hear he is clever, but very hostile to us. As he is practically the head of the Sikh community, such hostility, if true, is a matter of some consideration.

Frontier Administration scheme.

I was disappointed in the attitude taken up both by the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in regard to my proposal to place the Commissioner of Peshawar and other Commissioners on the frontier under the

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Government of India for all external matters or dealings with the tribes outside our administrative frontiers. Elgin's Minute is the best vindication that I have read of the existing system. Still I believe it to be essential that the Indian Government should have more direct control over these questions than it has hitherto exercised. Assuming this alteration to be a *sine quâ non*, we really only have to consider the procedure best likely to accomplish this purpose, and causing the least friction to the various authorities concerned. My suggestion seemed to have the merit that it would be a gradual change, and that we should take the Punjab authorities with us, and if upon trial the experiment failed, then we should be compelled to adopt the more stringent measure—a separate Frontier Commissionership. Udny, whom I cross-examined some time here upon the various alternatives, strongly favoured my proposal. Although he is lacking in the promptitude and decision necessary for a frontier officer, he is a man of ability, of very great experience and thoroughly loyal; and he assured me that there would not be the slightest difficulty in working the dual arrangement I suggested, and in fact he told me that, whenever disturbance actually broke out, the Commissioner of Peshawar was for all practical purposes under the Government of India rather than the Government of the Punjab. I think it would be worth your while to see him before you make up your mind as to which alternative you would be disposed to adopt. The separate Commissionership is plausible, and at first sight the obvious remedy for the present unsatisfactory intermediate system. But the more I turn it over in my mind the more I am impressed by the practical difficulties attending its creation both as regards recruiting the Commission with competent men, and administering so long and narrow a strip. Locomotion is exceedingly difficult, as it is devoid of railroads, and the Commissioner in many cases would be as far from the scene of action as the Government of the Punjab.

Koweit.

Talbot's estimate of the tendencies of the Sheikh of Koweit seems quite correct, for he apparently tumbled into the proposal as soon as it was made to him. But, as you point out, this only gives us security so long as the present Sheikh is alive, but it gives us time to think of, and turn over, the various alternatives practicable in the event of his death, or of the Turks attempting to re-assert their authority over Koweit.

Muscat.

Your telegrams during the week concerning Muscat give me no fresh information. I think we shall have trouble there. I proposed to Salisbury to send another man-of-war to Muscat, but he thought it unnecessary, for the force we had there was quite sufficient, and that the despatch of an additional man-of-war would only attract the attention of Russia and France to the increase of force, and excite great curiosity.

Sugar Bounties.

I am very glad that you are taking up the Sugar question so thoroughly. I have circulated your telegram with an explanatory memorandum to the

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Cabinet, so that, whenever your actual proposals come home, they may be in a position to assent to them at once.

Commissions for Natives in the British Army.

I did my best to try and persuade the Cabinet to relax the insuperable veto now imposed upon all Natives, no matter what their lineage or qualifications might be, from obtaining Commissions in the British Army. I am sorry to say that, with the exception of the Prime Minster, I got no support whatever: both the War Office and the Admiralty were very strongly opposed to my views. The question is certain to be raised in Parliament, and it is a very awkward one to work. I should, therefore, welcome any suggestions which you can make which would in any way tend to break down the racial bar.

Procedure for conduct of business in the Secretariat Departments.

Godley tells me that you are looking into the business procedure in force in the various Departments with a view to trying to reduce the amount of statistics and writing which is so characteristic of Indian administrative procedure. The best executive procedure I know in this country is at the Admiralty, and the constitution of the Admiralty very much resembles that of the Indian Government—a Council as a consultative body with one responsible executive chief. In India it seems to be a point of honour, if a junior official writes a long and comprehensive minute, for the man above him to write one very often of exactly the same character at greater length. I never can understand why, if the superior officer approves of the report or suggestions of his junior, he must necessarily re-state them. One would think that one statement of fact and one opinion, provided it was agreed upon by the various officials through whom it passed, were sufficient, and that it was not necessary for each of them in turn to say the same thing in different language, and each at greater length. If you can only succeed in simplifying the procedure and diminishing the amount of writing, you will directly and indirectly confer an inestimable benefit upon Indian officialdom, for you will give them time to do what I do not think they now have, namely, to ruminate over the bigger and more difficult questions which come up to them for settlement.

Alleged treaty between Russia and Afghanistan.

Some papers went out by last mail to you from the Foreign Office giving an account of two conversations which the Emperor of Germany had with Lascelles, in which he assured him that he knew, as an absolute fact, that the Russian Government had made a treaty with the Amir of Afghanistan. Mouravieff categorically denies in unqualified terms this assertion, though he does not know that it came from the Emperor of Germany. I have always remarked, both at the Admiralty and here, that, whenever some little international complications are about to ensue in which Germany is concerned, and where she wants the support of Great Britain, rumours or stories are circulated of some ominous French or Russian design. This has happened so frequently in my experience that, whenever any statement of the kind reaches me, I know for a certainty that it predicates some German difficulty. And we now

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know that there has been a regular row in Samoa, which has ended by the American and British Consuls with twenty-five Blue-jackets re-opening by force the High Court, and reinstating there the Chief Justice whom the German Consul had attempted to depose.

I have always been doubtful about the Pasteur Institute, or, as it is now termed, the Health Institute. It seemed to me that there was not sufficient force or desire behind the movement to justify the Indian Government in sanctioning an institution which unquestionably does come in contact with the prejudices of so large a portion of the Native community. I think you are quite right in letting the scheme for the moment die; for you can always, if you find there is a real desire for some such institution, revive the scheme and carry it through. Health Institute for India.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 4a.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
February 3rd, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Dawkins came to see me last week, with a very curious story. Since he has been in London, he has been much in contact with leading Mr. Dawkins.

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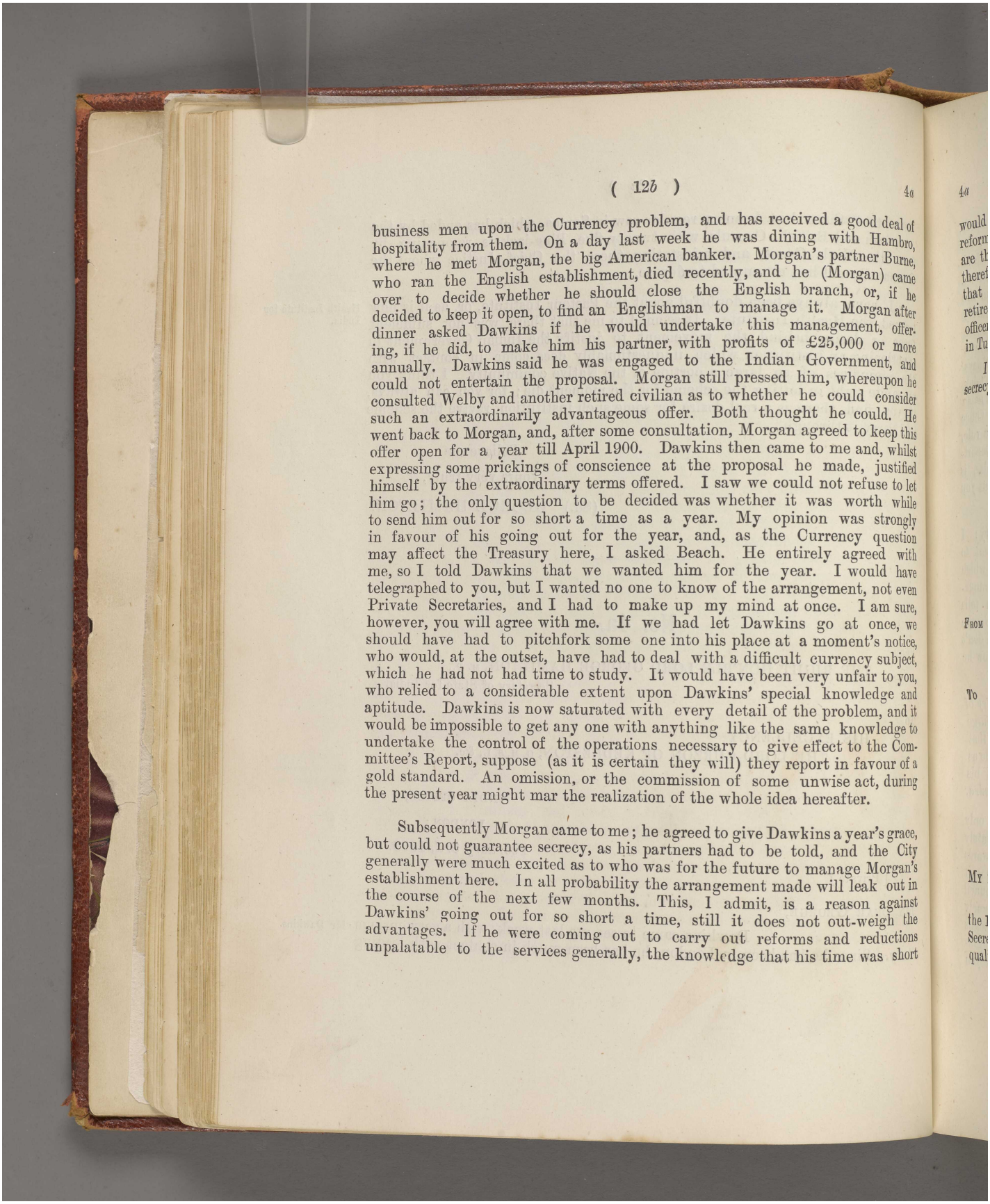

business men upon the Currency problem, and has received a good deal of hospitality from them. On a day last week he was dining with Hambro, where he met Morgan, the big American banker. Morgan's partner Burne, who ran the English establishment, died recently, and he (Morgan) came over to decide whether he should close the English branch, or, if he decided to keep it open, to find an Englishman to manage it. Morgan after dinner asked Dawkins if he would undertake this management, offering, if he did, to make him his partner, with profits of £25,000 or more annually. Dawkins said he was engaged to the Indian Government, and could not entertain the proposal. Morgan still pressed him, whereupon he consulted Welby and another retired civilian as to whether he could consider such an extraordinarily advantageous offer. Both thought he could. He went back to Morgan, and, after some consultation, Morgan agreed to keep this offer open for a year till April 1900. Dawkins then came to me and, whilst expressing some prickings of conscience at the proposal he made, justified himself by the extraordinary terms offered. I saw we could not refuse to let him go; the only question to be decided was whether it was worth while to send him out for so short a time as a year. My opinion was strongly in favour of his going out for the year, and, as the Currency question may affect the Treasury here, I asked Beach. He entirely agreed with me, so I told Dawkins that we wanted him for the year. I would have telegraphed to you, but I wanted no one to know of the arrangement, not even Private Secretaries, and I had to make up my mind at once. I am sure, however, you will agree with me. If we had let Dawkins go at once, we should have had to pitchfork some one into his place at a moment's notice, who would, at the outset, have had to deal with a difficult currency subject, which he had not had time to study. It would have been very unfair to you, who relied to a considerable extent upon Dawkins' special knowledge and aptitude. Dawkins is now saturated with every detail of the problem, and it would be impossible to get any one with anything like the same knowledge to undertake the control of the operations necessary to give effect to the Committee's Report, suppose (as it is certain they will) they report in favour of a gold standard. An omission, or the commission of some unwise act, during the present year might mar the realization of the whole idea hereafter.

Subsequently Morgan came to me; he agreed to give Dawkins a year's grace, but could not guarantee secrecy, as his partners had to be told, and the City generally were much excited as to who was for the future to manage Morgan's establishment here. In all probability the arrangement made will leak out in the course of the next few months. This, I admit, is a reason against Dawkins' going out for so short a time, still it does not out-weigh the advantages. If he were coming out to carry out reforms and reductions unpalatable to the services generally, the knowledge that his time was short

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would encourage and prolong opposition to his proposals. But Currency reform is generally popular and inevitable: the first moves in any such scheme are the most dangerous, and require the closest watching. There seems, therefore, ample justification in keeping Dawkins for a year, even admitting that the utility of his work may be impeded by the knowledge of his early retirement. In the meantime we must look about for a successor. Law, the officer who reported upon Greek finance, and who holds some appointment in Turkey, has been suggested to me. Do you know anything of him?

I hope you can decypher my bad writing, but from the necessity of secrecy I have been compelled to inflict upon you this scrawl.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 4b.

FROM
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
February 3rd, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I was very much interested to receive your letter of the 12th: I also saw your maiden effort in dictation, of the same date, to the Secretary of State, which was enough to show that you are not wanting in the qualities of a dictator.

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Departmental system of work in India.

I am very glad to hear that you are taking up the subject of official papers, minuting, &c. It is *most* important. Your present system is, I suppose, the result of custom and practice, rather than that of rules and regulations, which will make it the more difficult to deal with. But in one way or another I am sure you may do much, and thereby confer an untold benefit on the Government of India, and in a less degree on the India Office. Immediately on receiving your letter I sent up to Lee-Warner for a specimen file: I chose his department, because the Secret papers, with which he deals, have a comparatively short and simple course, and do not go to Council, nor always to Committee. But he has not yet sent down what I wanted; and I think I shall perhaps, when I hear from him, add a specimen of that class of paper which goes through the whole mill. I am not at all sure that in this Office we bring out the capacities of the *junior* men as much as we ought: as a rule, the only minute on a paper is one which is written by the Head of the Department (the Secretary), or for which he, at any rate, and no one else, is responsible. This represents the opposite extreme to your practice. But you will hear from me again about this next week.

System in the India Office.

Sugar Duties.

Your telegram about countervailing duties was quite satisfactory: I suppose you will get the advance copy of the Despatch, which I sent to Lawrence, to-morrow or next day, but there is hardly anything in it which was not in the telegram, and I daresay you can begin making your arrangements without waiting for the Circular (enclosed in our Despatch) which tells you about the United States system. I hear from Ritchie that Lord George was rather horrified at your telegram on this subject coming *en clair*. I don't know whether he has said anything in his letter to you about it (I know he telegraphed).

Bishop Welldon.

Welldon has evidently made it impossible for you, or for the Secretary of State, to confer any new privilege on him at present: he will have to purge himself of his offences, committed before leaving these shores; and to that end I hope he will preach as much as possible, and speak and write as little as possible. His sermons are always good, and must increase the number of his admirers, which is apt to be reduced by his other performances, not *ex cathedra*.

Attitude towards "Railway enterprise."

There is a very big subject which is often in my mind. I shall now only just refer to it, and I do so because of some correspondence which has lately appeared in the papers: I mean the attitude of your Government towards "Railway enterprise." I hasten to say that, if that attitude is not what it should be, ours (India Office) is quite as unsatisfactory: Members of Council in this matter have the whip-hand of the Secretary of State, and it is extremely difficult to get them to take a broad or statesmanlike view of the proposals which are submitted to us. But our hands would be very much strengthened,—in fact, our policy would probably be greatly changed,—if you

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in India, instead of looking with jealousy upon the schemes which are submitted, and taking up, as a rule, an obstructive position, were to facilitate and encourage the work of promoters. Of course I am speaking of those promoters who do not ask for any Government guarantee. I think you will find that there is a tendency to report *against* new proposals, and to drive hard bargains, which I for one believe to be a very short-sighted policy. Certain it is that we have, between us, got into very bad odour in the City, and I must say I think we deserve it. Our delays are endless, and our replies generally unfavourable; or, if they are favourable, we are sure to quarrel over the terms of purchase by the State, or something of that kind. Of course all that I suggest is that you should keep an eye on this, and judge for yourself, as time goes on. It is the more important for us to get this matter right, if we are to have the gold standard, and (as we hope) to attract British capital.

The Viceroy's speeches.

I am very glad you have referred to this possibility of attracting capital in some of your speeches. All that you have said, on this and other topics, as reported in the newspaper telegrams, has seemed to me excellent: and Lord George expressed the same opinion to me a day or two ago.

Koweit.

Apparently we are going to war with Turkey about Koweit!

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 4c.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
February 7th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Lord Kitchener.

I omitted in my letter by the last mail to mention a subject about which I spoke to you, and to which you referred in reply to our

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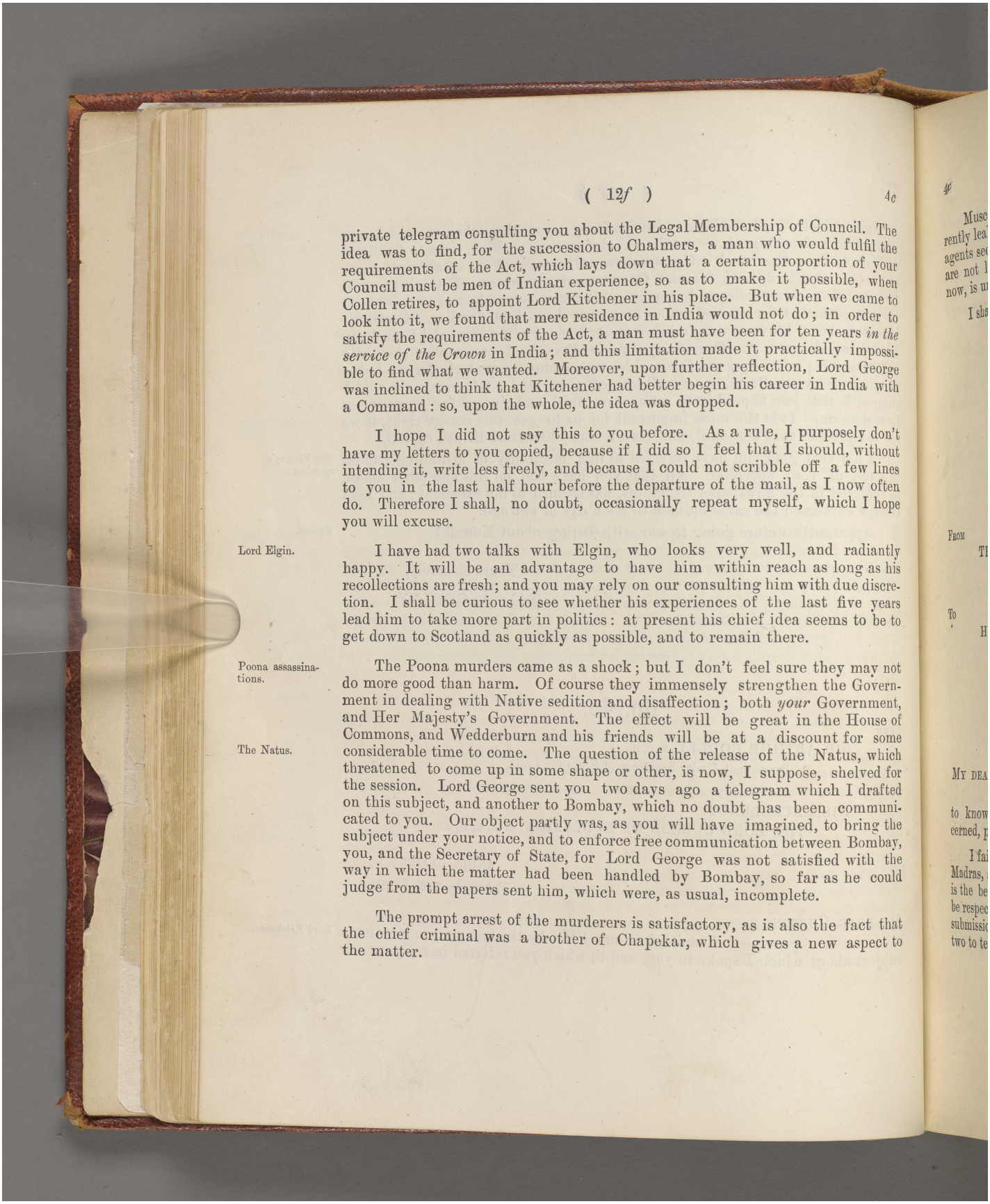

private telegram consulting you about the Legal Membership of Council. The idea was to find, for the succession to Chalmers, a man who would fulfil the requirements of the Act, which lays down that a certain proportion of your Council must be men of Indian experience, so as to make it possible, when Collen retires, to appoint Lord Kitchener in his place. But when we came to look into it, we found that mere residence in India would not do; in order to satisfy the requirements of the Act, a man must have been for ten years *in the service of the Crown* in India; and this limitation made it practically impossible to find what we wanted. Moreover, upon further reflection, Lord George was inclined to think that Kitchener had better begin his career in India with a Command: so, upon the whole, the idea was dropped.

I hope I did not say this to you before. As a rule, I purposely don't have my letters to you copied, because if I did so I feel that I should, without intending it, write less freely, and because I could not scribble off a few lines to you in the last half hour before the departure of the mail, as I now often do. Therefore I shall, no doubt, occasionally repeat myself, which I hope you will excuse.

Lord Elgin.

I have had two talks with Elgin, who looks very well, and radiantly happy. It will be an advantage to have him within reach as long as his recollections are fresh; and you may rely on our consulting him with due discretion. I shall be curious to see whether his experiences of the last five years lead him to take more part in politics: at present his chief idea seems to be to get down to Scotland as quickly as possible, and to remain there.

Poona assassinations.

The Poona murders came as a shock; but I don't feel sure they may not do more good than harm. Of course they immensely strengthen the Government in dealing with Native sedition and disaffection; both *your* Government, and Her Majesty's Government. The effect will be great in the House of Commons, and Wedderburn and his friends will be at a discount for some considerable time to come. The question of the release of the Natus, which threatened to come up in some shape or other, is now, I suppose, shelved for the session. Lord George sent you two days ago a telegram which I drafted on this subject, and another to Bombay, which no doubt has been communicated to you. Our object partly was, as you will have imagined, to bring the subject under your notice, and to enforce free communication between Bombay, you, and the Secretary of State, for Lord George was not satisfied with the way in which the matter had been handled by Bombay, so far as he could judge from the papers sent him, which were, as usual, incomplete.

The Natus.

The prompt arrest of the murderers is satisfactory, as is also the fact that the chief criminal was a brother of Chapekar, which gives a new aspect to the matter.

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Muscat seems likely to become rather interesting; everything has apparently leaked out, and is in the papers to-day. Both there and at Koweit our agents seem to have held rather loosely to their instructions. But the French are not likely to give serious trouble, though a rub of this kind, coming just now, is unfortunate. Muscat.

I shall send you some specimen files of papers next mail.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 5.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
February 10*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I was glad to get your letter of the 19th ultimo, and to know that all seems to be, so far as yourself and Lady Curzon are concerned, progressing happily and satisfactorily.

I failed, as I expected, to get the man I wanted from here to go to Madras, and therefore I readily acquiesced in your suggestion, which I think is the best arrangement that can be made, that Whitehead and Lefroy should be respectively assigned to the Bishoprics of Madras and the Punjab. The submissions have gone on to the Queen, and I hope in the course of a day or two to telegraph to you her approval. Bishoprics of Madras and Lahore.

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Bishop Welldon.

There was a short summary of, besides certain contexts from, Welldon's first sermon in the Cathedral. The sermon seemed to me fine, both in its conception and phraseology. I hope it has made some impression on those who heard it, and has removed the idea that a self-satisfied pedagogue was coming out to put everything straight in India. Welldon's humility of speech does not always correspond with his action: if you could only manage to assimilate the two, what a perfect Christian Bishop he would be.

Military Secretary at the India Office.

As regards the successor to Newmarch, my letter suggesting Stedman crossed a letter from Lockhart to Ritchie strongly advocating his claims to the reversion of the post. I do not hear a very good account of his health, but, provided that is not an insurmountable obstacle, I will certainly make to him the offer.

Lord Elgin's arrival in England.

The Elgins arrived on Monday last. He looked exceedingly well and robust, she very tired and drawn. It was an abominable day, blustering, cold, very wet and dark; but, notwithstanding unfavourable climatic conditions, there was a large gathering of Indian notables to welcome him, and he was evidently pleased at his reception. I had a long talk with him on Wednesday: he told me nothing that was new or very striking. I pressed him as to the necessity for, and his opinion on, the somewhat drastic measures

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

proposed in the Calcutta Municipal Bill for the reform of the present authority and procedure. He on the whole considered it to be necessary. I may be catechised concerning it in the House of Commons, as some official Liberals, such as Fowler and others, are rather concerned at what they believe to be the summary suppression of the representative element in the new executive body. It is a strong order to invert upon the Executive Council the proportion which the representative element bears to the nominated upon the Municipality, and this departure is, as you know, the reverse of what has been done in Bombay. It is essential that the new Executive should be effective and capable of overriding all obstruction, and, if you and Woodburn think that this cannot be effected except by the changes proposed, I will support you and fight the thing through if, as is almost certain, the question is raised in the House of Commons. But if you can secure the object which we all have in view, namely, the establishment of an effective Executive without so summarily curtailing the representative element, I think some concession of this kind would help you hereafter in dealing with the educated sections of the Hindus.

Poona assassinations.

The assassinations in Poona, accompanied as they have been by further outrages, make it quite clear that there is, as I have always suspected, a small but deep-rooted conspiracy in that town. The methods which the agitators have there pursued are singularly like those adopted in Ireland—an ostensible constitutional party, a virulent and seditious press writing on the border land of legality, and an inner circle of desperadoes. I

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have telegraphed to Sandhurst urging him to employ the best men at his disposal, and to spare neither money nor means in endeavouring to discover and stamp out the ramifications of the conspiracy. It looked as if there has been some communication between persons in Hyderabad and those in Poona, so that the delay in surrendering the brother of Chapekar would give sufficient time during which all the available witnesses against him might be put out of the way. Knowing as well as I do the condition of the Bombay Government, I am sure you will keep an eye on their proceedings, and take care, as far as you can, that they are not wanting in vigilance and determination. I understand that their police, and especially the detective part of it, are inefficient, inasmuch as they are so largely composed of Brahmins. I am further told that it is of no use drafting detectives from other districts, as the caste organisation prevents strangers from other parts of India from getting an intimate knowledge of what is going on in the locality to which they are sent. How far this objection is sound I cannot say, but I should not hesitate in a case of this kind to break through tradition and precedent, and, if you had some officer who you thought could be advantageously employed, to insist upon the Bombay Government utilising his services.

The Bombay Police.

Meade seems to me, in the action he has taken both at Koweit and at Muscat, to have somewhat exceeded his instructions. He was directed to make an agreement with the Sheikh of Koweit, if that potentate was not in danger of being attacked by the Turks. He makes the agreement with the Sheikh, and then immediately reports that a Turkish attack is probable. And, in a different way, at Muscat he went beyond his orders. He was not told to get in writing from the Sultan the cancellation of the lease to France of a coaling station: such a document raises in a disadvantageous form the question of the interpretation to be put upon the joint agreement of 1862, under which both Great Britain and France guarantee the independence of the Sultan. The difficulty of the situation largely arises from this joint agreement guaranteeing the independence of the Sultan being incompatible with the subsequent arrangement, or treaty, between us and him, by which he surrendered the independence assured him under the joint guarantee, and I think it would have been better tactics to have avoided bringing too prominently forward this difference, especially if it becomes the subject of international negotiation, or controversy, between us and France. The proposal to hoist the British flag over the ground in dispute seemed to me a better method of preventing the French from acquiring a coaling station. As Meade had gone so far, and as he thought it necessary to vindicate his position by using force if necessary, we sanctioned his proposals. I understand that the Sultan is very unpopular, and that his deposition, or removal, would be generally welcome to his subjects.

Koweit and Muscat: Major Meade's action.

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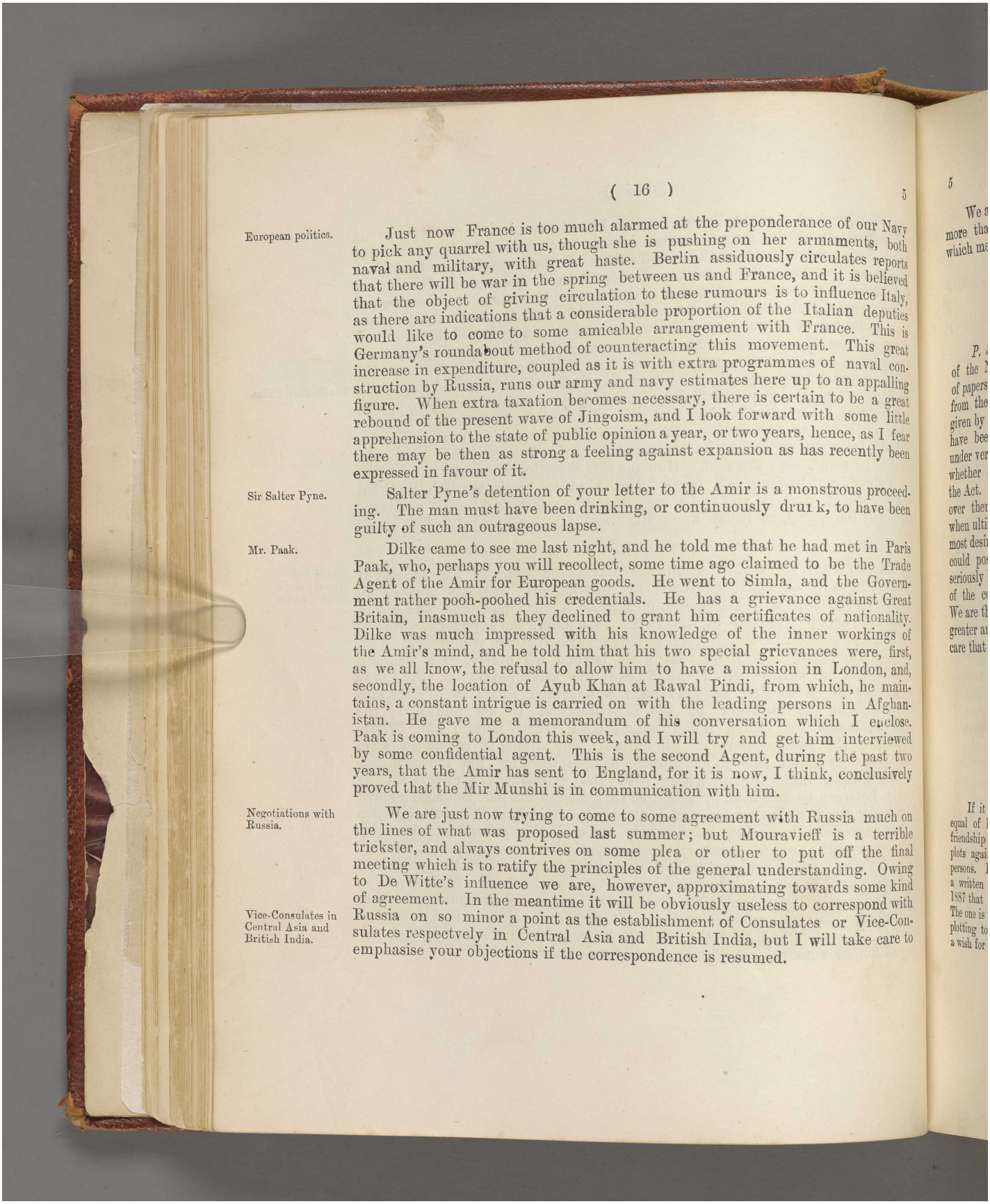

European politics.

Just now France is too much alarmed at the preponderance of our Navy to pick any quarrel with us, though she is pushing on her armaments, both naval and military, with great haste. Berlin assiduously circulates reports that there will be war in the spring between us and France, and it is believed that the object of giving circulation to these rumours is to influence Italy, as there are indications that a considerable proportion of the Italian deputies would like to come to some amicable arrangement with France. This is Germany's roundabout method of counteracting this movement. This great increase in expenditure, coupled as it is with extra programmes of naval construction by Russia, runs our army and navy estimates here up to an appalling figure. When extra taxation becomes necessary, there is certain to be a great rebound of the present wave of Jingoism, and I look forward with some little apprehension to the state of public opinion a year, or two years, hence, as I fear there may be then as strong a feeling against expansion as has recently been expressed in favour of it.

Sir Salter Pyne.

Salter Pyne's detention of your letter to the Amir is a monstrous proceeding. The man must have been drinking, or continuously drunk, to have been guilty of such an outrageous lapse.

Mr. Paak.

Dilke came to see me last night, and he told me that he had met in Paris Paak, who, perhaps you will recollect, some time ago claimed to be the Trade Agent of the Amir for European goods. He went to Simla, and the Government rather pooh-poohed his credentials. He has a grievance against Great Britain, inasmuch as they declined to grant him certificates of nationality. Dilke was much impressed with his knowledge of the inner workings of the Amir's mind, and he told him that his two special grievances were, first, as we all know, the refusal to allow him to have a mission in London, and, secondly, the location of Ayub Khan at Rawal Pindi, from which, he maintains, a constant intrigue is carried on with the leading persons in Afghanistan. He gave me a memorandum of his conversation which I enclose. Paak is coming to London this week, and I will try and get him interviewed by some confidential agent. This is the second Agent, during the past two years, that the Amir has sent to England, for it is now, I think, conclusively proved that the Mir Munshi is in communication with him.

Negotiations with Russia.

We are just now trying to come to some agreement with Russia much on the lines of what was proposed last summer; but Mouravieff is a terrible trickster, and always contrives on some plea or other to put off the final meeting which is to ratify the principles of the general understanding. Owing to De Witte's influence we are, however, approximating towards some kind of agreement. In the meantime it will be obviously useless to correspond with Russia on so minor a point as the establishment of Consulates or Vice-Consulates respectvely in Central Asia and British India, but I will take care to emphasise your objections if the correspondence is resumed.

Vice-Consulates in Central Asia and British India.

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We are now again at our old Parliamentary treadmill. The debates are more than usually dull: it is evident we are to have a theological session, which means a succession of violent and futile controversies. Parliament.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

P. S.—I was sorry to trouble you with a telegram about the detention of the Natus. We have just received from the Bombay Government a mass of papers which we should have had months ago. They consist of petitions from the Natus to the Bombay Government, and of replies and instructions given by the Government and the Collector. These do not always seem to have been very discreet. At present the Natus are practically on parole under very superficial police surveillance. Some of my legal advisers doubt whether detaining the men on parole is in accordance with the intention of the Act. Edge is decidedly of opinion that the surveillance now exercised over them is not illegal, and is justified by the Act. As the Natus are sure, when ultimately released, to bring an action against the Government, it is most desirable that every loophole should be stopped through which they could possibly obtain a verdict. Any successful action of this kind would seriously hamper the Government not only of Bombay but also of other parts of the country in having recourse to these regulations in time of emergency. We are therefore unanimously of opinion that it is most desirable that the greater and higher authority of your Government should be brought in to take care that the Bombay Government on this ticklish question make no slip. Detention of the Natus.

(Sd.) G. H.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

AFGHANISTAN.

NOTE BY MR. PAAK.

If it is impossible to give the Amir diplomatic representation to make him feel the equal of his inferior the Shah, then the only other purchase that can be made of his friendship is the removal of Ayub from Rawal Pindi where the Amir believes that he plots against him. The Amir states that he has been promised this by responsible persons. I believe he was, but they did not know the difficulty which was that we made a written condition with Ayub when he surrendered to General Maclean at Meshed in 1887 that he should have a house provided by us at Rawal Pindi. There are two ways out. The one is that if, as is probable with an Afghan, Ayub does plot, he should be removed for plotting to a pleasanter place of residence. The other is that he should be induced to express a wish for such removal.

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No. 6.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
February 16th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I was very glad to get your letter of the 26th ultimo, and to know that all is going well with you.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

Since I last wrote the debate on the Queen's speech has dragged wearily and monotonously on, relieved only by three very brilliant speeches by Arthur Balfour. The Calcutta Municipality Bill formed one subject of debate. I had more difficulty in dealing with it than is apparent from the report in the newspapers. Both Fowler and Courtney were disposed to attack violently the composition of the Executive Committee. I heard of this accidentally through the Speaker, and was enabled to keep them quiet by pointing out that I was in a judicial position, and that I could not take a strong line one way or the other, as I should in a short time have to decide whether the Bill should pass into law or not. This moderated their ardour, but, if the Bill passes in its present shape, I foresee a good deal of criticism and disapproval likely to arise in various parts of the House. This I can easily dispose of, but I think it will be well worth your while to consider whether you could not do something to conciliate the section of the public who are interested in India in the Bill. Fowler made a suggestion upon which I expressed no opinion, but it seemed to offer a solution both effective and reasonable, namely, to increase the proportions of the elected element upon the Executive, but reserving power to the Viceroy in an emergency, or fault, to vest the whole power of the Executive in the Chairman. Such a reservation of power will be a plain hint to the Baboo not to too unduly develop his powers of talking, and it might strengthen the hands of the more moderate Natives in restraining their more violent colleagues.

Sir F. Fryer.

I only saw Fryer once, but my impression of him entirely tallies with your own. Though his manners and demeanour generally were pleasant, he does not seem to me to have ingratiated himself with the Rangoon community. In the case of Major Parsons he undoubtedly perpetrated a job over which

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we have let him down as easily as we can. Elgin had a high opinion of the ability of his immediate subordinate, Smeaton, but was doubtful of his judgment and temper. — Mr. D. Smeaton.

I have had a question put to me about the complaints of the Corporation, and I answered to the effect that you were dealing with them.

Trevor did not strike me as a strong man, and I entirely agree with you that, if possible, a good Engineer ought to be put in charge of the Public Works Department. Originally the post was intended for Richard Strachey, and I brought in the Bill by which this office was created. But there was such opposition—I do not know why—to him in the House of Commons that the post was given to Sir Andrew Clarke, and he made such a mess of it that, from that time till now, with the single exception of Richard Strachey, no Engineer has held the post. A good Engineer is generally a very useful all-round man, and I am very pleased with Sir William Bisset, the late Secretary of the Public Works Department, who is now Government Director at the India Office: in ability, quickness of work, and determination he is certainly more than equal to the average Civilian on the Viceroy's Council. I do not know if you have anyone of the same stamp now in India, but I certainly think it worth considering whether Trevor's successor shall not be taken from the Works Department. — Public Works Member of Council.

The Amir's letter to you is most amusing, and the description of his inability to drive good manners into a Birmingham mechanic is very funny. Now that you have established friendly personal relations with him, I hope that you will be able to gradually bring about a better relation by approaching him with frankness and consideration, and ignoring the little financial pedantries and red-tapeisms of Departments in your dealings with him. It is quite clear, from some further papers we got from Constantinople, that the story of the treaty between him and Russia is a concoction. — The Amir. — His alleged treaty with Russia.

I had no idea that the system of departmental scribbling had reached the dimensions which you describe. It is obviously absurd for a junior clerk to write at length his opinion as to what the policy should be to be followed on a frontier question. As you point out, by this multiplication of documents the real issues are obscured. Each successive writer is obliged to differentiate to a certain extent from his predecessor, in order to justify him in writing a long memorandum himself. And when one is working under pressure nothing is more tiresome than to have one's time taken up in trying to unravel, out of these voluminous writings, the real point of difference and disagreement. Your Military Member is the best illustration I know of the evils of lengthy and unnecessary minuting. — Procedure in conduct of business in the Secretariat Departments.

As the Foreign Office are more interested than we are in the questions which have arisen in Koweit and Muscat, I have sent all the telegrams I have received from you to Lord Salisbury. He is a good deal annoyed, and I — Koweit and Muscat.

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Major Meade's action.

think justly, with the manner in which Meade has on two separate occasions outrun his instructions. Both at Koweit and at Muscat he has inserted a clause into the agreement with the Sheikh, as well as into the ultimatum to the Sultan, by which these respective potentates are to refuse to receive the representative of a foreign Government. And, in the case of Muscat, he has further misled us by sending home information to the effect that the lease of the coaling station was to the French Government and not to an individual. It seemed to me also quite unnecessary to insist upon the public cancellation of this lease. Now that we know the whole facts, I think it is clear that Article 17 of the Treaty of 1844 with the French gives a subject of that nationality a right to erect warehouses, and consequently I should say appliances for coaling, in Zanzibar territory, though I quite agree that the memorandum, explanatory of this article, limits it to matters of a purely commercial nature. I am afraid, therefore, we must climb down from our demands upon the Sultan. I hope we have frightened him, and that the lesson he has received may prevent him from further intriguing with the French. But the effect of these two negotiations at Koweit and Muscat has been somewhat unfortunate upon Lord Salisbury. His disposition has always been to attribute high-handedness and harshness to Indian politicals in their dealings with Native Princes, and what has recently passed will, I fear, confirm him in that view. It was for this reason that he was anxious to get Durand back to India. I assume that political work in the Persian Gulf is not very attractive, and the best men in the Political Service do not care, if they can avoid it, to be sent there. But I think it is desirable, if you have no better man than Meade, to give him a very distinct warning that he must, in questions of this international kind, where we may come face to face with Western civilised Powers, bear in mind the necessity of strictly adhering to the letter of his instructions. It seems to me also that we should have a stronger representative, if possible, at Muscat. Fagan does not seem to have served us very well, and he ought not to have let the Sultan so completely slip out of his hands..

Major Fagan.

Dholpur Health Institute.

I think you have acted very judiciously in extinguishing the Dholpur Jubilee Health Institute: I always had a little doubt as to the wisdom of promoting the scheme. Elgin assured me, however, that there was a genuine wish for the establishment of such an Institute amongst the Princes and educated Natives of India; but the risks attending its establishment seem to me to be too great to be worth encountering, unless we are confident we have strong popular sentiment behind us. This, it is quite evident, does not at present exist.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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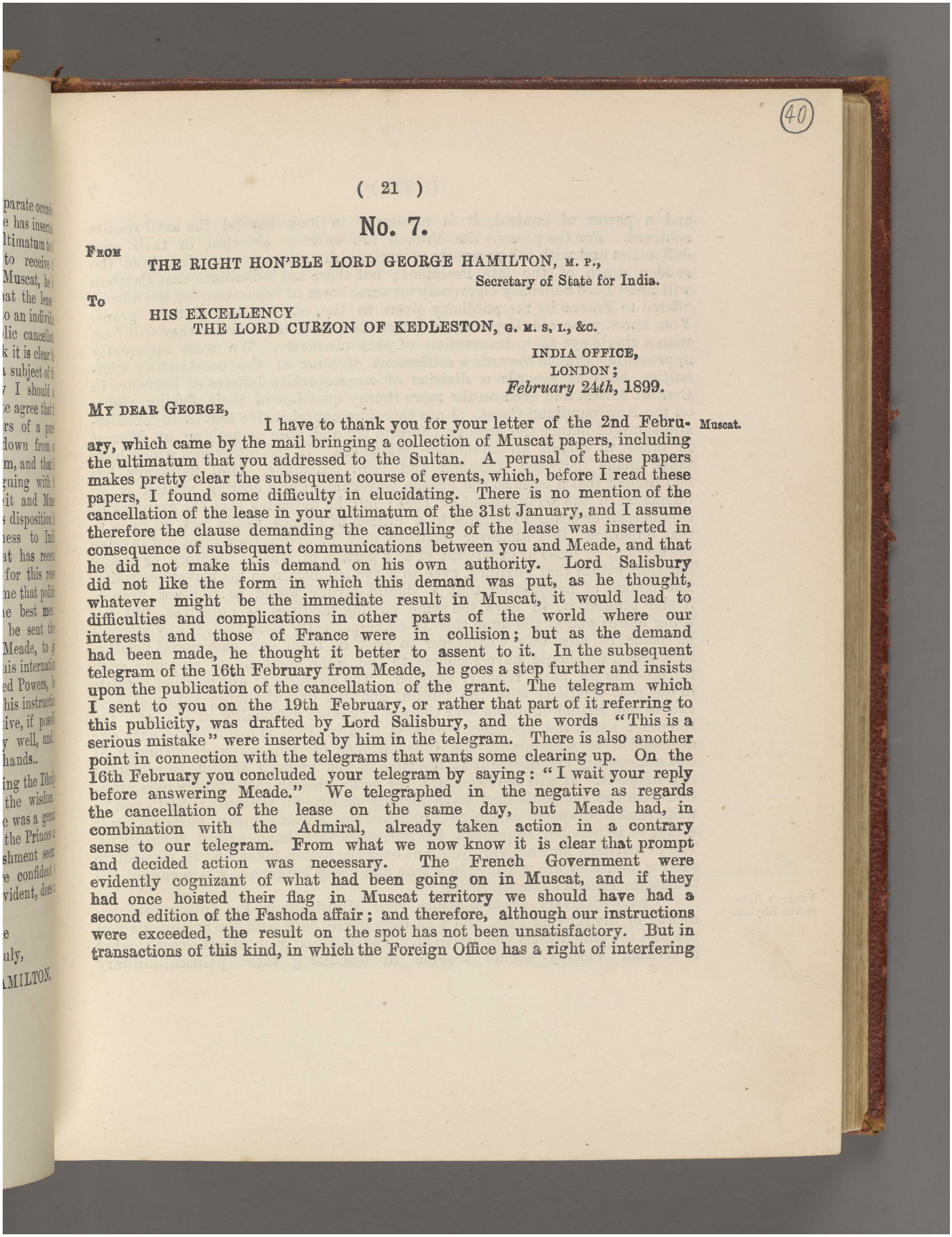

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No. 7.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
February 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 2nd February, which came by the mail bringing a collection of Muscat papers, including the ultimatum that you addressed to the Sultan. A perusal of these papers makes pretty clear the subsequent course of events, which, before I read these papers, I found some difficulty in elucidating. There is no mention of the cancellation of the lease in your ultimatum of the 31st January, and I assume therefore the clause demanding the cancelling of the lease was inserted in consequence of subsequent communications between you and Meade, and that he did not make this demand on his own authority. Lord Salisbury did not like the form in which this demand was put, as he thought, whatever might be the immediate result in Muscat, it would lead to difficulties and complications in other parts of the world where our interests and those of France were in collision; but as the demand had been made, he thought it better to assent to it. In the subsequent telegram of the 16th February from Meade, he goes a step further and insists upon the publication of the cancellation of the grant. The telegram which I sent to you on the 19th February, or rather that part of it referring to this publicity, was drafted by Lord Salisbury, and the words "This is a serious mistake" were inserted by him in the telegram. There is also another point in connection with the telegrams that wants some clearing up. On the 16th February you concluded your telegram by saying: "I wait your reply before answering Meade." We telegraphed in the negative as regards the cancellation of the lease on the same day, but Meade had, in combination with the Admiral, already taken action in a contrary sense to our telegram. From what we now know it is clear that prompt and decided action was necessary. The French Government were evidently cognizant of what had been going on in Muscat, and if they had once hoisted their flag in Muscat territory we should have had a second edition of the Fashoda affair; and therefore, although our instructions were exceeded, the result on the spot has not been unsatisfactory. But in transactions of this kind, in which the Foreign Office has a right of interfering

Muscat.

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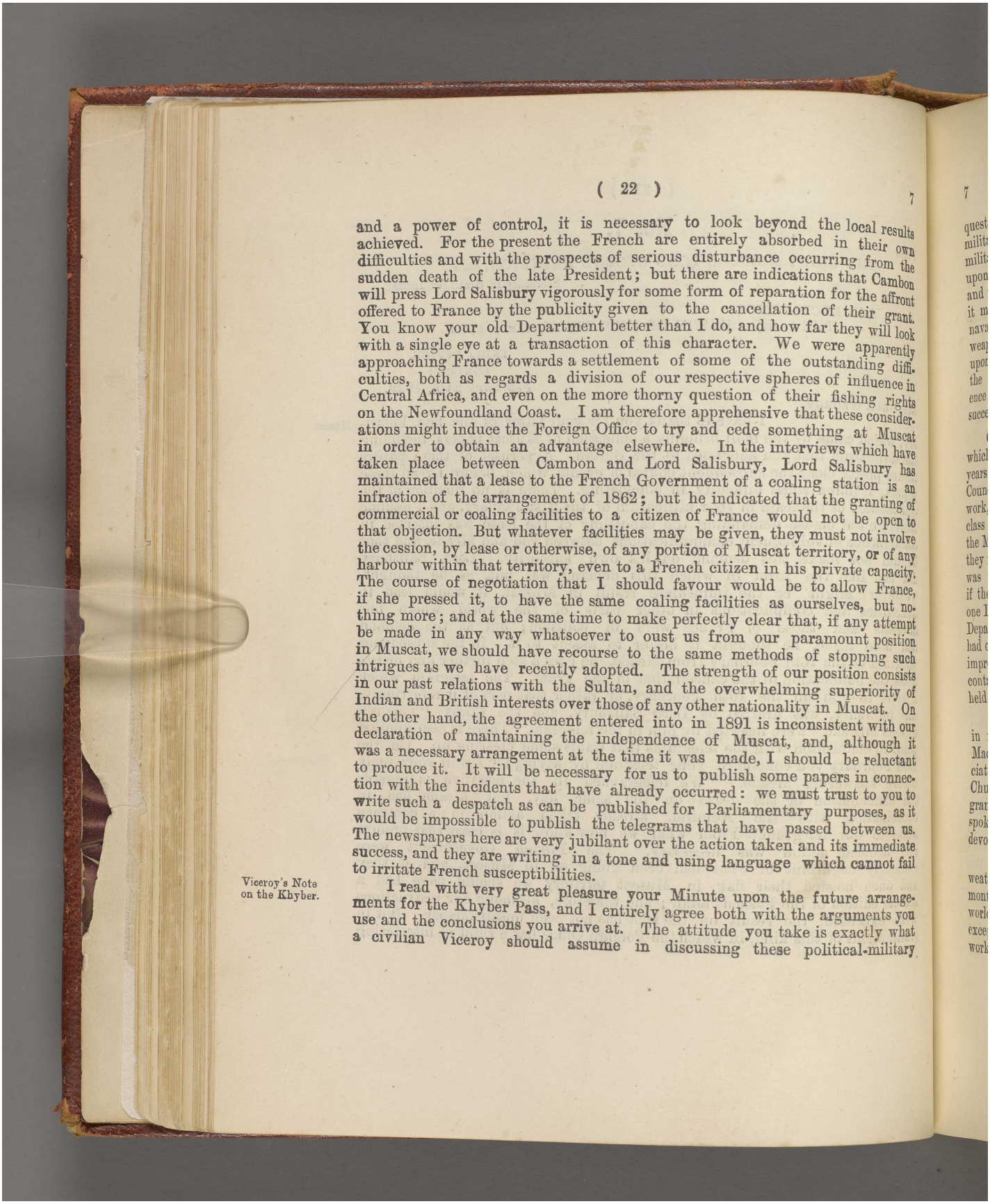

and a power of control, it is necessary to look beyond the local results achieved. For the present the French are entirely absorbed in their own difficulties and with the prospects of serious disturbance occurring from the sudden death of the late President; but there are indications that Cambon will press Lord Salisbury vigorously for some form of reparation for the affront offered to France by the publicity given to the cancellation of their grant. You know your old Department better than I do, and how far they will look with a single eye at a transaction of this character. We were apparently approaching France towards a settlement of some of the outstanding difficulties, both as regards a division of our respective spheres of influence in Central Africa, and even on the more thorny question of their fishing rights on the Newfoundland Coast. I am therefore apprehensive that these considerations might induce the Foreign Office to try and cede something at Muscat in order to obtain an advantage elsewhere. In the interviews which have taken place between Cambon and Lord Salisbury, Lord Salisbury has maintained that a lease to the French Government of a coaling station is an infraction of the arrangement of 1862; but he indicated that the granting of commercial or coaling facilities to a citizen of France would not be open to that objection. But whatever facilities may be given, they must not involve the cession, by lease or otherwise, of any portion of Muscat territory, or of any harbour within that territory, even to a French citizen in his private capacity. The course of negotiation that I should favour would be to allow France, if she pressed it, to have the same coaling facilities as ourselves, but nothing more; and at the same time to make perfectly clear that, if any attempt be made in any way whatsoever to oust us from our paramount position in Muscat, we should have recourse to the same methods of stopping such intrigues as we have recently adopted. The strength of our position consists in our past relations with the Sultan, and the overwhelming superiority of Indian and British interests over those of any other nationality in Muscat. On the other hand, the agreement entered into in 1891 is inconsistent with our declaration of maintaining the independence of Muscat, and, although it was a necessary arrangement at the time it was made, I should be reluctant to produce it. It will be necessary for us to publish some papers in connection with the incidents that have already occurred: we must trust to you to write such a despatch as can be published for Parliamentary purposes, as it would be impossible to publish the telegrams that have passed between us. The newspapers here are very jubilant over the action taken and its immediate success, and they are writing in a tone and using language which cannot fail to irritate French susceptibilities.

Viceroy's Note on the Khyber.

I read with very great pleasure your Minute upon the future arrangements for the Khyber Pass, and I entirely agree both with the arguments you use and the conclusions you arrive at. The attitude you take is exactly what a civilian Viceroy should assume in discussing these political-military

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questions. You pulverise and annihilate the reasons given for this heavy military expenditure. These frontier questions are more political than military, yet the only persons besides the Viceroy who express an opinion upon them are military officers; and my experience is that both naval and military men generally look at a question, no matter how far-reaching it may be, according to the prevalent fad or prejudice of the moment. With naval men this takes the form of urging large expenditure on the latest weapon of destruction: with military men it assumes the form of enlarging upon whatever may be the latest strategical idea, which generally means the occupation in force of some position or place which a few months' experience proves to be dominated by some point elsewhere. I wish you equal success in your dealing with Samana, Tochi, and the Swat Valley.

Departmental system of work in India.

Confirming your criticism upon the method of Government in India by which Heads of Departments do their work away from their offices, we had two years ago a most curious discussion in Council. I wanted to give Members of Council Private Secretaries, as I thought that would relieve them from routine work, and enable them to give more time for thinking over questions of first class importance. I found that the prevailing idea on the Council was that the Members of Council were not personally responsible for the Departments they represented on the Council, and that the real Head of the Department was the Secretary. I strongly contested that theory, and I pointed out that, if there was any serious mishap associated with the administration of any one Department, unquestionably the Member of Council in charge of that Department, and not the Secretary, would be held responsible here for what had occurred. If, as I assume, you agree with my view, I hope you will impress it upon your Councillors, and thus induce them to be in daily personal contact with those branches of the administration for which they should be held personally responsible.

Mr Whitehead's appointment as Bishop of Madras.

The Protestant agitation against ritualistic theories and ceremonies is still in full swing, and is being directed against me for appointing Whitehead to Madras. It appears he is more than High Church, and that some of his associates in this country indulge in practices extremely similar to those of the Church of Rome. I have been therefore obliged to trouble you with a telegram on the matter. Apart from questions of ritual, I have always heard him spoken of as the ablest ecclesiastic in India, and a man of real piety and devotion to his work.

Crop prospects.

I am sorry to hear that your crop prospects are not satisfactory. The weather has been so queer in this part of the world during the last eight months that it really seems as if the meteorological arrangements of the world have got out of gear. I am rather inclined to doubt if there are now, except in the Punjab, any large tracts of land in India where large irrigation works will be beneficial. I was Chairman of a Committee some twenty

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years ago that sat for two years upon this subject, and, although the conclusions we arrived at have frequently been contested, they have never been upset.

Illness of Members of the Government.

There has been an epidemic of illness which has affected certain Members of the Government. Chamberlain is ill with the influenza and gout, and both Goschen and Beach are showing evident signs of work and worry. We are none of us getting younger, and I am afraid one ages more rapidly under perpetual political work than in any other vocation one can follow.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 7a.

FROM
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
February 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Muscat.

At the moment when I write, Muscat overshadows other Indian questions, but I hope that what has happened there is not likely to have any serious results. The newspapers here attribute our prompt action to your personal influence, and most of them highly approve: the *Times*, as you will see, had a very bellicose article two or three days ago. But I am rather unhappy about it myself: and for what seems to me to have gone wrong I blame the Foreign Office, which certainly has not spoken with one voice, or adhered to one policy. At present we are awaiting your reply as to the nature of the arrangement under which we keep coal at Muscat; whatever it is, it seems to me that we might as well have offered to acquiesce in the concession of similar privileges to the French; for, in the first place, if they demand this (as seems likely), I do not see how we are to oppose it; and, in the second place, I cannot perceive much reason to object to their getting a depôt, provided that they can neither fortify it nor hoist their flag there. So long as we command the sea, the only result, in case of war, of the creation of such a depôt would be that the French would have to choose between

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destroying their store of coal and letting us appropriate it; for I presume that in such an event we should not respect the "neutrality and independence" of the Sultan. Meanwhile, a *coup d'épingle* has been administered to the French, and our Chauvinists are again to the front.

Residents in the Persian Gulf.

I think Lord George is writing to you about the recruitment of, and tenure of office by, our Residents in the Persian Gulf. There seems to be a general opinion here that we suffer from the fact that frequent changes are made, and that our men do not, as a rule, know Arabic. It is a complaint which I have, of course, often heard before; but the other day it was brought up again by Captain Baker, R. N., late of the *Sphinx*, who was sent here by Mr. Goschen to see Lord George and myself. He spoke highly of Fagan and Meade, evidently liked them both, and generally approved what they had done; but, being led on to discourse further, he spoke strongly of the disadvantage under which they lay compared with such a man as the French Resident at Muscat, who has been there a long time (and will stay on), knows every one in the place, speaks Arabic well, and goes in and out as he pleases. Recent events seem to point this moral pretty clearly. I wonder what you think about it? I confess it seems to me that some change is required, *e.g.*, either that the Foreign Office should take over these posts, or else that you should create a class of specially qualified men, speaking Arabic, who would be told that they must spend a good long time in the Persian Gulf, and would be paid accordingly. This last alternative would be an expensive one; but even so it would be preferable to the present state of things.

Position of Judges in India.

We are trying to improve the position of your Judges as to salary, leave, and pension, with the view of getting better candidates from England, but we are confronted with this difficulty:—Council, whose assent is necessary, will not agree except on condition that a limit is fixed, say at 60 years of age, for the tenure of office by Judges. As to the desirability of fixing such a limit every one is agreed; but Lord George is told that there is no chance of getting a Bill to that effect through the House of Commons, as the Barristers' Trades Union would oppose tooth and nail, fearing lest this salutary reform, or something like it, should be extended to the English Judgeships, to which they all hope in their turns to succeed. It remains therefore to be seen whether the desired effect can be produced in any other way, by a change in the regulations, and this, though doubtful, does not seem to be hopeless.

Sir C. Paul.

Talking of that, I hope you are going to give Paul a quiet hint to retire. Chalmers has often referred to him in his letter to me, and always in a strain which led me to suppose that he would welcome any step on the part of the Secretary of State tending to cut short Paul's career. I think that the last expression he used about it was that it was "a public scandal." But when Lord George, encouraged by Sir J. Edge (who feels strongly about it), telegraphed that he was prepared to act, Chalmers, to my surprise, protested,

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You, however, in a letter to Lord George, spoke of intimating to Paul that he had better set his house in order, and I trust that you mean to do it.

Position of the Legal and Finance Members.

I wish we could do something to improve the position of those Members of your Council who are not Indian civilians or soldiers, *i.e.*, the Legal Member always, and sometimes the Finance Member, *e.g.*, Dawkins. A chance has lately brought the matter under the consideration of a large Committee (eight in number) of Members of Council, and I was pleased, and rather surprised, to find that they were *all* in favour of granting money, if required, for this purpose. No definite plan was before them, and no resolution was passed; but I should like to strike, if possible, while the iron is hot. Can you make any suggestion? I am afraid it is of no use to raise the pay, because, whatever it is, Indian society will expect them to spend it, and they will probably comply. But a pension would make a great difference: only that seems to imply a longer tenure of office than five years. The subject is important, for I know well by experience how difficult it is to get good men: and it is getting more difficult.

Deficit in England: prospects of the Government.

After 17 years in the public service I find that my politics—like those of Sir James Stephen, when he, being Colonial Under Secretary, was asked what party he belonged to—are generally those of a *Ministerialist*: apart from the natural tendency towards Conservatism which is as much an incident of my time of life as baldness or defective vision. This being so, I regret sincerely that the Government seem to have some rather serious difficulties before them. The prospect of a deficit of four millions (tell it not in Gath) is rather appalling; and if they raise the beer duty and the income-tax, they will deeply offend a great many of their best friends. It is my belief that the poorer and most numerous classes of income-tax-payers, knowing that the country is prosperous and the revenue elastic, are rather hoping for a remission; and if, instead, they find the duty put up, there will be a great row. From what I have heard privately the Government are likely to have no choice but to do what I have mentioned (this I say of course between ourselves); and it will give the Opposition a great opportunity. Also the Municipal Bill will, I suppose, unite the Opposition in resistance: and it affords much occasion for obstruction. Lastly, the retirement of Harcourt and the election of Campbell Bannerman seem to have strengthened the minority very considerably. Of course, nothing can turn the Government out, but, if they are weakened and discredited, it will affect their policy in all the departments; and you and I, in our respective big and little spheres, shall feel it. But I hope for better things.

I hardly know why I should inflict on you these views of the man in the street.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

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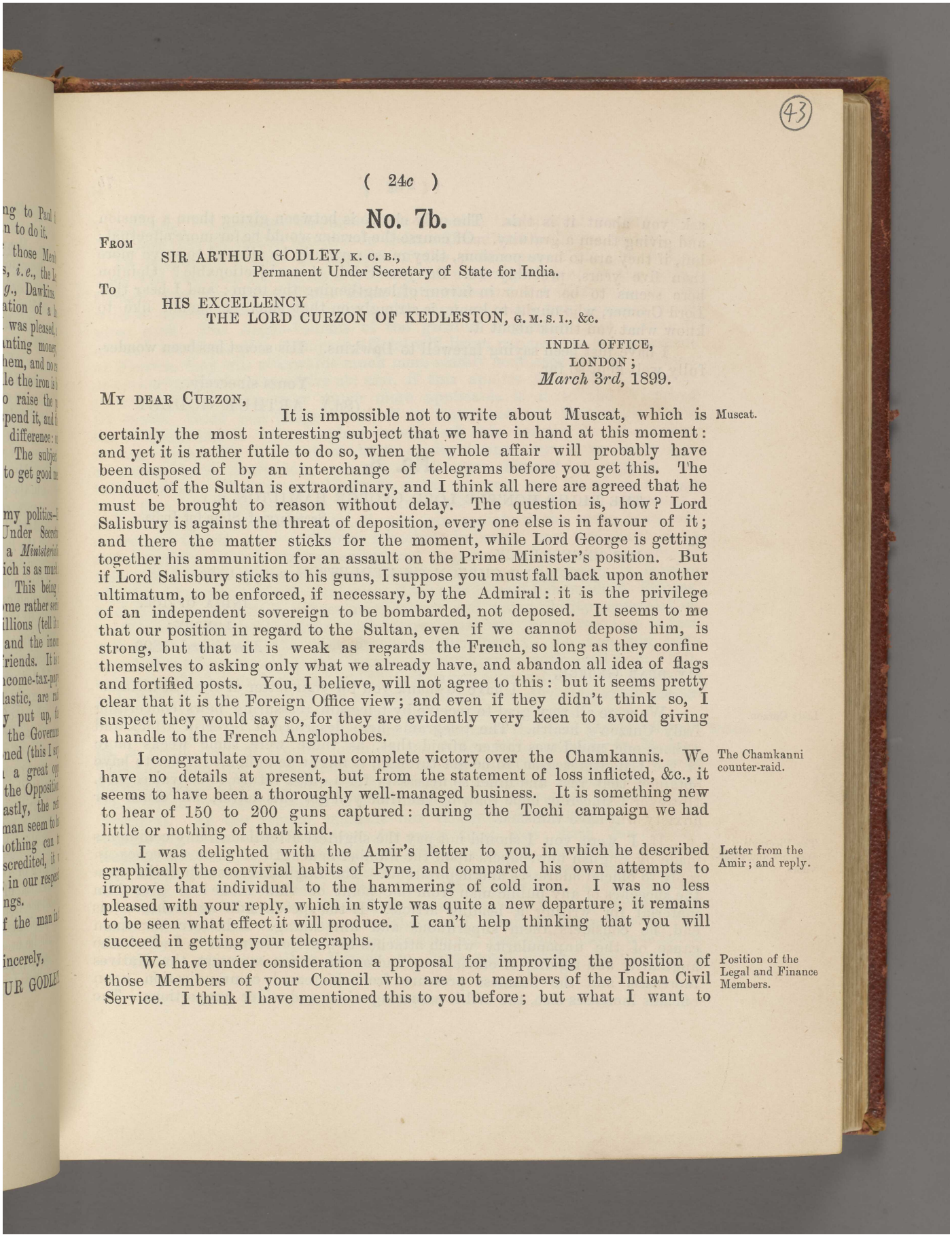

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No. 7b.

FROM
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
March 3rd, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

It is impossible not to write about Muscat, which is certainly the most interesting subject that we have in hand at this moment: and yet it is rather futile to do so, when the whole affair will probably have been disposed of by an interchange of telegrams before you get this. The conduct of the Sultan is extraordinary, and I think all here are agreed that he must be brought to reason without delay. The question is, how? Lord Salisbury is against the threat of deposition, every one else is in favour of it; and there the matter sticks for the moment, while Lord George is getting together his ammunition for an assault on the Prime Minister's position. But if Lord Salisbury sticks to his guns, I suppose you must fall back upon another ultimatum, to be enforced, if necessary, by the Admiral: it is the privilege of an independent sovereign to be bombarded, not deposed. It seems to me that our position in regard to the Sultan, even if we cannot depose him, is strong, but that it is weak as regards the French, so long as they confine themselves to asking only what we already have, and abandon all idea of flags and fortified posts. You, I believe, will not agree to this: but it seems pretty clear that it is the Foreign Office view; and even if they didn't think so, I suspect they would say so, for they are evidently very keen to avoid giving a handle to the French Anglophobes. Muscat.

I congratulate you on your complete victory over the Chamkannis. We have no details at present, but from the statement of loss inflicted, &c., it seems to have been a thoroughly well-managed business. It is something new to hear of 150 to 200 guns captured: during the Tochi campaign we had little or nothing of that kind. The Chamkanni counter-raid.

I was delighted with the Amir's letter to you, in which he described graphically the convivial habits of Pyne, and compared his own attempts to improve that individual to the hammering of cold iron. I was no less pleased with your reply, which in style was quite a new departure; it remains to be seen what effect it will produce. I can't help thinking that you will succeed in getting your telegraphs. Letter from the Amir; and reply.

We have under consideration a proposal for improving the position of those Members of your Council who are not members of the Indian Civil Service. I think I have mentioned this to you before; but what I want to Position of the Legal and Finance Members.

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ask you about it is this. The only choice is between giving them a pension and giving them a gratuity. Of course the former would be far more effectual; but, if they are to have pensions, they must certainly be allowed to serve more than five years, probably 10. Do you think this objectionable? Opinion here seems to be rather in favour of lengthening the term; and I hear that Lord Cromer, who ought to know, is strongly on that side. I should like to know what you think about it.

I have just been saying farewell to Dawkins. His secret has been wonderfully well kept so far.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 8.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
March 3rd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 9th ultimo.

Lady Curzon.

We were all very glad to receive by telegram reassuring news concerning Lady Curzon's health. The telegrams here described a feverish attack and a sharp one, and I was rather afraid that, as there were some weeks more of the Calcutta season to be got through, it might be difficult for her to have obtained that rest and quiet so necessary for a quick return to convalescence. However I sincerely hope that, by the time you get this letter, all cause for anxiety will have vanished.

The Viceroy's speeches and interviews.

If I were you I should not pay the slightest attention to any comments made by English newspapers upon the number or length of your speeches in reply to official addresses and deputations. The English Pressman looks upon the speeches of any public man from one point of view alone: to give him material for writing a leading article. If the speeches do not achieve this end, he considers them superfluous and unmeaning. I believe the main cause of the unpopularity which attaches to our Government in India is the angularity and rigidity of officialdom, and as education amongst the Natives increases, and the business pressure from increased communication upon officials increases also, the evil is assuming wider and wider proportions. The

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Viceroy can, if he chooses, entrench himself behind this official reserve; but if he does that the Native interests in India will find that he has no personality of his own, and is a mere mouthpiece of the permanent officials in India. They will then look for redress elsewhere, and naturally appeal to the latent though superior powers of the Home Authorities and of Parliament. I say without flattery that I think your replies and speeches have already done great good. The Anglo-Indians of the greatest experience and judgment all tell me that, if a European official will listen patiently to the statement of Natives, they will afterwards much more readily acquiesce in any decision or determination he may arrive at; and, if this applies to persons in lower spheres of authority, how much more applicable is it to the Viceroy! Of course there is a danger that, if a man does not thoroughly know his subject, and is not complete master of his tongue, he may when coming personally in contact with a deputation, by some incautious or unconsidered expression, commit or hamper himself as regards his future actions. This is not likely to occur to you, and therefore I only hope that you will continue to receive both deputations and addresses; and I am quite confident that, if you can maintain the same tone and discretion which your previous speeches indicate, you will have done real material service in strengthening and popularising our whole system of rule. And if this applies to Natives directly under our dominion, it is more effective when you come to deal with Native and semi-independent Princes. Such a course of action places more labour and responsibility personally on the Viceroy, when he dispenses with intermediary aid and comes face to face with individuals; and the main drawback, therefore, to the line you have sketched out for yourself is that it puts so much more work upon you. But, subject to that consideration, and that it is not an overdrain upon your time and strength, I am sure that you are renovating in the direction where change is most desirable: respect and affection for our system of rule.

Muscat.

I have had, as you can gather from the telegrams that have passed between us, a great deal of trouble here in connection with our policy in Muscat. This Office and the Foreign Office look at the questions raised from very different points of view, and, when the result of the action taken is to affect the interests or susceptibilities of a Western power, our views become more divergent. At the present moment our relations with France are more satisfactory than they have been for some time past: both Cambon and Delcassé have adopted an attitude of moderation and conciliation towards us. There are impending negotiations of magnitude as regards the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Newfoundland. They have taken your prompt and peremptory action in Muscat, by which their coaling cession was cancelled, much more quietly than we anticipated. There is I think a unanimous feeling not only in this Office, but also in the Cabinet, that under these conditions we cannot refuse to allow France to have some coaling facilities, but

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we also strongly feel that whatever concession of this kind is made should be done in such a way as not to counteract the effect of your action or in any way to lower our influence and prestige in Muscat. And it was for that reason that I made the suggestion as to the procedure to be adopted in connection with the cession of coaling sheds to France. But the recalcitrant attitude of the Sultan, as revealed in your telegram, raises a more serious question. My disposition on receiving that telegram was to send to you intimation that the deposition of the Sultan must be considered; but the Foreign Office contend in the strongest way that any such action would be a distinct violation of the treaty of 1862. I believe that your reading of the agreement is the correct one, namely, that it guarantees the independence of the throne but not the personal occupation of it. If the Foreign Office interpretation is right, we have systematically, during the past twenty years, infringed the spirit of the agreement. I think the Law Officers will endorse your view, and I am having a case drawn up to be submitted to them, and, if their opinion is favourable, I will then endeavour to get the assent of the Government to giving you the necessary authority to apply further pressure to the Sultan, and if necessary to depose him. I entirely agree with you that we cannot allow this petty potentate to defy us. I believe Godley by the last mail wrote to you of some conversation which he had with Captain Baker, who commanded the *Sphinx* for three years in the Persian Gulf. In my interview he was very loyal to the Political Officials with whom he had acted; but it is quite evident that Fagan is not quite up to the mark, for it is ridiculous that our Agent, with the purse strings in his hand and our fleet behind him, cannot counteract the personal intrigues of the French Consul who has neither of these advantages to aid him. It seems to me essential that our Agents in the Persian Gulf should, if possible, speak out so as to come in direct personal communication with those Chiefs with whom they have to deal. I have an instinctive distrust of Munshis, and I do not hear at all a good account of the individual who acts in that capacity to Fagan.

Political Agents in the Persian Gulf.

Our views concerning the Calcutta Municipality Bill have crossed: they seem very much to coincide. My objection to the present Bill is that not only does it put upon Europeans the onus of municipal government in Calcutta, but, if it is to form a precedent, it would put a similar duty on Englishmen in every fresh municipality that may be created in Bengal. The more I think over Fowler's suggestion, namely, to increase the Native element on the Executive Committee, and to put in a suspensory clause by which that Committee could be declared in default, or suspended in any emergency, the more I like it. The presence of plague would be an excuse for inserting this autocratic power in this Bill, and it could be made subsequently a precedent for all Bills of a similar character. Elgin, as you know, was in a position of considerable difficulty as to the course he should take upon Mackenzie's proposals. The relations between them were strained, and he

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

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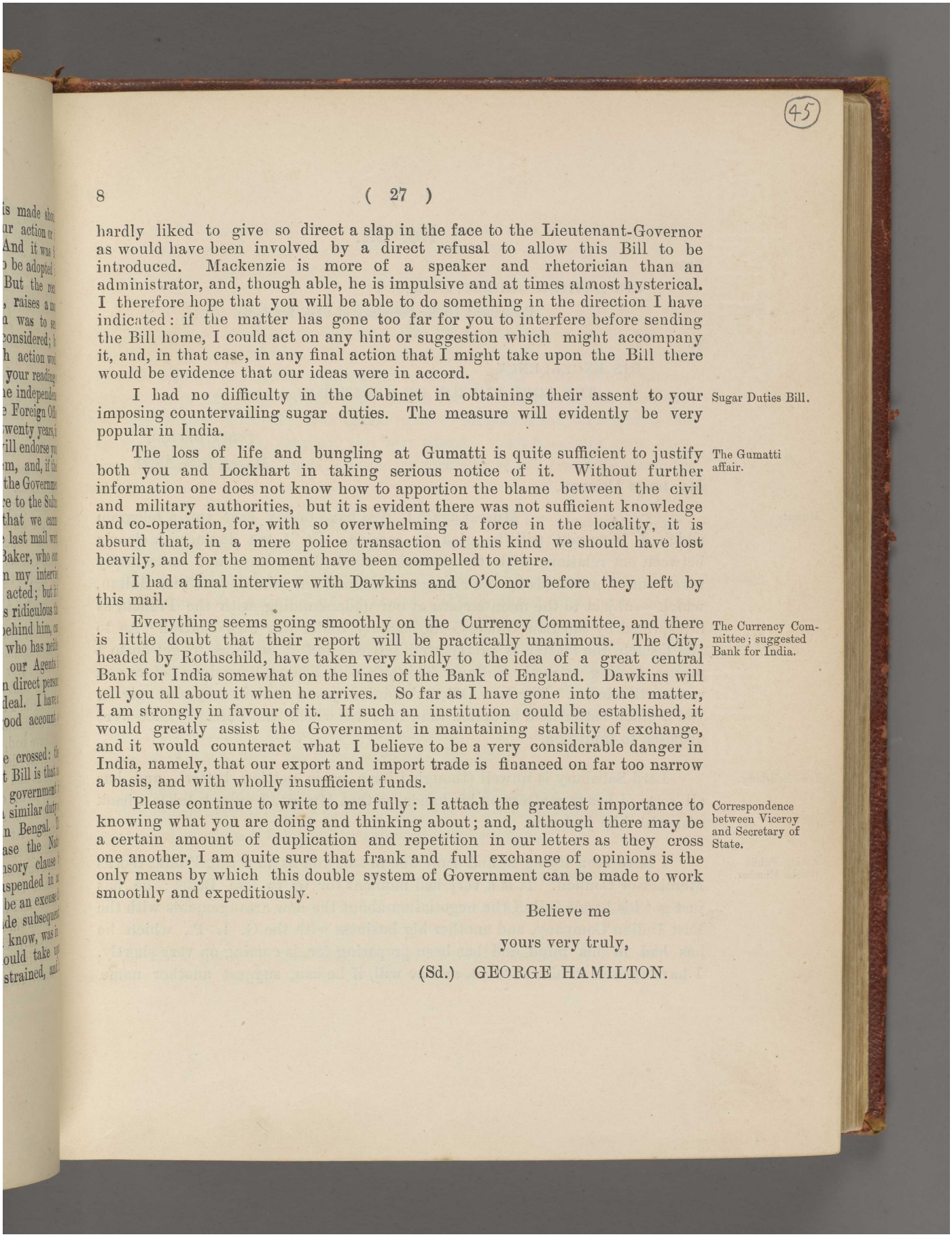

hardly liked to give so direct a slap in the face to the Lieutenant-Governor as would have been involved by a direct refusal to allow this Bill to be introduced. Mackenzie is more of a speaker and rhetorician than an administrator, and, though able, he is impulsive and at times almost hysterical. I therefore hope that you will be able to do something in the direction I have indicated: if the matter has gone too far for you to interfere before sending the Bill home, I could act on any hint or suggestion which might accompany it, and, in that case, in any final action that I might take upon the Bill there would be evidence that our ideas were in accord.

Sugar Duties Bill.

I had no difficulty in the Cabinet in obtaining their assent to your imposing countervailing sugar duties. The measure will evidently be very popular in India.

The Gumatti affair.

The loss of life and bungling at Gumatti is quite sufficient to justify both you and Lockhart in taking serious notice of it. Without further information one does not know how to apportion the blame between the civil and military authorities, but it is evident there was not sufficient knowledge and co-operation, for, with so overwhelming a force in the locality, it is absurd that, in a mere police transaction of this kind we should have lost heavily, and for the moment have been compelled to retire.

I had a final interview with Dawkins and O'Conor before they left by this mail.

The Currency Committee; suggested Bank for India.

Everything seems going smoothly on the Currency Committee, and there is little doubt that their report will be practically unanimous. The City, headed by Rothschild, have taken very kindly to the idea of a great central Bank for India somewhat on the lines of the Bank of England. Dawkins will tell you all about it when he arrives. So far as I have gone into the matter, I am strongly in favour of it. If such an institution could be established, it would greatly assist the Government in maintaining stability of exchange, and it would counteract what I believe to be a very considerable danger in India, namely, that our export and import trade is financed on far too narrow a basis, and with wholly insufficient funds.

Correspondence between Viceroy and Secretary of State.

Please continue to write to me fully: I attach the greatest importance to knowing what you are doing and thinking about; and, although there may be a certain amount of duplication and repetition in our letters as they cross one another, I am quite sure that frank and full exchange of opinions is the only means by which this double system of Government can be made to work smoothly and expeditiously.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 8a.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
March 10th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Muscat. Muscat again! We have to-day sent you a telegram which I hope you will be glad to receive. In it we distinguish clearly between our relations with the French, which have been not unnaturally taken out of our hands by the Foreign Office, and our relations with the Sultan, which—subject to the maintenance of our understanding with the French, as interpreted by the Law Officers,—are mainly under our own control. As to the French, the matter is pretty well settled; but it remains to get on to a proper footing with the Sultan. This you will, I hope, have done before you receive this letter. The Law Officers' opinion was a satisfactory one, giving you a much better field of action than that to which the Foreign Office were disposed to limit you.

Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury is unwell (though I hope he is getting better), and has all sorts of heavy matters on his hands, so that Muscat, I expect, takes a back seat with him just now.

Acting Public Works Member. I have been trying to find some one to suit you as an acting Public Works Member of Council. It is a very bad moment for us to lose Bisset: he has just got his hands full of the negotiation about the new arrangements with the East Indian Company, and another big business with the G. I. P., which he has had in his mind and has been preparing for, is coming on very shortly. I have spoken to him about it, and he will, if he can, suggest another name

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but I am afraid it is doubtful if any other competent man, qualified under the Act of Parliament, is to be found in this country. We sent you a telegram stating the difficulties about Bisset, and will send you another in a day or two.

The *Bundhara* case.

You will see, when you get the papers, that the Foreign Office have sent A. Hardinge a wigging, calling upon him for an explanation of an apparent discrepancy in his telegrams. When he was fighting the *Bundhara*, he declared it to be wholly impossible and absurd to turn a certain island into a quarantine station as suggested by us. This was in the excitement of the moment; but, afterwards, when he was called upon to propose a site for a quarantine station in cold blood, he proposed this very island. Lord Salisbury now asks, more in sorrow than in anger, what is the meaning of this? and we pause for a reply.

Sugar Duties Bill.

This is the day on which you are introducing your Countervailing Duties Bill; it will be very interesting to see the effect in this country.

Lord Elgin.

You would have been greatly amused if you could have heard Warre, with whom I dined and slept at Eton yesterday, talking about Elgin, who, as you know, was his pupil, and is evidently, in Warre's eyes, his pupil still. Elgin had been down to see him; and Warre, quite gravely and in a matter of fact style, described the improvement wrought in him by his recent tenure of office, just in the words in which he would speak of a clever but shy boy, who left his boarding house last summer, and after two terms at Oxford had come down to Eton with his mind "improved and enlarged." "I thought him so much "come on in every way; his views widened," &c., &c.

I came yesterday upon a passage in an old number of the Oxford Magazine which I cannot help inclosing to you; but I am sure that, if the master quoted such a sentiment, he did not fail to express his disapproval.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

Sir C. Paul.

P. S.—I am very glad that you have brought matters to a crisis with Paul.

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No. 9.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'LE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
March 10th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th ultimo.

Finance. Let me, in the first place, congratulate you upon the magnificent surplus which you have both for the current and ensuing years. I am pleased with the accuracy of my forecast, for I told my financial advisers last year that I thought we should have a surplus of about five crores; and my estimate has proved a pretty accurate one. The oscillations of finance are curious. Last year India had a deficit of several millions, and Great Britain a surplus of a corresponding amount: now the tables are turned—India has a huge surplus, and here, I am afraid, we have an equally big deficit. Politically, I look forward with some apprehension to the increase of taxation which we shall be compelled to propose. Our political opponents will avail themselves to the utmost of the opportunities for attack such an increase of taxation gives, and I think we must anticipate a considerable change of public opinion upon questions connected with the expansion of the Empire and a strong foreign policy abroad. Trade still continues exceptionally good, but there is certain to be a downward turn in the course of the next few years, and not improbably this industrial contraction will be commencing about the time the next general election will take place.

Sugar Duties Bill. I was sorry to stop you for two days by my telegram from introducing your Countervailing Sugar Duties Bill. At the last moment the Foreign Office hurled at my head an opinion that the imposition of countervailing duties had publicly been declared by the British Government and their Law Advisers to be contrary to the best favoured nation clause. Upon examination I found that the opinion referred to was given between 1880 and 1884. The Government of that day were opposed to countervailing duties, and their Law Officers were apparently asked to give some legal support to the attitude they were taking up. There is a wide difference of opinion amongst Foreign

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Governments as to what is the proper interpretation to be placed upon the best favoured nation clause: the United States have acted upon their interpretation, and have imposed countervailing duties in such a shape that they are the exact equivalent of the bounties which they seek to counteract. Germany alone has protested against the action of the United States. Last year we passed a Prison-made Goods Bill which, if the opinion of the Law Officers of 1880 to 1884 is correct, is a clear infraction of the best favoured nation clause. No protests have been made against that Statute. I did not refer the question to the Law Officers of the Crown: I was satisfied with the opinion of the Lord Chancellor, who emphatically upholds the legality of your proposed legislation; and, if I am catechised on the point in the House of Commons, I shall say that we satisfied ourselves before legislating that internationally there was no generally accepted interpretation of the best favoured nation clause.

Attitude of Govt. in regard to railway and industrial enterprise.

I knew that there was a good deal of dissatisfaction amongst the promoters of railways and of other enterprises of an industrial and commercial character against the hostile attitude assumed by the Public Works Department. We materially altered the Mining Regulations which were sent home by your predecessor, and made them far more liberal and elastic in encouraging private enterprise to embark in mining operations; and I can quite understand that the average official in up-country districts does not like commercial enterprise to be started in his locality with a European at its head, who, from the amount of employment he gives and his general position, would become a person of some importance. But I have always believed it to be almost impossible to satisfactorily work side by side a system of State railways and of railways promoted by private enterprise. Godley, whose experience is very much longer than my own, holds a contrary view, and he agrees with you. After discussing the matter we both came to the conclusion that Bisset, strong and capable as he is, was not likely, if he went out to India, to fall in with your views, as he is perhaps more impregnated than any other Public Works Department official with the ideas and traditions upon which the present system and procedure are based. Godley thinks he may be able to get some one else here who would do equally well, but I doubt it; so you may be forced to fall back upon someone in India. Assuming that you are right in your criticisms of the present system, now is a most opportune moment for its alteration and reform. The establishment of a gold standard, especially if it be associated with the creation of a large bank on the lines of the Bank of England, must encourage the flow of capital to India; and the bank doubtless would be only too glad at the outset to employ its capital and finance in promoting sound railway schemes and other industrial enterprises.

Sir C. Paul.

The retirement of Paul seems a harder task to achieve than I had anticipated. I understand he is considerably over 72, and a man at that age in a tropical climate is obviously past work. Unless he will fall in with your

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views, I shall be ready to take summary action here and compel him to go. In connection with his retirement I will tell you what has recently happened here. For dealing with the proposals which Elgin sent home for improving the position of Judges in India, I appointed a strong Committee under Sir John Edge's presidency, and they, after very careful consideration, made a considerable number of proposals for improving the pecuniary position of the High Court. But the foundation of all these changes was a proposal that no Judge should sit in the High Court after the age of 60, and they wanted me to bring in a Bill in the House of Commons to achieve that object. The Law Officers informed me that if I did introduce it, there would not be the slightest chance of passing it, and I agreed with them. I therefore tried if I could not accomplish this object without legislation; and I found that, by a slight alteration in the patents appointing the Judges, I could practically compel them to retire at the age of 60. This will necessitate my appointing in this country as Judges barristers under the age of 50. There were two reasons why the Committee attached such importance to the summary termination of these offices at the age of 60: no Civilian on the Executive side is allowed to hold any office after the age of 55 unless it be a Lieutenant-Governorship or a Membership of Council: a Civilian Judge, on the other hand, can hold on indefinitely if he is appointed to the High Court. Several cases have occurred of Civilian Judges so behaving, and this checks to a very serious degree the flow of promotion on the judicial side. The compulsory retirement therefore of Paul at the age of 70, or upwards, is a necessary preliminary to the scheme we propose shortly to send out to you.

Position of Judges in India.

I am very glad you carried, as I expected you would, the proposals contained in your Khyber Memorandum. I showed the document to Lyall and Stewart, and both were delighted with it. Stewart wished me to convey to you his high approval of your admirable Minute, and he only hoped that you would turn on the same ideas to the other parts of the frontier where some similar settlement is required. Some time back Stewart told me that Roberts always had a mania for erecting forts and locking up small garrisons in them, and that when he arrived at Kabul he found the country was covered with these edifices most of which he knocked down. These small forts were found to be incapable of maintaining themselves during the last tribal risings, and I think the military authorities therefore rushed to the conclusion that they must build forts of very much larger dimensions which would be capable of successful and sustained defence. I am very glad that one of your first acts is to explode what I think is a wholly unsound theory, whether you look at it from a military or a political point of view.

Khyber Memorandum.

The Bombay Government are most annoying. I blame the Secretaries to Government more than Sandhurst The other day, after having been bombarded for months with telegrams, they sent us home a whole pile of papers with a covering despatch all marked "Private." These documents relate to

Insufficient supply of information by Bombay.

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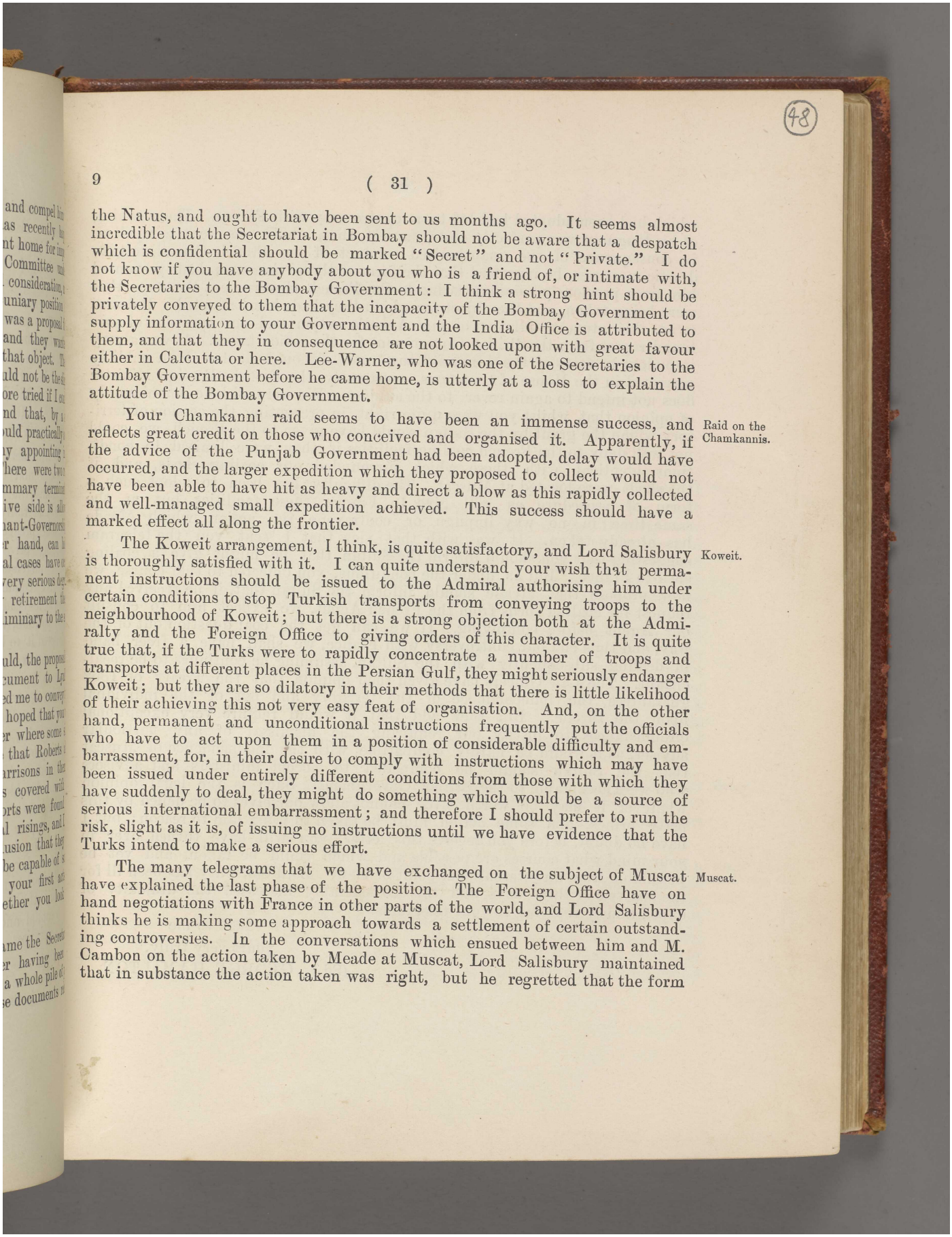

the Natus, and ought to have been sent to us months ago. It seems almost incredible that the Secretariat in Bombay should not be aware that a despatch which is confidential should be marked "Secret" and not "Private." I do not know if you have anybody about you who is a friend of, or intimate with, the Secretaries to the Bombay Government: I think a strong hint should be privately conveyed to them that the incapacity of the Bombay Government to supply information to your Government and the India Office is attributed to them, and that they in consequence are not looked upon with great favour either in Calcutta or here. Lee-Warner, who was one of the Secretaries to the Bombay Government before he came home, is utterly at a loss to explain the attitude of the Bombay Government.

Raid on the Chamkannis.

Your Chamkanni raid seems to have been an immense success, and reflects great credit on those who conceived and organised it. Apparently, if the advice of the Punjab Government had been adopted, delay would have occurred, and the larger expedition which they proposed to collect would not have been able to have hit as heavy and direct a blow as this rapidly collected and well-managed small expedition achieved. This success should have a marked effect all along the frontier.

Koweit.

The Koweit arrangement, I think, is quite satisfactory, and Lord Salisbury is thoroughly satisfied with it. I can quite understand your wish that permanent instructions should be issued to the Admiral authorising him under certain conditions to stop Turkish transports from conveying troops to the neighbourhood of Koweit; but there is a strong objection both at the Admiralty and the Foreign Office to giving orders of this character. It is quite true that, if the Turks were to rapidly concentrate a number of troops and transports at different places in the Persian Gulf, they might seriously endanger Koweit; but they are so dilatory in their methods that there is little likelihood of their achieving this not very easy feat of organisation. And, on the other hand, permanent and unconditional instructions frequently put the officials who have to act upon them in a position of considerable difficulty and embarrassment, for, in their desire to comply with instructions which may have been issued under entirely different conditions from those with which they have suddenly to deal, they might do something which would be a source of serious international embarrassment; and therefore I should prefer to run the risk, slight as it is, of issuing no instructions until we have evidence that the Turks intend to make a serious effort.

Muscat.

The many telegrams that we have exchanged on the subject of Muscat have explained the last phase of the position. The Foreign Office have on hand negotiations with France in other parts of the world, and Lord Salisbury thinks he is making some approach towards a settlement of certain outstanding controversies. In the conversations which ensued between him and M. Cambon on the action taken by Meade at Muscat, Lord Salisbury maintained that in substance the action taken was right, but he regretted that the form

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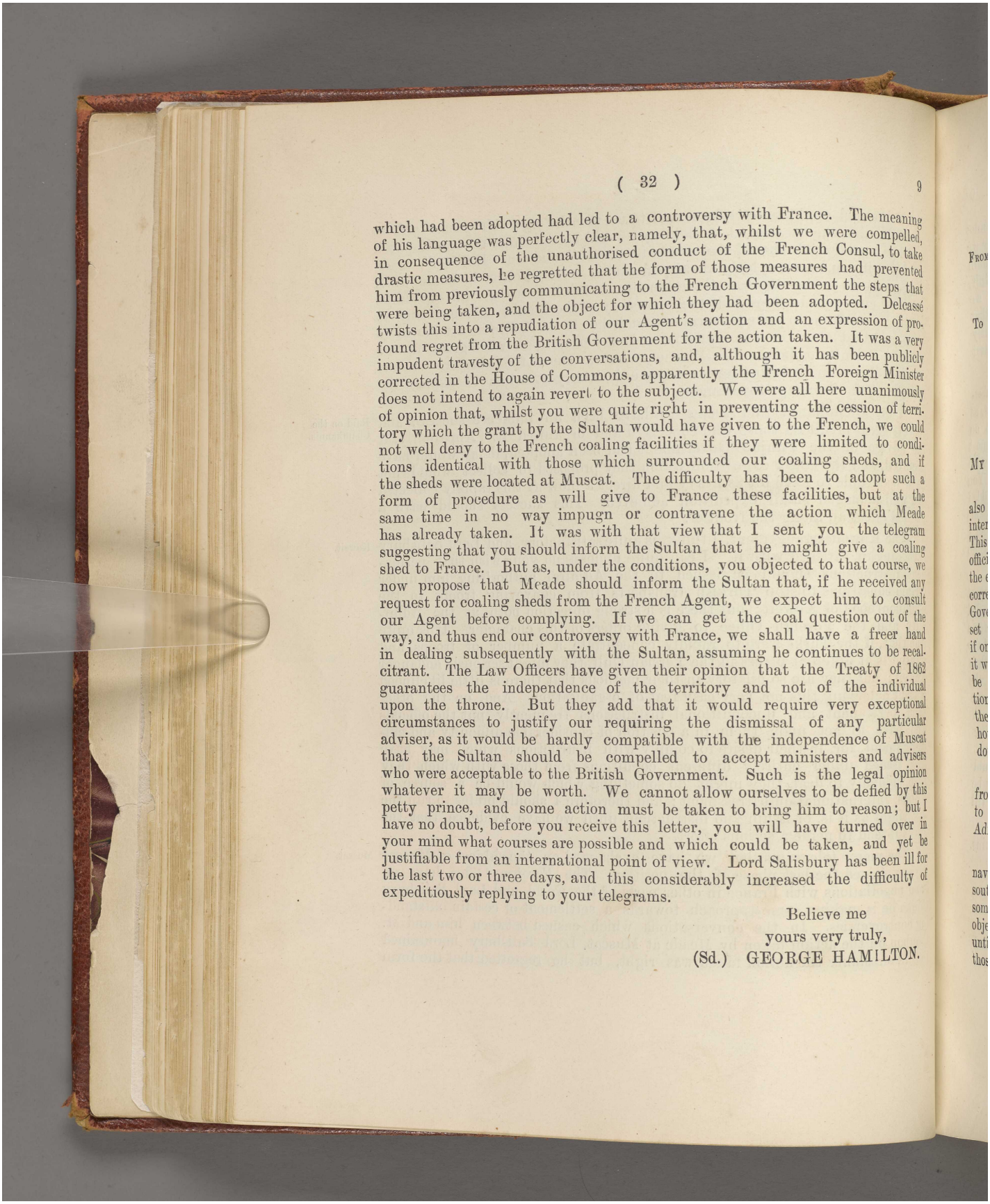

which had been adopted had led to a controversy with France. The meaning of his language was perfectly clear, namely, that, whilst we were compelled, in consequence of the unauthorised conduct of the French Consul, to take drastic measures, he regretted that the form of those measures had prevented him from previously communicating to the French Government the steps that were being taken, and the object for which they had been adopted. Delcassé twists this into a repudiation of our Agent's action and an expression of profound regret from the British Government for the action taken. It was a very impudent travesty of the conversations, and, although it has been publicly corrected in the House of Commons, apparently the French Foreign Minister does not intend to again revert to the subject. We were all here unanimously of opinion that, whilst you were quite right in preventing the cession of territory which the grant by the Sultan would have given to the French, we could not well deny to the French coaling facilities if they were limited to conditions identical with those which surrounded our coaling sheds, and if the sheds were located at Muscat. The difficulty has been to adopt such a form of procedure as will give to France these facilities, but at the same time in no way impugn or contravene the action which Meade has already taken. It was with that view that I sent you the telegram suggesting that you should inform the Sultan that he might give a coaling shed to France. But as, under the conditions, you objected to that course, we now propose that Meade should inform the Sultan that, if he received any request for coaling sheds from the French Agent, we expect him to consult our Agent before complying. If we can get the coal question out of the way, and thus end our controversy with France, we shall have a freer hand in dealing subsequently with the Sultan, assuming he continues to be recalcitrant. The Law Officers have given their opinion that the Treaty of 1862 guarantees the independence of the territory and not of the individual upon the throne. But they add that it would require very exceptional circumstances to justify our requiring the dismissal of any particular adviser, as it would be hardly compatible with the independence of Muscat that the Sultan should be compelled to accept ministers and advisers who were acceptable to the British Government. Such is the legal opinion whatever it may be worth. We cannot allow ourselves to be defied by this petty prince, and some action must be taken to bring him to reason; but I have no doubt, before you receive this letter, you will have turned over in your mind what courses are possible and which could be taken, and yet be justifiable from an international point of view. Lord Salisbury has been ill for the last two or three days, and this considerably increased the difficulty of expeditiously replying to your telegrams.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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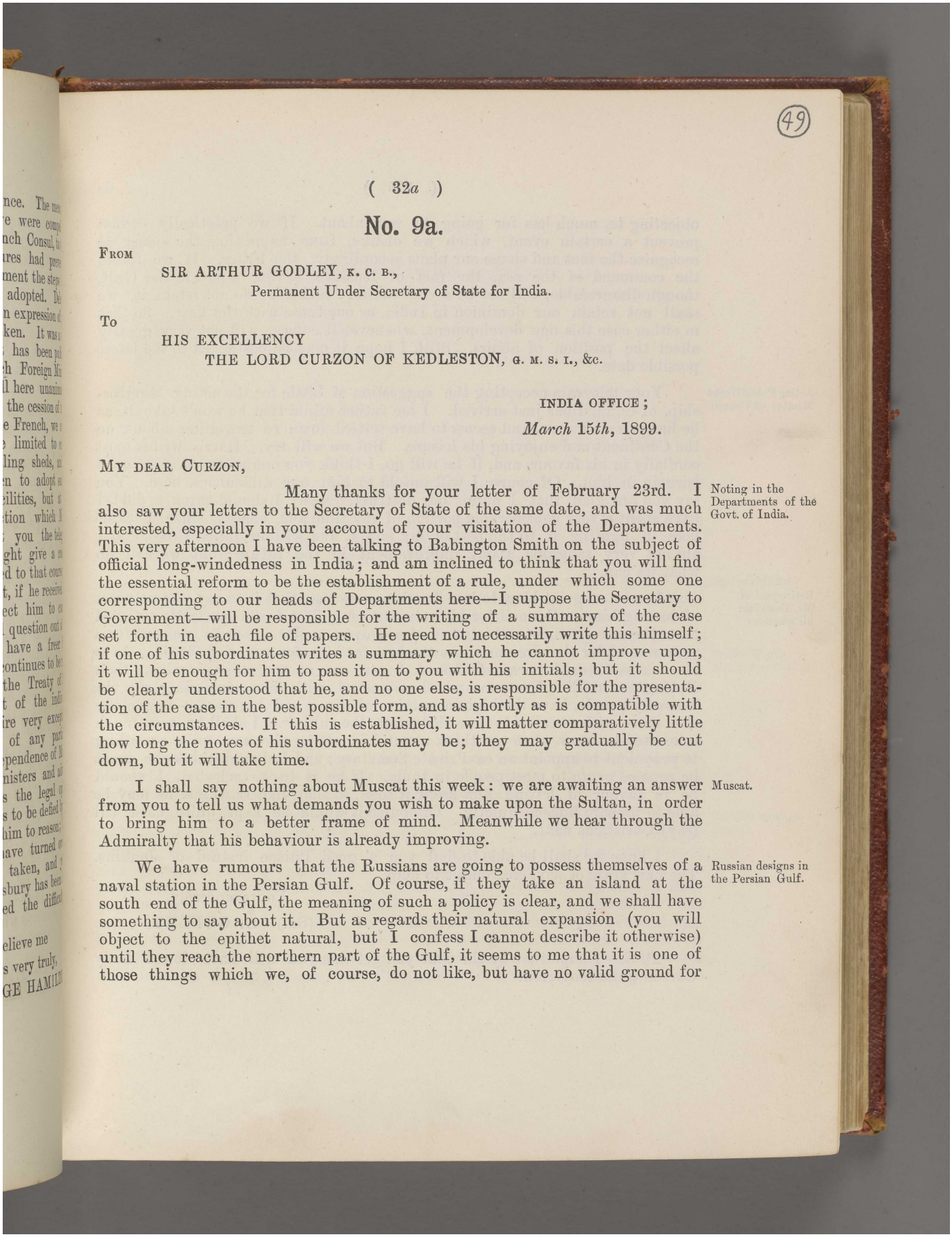

(49)

(32*a*)

No. 9a.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
March 15*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Many thanks for your letter of February 23rd. I also saw your letters to the Secretary of State of the same date, and was much interested, especially in your account of your visitation of the Departments. This very afternoon I have been talking to Babington Smith on the subject of official long-windedness in India; and am inclined to think that you will find the essential reform to be the establishment of a rule, under which some one corresponding to our heads of Departments here—I suppose the Secretary to Government—will be responsible for the writing of a summary of the case set forth in each file of papers. He need not necessarily write this himself; if one of his subordinates writes a summary which he cannot improve upon, it will be enough for him to pass it on to you with his initials; but it should be clearly understood that he, and no one else, is responsible for the presentation of the case in the best possible form, and as shortly as is compatible with the circumstances. If this is established, it will matter comparatively little how long the notes of his subordinates may be; they may gradually be cut down, but it will take time.

Noting in the Departments of the Govt. of India.

I shall say nothing about Muscat this week: we are awaiting an answer from you to tell us what demands you wish to make upon the Sultan, in order to bring him to a better frame of mind. Meanwhile we hear through the Admiralty that his behaviour is already improving.

Muscat.

We have rumours that the Russians are going to possess themselves of a naval station in the Persian Gulf. Of course, if they take an island at the south end of the Gulf, the meaning of such a policy is clear, and we shall have something to say about it. But as regards their natural expansion (you will object to the epithet natural, but I confess I cannot describe it otherwise) until they reach the northern part of the Gulf, it seems to me that it is one of those things which we, of course, do not like, but have no valid ground for

Russian designs in the Persian Gulf.

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objecting to, much less for going to war about. If we practically cannot prevent a certain event, which we dislike, from happening, the sooner we recognize the fact and shape our plans accordingly, the better. If we retain the command of the sea, the fact of Russia's having a post in the Gulf, though disagreeable, will not be a vital matter: and if we do not retain it, we shall not retain our dominion in India, or our trade with the East. So that in either case this new development, whenever it comes, will not very greatly affect the position of affairs. Still, I hope it may be postponed to the latest possible date.

Acting Public Works Member of Council.

Your telegram accepting the suggestion of Little for the acting Membership of Council has just arrived. I am rather afraid that he won't take it, as he has private means, and seems to have settled down to travelling about on the Continent and enjoying his leisure. But we will try. Harris writes most cordially in his favour, and, if he will go, I think you ought to have a good bargain in him. Of course I will unfold to him our difficulties here. You say you are glad that I admit our obstructiveness; I should think I did! I have spent a very considerable portion of my time and energy since I came here in fighting it to the best of my power, and without much effect, and I am not very sanguine about improvement in the future; but we will do what we can.

Retirement of Mr. Dawkins: his successor.

It was a great blow to lose Dawkins—to lose, that is to say, the prospect of having him on Council for his natural term. But I am perfectly satisfied that the arrangement which was agreed upon, under which he goes out for a year, was under the circumstances the best for him, for you, and for us. As to his successor, *as at present advised*, I can see no one more promising than Babington Smith. Everyone who has worked with him, including all the Treasury people, have the highest opinion of him; and he starts—as no one else can—with an inside knowledge of the subject. I shall be very much interested to know what you think about this. It is, of course, quite according to precedent to appoint an ex-Private Secretary; and I should think he must be *personâ grata* to most people in India. If he is to be selected, I should be in favour of letting him know it soon, so that, like Dawkins, he may be able to prepare himself quietly. Of course it would be kept quite dark till (say) Christmas next.

I hope we shall be able to find you a good Puisne instead of Jenkins. The new scale of pay, &c., ought to help.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

P. S.—I hope that by the time you get this you will have found Lady Curzon quite recovered.

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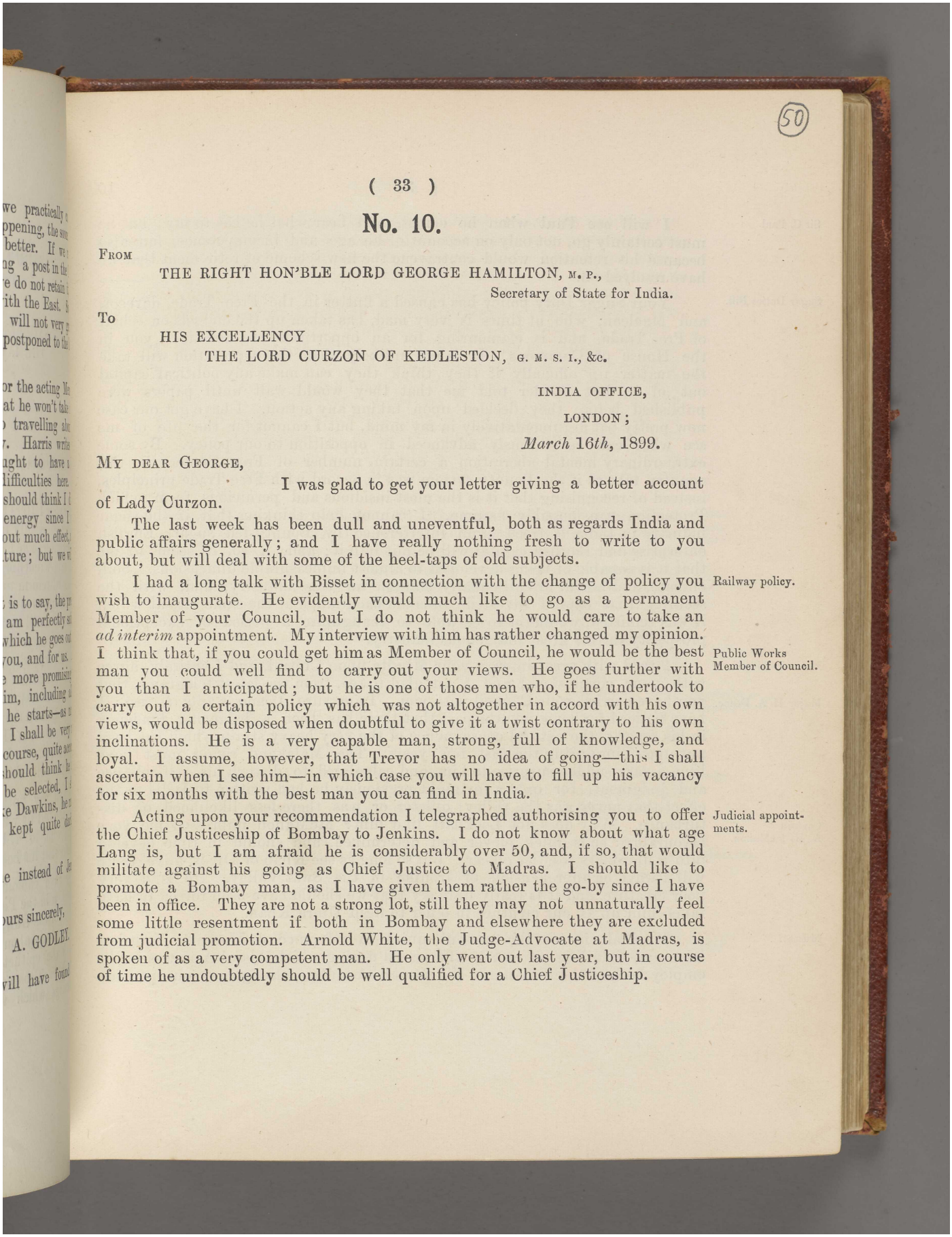

(50)

No. 10.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
March 16th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I was glad to get your letter giving a better account of Lady Curzon.

The last week has been dull and uneventful, both as regards India and public affairs generally; and I have really nothing fresh to write to you about, but will deal with some of the heel-taps of old subjects.

Railway policy.

I had a long talk with Bisset in connection with the change of policy you wish to inaugurate. He evidently would much like to go as a permanent Member of your Council, but I do not think he would care to take an *ad interim* appointment. My interview with him has rather changed my opinion.

Public Works Member of Council.

I think that, if you could get him as Member of Council, he would be the best man you could well find to carry out your views. He goes further with you than I anticipated; but he is one of those men who, if he undertook to carry out a certain policy which was not altogether in accord with his own views, would be disposed when doubtful to give it a twist contrary to his own inclinations. He is a very capable man, strong, full of knowledge, and loyal. I assume, however, that Trevor has no idea of going—this I shall ascertain when I see him—in which case you will have to fill up his vacancy for six months with the best man you can find in India.

Judicial appointments.

Acting upon your recommendation I telegraphed authorising you to offer the Chief Justiceship of Bombay to Jenkins. I do not know about what age Lang is, but I am afraid he is considerably over 50, and, if so, that would militate against his going as Chief Justice to Madras. I should like to promote a Bombay man, as I have given them rather the go-by since I have been in office. They are not a strong lot, still they may not unnaturally feel some little resentment if both in Bombay and elsewhere they are excluded from judicial promotion. Arnold White, the Judge-Advocate at Madras, is spoken of as a very competent man. He only went out last year, but in course of time he undoubtedly should be well qualified for a Chief Justiceship.

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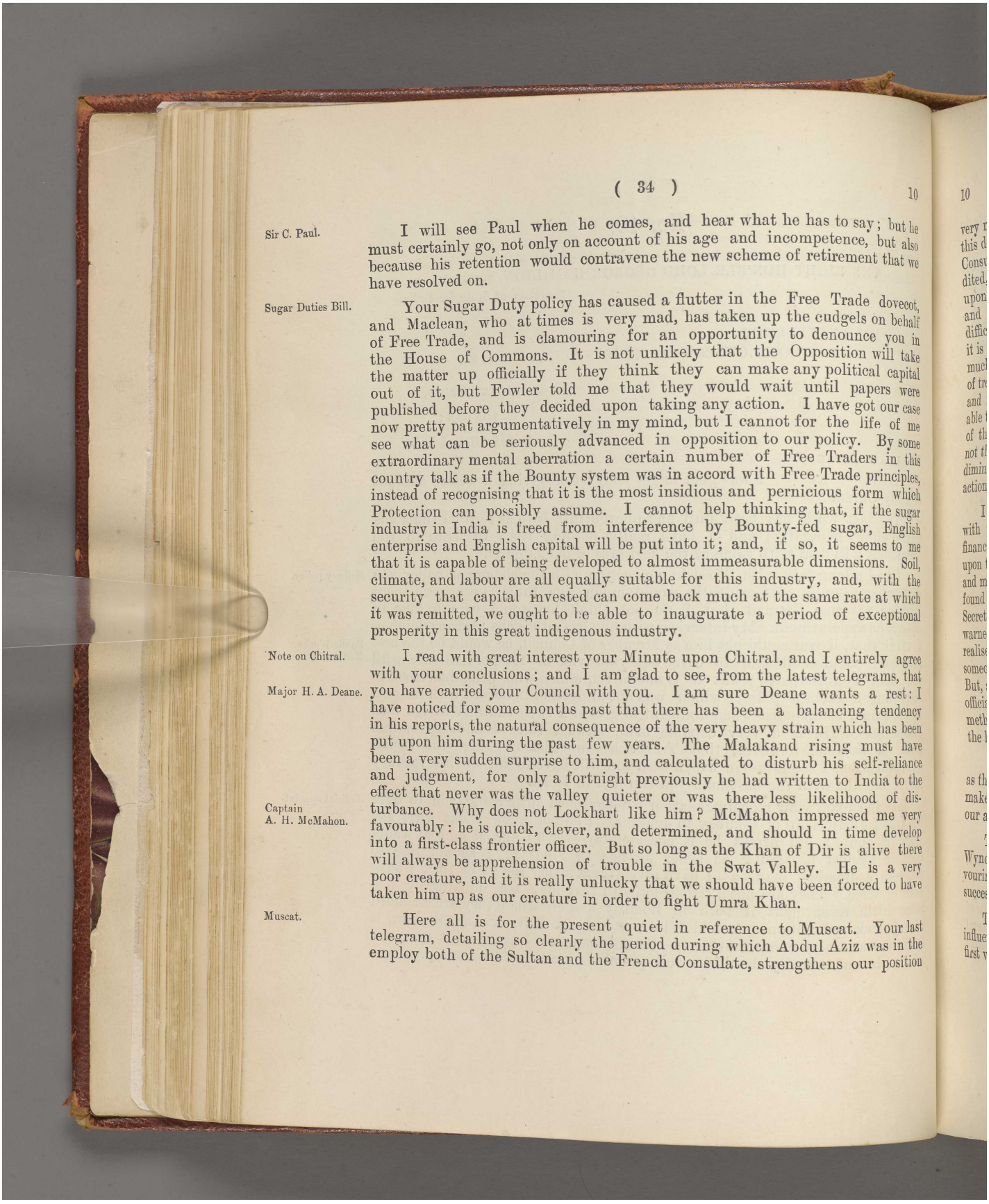

Sir C. Paul.

I will see Paul when he comes, and hear what he has to say; but he must certainly go, not only on account of his age and incompetence, but also because his retention would contravene the new scheme of retirement that we have resolved on.

Sugar Duties Bill.

Your Sugar Duty policy has caused a flutter in the Free Trade dovecot, and Maclean, who at times is very mad, has taken up the cudgels on behalf of Free Trade, and is clamouring for an opportunity to denounce you in the House of Commons. It is not unlikely that the Opposition will take the matter up officially if they think they can make any political capital out of it, but Fowler told me that they would wait until papers were published before they decided upon taking any action. I have got our case now pretty pat argumentatively in my mind, but I cannot for the life of me see what can be seriously advanced in opposition to our policy. By some extraordinary mental aberration a certain number of Free Traders in this country talk as if the Bounty system was in accord with Free Trade principles, instead of recognising that it is the most insidious and pernicious form which Protection can possibly assume. I cannot help thinking that, if the sugar industry in India is freed from interference by Bounty-fed sugar, English enterprise and English capital will be put into it; and, if so, it seems to me that it is capable of being developed to almost immeasurable dimensions. Soil, climate, and labour are all equally suitable for this industry, and, with the security that capital invested can come back much at the same rate at which it was remitted, we ought to be able to inaugurate a period of exceptional prosperity in this great indigenous industry.

Note on Chitral.

Major H. A. Deane.

I read with great interest your Minute upon Chitral, and I entirely agree with your conclusions; and I am glad to see, from the latest telegrams, that you have carried your Council with you. I am sure Deane wants a rest: I have noticed for some months past that there has been a balancing tendency in his reports, the natural consequence of the very heavy strain which has been put upon him during the past few years. The Malakand rising must have been a very sudden surprise to him, and calculated to disturb his self-reliance and judgment, for only a fortnight previously he had written to India to the effect that never was the valley quieter or was there less likelihood of disturbance. Why does not Lockhart like him? McMahon impressed me very favourably: he is quick, clever, and determined, and should in time develop into a first-class frontier officer. But so long as the Khan of Dir is alive there will always be apprehension of trouble in the Swat Valley. He is a very poor creature, and it is really unlucky that we should have been forced to have taken him up as our creature in order to fight Umra Khan.

Captain A. H. McMahon.

Muscat.

Here all is for the present quiet in reference to Muscat. Your last telegram, detailing so clearly the period during which Abdul Aziz was in the employ both of the Sultan and the French Consulate, strengthens our position

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very much internationally. I have suggested to Salisbury that he should make this departure from international custom, namely, allowing a servant of the Consulate to be in the employ of the sovereign to whom the Consul was accredited, the subject of complaint to the French Government, and should press it upon them. The whole of our recent difficulties can be traced to this dual and ambiguous employment of the same individual. Internationally it is difficult for us to take up, as regards the French here, the position you indicate: it is undeniable that our commerce and political rights in Muscat are very much greater than those of any other country, but the French have a parity of treaty rights, and these rights must be interpreted by the words of the treaty and not by outside considerations. I daresay in course of time you will be able to hit upon some plan of either squashing Abdul Aziz, or of getting rid of the Sultan if he continues to misbehave himself. In the meantime I do not think anything we have done, or any directions we have sent, will tend to diminish or reverse the good effect in Muscat which your prompt and decided action there caused.

Authority of the Viceroy and Secretaries of State.

I am writing to you separately about Dawkins, for I much sympathise with you in the position in which you now find yourself as regards a future financial adviser. As you truly say, everything gravitates towards and centres upon the Viceroy. His authority, I have always understood, is much greater and more uncontested than that of any Secretary of State, and Lansdowne has found this out in his re-organisation of the War Office; for he assumed that as Secretary of State he would have the same powers as he had as Viceroy. I warned him of the difference of the two positions, which I think he now fully realises; but, such being your position, I well understand your wish to have someone to whom you could delegate minor questions of general interests. But, as time goes on, you will no doubt find out some men amongst your officials on whom you can rely; and, when you have got them into your own methods of working, I hope you will be able to devolve upon them a little of the heavy and continuous burden that rests upon the Viceroy's shoulders.

Devolution of minor questions to officials.

Foreign.

Rhodes has gone to Berlin and captured the German Emperor; they are as thick as two thieves, and are making arrangements which, if realised, will make Germany in Africa our coadjutor, instead of, as she has hitherto been, our antagonist.

Parliamentary.

The Session is dragging along its usual dreary course: Brodrick and Wyndham are doing exceptionally well in their new posts. St. John is endeavouring to develop humour which is rather an effort and not always quite successful.

Death of Lady Ridley.

There has been a great epidemic of illness lately—a combination of influenza, feverish colds and pneumonia. Sir Charles Nairne was one of its first victims, and now poor Lady Ridley, after a desperate struggle, has

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succumbed. It has completely knocked poor old Mat over, and I really do not know how he will be able to face the future.

Tour. This will catch you on your tour: I hope you will have agreeable weather, and be able to make some advance towards a permanent improvement in the re-organisation of our frontier system.

Bombay. I have had a characteristic telegram from Sandhurst to the effect that the increased cost of printing, necessitated by our orders requiring him to communicate with us, will entirely disturb the financial equilibrium of his Budget.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 10a.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
March 17th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Mr. Dawkins' successor. I write a few lines in reference to Dawkins' successor. Evidently Law will not do.

I feel very strongly that you should have some one by you who could be of assistance to you not only in purely financial matters, but also upon general questions. Le Marchant, though he is clever and industrious, is too sensitive

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and hesitating when responsibility is thrown upon him, to do Finance Minister's work. Besides, he could not afford to leave his business in London. There is no one at present in the Treasury fit for the post. Upon the whole, Babington Smith is the best man I can think of. His career has hitherto, too, been much the same as that of Dawkins, Alfred Milner, and of Cromer in his earlier stages. He took high honours, was Goschen's Private Secretary, and then served five years with Elgin. All who have worked with him speak very highly of his capacity, and, next to a civilian, he must know the working of the Government Departments as well as any one. To take the late Viceroy's Private Secretary might be inconvenient, if he was placed in any position analogous or similar to that which he previously occupied, but he would, in this case, be discharging wholly different duties, and in a wholly different sphere of action. Will you tell me what you think of the idea? For I want to go as far as I legitimately can to meet your wishes.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 11.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
March 23*rd*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I was sorry to learn from your letter that you were feeling the burden of your work; but you have had so many difficult and Personal.

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tiresome subjects to deal with simultaneously, which required your special attention, that I hope that now you are away from Calcutta the strain is relaxed, and that you are picking up and in your full health and strength.

Sugar Duties Bill.

I was very pleased to see that the Countervailing Duties Bill passed with such unanimity through your Council. I liked your speech very much: in fact this first effort to stop this most mischievous form of protection has so far been very successful; and, as far as I can judge from those I come in contact with, and the tone of the Press here, we shall have more than our usual number of supporters behind us if we are attacked for the action we have taken. Maclean is on the rampage, but I think it is more due to his state of health than anything else. The Front Bench of the Opposition are sitting on the fence: I have promised them papers, and until they read them they have not made up their mind what course to take. Northbrook, who on these questions carries considerable influence, wrote to me to say that he entirely approved of what we had done. Lord Salisbury left for the Riviera yesterday. I got him to give instructions to the Foreign Office that, if the German and Austrian Embassies came with complaints, we should adopt a pretty stiff attitude in response. I have been spending the last two or three days in looking through the innumerable reports and papers which have been published of recent years in connection with sugar; it will be an immense benefit if we can get rid of this most insidious form of protection, and if the Bounty system can be gradually abolished, and all competition in sugar be put on a basis of equality, there seems to me to be no limit to which the sugar industry in India might not be ultimately developed.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

I was glad to get your telegram in response to mine explaining the course that you propose to take in connection with the Calcutta Municipality Bill. What you suggest seems to me to be the best procedure now open to us. As Bills become operative so soon as they receive your assent in India, I was afraid that you would be in a position of some embarrassment when the Bengal Legislative Council had completed its work upon the Bill, as you would either have had to signify your approval or disallow the Bill, and either course would have been embarrassing both at the time and subsequently. I think we shall

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be able between us to hit upon some course which, whilst giving the Executive in India power to supersede municipal authorities in times of emergency if they do not bestir themselves, will at the same time allow the course of municipal self-government to be gradually developed and extended without placing upon Europeans the whole burden of bearing the future responsibility for successful administration of the powers so given.

The Currency Committee.

Fowler tells me that he has completed the evidence he requires, and that his Committee will begin to consider their report after Easter. He seemed very confident as to the result, and therefore I assume that we shall, in the course of two months, be in possession of the views of the Committee. The action to be taken will of course depend upon the nature of the report. I should doubt if they would make any proposals which would necessitate such prompt action as was taken on Herschell's Committee in closing the Mints. It is exceedingly difficult with so large a Committee, especially when partially composed of commercial men, to keep secret the substance of their report. But, in the present case, I do not see that there is much ground for speculative enterprise ahead, and therefore I hope we shall have no special reasons for wishing to keep secret the course that may be suggested, and not be compelled to take any sudden action upon it. Fowler further told me that Courtney had given excellent evidence in support of a gold standard and the maintenance of the rupee at the rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* Several bi-metallists also gave evidence, including Lord Aldenham and Giffen. He told me their evidence was wretched, that their case had completely broken down, and that the course which financially and economically events had taken during the past year had reversed nearly all the surmises and anticipations on which alone they endeavoured to advocate bi-metallism. In the United States, I hear from White, the silverite party is practically dead, and this is confirmed by the telegraphic news as to the attempts to reform the Democratic and Republican parties on their old lines, ignoring the recent currency difficulties which separated them.

Military Secretaryship, India Office.

I have written to Stedman offering him Newmarch's place. I assume he is certain to accept it, but he is somewhere in Egypt, and he has not yet replied.

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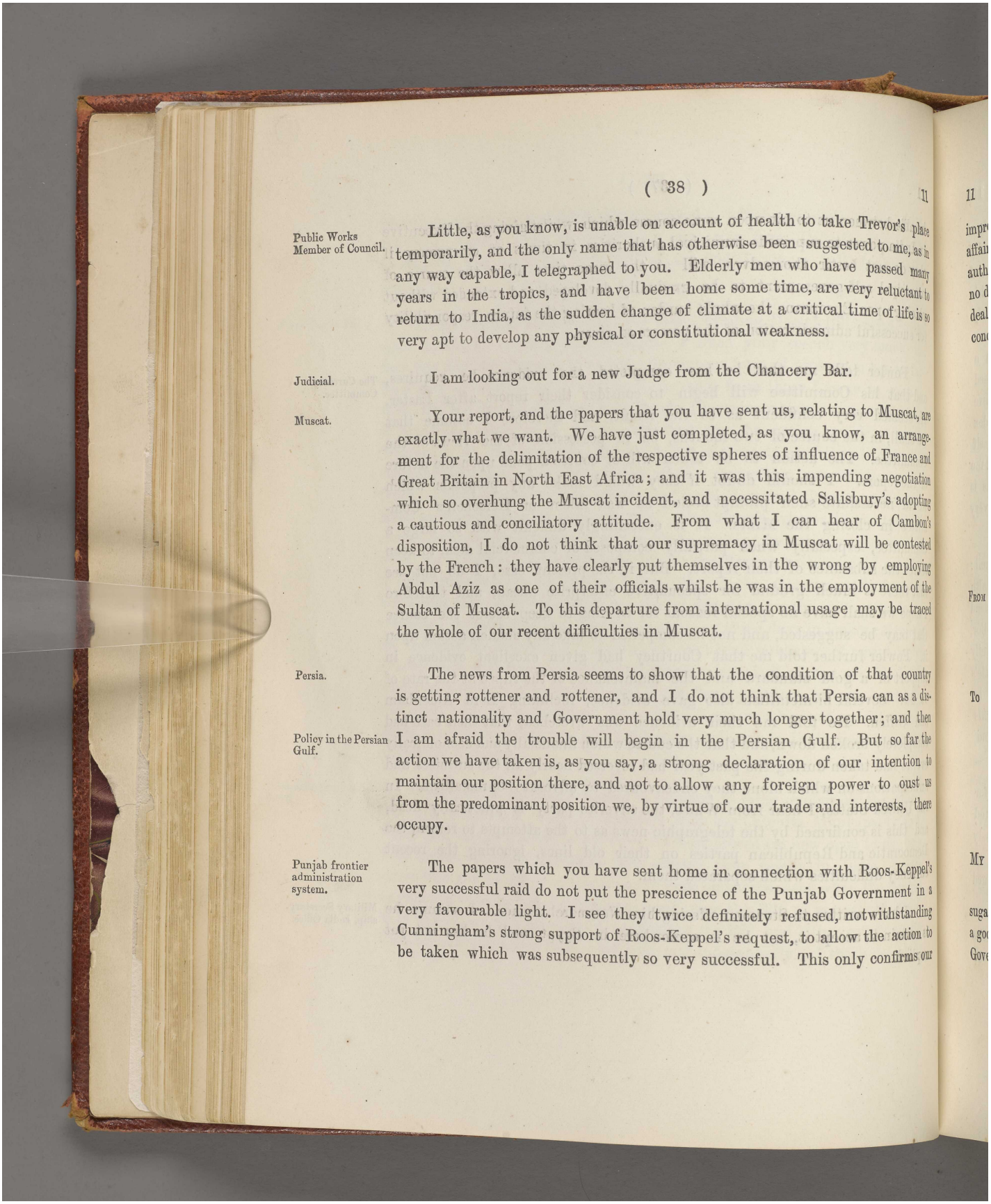

Public Works Member of Council.

Little, as you know, is unable on account of health to take Trevor's place temporarily, and the only name that has otherwise been suggested to me, as in any way capable, I telegraphed to you. Elderly men who have passed many years in the tropics, and have been home some time, are very reluctant to return to India, as the sudden change of climate at a critical time of life is so very apt to develop any physical or constitutional weakness.

Judicial.

I am looking out for a new Judge from the Chancery Bar.

Muscat.

Your report, and the papers that you have sent us, relating to Muscat, are exactly what we want. We have just completed, as you know, an arrangement for the delimitation of the respective spheres of influence of France and Great Britain in North East Africa; and it was this impending negotiation which so overhung the Muscat incident, and necessitated Salisbury's adopting a cautious and conciliatory attitude. From what I can hear of Cambon's disposition, I do not think that our supremacy in Muscat will be contested by the French: they have clearly put themselves in the wrong by employing Abdul Aziz as one of their officials whilst he was in the employment of the Sultan of Muscat. To this departure from international usage may be traced the whole of our recent difficulties in Muscat.

Persia.

The news from Persia seems to show that the condition of that country is getting rottener and rottener, and I do not think that Persia can as a distinct nationality and Government hold very much longer together; and then

Policy in the Persian Gulf.

I am afraid the trouble will begin in the Persian Gulf. But so far the action we have taken is, as you say, a strong declaration of our intention to maintain our position there, and not to allow any foreign power to oust us from the predominant position we, by virtue of our trade and interests, there occupy.

Punjab frontier administration system.

The papers which you have sent home in connection with Roos-Keppel's very successful raid do not put the prescience of the Punjab Government in a very favourable light. I see they twice definitely refused, notwithstanding Cunningham's strong support of Roos-Keppel's request, to allow the action to be taken which was subsequently so very successful. This only confirms our

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impression that they have not the time, or knowledge, to give which frontier affairs require. What the best remedy is, or what is the most effective authority which can be substituted for them, remains to be seen; but you will no doubt, at the end of your tour along the frontier, have picked up a great deal of local knowledge which will be very valuable in guiding you to a conclusion on this point.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 11a.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
March 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I think the principal question of the last week has been sugar. ("Sugar, Mr. Speaker!") The action of your Government has created a good deal of excitement here, as I expected; and I observe that Foreign Governments are stirring, though in such a way as to admit that they are

Sugar Duties Bill.

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practically impotent. Also, one effect of the measure has been to show how much the bounty system is disliked both here and on the Continent, and I should not be surprised if it had very considerable results. Our Secretary of State is thirsting for the fray, feeling that he has a strong case, and that his opponents are uncertain and divided: they must, I should think, be greatly hampered by the fact that poor Maclean, whose judgment and conduct are affected by an incurable disease, has taken up the case so violently and in a way which goes far to discredit it. I confess that I am very much surprised at the small amount of criticism or resistance which seems to have developed itself so far: on the other hand, Lord Northbrook, an orthodox economist of the highest authority, has gone out of his way to declare himself (in a private letter to me) ready at any moment to support and defend the policy of Her Majesty's Government. Let me add that very much of this is owing, I believe, to your excellent speech in Council, which produced a very good effect here.

The acting Public Works Membership.

I am very sorry that Little declined the Acting Membership of Council: he is well off, and men who are well off are apt to suffer from weak health which prevents them from undertaking undesirable posts. My friend A. Liddell, who looks after the clerical patronage of the Lord Chancellor, tells me that clergymen possessed of private means can live only on a gravelly soil—such, at least, is his experience. Bisset spoke warmly about Little's qualifications, and Harris wrote very strongly in his favour. I believe he would have been just the man for you. I am very much interested in this undertaking of yours with regard to Railways and other Public Works, and sincerely hope you will get a good man to help you.

Alienation of land in the Punjab.

We are in a difficulty about the Bill, which has been sent home for approval, under which the right of alienating land in the Punjab is restricted in order to checkmate the money-lenders. Our Council seem to be hopelessly divided in opinion, and it is so much a question for experts that it is by no means easy to bring them together. I think it will clearly have to be postponed for further consideration. But probably you have not yet looked into this.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

I hope that you will be able to deal in some satisfactory way with the Calcutta Municipality Bill. Now that the dangerous season seems to be

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coming to an end without an outbreak of plague in the city, you will, I suppose, have time to look about you; and Lord George is very anxious to give you all possible support.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 12.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
March 28th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your analysis of the different feelings of the men at the two ends of a long wire exchanging views upon an involved international question is good and true. A very good comedy might be written on the subject, and the marvel to me is, looking at the different, and at times irreconcilable, surroundings of the two individuals, that things come out ultimately as straight as they do.

I readily admit that I was wrong in blaming Meade for having misled me by the statement that the lease of the coaling station was to the French Government and not to an individual, and I also assumed, and I think correctly, from the telegram that he had inserted into the ultimatum to the Sultan a clause compelling him to refuse the representatives of foreign Governments. But taking his conduct of affairs as a whole, he has done well, and the results of the pressure put upon the Sultan are already beginning to be realised. Your last Despatch so clearly exposes the duplicity and bad faith of the French Consul that we shall hear nothing more from the French Government on the subject. The recent Convention as regards delimitation in North East Africa has given satisfaction both here and in Paris. Delcassé and

Muscat.

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Cambon are evidently bent upon adopting a conciliatory policy to this country, and there is evidence in a number of ways that they are endeavouring quietly to counteract and stamp out the irritating tendency of the policy of Hanotaux. As public interest and Parliamentary questioning have now ceased upon the recent incidents at Muscat, I shall not publish any papers unless I am pressed to do so: in which case I will take care that a despatch is sent in reply to yours which gives a firm and general support to the action taken.

Chitral.

All that you propose to do in Chitral is in complete accord with our views here. The most difficult point which Thurburn and McMahon will have to settle are the steps to be taken to give additional security to the annual reliefs. The train of followers and baggage that went up with the last relief reached most appalling dimensions, and the Officer in Command at Chitral told me that, if an attack had been made with any vigour at several places on the road, it would have been exceedingly difficult to have averted a disaster. As you diminish the garrison, so of course will the number of their followers decrease; and, if the railroad is made between Nowshera and Dargai, it ought not to be difficult to associate with the reliefs, if there is real risk of an outbreak, an overwhelming force.

Gauge for frontier railways.

The 2 ft. 6 in. gauge is what we wanted here. I myself should have liked to have adhered, if possible, to the metre gauge, but I was told that for various reasons this was almost impracticable. Twenty years hence our successors will abuse us much for not having adopted one continuous gauge from the great railway centres to the various termini on the frontier. I was here when the metre gauge was substituted for the standard gauge; the arguments in its support at the time seemed overwhelming, and financial difficulties then, as now, precluded the adoption of a larger gauge. Still I think it has been a misfortune to railway enterprise and development in India.

Sugar duties.

Our Sugar policy is getting more and more support both in the Press and outside and, with the unanimity which, as you report, prevails in India, I have no doubt, if we can get our opponents up to the scratch in the House of Commons, we shall have an overwhelming advantage both in debate and in the division following. Curiously enough Deym has come in a great state of excitement both to the Foreign Office and this Office stating that the Hungarian sugar producer exports to India, and to India alone, and that our Countervailing Duties will ruin their trade; and he asked if we should be disposed to take off the Duties if they abolished their Bounties. I doubt if he has any authority to make that suggestion, for I do not think it is possible to abolish Bounties as long as sugar is so heavily taxed for excise purposes; but it is a little indication of the direction in which the wind is blowing, and it would be a real triumph if, at the first breath of Countervailing Duties, the Bounty system was to collapse.

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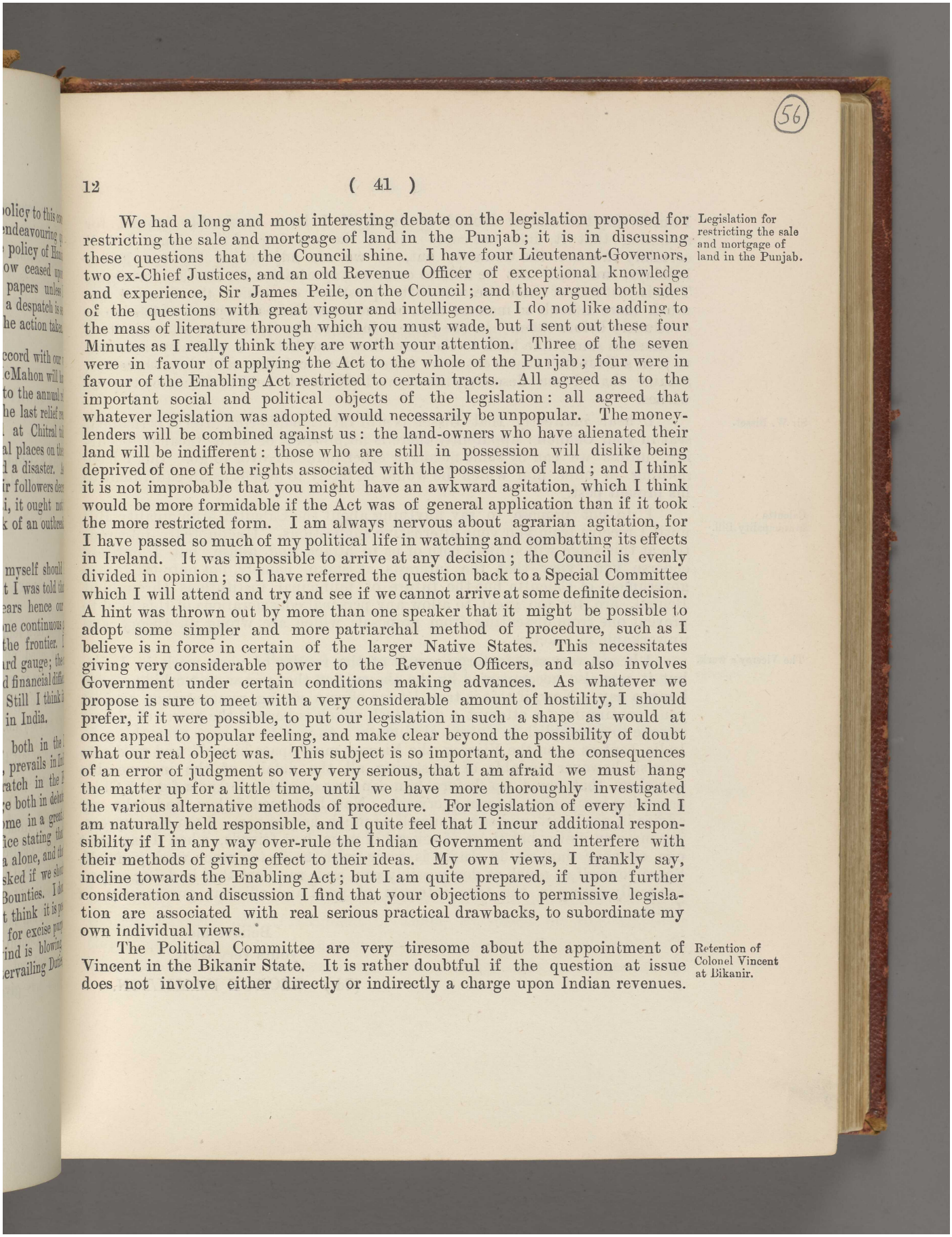

Legislation for restricting the sale and mortgage of land in the Punjab.

We had a long and most interesting debate on the legislation proposed for restricting the sale and mortgage of land in the Punjab; it is in discussing these questions that the Council shine. I have four Lieutenant-Governors, two ex-Chief Justices, and an old Revenue Officer of exceptional knowledge and experience, Sir James Peile, on the Council; and they argued both sides of the questions with great vigour and intelligence. I do not like adding to the mass of literature through which you must wade, but I sent out these four Minutes as I really think they are worth your attention. Three of the seven were in favour of applying the Act to the whole of the Punjab; four were in favour of the Enabling Act restricted to certain tracts. All agreed as to the important social and political objects of the legislation: all agreed that whatever legislation was adopted would necessarily be unpopular. The money-lenders will be combined against us: the land-owners who have alienated their land will be indifferent: those who are still in possession will dislike being deprived of one of the rights associated with the possession of land; and I think it is not improbable that you might have an awkward agitation, which I think would be more formidable if the Act was of general application than if it took the more restricted form. I am always nervous about agrarian agitation, for I have passed so much of my political life in watching and combatting its effects in Ireland. It was impossible to arrive at any decision; the Council is evenly divided in opinion; so I have referred the question back to a Special Committee which I will attend and try and see if we cannot arrive at some definite decision. A hint was thrown out by more than one speaker that it might be possible to adopt some simpler and more patriarchal method of procedure, such as I believe is in force in certain of the larger Native States. This necessitates giving very considerable power to the Revenue Officers, and also involves Government under certain conditions making advances. As whatever we propose is sure to meet with a very considerable amount of hostility, I should prefer, if it were possible, to put our legislation in such a shape as would at once appeal to popular feeling, and make clear beyond the possibility of doubt what our real object was. This subject is so important, and the consequences of an error of judgment so very very serious, that I am afraid we must hang the matter up for a little time, until we have more thoroughly investigated the various alternative methods of procedure. For legislation of every kind I am naturally held responsible, and I quite feel that I incur additional responsibility if I in any way over-rule the Indian Government and interfere with their methods of giving effect to their ideas. My own views, I frankly say, incline towards the Enabling Act; but I am quite prepared, if upon further consideration and discussion I find that your objections to permissive legislation are associated with real serious practical drawbacks, to subordinate my own individual views.

Retention of Colonel Vincent at Bikanir.

The Political Committee are very tiresome about the appointment of Vincent in the Bikanir State. It is rather doubtful if the question at issue does not involve either directly or indirectly a charge upon Indian revenues.

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I am having the matter looked up, and, if I have reasonable ground for assuming that it does not come within the meaning of that clause, I shall certainly rule over the Council; but, as we are adjourning for our Easter holidays, we shall not be able to come to any decision for another fortnight. This is just one of those tiresome little questions on which the Council are much more difficult to manage than on the larger issues of policy which are so constantly before them. In the present instance the Committee all committed themselves some time back to the view they now hold. I partially assented to it in a Despatch that went some months back to India, and they, therefore, assume that I am deserting the views I previously held in deference to your wishes.

Sir W. Bisset.

I hear indirectly that Bisset is still rather hankering after a permanent seat in your Council: apparently there is no prospect of such vacancy occurring, unless we can by some means or other induce Trevor to go. But I have nothing to offer him which he would be likely to accept as an equivalent to his present post.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

I do not propose to say anything about the Calcutta Municipality Bill until I receive from you your alternative suggestions. Undoubtedly intervention at this stage will subject both of us to attack and abuse, but I entirely endorse your view that the interests at stake, namely, not only the future government of Calcutta but the future of municipal institutions throughout Bengal, are far too great to allow any personal considerations of this kind to prevent one from dissenting from proposals which are wrong in theory and unworkable in practice.

The Viceroy's work.

I hear a very satisfactory account of the results of your work in India, but it was also accompanied by the observation that you were working eleven hours a day. Now, if this is true, let me offer a strong remonstrance against your continuing to attempt a daily task which is beyond the power of almost anyone to accomplish in a tropical climate. As you truly say, everything in India centres upon the Viceroy, the Viceroy must spare himself, and no desire or wish, however laudable, of mastering all the details of the innumerable questions that come up before him can ever compensate India for her Chief becoming incapacitated from overwork. Now be a good fellow, and take my advice in good part, and save yourself as much as you can. I am not expressing my own views, but those of several of your best friends, when I say that one of your dangers in India is your wish to do too much work yourself. Spare yourself as much as you possibly can, and recollect that in doing so you are really acting in the true interests of good and efficient government in India.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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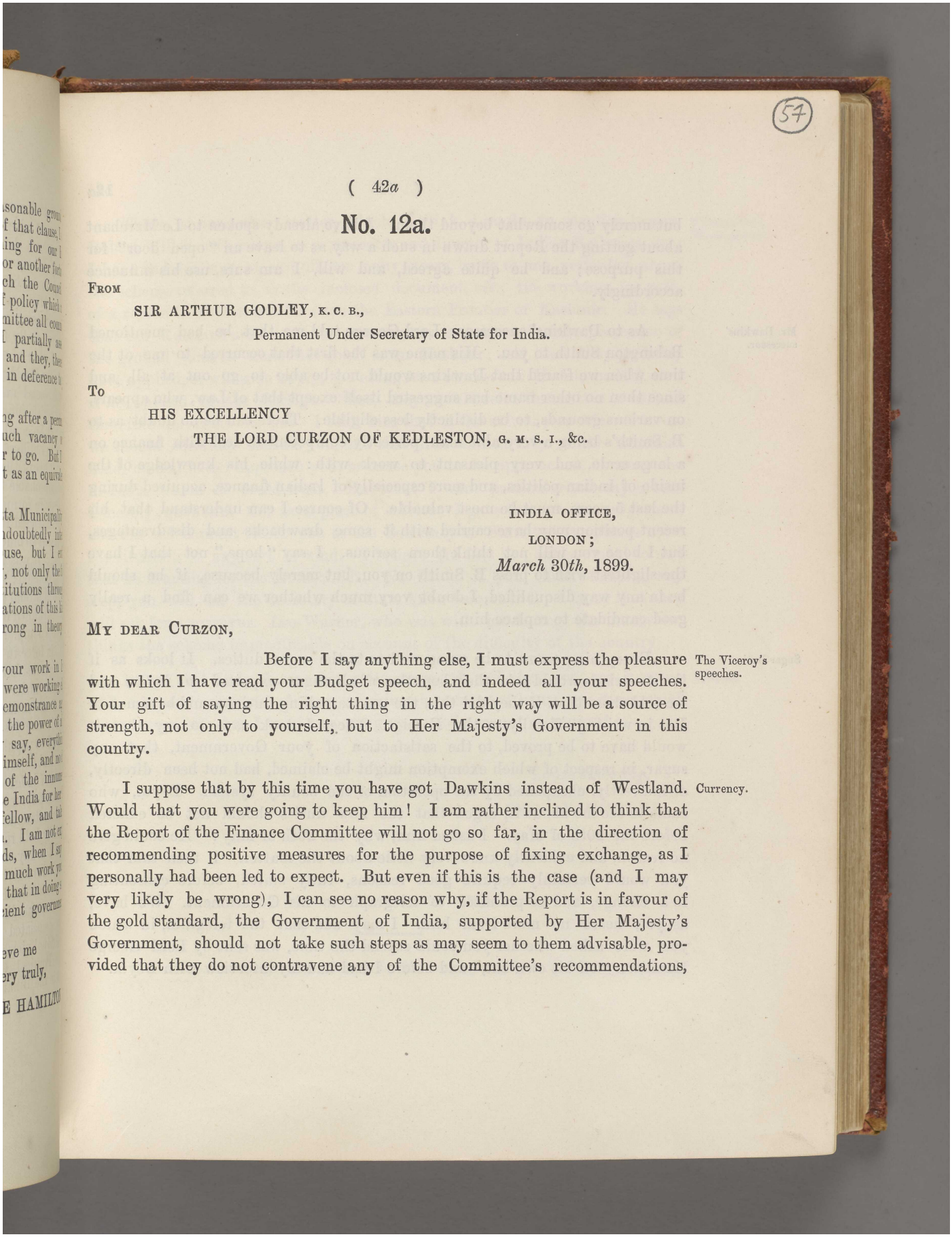

(54)

No. 12a.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,

Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,

LONDON;

March 30*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Before I say anything else, I must express the pleasure with which I have read your Budget speech, and indeed all your speeches. Your gift of saying the right thing in the right way will be a source of strength, not only to yourself, but to Her Majesty's Government in this country. The Viceroy's speeches.

I suppose that by this time you have got Dawkins instead of Westland. Would that you were going to keep him! I am rather inclined to think that the Report of the Finance Committee will not go so far, in the direction of recommending positive measures for the purpose of fixing exchange, as I personally had been led to expect. But even if this is the case (and I may very likely be wrong), I can see no reason why, if the Report is in favour of the gold standard, the Government of India, supported by Her Majesty's Government, should not take such steps as may seem to them advisable, provided that they do not contravene any of the Committee's recommendations, Currency.

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but merely go somewhat beyond them. I have already spoken to Le Marchant about getting the Report drawn in such a way as to leave an "open door" for this purpose; and he quite agreed, and will, I am sure, use his influence accordingly.

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

As to Dawkins' successor: Lord George told me that he had mentioned Babington Smith to you. His name was the first that occurred to me at the time when we feared that Dawkins would not be able to go out at all, and since then no other name has suggested itself except that of Law, who appears, on various grounds, to be distinctly less eligible. There can be no doubt as to B. Smith's being a very able man, perfectly competent to deal with finance on a large scale, and very pleasant to work with: while his knowledge of the inside of Indian politics, and more especially of Indian finance, acquired during the last 5 years, must be most valuable. Of course I can understand that his recent position may have carried with it some drawbacks and disadvantages, but I hope you will not think them serious. I say "hope," not that I have the slightest wish to press B. Smith on you, but merely because, if he should be in any way disqualified, I doubt very much whether we can find a really good candidate to replace him.

Sugar Duties.

Everything seems to be going well as to the sugar duties. It looks as if the Austrians would take their bounties off all sugar exported *to India*, and we told them that, if they did this, the countervailing duties would be removed. But in writing officially to the Foreign Office, I took care to say that it would have to be proved, to the satisfaction of your Government, that any sugar, in respect of which exemption might be claimed, had not been directly, or indirectly, cheapened by the operation of the bounty system. Deym, who came to see me about it, urged that the new duties should not be exacted before the 20th of May. I asked him, why the 20th of May? He could give no reason, and evidently knew very little about the matter. I then said that you would certainly require good reasons, fully stated, before consenting to a change, and he promised to telegraph to his Government. We have, as yet, heard no more from him. I may add that the telegram, in which you were asked whether you could extend the time, was sent by Lord George Hamilton "off his own bat," and before I had had my interview with Deym.

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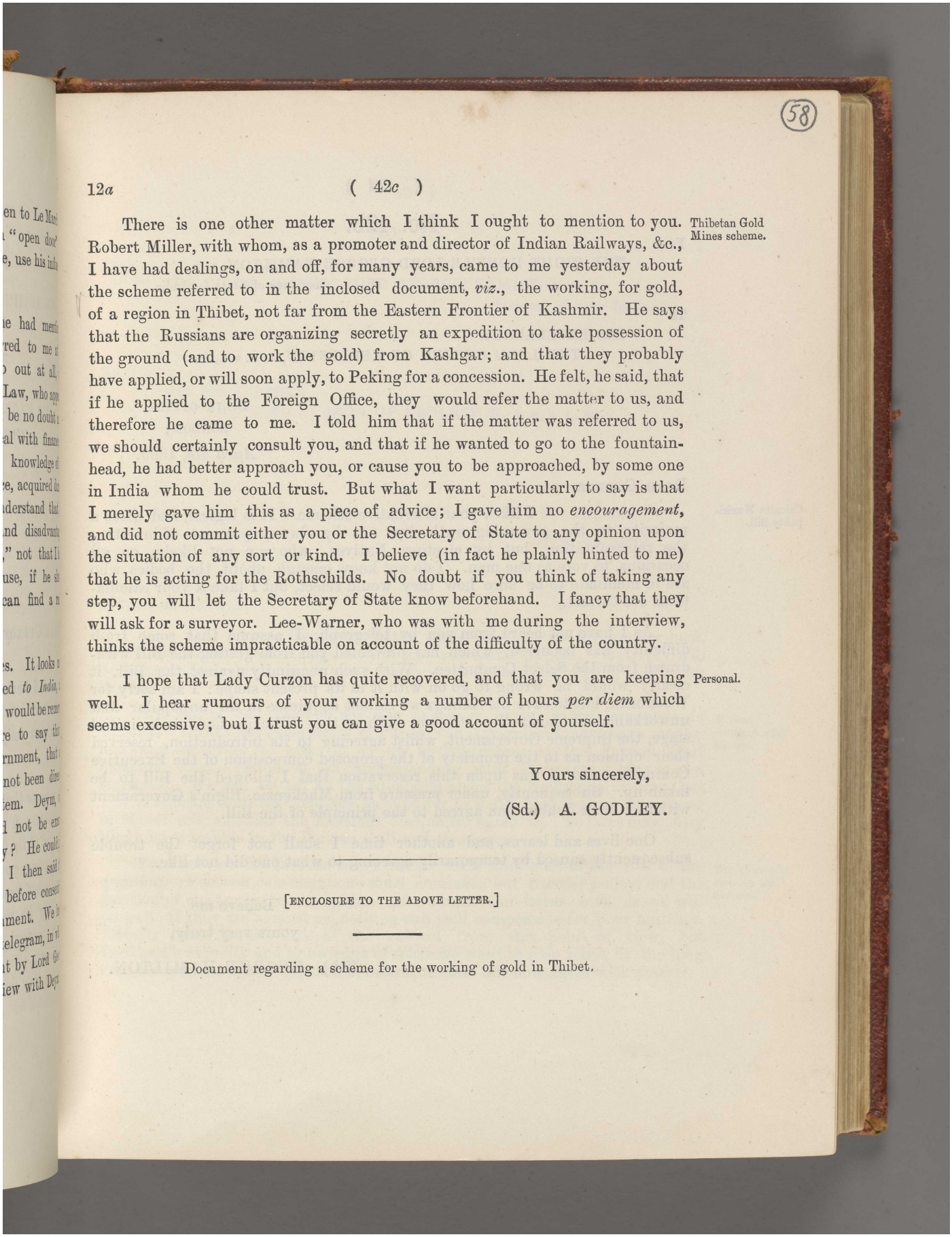

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12*a* (42*c*)

There is one other matter which I think I ought to mention to you. Robert Miller, with whom, as a promoter and director of Indian Railways, &c., I have had dealings, on and off, for many years, came to me yesterday about the scheme referred to in the inclosed document, *viz.*, the working, for gold, of a region in Thibet, not far from the Eastern Frontier of Kashmir. He says that the Russians are organizing secretly an expedition to take possession of the ground (and to work the gold) from Kashgar; and that they probably have applied, or will soon apply, to Peking for a concession. He felt, he said, that if he applied to the Foreign Office, they would refer the matter to us, and therefore he came to me. I told him that if the matter was referred to us, we should certainly consult you, and that if he wanted to go to the fountain-head, he had better approach you, or cause you to be approached, by some one in India whom he could trust. But what I want particularly to say is that I merely gave him this as a piece of advice; I gave him no *encouragement*, and did not commit either you or the Secretary of State to any opinion upon the situation of any sort or kind. I believe (in fact he plainly hinted to me) that he is acting for the Rothschilds. No doubt if you think of taking any step, you will let the Secretary of State know beforehand. I fancy that they will ask for a surveyor. Lee-Warner, who was with me during the interview, thinks the scheme impracticable on account of the difficulty of the country.

Thibetan Gold Mines scheme.

I hope that Lady Curzon has quite recovered, and that you are keeping well. I hear rumours of your working a number of hours *per diem* which seems excessive; but I trust you can give a good account of yourself.

Personal.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Document regarding a scheme for the working of gold in Thibet.

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No. 12b.

FROM
THE RIGHT HONB'LE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
April 4th, 1899.

DEAR GEORGE,

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

I liked your alternative scheme. It is logical, and gives a majority to the governing authority, not by clumsy processes of inverting the representation, but by electing Natives, who are not likely, on all occasions, to vote as one man. I do not know enough about the bodies who are to nominate to be sure how they would select, but I take it your calculations are correct.

As I have not heard from you by telegraph, I assume that some fresh difficulty has occurred, which has prevented you from getting the Bill withdrawn from the Select Committee. With such unanimity against the Bill, it clearly would be wrong to go on with it in its present shape: I am sorry for Woodburn, but to save his feelings we cannot acquiesce in an unpopular and unworkable administrative scheme. When the Bill came home in its initial stage, the Supreme Government, whilst agreeing to its introduction, reserved their opinion as to the propriety of the proposed composition of the Executive Committee, and it was upon this reservation that I allowed the Bill to be taken up. Subsequently, under pressure from Mackenzie, Elgin's Government withdrew their doubts, and agreed to the principle of the Bill.

One lives and learns, and another time I shall not forget the trouble subsequently caused by temporarily agreeing to what one did not like.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 13.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

COATES CASTLE,
PULBOROUGH;
April 5th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I got your letter, whilst on a visit to my mother here, and I am without Secretaries, papers, and shorthand writers. My reply will be comparatively brief, which you will appreciate as my handwriting is not over legible.

Muscat: relations with Russia.

It is just as well that you wrote to Salisbury about India's interests in Muscat. Things are going badly in Persia; the Government must have money, and they are trying to raise it on an hypothecation of the Persian Gulf customs. Our attempt at an understanding with Russia in China is at a standstill. We had settled all the squabbles about the Newchang railway, but now it appears that the Company have power to build lines beyond Newchang in Manchuria, and this the Russians decline to agree to. So we may very likely have trouble in the Persian Gulf and that soon.

The Viceroy's Note on the Samana.

Your note on the Samana range is excellent, and goes to the root of the question. Political considerations must dominate our frontier policy, and the location of our troops on the border. If we have the tribes with us, all will go well; if they are against us, nothing can well compensate for their hostility. Roberts never would look at the subject from this point of view, but Lockhart's sagacity and knowledge of what we want to gain must, in the long run, bring him round to your side, even if he does not now agree with you.

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Foreign Secretaryship.

In appointing a successor to Cuningham do not think too much of Baluchistan and too little of yourself. Lansdowne has often told me of the extra trouble and work imposed upon him by having a man at the Foreign Office whose work was not thoroughly reliable, and who could not write. Bindon Blood seemed to me a man who was suited for an important frontier appointment; he talks a good deal, but is very clever and observant. Irishmen, when able, have a special knack of managing native races. If he was available, it might release Barnes.

Sir B. Blood.

Sir C. Paul.

The correspondence with Paul is instructive, and gives me a good idea of what the old gentleman is. I will try my hand at smoothing him down, so as to get a resignation. Chalmers pressed us strongly some time back to get rid of him, and he turned round when brought face to face with his own suggestion.

The Sugar Duties.

Our sugar case is so strong from every point of view that I am looking forward with great pleasure to a debate in the Commons on the subject. The older economists, who started Free Trade, were so enraptured of their own ideas that they feel certain all nations must become free traders. With this idea at the back of their heads they did not argue, or look at questions, such as sugar bounties, commercial treaties or tariffs, upon their merits, but regarded them only as pawns, or small factors in the great game between protection and free trade, and the course of action they advised was mainly dictated by what they believed would be most likely to accelerate the accomplishment of the millennium of free trade. Not understanding human nature they have brought about the very reverse of what they wished; protection is stronger and more popular than ever, and mainly because we declined to use the only weapon a Protectionist understands, *viz.*, retaliation. It will be a great feather in our caps, if what we have done brings about an abolition of bounties. In the meantime the Austrians are vigorously protesting.

Dr. Whitehead.

Welldon's letter about Whitehead's attitude towards his Metropolitan is fairly satisfactory; he may have taken the most complaisant communication from Whitehead as his text. Their fights over ritual and ceremonial do not interest me in the least; but refusal to obey the orders of a legally superior authority is quite a different matter.

Irrigation.

I was Chairman of a big House of Commons Committee some twenty years ago upon Public Works, and we had then to fight Bright and Cotton upon irrigation. The former took it up as against railways, because military men pushed them. The impression then made on my mind is that with the exception of the Punjab there is not in India a large area where big irrigation works will pay; but if you ensure a remunerative return then out of your large surplus you are certainly justified in spending more than the past normal amount.

The Natus.

As regards the detention of the Natus my legal advisers thought that the warrants did justify their being kept in the district of Belgaum under police

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surveillance, but the papers sent us were scrappy and several months old. In Lansdowne's time, so he tells me, the Bombay Government was really efficient. Making every allowance for Sandhurst, what are the permanent officials about in allowing their Government to fall down to its present state of ineptitude? The Bombay Government.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 14.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
April 14*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

From the account you give me in your last letter of the variety and pressure of work in Calcutta, I am very glad to know that you are released from it, and are, at any rate, able to get some occasional relaxation. The work has evidently been too heavy for your butler, coachman, and cook, and you propose rightly to duplicate them. Recollect that Viceroys cannot be duplicated, and it is therefore your duty not to try and accomplish more work than one man can for a period of five years daily undertake and discharge. With your keenness and previous knowledge of India, I understand well your feeling that there is not time enough in the days, or in the days of five years, to accomplish all you want, but please remember that the only Viceroy of the last fifty years whose tenure of office was prolonged much beyond five years, namely, Lord Dalhousie, did make a very considerable mark upon The Viceroy's work.

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Indian history, but he also killed himself. I take this admonitory tone, because from two or three sources I hear that you are really attempting too much, and there is not one of the twelve questions which you there enumerate which is so important as the maintenance of the health of the Viceroy.

Interviews with Natives.

I entirely agree with what you say as to the Viceroy being too much hedged around by etiquette. We cannot give the Natives what they want: representative institutions or the diminution of the existing establishment of Europeans is impossible. That being so, it seems to me that we can only cultivate reciprocally friendly relations with them by showing interest in them personally, and by utilising opportunities for coming in contact with representative men and representative bodies. I had a curious illustration the other day of what good an interview of this kind even here does. Romesh Dutt, who holds some post in connection with the London University as a Lecturer, and who was one of the very best of Native civilians, wanted to see me about the Calcutta Municipality Bill. The official view was that he was not a person of sufficient importance to come and see me on such a matter; however, I saw him. He stated his case very well. I expressed no opinion upon it beyond mere generalities. I then talked to him generally, and lamented the bitterness and violence shown by the Congress Party located in London of which he is a member. He entirely agreed with me; he said that he had done his best to moderate it, and he was looked upon as an old fossil, and not up to modern ideas. When it was known that Countervailing Sugar Duties were about to be imposed in India, the Wedderburn coterie tried to get up an agitation here against our policy. Romesh Dutt rose to the occasion, and in an excellent letter which he sent to the *Times* nipped in the bud this attempt at upsetting what we proposed.

The Secretary of State's interview with Romesh Dutt.

Hyderabad affairs.

It seems to me that many, if not most, of our difficulties with Native States arise from incompatibility of temperament between the Resident and the Chief to whom he is appointed. The difficulties with the Nizam, I am sure, have been greatly accentuated by Plowden's characteristics. He is an able man, but in no sense qualified for a *quasi*-diplomatic appointment. Since I have been here we have had to look pretty closely into the controversies between Hyderabad and the Resident. The Nizam is not a very estimable character, but it was quite clear that there did not exist sufficient misgovernment in Hyderabad to justify our direct interference in the administration of the country; and, although the weakest part of the Hyderabad system was their financial management, still even there there was no indication that the State was approaching bankruptcy. If you could get the Nizam to agree to a reasonable limitation of personal expenditure, and could by a personal interview ingratiate yourself with him, I believe a very marked change would take place. If he does come to see you, please press upon him to take some measures for the proper education of his son.

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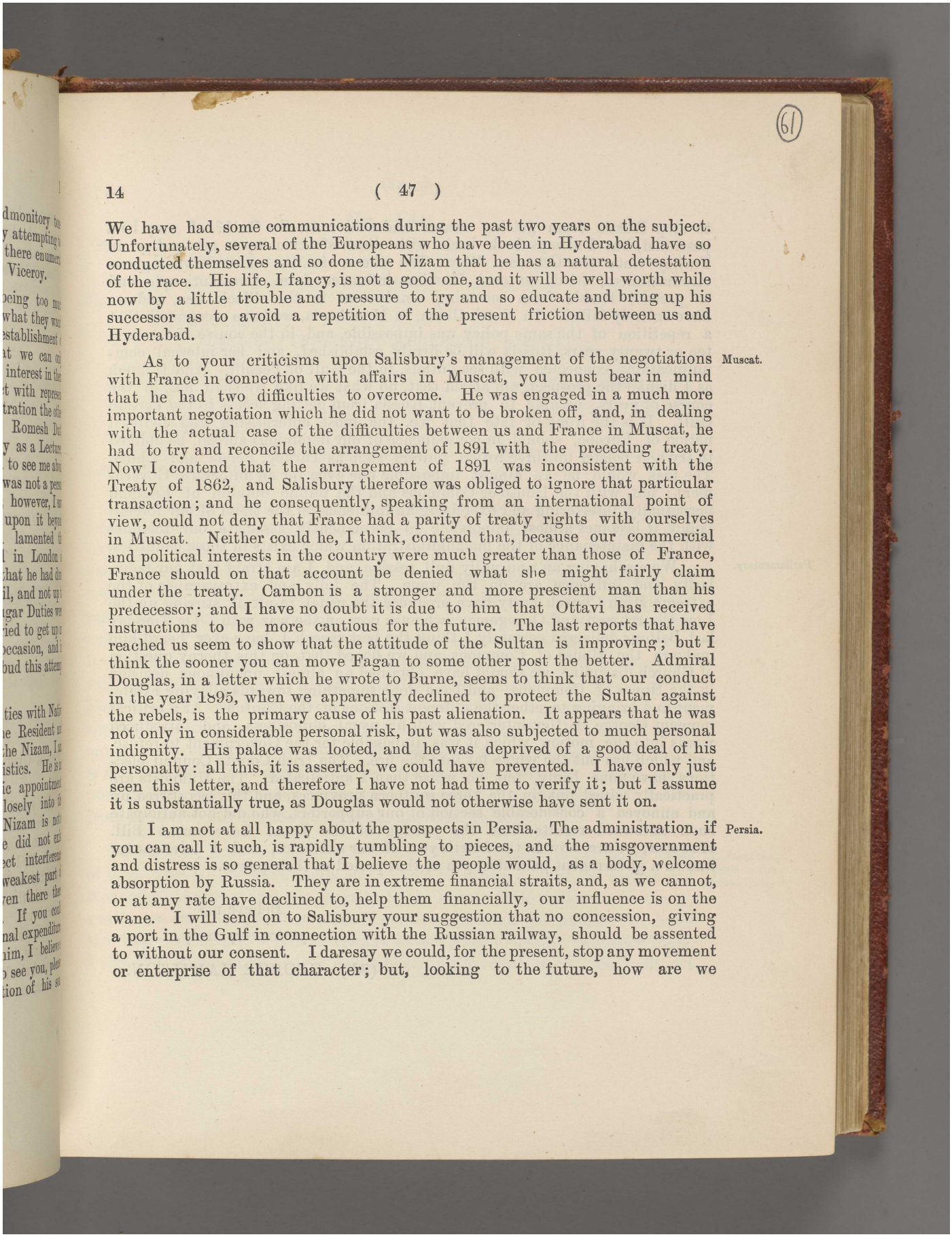

We have had some communications during the past two years on the subject. Unfortunately, several of the Europeans who have been in Hyderabad have so conducted themselves and so done the Nizam that he has a natural detestation of the race. His life, I fancy, is not a good one, and it will be well worth while now by a little trouble and pressure to try and so educate and bring up his successor as to avoid a repetition of the present friction between us and Hyderabad.

Muscat. As to your criticisms upon Salisbury's management of the negotiations with France in connection with affairs in Muscat, you must bear in mind that he had two difficulties to overcome. He was engaged in a much more important negotiation which he did not want to be broken off, and, in dealing with the actual case of the difficulties between us and France in Muscat, he had to try and reconcile the arrangement of 1891 with the preceding treaty. Now I contend that the arrangement of 1891 was inconsistent with the Treaty of 1862, and Salisbury therefore was obliged to ignore that particular transaction; and he consequently, speaking from an international point of view, could not deny that France had a parity of treaty rights with ourselves in Muscat. Neither could he, I think, contend that, because our commercial and political interests in the country were much greater than those of France, France should on that account be denied what she might fairly claim under the treaty. Cambon is a stronger and more prescient man than his predecessor; and I have no doubt it is due to him that Ottavi has received instructions to be more cautious for the future. The last reports that have reached us seem to show that the attitude of the Sultan is improving; but I think the sooner you can move Fagan to some other post the better. Admiral Douglas, in a letter which he wrote to Burne, seems to think that our conduct in the year 1895, when we apparently declined to protect the Sultan against the rebels, is the primary cause of his past alienation. It appears that he was not only in considerable personal risk, but was also subjected to much personal indignity. His palace was looted, and he was deprived of a good deal of his personalty: all this, it is asserted, we could have prevented. I have only just seen this letter, and therefore I have not had time to verify it; but I assume it is substantially true, as Douglas would not otherwise have sent it on.

Persia. I am not at all happy about the prospects in Persia. The administration, if you can call it such, is rapidly tumbling to pieces, and the misgovernment and distress is so general that I believe the people would, as a body, welcome absorption by Russia. They are in extreme financial straits, and, as we cannot, or at any rate have declined to, help them financially, our influence is on the wane. I will send on to Salisbury your suggestion that no concession, giving a port in the Gulf in connection with the Russian railway, should be assented to without our consent. I daresay we could, for the present, stop any movement or enterprise of that character; but, looking to the future, how are we

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to stop Russia from getting nearer and nearer to the Gulf? I may be a pessimist, but I always look back with dissatisfaction upon our policy in Turkey since the Crimean War. We there, in the most advantageous circumstances, tried to oust Russian influence from Constantinople and to prevent Russia from becoming omnipotent in the Black Sea, and we have entirely failed. In North China, in Manchuria, we have recognised that a repetition of the same policy was impossible, and, in the course of the next ten or twenty years, Russia will be firmly established, and her internal communications connected with sea outlets, in the Gulf of Pechili. And I, much as I dislike the prospect, am afraid that, do what we like, we shall not, in the course of years, be able to prevent Russia from getting access to the Persian Gulf. It is the irony of fate that we, the most enterprising and civilised nation of Europe, should, in consequence of our dominions abroad, be obliged to try and bolster up three rotten powers such as Turkey, Persia and China. The task would be an almost impossible one even for an autocratic Government; but, with the House of Commons and the public opinion of England perpetually interfering and exercising an influence on the trend of our foreign policy, it becomes almost impossible to permanently associate our fortunes with the maintenance of the maladministration which exists in those countries.

Parliamentary.

We are having an unusually dull session, and I am afraid that our popularity and influence are on the wane. The folly and extravagance of the extreme High Church Party have produced the usual result of stirring up the Low Churchmen and Orangemen who are now on the war path. On Tuesday last Balfour delivered certainly I think the best speech I have ever heard him make in the House of Commons, and we hoped that, on this thorny question of Church discipline, we should have obtained an almost unanimous decision in the House of Commons, and have done something towards allaying excitement and bringing together the different sections of the Church. At a critical moment George Bartley interfered with his usual clumsiness, and introduced words into the motion which it was impossible for the Government to refuse, and which has put the whole fat into the fire. The Irish County Council elections have gone badly, but no worse than I anticipated. The Unionists are practically wiped out in the three southern provinces, and this has stirred up and annoyed a considerable section of our supporters, who did not anticipate such untoward results from the passing of the Local Government Bill. However, we are now in the fourth year of our existence, and I have never known a government gain strength at that period of their power.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 14a.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
April 14*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I am much obliged to you for a long and interesting letter of the 23rd March.

Muscat.

The Muscat incident seems to be slumbering, and I do not propose to argue the point as to our position in relation to the French. I believe that, although I cannot quite accept your view, I should seldom, if ever, differ from you as to the action to be taken under any circumstances that are likely to occur. But I suppose that no foreign nation would be likely to admit the rather vague prerogative which you would be prepared to claim for this country; and if they don't admit it, it is not easy to see how we are to support it, except by a threat of war. Between the Red Sea and Karachi there is a very considerable extent of littoral, especially if you include the whole of the Persian Gulf; and I doubt the possibility of maintaining a sort of undefined right of exclusion over the ports which it contains. At the same time I quite agree with you that if by hook or by crook we can keep things as they are, it is desirable to do so: only I don't see how we can assert any sort of right, nor am I (for one) prepared to go to war to prevent any other European power from acquiring any portion of the coast above-mentioned.

Residents and Agents in the Persian Gulf.

I am sorry that you apparently do not think it possible to get some class of men who will be more competent to hold their own against the French and Russian emissaries whom you describe in the Persian Gulf stations. Certainly, gentlemen are to be preferred; but if gentlemen cannot be induced to learn the language and to stay long enough in one place to acquire influence there, I should be disposed to descend a step lower in the social scale. But will not

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gentlemen respond to an offer of increased salaries and allowances? I should have thought that it was partly, at any rate, a question of money, and that a little expenditure for this purpose would be money well laid out.

Tenure of Advocate-Generalship.

I note your wish about the limits to be imposed on the future Advocate General. No doubt we shall meet your wishes as regards the next occupant. But I think that *his* successors ought to be subject to the same rule as the Judges.

Civil Veterinary Dept. scheme.

We have written strongly to the War Office about your Civil Veterinary Service, and I will remind Lord George to speak to Lord Lansdowne (I have already mentioned the matter to him).

The English Budget.

The Budget is, I think, a judicious one from the point of view of its effect on the constituencies. Personally, I regret the reduction of the Sinking Fund: but the alternatives were *beer* and *income tax*, and either of these would have had a very bad effect on the Government's best supporters.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 14b.

FROM
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
April 21*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Mr. Maclean.

To begin with the *least* important matter; you will have read with compassion, I hope, as we did, the account in the papers of

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Maclean's conduct in the House last night. Of course you know what is the reason both of this, and (no doubt) of his strange conduct to you last Autumn; *viz.*, a fatal disease which is slowly undermining his brain. One can only pity him.

Lord Northbrook and the Sugar Duties.

I have had a long visit to-day from Lord Northbrook. He is, as you probably know, a keen supporter of your Sugar policy, and he came to show me a very absurd pamphlet which has been put out by the Cobden Club on the subject. He is one of the oldest and most important members of the Club, and he was going to write to the Secretary, protesting against this publication as a representation of the Cobdenian view, and asking whether they would print and circulate a pamphlet by himself (Lord Northbrook) on the other side. He came to discuss the matter, and to ask for certain documents, with which of course I was delighted to supply him.

Punjab Land Alienation Bill.

We have had a great discussion about the Punjab Land Bill. I think I told you in my last letter how the matter then stood. Since then there has been another debate in Council upon our draft despatch, the result of which was to show that it will be passed in the form in which we had it prepared; *viz.*, as a colourless document, drawing your attention to the arguments of our expert members of Council, and asking you to consider them, and then to give us your final views. If, as we expect, you adhere to your previous opinion, it is quite understood—though of course we don't say this—that the Secretary of State will sanction your proposals. There has been a very sharp difference of opinion, and, although the course which we have adopted may appear to you a feeble one, it was really the only way of getting round the strong feeling against the measure which prevailed among some of our best men. In this matter, to do them justice, the Council has behaved well; they wrote and spoke strongly, but showed themselves perfectly amenable to reason. Some of their speeches and (I think you will say) their minutes, which we are sending out (I believe Lord George has sent them already privately), were very interesting.

Col. Vincent's appointment in Bikanir.

They also behaved very well about Vincent's appointment in Bikanir. Lord George managed the business with skill and tact, and they surrendered

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at discretion, only asking him to say that the rule should in future be observed.

Tenure of Judicial appointments.

Chalmers appeared in my room, looking very hale and hearty, a day or two ago. I sent him our draft despatch about the improvement of the position of Indian Judges, and the enforcement of retirement at 60. He highly approves it, and says, "a very satisfactory solution I think and hope."

Currency.

I have heard nothing about currency for the last week or so. As I have probably said before, I intend to do what little I can to get them (the Committee), after stating the objects to be aimed at, to say that the time at which it may be advisable to take steps to attain these ends must be left to the judgment of the Government of India, or words to that effect. This is the best we can get, if they will not recommend any action; and I am afraid they won't.

Wireless telegraphy.

We got a telegram from you a day or two ago about "automatic" telegraphy, which I suppose means wireless telegraphy—at least, our Public Works Department does not know what else it can mean. If this is so, we have to some extent anticipated your wishes by deciding to send down three experts to the S. Foreland next week, to see the thing with their own eyes. But of course we will *also* do what you suggest.

The Viceroy's speeches.

Lord Northbrook—who was most kind and friendly in all he said—told me that he thought you should not let the reporters, Reuter and others, telegraph home so many of your speeches. He said, "I myself made just as many speeches as Curzon, though not nearly such good ones; so does every Viceroy; but the difference is that Curzon gets reported and we did not. It would be better if he could control this a little."

I repeat this—though I don't think he had any idea that I should do so—for your consideration: *valeat quantum*.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

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No. 15.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
April 21*st*, 1893.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Personal.

From the knowledge of your movements conveyed by telegraph I assume that you have for some days past been at Simla, where I hope you like your surroundings. My sister got very fond of the house that Dufferin built, though I believe it has its disadvantages in the rainy weather as it is not quite watertight, but it is a very great improvement on the old tumbledown shanty which was previously occupied by the Viceroy.

Retention of Colonel Vincent at Bikanir.

We have had a comparatively quiet week here since I last wrote to you; but we came to a decision upon two questions in which you take a strong personal interest. The Council gave way as regards the retention of Vincent as Agent in Bikanir. It was clear I could overrule them, and the knowledge of this fact tended to shorten the discussion. But short as it was, it brought out what was their real objection to Vincent's retention. Distinct instructions were some two years ago sent to India that officers, who during the minority of a Chief exercised authority over him, should not be retained in positions of trust after the ruling Prince was invested with full powers. A good deal of our recent disagreements with the Gaekwar are attributed to the continuance of Elliot in a position of responsibility after he had been the Gaekwar's tutor. In spite of this injunction, the Viceroy's Agent, Crosthwaite, formally announced to Bikanir upon his installation that Vincent should remain; and the Political Committee thought that there was a deliberate attempt on the part of the Indian Government to give the go-by to the decision sent out. I assured them that, if there had been through inadvertence any failure on the part of the Foreign Office to note and act on this injunction, neither the late nor the present Viceroy had given any

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encouragement to such an idea, and had acted in perfect good faith throughout. A despatch will go out affirming the appointment, but requesting adherence to the principle previously laid down.

Alienation of land in the Punjab.

We had a long and interesting fresh discussion in a joint Committee upon your proposed legislation in the Punjab. Counter opinions were extraordinarily evenly balanced, and the arguments on both sides seemed to me well worthy of consideration. Ultimately I had a despatch drafted stating succinctly the advantages and disadvantages of the two contending plans. This despatch is accompanied by the Minutes of the six members of Council, which have been so far revised as to contain no personal allusion to Mackworth Young. Although there may be nothing new in the despatch, still I think it states well and concisely the difficulties and evils to be apprehended whatever course you may select to take. We also ask you, whilst considering these objections, to return to us your opinion as to which of the two courses you prefer, together with a Bill giving effect to your intentions; and I think you may be quite sure that, after this further reconsideration, whatever your Government definitely decide upon will have the assent of the Council here. As Mackworth Young and the chief Punjab officers will be up at Simla, I do not think this procedure will cause much delay; but the question is of such transcendent importance that, even if a few months are lost, they will be more than counterbalanced by the advantage gained from obtaining your opinion after you have personally come in contact with the chief officials of the Punjab, and have been able to pick up from the districts through which you have passed a closer knowledge of what is and what is not necessary to prevent the further alienation of land.

Secy. of State's Bills.

The exchange banks tried to squeeze us by tendering in very small amounts and at low rates on Wednesday last. We perhaps have a little overloaded the market by our large sales during the last few weeks; but, as we have large balances here, and in addition you have between two and three million sterling in sovereigns, we are in a very favourable position to resist the pressure put upon us. I had a long conversation with two official members of the Currency Committee. It is pretty clear from what they tell me that the majority of the Committee will recommend a very conservative course of action towards the attainment of a gold standard and a gold currency. The majority will probably confine their recommendations to a continued closure of the Mints, to taking 1*s.* 4*d.* as the rate at which gold can be exchanged for the rupee, and to propose little more for the present. They trust to the influence of trade and a favourable exchange to accumulate gradually a considerable amount of gold in the Indian treasury; and they think that, whenever the exchange falls below a certain point, this gold should be remitted to England to meet our obligations here. All gold so remitted would have to be replaced by rupees taken out of the cash balances of the

Forecast of the Currency Committee Report.

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Government, and thus every remittance of gold will result in a contraction of the currency in India; and, trusting to this operation, they believe that the exchange will remain stable, and that in the course of a year or two there will be a very considerable accumulation of gold in India. I told them that I should have preferred a bolder course myself, but that if the majority of the Committee were in favour of more cautious procedure, and if it was likely to secure unanimity, I should not very much object to the caution displayed in the recommendations made; but that it was essential that, if the Committee limited themselves to making such recommendations, they should not put any impediments by other recommendations to the Government of India adopting hereafter, if they think it necessary, a bolder or more determined course. Lord Aldenham, who is Chairman of the Bi-metallist League, writes to me very confidently that the United States will soon again make fresh proposals to us. He has always been over sanguine, and I doubt the accuracy of his information. The democrats may make such a move if they think they can gain by it, and the American Government are getting into a very tight place in the Philippines. If the democrats think that, by attacking the foreign policy, and combining such an attack with the adoption of a bi-metallic policy at home, they can frame a plausible platform likely to be effective at the next election, they will probably try to do so. But, as far as we can judge here, neither in the United States nor in France are the economical conditions of trade and commerce such as to make it probable that there will be a repetition of any proposals similar to those made to us two years back; and all the information I can get, and that is derived from very reliable sources, points to the extreme improbability of the French Government doing anything which would tend to depreciate the exchange value of the enormous mass of silver they hold or have in circulation.

Attitude of the United States and France on currency.

You have achieved, both as regards Samana and Chitral, a real success in getting our frontier arrangements based upon an intelligible and economical system. Donald Stewart was specially delighted with your note on Samana; he, as you know, has always been in favour of utilising Native Levies as much as possible, and making them do the work of police, and you have well given effect to this idea. I think that most of the disturbances which occur on the frontier fall within the domain of police riots rather than of political outbreaks. If a few policemen are killed it does not so very much matter, but, if the casualties belong to our regular army, the transaction is magnified throughout the world. Independent of the political merits of your suggestions, I am sure that from a military point of view they are sound. With a limited army such as we have got, the two principles which we ought never to lose sight of, and ought to try and develop as far as possible, are those of concentration and mobility. In your plan you keep a force out of sight available at any moment in ordinary times to come to the help of the Native Levies. But the forces are also available at other times for a forward movement or for any other purpose

Samana and Chitral.

Viceroy's Note.

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for which they may be required. The locking-up of troops in out-of-the-way places and their general dispersion are contrary to all principles of military strategy; and, if they are applicable where the forces at the disposal of the authority are very great, how much more necessary is it to observe them when, as in our case, the forces we can control are comparatively small.

Attitude of Government towards private enterprise.

I am very glad to hear that you like Colonel Gardiner: I think that he will effectively carry out your ideas. My impression is that, the more you look into the attitude assumed by the Government and the Public Works Department towards private enterprise, you will find that it is in questions other than railroads that the obstruction has been the most marked. Unfortunately the promoters of companies and those demanding concessions are very frequently very disreputable members of the financial world; but what the City and all financial centres detest is being unable to obtain a reply except after months and possibly years of delay. A prompt reply is essential if private enterprise is to be promoted, and big men encouraged to embark in Indian enterprise. They cannot afford to keep any large proportion of their capital lying idle, and, if they do not receive replies within a reasonable period, the money that they had proposed to devote, or were ready to devote, to one purpose, has, in the meantime, been applied to another from which it cannot be withdrawn.

Muscat.

As regards the publication of papers relating to Muscat which would of course include your despatch, I must see the Prime Minister before we can come to any decision on the point. He arrived late last night. My disposition would be not to publish any documents: you have scored heavily and inflicted a real rebuff upon France which they have taken much more quietly than we anticipated, and I am afraid that, if your despatch which is an excellent one is published, it will reveal fully to the public the late differences between us and the Sultan of Muscat. Our relations with him are I understand on the mend; but this despatch would be an effective instrument for a clever man like Ottavi to utilise in letting the Sultan know what our past opinion of his conduct was. Dilke is, however, pressing for papers, and, if the Opposition persevere in their demand, it is clear we must produce them. Cambon has just now made a suggestion as to the procedure by which the French should get coaling facilities in Muscat: he wishes the whole thing settled here, but I demur to this, as the original understanding was that, if any such facilities were granted, the demand for them should be submitted to our Agent at Muscat before the Sultan accepted it.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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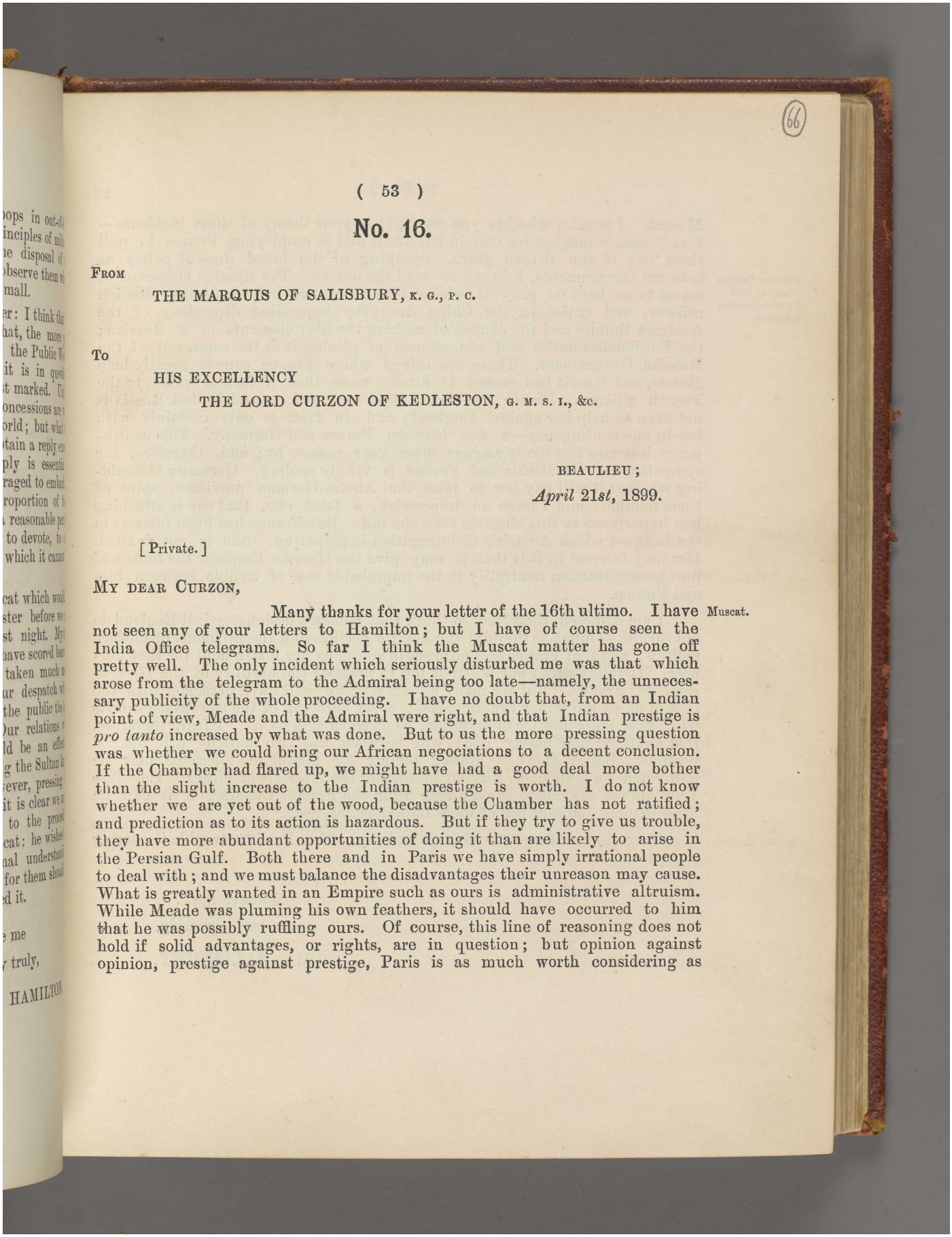

No. 16.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K. G., P. C.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

BEAULIEU;
April 21*st*, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th ultimo. I have not seen any of your letters to Hamilton; but I have of course seen the India Office telegrams. So far I think the Muscat matter has gone off pretty well. The only incident which seriously disturbed me was that which arose from the telegram to the Admiral being too late—namely, the unnecessary publicity of the whole proceeding. I have no doubt that, from an Indian point of view, Meade and the Admiral were right, and that Indian prestige is *pro tanto* increased by what was done. But to us the more pressing question was whether we could bring our African negociations to a decent conclusion. If the Chamber had flared up, we might have had a good deal more bother than the slight increase to the Indian prestige is worth. I do not know whether we are yet out of the wood, because the Chamber has not ratified; and prediction as to its action is hazardous. But if they try to give us trouble, they have more abundant opportunities of doing it than are likely to arise in the Persian Gulf. Both there and in Paris we have simply irrational people to deal with; and we must balance the disadvantages their unreason may cause. What is greatly wanted in an Empire such as ours is administrative altruism. While Meade was pluming his own feathers, it should have occurred to him that he was possibly ruffling ours. Of course, this line of reasoning does not hold if solid advantages, or rights, are in question; but opinion against opinion, prestige against prestige, Paris is as much worth considering as

Muscat.

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Russian foreign designs; and Franco-Russian relations.

Muscat. I wonder whether you are right in your theory of these incidents—that Russia is longing for certain chestnuts and is employing France to pull them out of the British grate. Speaking of the broad lines of policy as between Governments, I do not so read the omens. The Russian Government seems to me bent on projects where France cannot help her—the Siberian railway, and outlet in the China Sea; the impending disruption of the Austrian Empire and the chance of making the Slav elements in it Russian; the Dardanelles outlet and the chance of placing it at the command of the Russian Government. These are things where France cannot greatly help Russia, and Russia has ceased to attach more than a formal value to the French alliance. France has found this out, and recognises that Russia is not keen to help her against England; and, in fact, is only certainly with her in one contingency—a war between France and Germany. This contingency becomes less likely as year after year passes by; and, therefore, the sympathy between Russia and France is visibly cooling. Germany is doubting whether it will pay her to take the Austro-German provinces, spite of their religion; and I have an impression, a faint one, that she is attaching less importance to this obstacle than she did. But France has little interest in the banquet which Austria's disintegration is preparing. She is not invited. Her only interest in it is that it may give the German Emperor the means of purchasing Russian neutrality in the improbable case of trouble between him and France.

I am disposed, therefore, to think that Russia's designs against England do not furnish so much as they did the key for deciphering the problems of modern politics: and that France sees no profit in acting as her instrument for that purpose. It follows that our policy is not to *presume* the hostility of the *Government* of France. But for many a long year we shall have to reckon with the ill-will of all the minor functionaries; every outbreak of the *morbus consularis* will, as a mere matter of tradition, be directed against us. I fear, therefore, that anything like hearty good will between the two nations will not be possible. But I think a mutual temper of apathetic tolerance may be cultivated on both sides, without sacrificing the interests of either. Therefore I am always anxious to avoid a flare up in the French Chamber if it can be done without the sacrifice of more imperious interests.

Seistan Railway.

Pray do not forget the Seistan railway. The Persian trouble is coming on apace.

Believe me
yours very sincerely,
(Sd.) SALISBURY.

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No. 17.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
April 28th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your last letter* enclosed to me two speeches which you had made at Lahore. I specially liked your address to the students of the Punjab Chiefs' College. It was couched in language specially calculated to stir up boyish good feeling, and was prompted by the highest instincts of public school life. I often ponder over the secret of young Englishmen being so extraordinarily successful as administrators and governors of races and countries other than their own; and I believe their success is more the result of the sense and spirit of fair play which the average Englishman possesses, but which is so much fostered early in life by public school training. And this knowledge, that the Englishman when placed in a post of responsibility and authority will utilise all his opportunities to deal equally and fairly with all who come before him, more than compensates for his lack of education and knowledge when we compare him with the more highly trained and educated foreigner. Whether you will ever be able to infuse any feelings of this kind into Indian boys I cannot say, but certainly your address was well conceived and put that idea in graphic and impressive language before them.

Viceroy's speech at the Punjab Chiefs' College.

* April 5th.

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Sir Mackworth Young.

I have always been told that Mackworth Young personally is a really good fellow—straightforward, religious, and thoroughly reliable. I doubt if any Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab could acquiesce in a proposal to curtail his government of the authority which they have ever possessed over frontier questions; and I am surprised that the various frontier officials whom you consulted should have been so unanimous for the creation of a separate frontier Province. I am afraid that my long experience makes me a little cynical as to motives: two out of the four you consulted might, if the separation takes place, be appointed as the new Frontier Commissioner, and it may be this consideration was not altogether absent from their minds. Of all the men I saw here, Udny had by far the most knowledge and experience of frontier matters. He is lacking in the essential characteristics of a frontier officer, for he is slow and somewhat irresolute, but he is a man of considerable brain power and loyal and trustworthy. He assured me that there would be no difficulty whatever in carrying out either of the compromises—that which I suggested, or that which you indicate. I think it would be worth your while to see him and have a talk with him before you send home any definite proposals: in all probability he would have to retire if any fresh arrangement was made, because I assume Peshawar would be the headquarters of the new Commissioner. Your criticism of the present system is unanswerable, and, if it had not been for the great prestige which the Punjab Government, owing to the exceptional ability of its early founders, enjoyed, the system must long ago have come to an end. I have always assumed that any separation or detachment of the Trans-Indus districts would involve alterations in their civil and legal administration, but this no doubt you have considered and will fully discuss when you send home to us your suggestions.

Opinions of frontier officials on frontier administration.

Sir R. Udny.

The present system of frontier administration.

Sugar Duties.

A great dinner was given last night to Elgin in the City at which I met Fowler. He told me that, as soon as the papers which I have promised relating to the Countervailing Sugar Duties were published, he proposes to move an address asking for the annulling of the Act. He is the best man they have got to undertake such an attack, but I do not think he will be able to make much of it; and I doubt if he will carry the whole of his party with him. Poor Maclean is, week by week, getting madder and madder.

Sir H. Fowler's proposed motion.

Expenditure of the Berars.

A despatch goes out either by this mail, or next mail, relating to the expenditure of the Berars. I think it is worth your attention before you see the Nizam as you propose to do in Calcutta during the autumn. I always think that our seizure of the Berars was rather a questionable transaction, but at the time it was taken there was a very clear understanding that the whole of the surplus revenue, which ought to be considerable, was to be handed over to the Nizam. Of recent years there has been little or no surplus: this is partly due to drought, but also to the greatly increased expenditure of the civil administra-

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tion. I do think that some check should be put upon this growth, and, inasmuch as the impecuniosity of the Hyderabad State is our main complaint against the Nizam, I think he might with justice retort that he has been reduced to this position owing to his having been deprived of the surpluses to which he is legitimately entitled. A very elaborate analysis of the expenditure has been sent out with the despatch which I think will enable you, should you upon investigation think it is desirable to do so, to convey to the Commission your wish that greater economy for the future should be practised. I do not know if it would be possible to put a limit upon the expenditure; but, so long as the Berar officials are able to draw upon the revenue considerably in excess of the necessary cost of Government, I think the tendency will be to unduly run up expenditure.

G. I. P. Railway.

We decided to-day in a large joint Committee to exercise our powers of purchase as regards the G. I. P., but it is not necessary legally to give notice of such intention before August. We therefore propose to keep our intention secret, so far as we can, to prevent stock being manipulated during the next few months. Your Government have recommended this course, and perhaps therefore you will take this private notice as a reply to the official letter which we received from India on the subject.

Secretary of State's Bills.

The exchange banks failed in their effort to squeeze us. We sold, subsequently to our refusal to allot, in the course of the week nearly forty lakhs, and the whole of the allotment was yesterday placed at 1*s.* 4*d.* It therefore looks as if we shall be able to maintain that rate on an average for the whole year.

Russian designs in the Persian Gulf.

I sent you the Foreign Office reply as regards the information at their disposal referring to the alleged attempt of Russia to obtain Bunder Abbas. I am sure we are going to have trouble in Persia, and I only wish I could see clearly my way as to how we can effectively and permanently arrest the onward course of Russia.

Muscat.

We have had some little correspondence with the Foreign Office on your Muscat despatch. I have been obliged to address them in rather guarded terms, and, as regards Meade's action in exceeding his instructions, I have taken your view, but added that, under the circumstances, it would have been better if he had telegraphed definitely for instructions on this point before taking action. I imagine Lord Salisbury clearly intimated to Cambon that the instructions had been exceeded, and I imagine he expressed regret. Until all the details are settled as to the procedure by which France is to get coaling facilities, it will be impossible to publish papers; and, although your despatch will probably see the light, it will not become public property for some little time.

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Parliamentary. We are going to have a formal party attack made on our Budget proposals; but Beach's methods of meeting increased expenditure have been better received than I anticipated, and I do not think we shall have any serious difficulty. We are also getting on with our London Government Bill, so that as a Government we have rather gained than lost ground during the past three weeks. We have still a very awkward Bill to get over in connection with Church Discipline, for all your Lancashire friends have gone mad on the subject; and Balfour's announcement of his views in connection with the Irish University was unfortunately ill-timed, and has rather fanned the Protestant flame throughout the North of England.

Lady S. Scott. Society is much perturbed at Lady Sophie Scott's escapade, as I daresay you saw. She left her husband and ran away with a Colonel Burnaby who is already married and has two or three children. I am very sorry for the Cadogans who are terribly upset, not having had the slightest intimation that anything of the kind was likely to occur. I hear, however, the husband is ready to take her back, so I hope that his offer will be accepted, and the family will be spared a scandal and a sensational divorce.

Lord Salisbury. The Prime Minister seems much the better for his foreign tour, and his appearance is greatly improved by the clipping of a skilful foreign barber.

Mr. Spencer Grey for Berar Commission. A lovely but pertinacious lady, Lady Eden, has been writing to me on behalf of her brother, whom she wants to get into the Berar Commission. Ritchie wrote to Lawrence on the subject, and he in reply informed her that the gift was in my hands, which is not the case. These appointments are yours subject to approval from home. I do not know what the young man's qualifications are—Lawrence has them—but I daresay you will consider them whenever a vacancy occurs. I enclose Lady Eden's summary of the position.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Note from Lady Eden to Lord G. Hamilton, dated 27th April 1899.

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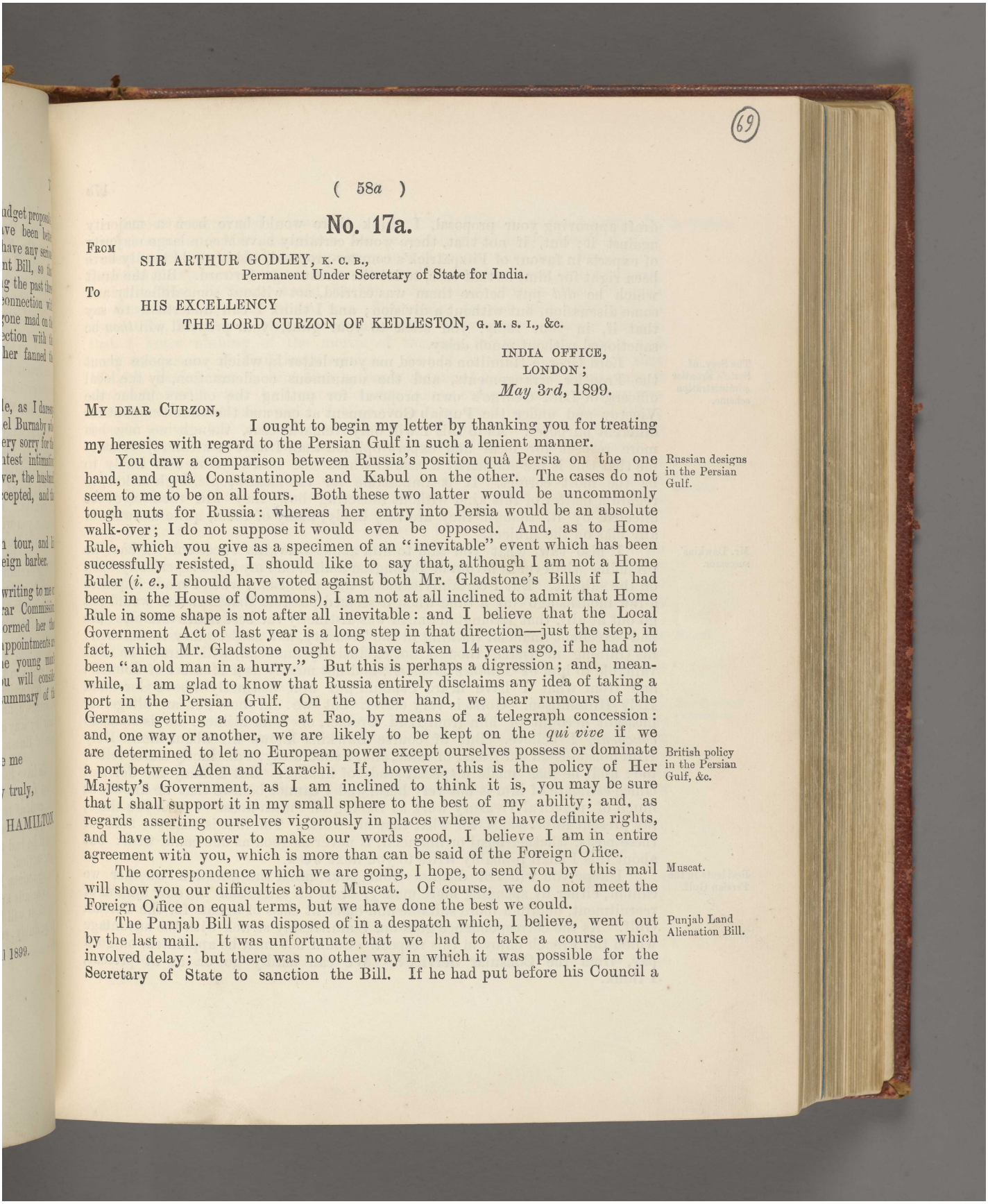

No. 17a.

FROM
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
May 3rd, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I ought to begin my letter by thanking you for treating my heresies with regard to the Persian Gulf in such a lenient manner.

Russian designs in the Persian Gulf.

You draw a comparison between Russia's position quâ Persia on the one hand, and quâ Constantinople and Kabul on the other. The cases do not seem to me to be on all fours. Both these two latter would be uncommonly tough nuts for Russia: whereas her entry into Persia would be an absolute walk-over; I do not suppose it would even be opposed. And, as to Home Rule, which you give as a specimen of an "inevitable" event which has been successfully resisted, I should like to say that, although I am not a Home Ruler (*i. e.*, I should have voted against both Mr. Gladstone's Bills if I had been in the House of Commons), I am not at all inclined to admit that Home Rule in some shape is not after all inevitable: and I believe that the Local Government Act of last year is a long step in that direction—just the step, in fact, which Mr. Gladstone ought to have taken 14 years ago, if he had not been "an old man in a hurry." But this is perhaps a digression; and, meanwhile, I am glad to know that Russia entirely disclaims any idea of taking a port in the Persian Gulf. On the other hand, we hear rumours of the Germans getting a footing at Fao, by means of a telegraph concession: and, one way or another, we are likely to be kept on the *qui vive* if we are determined to let no European power except ourselves possess or dominate a port between Aden and Karachi. If, however, this is the policy of Her Majesty's Government, as I am inclined to think it is, you may be sure that I shall support it in my small sphere to the best of my ability; and, as regards asserting ourselves vigorously in places where we have definite rights, and have the power to make our words good, I believe I am in entire agreement with you, which is more than can be said of the Foreign Office.

British policy in the Persian Gulf, &c.

Muscat.

The correspondence which we are going, I hope, to send you by this mail will show you our difficulties about Muscat. Of course, we do not meet the Foreign Office on equal terms, but we have done the best we could.

Punjab Land Alienation Bill.

The Punjab Bill was disposed of in a despatch which, I believe, went out by the last mail. It was unfortunate that we had to take a course which involved delay; but there was no other way in which it was possible for the Secretary of State to sanction the Bill. If he had put before his Council a

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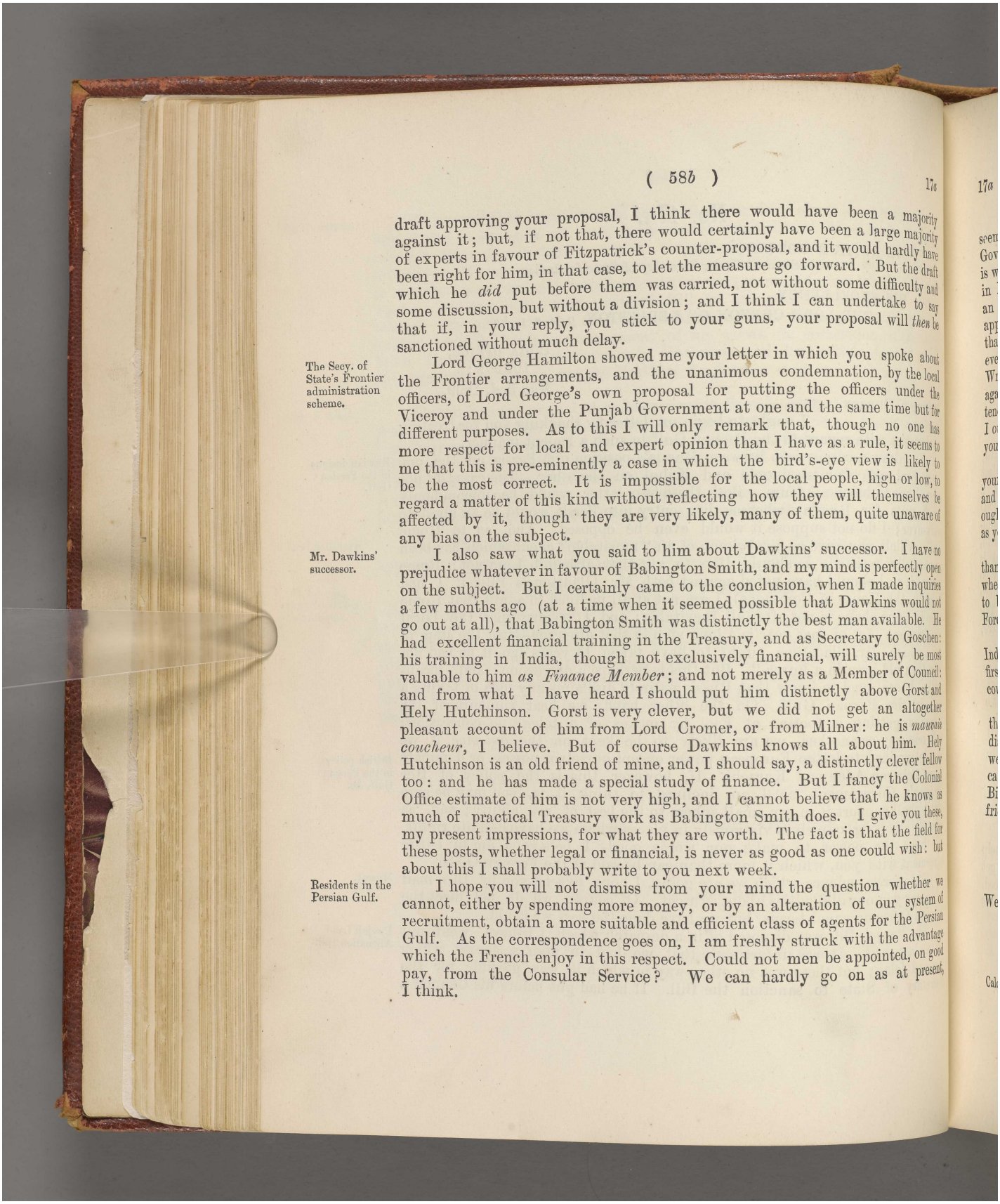

draft approving your proposal, I think there would have been a majority against it; but, if not that, there would certainly have been a large majority of experts in favour of Fitzpatrick's counter-proposal, and it would hardly have been right for him, in that case, to let the measure go forward. But the draft which he *did* put before them was carried, not without some difficulty and some discussion, but without a division; and I think I can undertake to say that if, in your reply, you stick to your guns, your proposal will *then* be sanctioned without much delay.

The Secy. of State's Frontier administration scheme.

Lord George Hamilton showed me your letter in which you spoke about the Frontier arrangements, and the unanimous condemnation, by the local officers, of Lord George's own proposal for putting the officers under the Viceroy and under the Punjab Government at one and the same time but for different purposes. As to this I will only remark that, though no one has more respect for local and expert opinion than I have as a rule, it seems to me that this is pre-eminently a case in which the bird's-eye view is likely to be the most correct. It is impossible for the local people, high or low, to regard a matter of this kind without reflecting how they will themselves be affected by it, though they are very likely, many of them, quite unaware of any bias on the subject.

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

I also saw what you said to him about Dawkins' successor. I have no prejudice whatever in favour of Babington Smith, and my mind is perfectly open on the subject. But I certainly came to the conclusion, when I made inquiries a few months ago (at a time when it seemed possible that Dawkins would not go out at all), that Babington Smith was distinctly the best man available. He had excellent financial training in the Treasury, and as Secretary to Goschen: his training in India, though not exclusively financial, will surely be most valuable to him *as Finance Member*; and not merely as a Member of Council: and from what I have heard I should put him distinctly above Gorst and Hely Hutchinson. Gorst is very clever, but we did not get an altogether pleasant account of him from Lord Cromer, or from Milner: he is *mauvais coucheur*, I believe. But of course Dawkins knows all about him. Hely Hutchinson is an old friend of mine, and, I should say, a distinctly clever fellow too: and he has made a special study of finance. But I fancy the Colonial Office estimate of him is not very high, and I cannot believe that he knows as much of practical Treasury work as Babington Smith does. I give you these, my present impressions, for what they are worth. The fact is that the field for these posts, whether legal or financial, is never as good as one could wish: but about this I shall probably write to you next week.

Residents in the Persian Gulf.

I hope you will not dismiss from your mind the question whether we cannot, either by spending more money, or by an alteration of our system of recruitment, obtain a more suitable and efficient class of agents for the Persian Gulf. As the correspondence goes on, I am freshly struck with the advantage which the French enjoy in this respect. Could not men be appointed, on good pay, from the Consular Service? We can hardly go on as at present, I think.

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I think I mentioned to you that I had seen Haffkine at some length: he seemed to me an interesting person, and he certainly has deserved well of your Government. Now, I have since been told (I repeat this only for what it is worth) that you are going to start a National Health Institute, or Laboratory, in India: that Haffkine would be the natural and obvious head of such an Institute: but that there is a disposition to set him aside and to appoint Dr. Wright, a Member of the Plague Commission. Please observe that I know nothing of the merits of the case, beyond what I know, and every one knows, of Haffkine's services. But it is further suggested that Wright, having got a hint that he has a chance of this appointment, turned against Haffkine when the Commission was taking evidence, and put questions tending to discredit his work. I hope there is no truth in this. But I think I ought perhaps just to mention the matter to you, in order that you may keep your eye open when the time comes for making this important appointment. M. Haffkine.

The last three pages of your last letter to me dealt with the question of your electric lift. I detached these pages and sent them for the information and guidance of our Director-General of Stores. I hardly know whether I ought to trouble you with the notes which I have had from him in reply: but as you take a personal interest in the matter, I have decided to inclose them. Lift for Government House, Calcutta.

While I was writing the latter part of this letter, I was called away more than once to see Lord George about the Muscat telegrams. I don't know whether the proposed arrangement will satisfy you; but he has had some ado to bring Lord Salisbury to it, and it is a great improvement, surely, on the Foreign Office proposal.

On returning to my room after the last of these absences, I found the Indian mail lying on my desk, with your letter of April 19th. This is the first time (I think) that I have ever known it arrive on a Friday, so that one could reply on the same day. Muscat.

The only remark I shall make on the contents of your letter by this mail is, however, that I have lately had better accounts of the disposition of the Currency Committee. Fowler spoke to me about it a week ago of his own accord, and I am sure he will go as far as he can in the right direction. The recent attempt to force down the price of our Bills, and its complete failure, has greatly strengthened the hands of our friends in the Committee. The Currency Committee.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

P. S.—This letter is too long. I apologize for it. I began it on Wednesday, but finished it, as you see, on Friday, May 5th.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Notes by the Director-General of Stores, India Office, on a lift for Government House, Calcutta.

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No. 17b.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
May 5th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

I have been making enquiries about Babington Smith, as you suggested. All agree as to his intellectual capacity. In intellect Goschen classifies his three last Private Secretaries thus:—1 Milner, 2 Babington Smith, 3 Dawkins. Dawkins, however, has (in Goschen's opinion) a greater initiative and force of character, and, taking the qualities in combination, he is the better man of the two for finance work. Babington Smith, as you point out, is young, and with no administrative experience. Gorst is able, but, I hear privately, is also a true son of his father. I will certainly be careful to in no way tie my hands to any one, and to fully consult you before I take any step that can imply a recognition of a claim from any one. The choice is, I fear, very limited. There is no one at the Treasury, no one here, and no one in the House of Commons.

Muscat.

I have had some little difficulty with the Foreign Office, not so much in substance as in form, as to the support to be given to your action in Muscat, and this, to some extent, still continues, as the mind of the Foreign Office is distracted by so many different subjects, and that which is uppermost for the moment is made to unduly override the rest. However, I think we shall be able to arrive at some arrangement, which will assert your position in Muscat, and keep France quiet.

I really am to be congratulated as to Deal. It is a comfortable house, right in the sea, and for a middle-aged younger son will be a most delightful sanatarium.

Victor Dhuleep Singh.

Victor Dhuleep Sing is, as usual, in money troubles. We declined to help him, or to allow his income to be alienated. The Jews, finding they could get nothing by pressure, compounded with him for less than they had advanced. Upon being remonstrated with, he said (his mother was a Copt) "Yes, but think how their ancestors despoiled mine."

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 18.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
May 5th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Personal. I was sorry to note that the telegraphic news from India reported you as down with the influenza: I hope the further statement, that the attack was a very slight one, was true also. Influenza is a very tiresome ailment, as we from painful experience know here, as it leaves its traces and marks for so long upon the individual whom it has attacked. I assume, however, that recovery is more certain and prompt in a high altitude such as Simla than it would have been in the plains.

Simla. Adverting to your remark about the inaccessibility of Simla, it always seems to me that making this out-of-the-way mountain resort the second capital of India was a blunder. The place grew so gradually and so continuously that I do not think either the Indian Government or the Home authorities realised in time what great interests they were there locating. I should have thought it would have been possible to have found, somewhere in the centre of India, a site equally salubrious and very much more accessible. Simla is so remote from all the daily and moving influences and interests of India that I always look more critically at decisions arrived at there than those which emanate from Calcutta or other great centres of population.

Sugar Duties: Blue Book. The Sugar Blue Book will be out in the course of two days. I do not anticipate any serious difficulty in the debate which will ensue. Fowler will be in a position of some little difficulty. The only Act which is protective in India in its operations is his Tariff Act of 1894. It was a necessary Act

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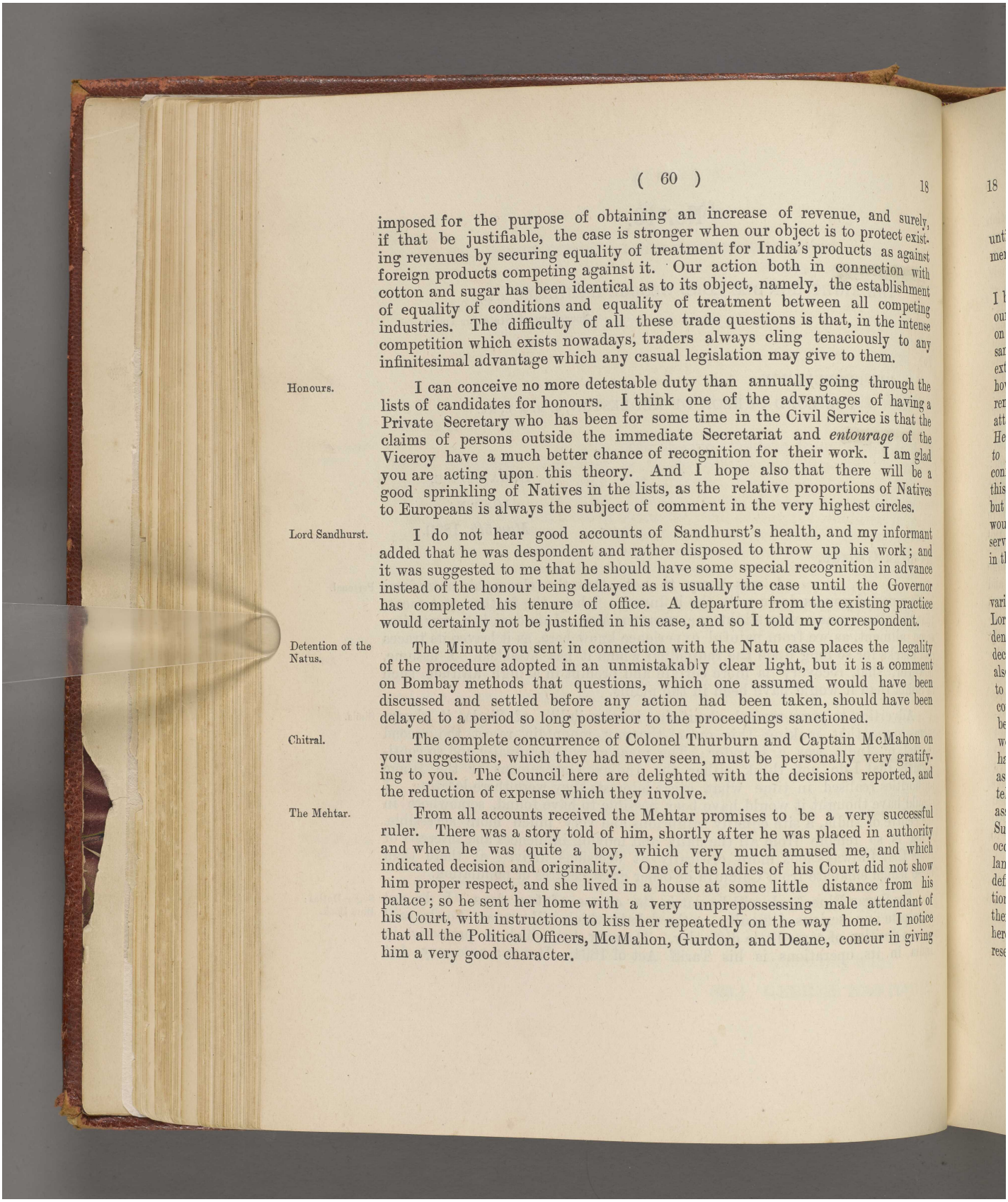

imposed for the purpose of obtaining an increase of revenue, and surely, if that be justifiable, the case is stronger when our object is to protect existing revenues by securing equality of treatment for India's products as against foreign products competing against it. Our action both in connection with cotton and sugar has been identical as to its object, namely, the establishment of equality of conditions and equality of treatment between all competing industries. The difficulty of all these trade questions is that, in the intense competition which exists nowadays, traders always cling tenaciously to any infinitesimal advantage which any casual legislation may give to them.

Honours. I can conceive no more detestable duty than annually going through the lists of candidates for honours. I think one of the advantages of having a Private Secretary who has been for some time in the Civil Service is that the claims of persons outside the immediate Secretariat and *entourage* of the Viceroy have a much better chance of recognition for their work. I am glad you are acting upon this theory. And I hope also that there will be a good sprinkling of Natives in the lists, as the relative proportions of Natives to Europeans is always the subject of comment in the very highest circles.

Lord Sandhurst. I do not hear good accounts of Sandhurst's health, and my informant added that he was despondent and rather disposed to throw up his work; and it was suggested to me that he should have some special recognition in advance instead of the honour being delayed as is usually the case until the Governor has completed his tenure of office. A departure from the existing practice would certainly not be justified in his case, and so I told my correspondent.

Detention of the Natus. The Minute you sent in connection with the Natu case places the legality of the procedure adopted in an unmistakably clear light, but it is a comment on Bombay methods that questions, which one assumed would have been discussed and settled before any action had been taken, should have been delayed to a period so long posterior to the proceedings sanctioned.

Chitral. The complete concurrence of Colonel Thurburn and Captain McMahon on your suggestions, which they had never seen, must be personally very gratifying to you. The Council here are delighted with the decisions reported, and the reduction of expense which they involve.

The Mehtar. From all accounts received the Mehtar promises to be a very successful ruler. There was a story told of him, shortly after he was placed in authority and when he was quite a boy, which very much amused me, and which indicated decision and originality. One of the ladies of his Court did not show him proper respect, and she lived in a house at some little distance from his palace; so he sent her home with a very unprepossessing male attendant of his Court, with instructions to kiss her repeatedly on the way home. I notice that all the Political Officers, McMahon, Gurdon, and Deane, concur in giving him a very good character.

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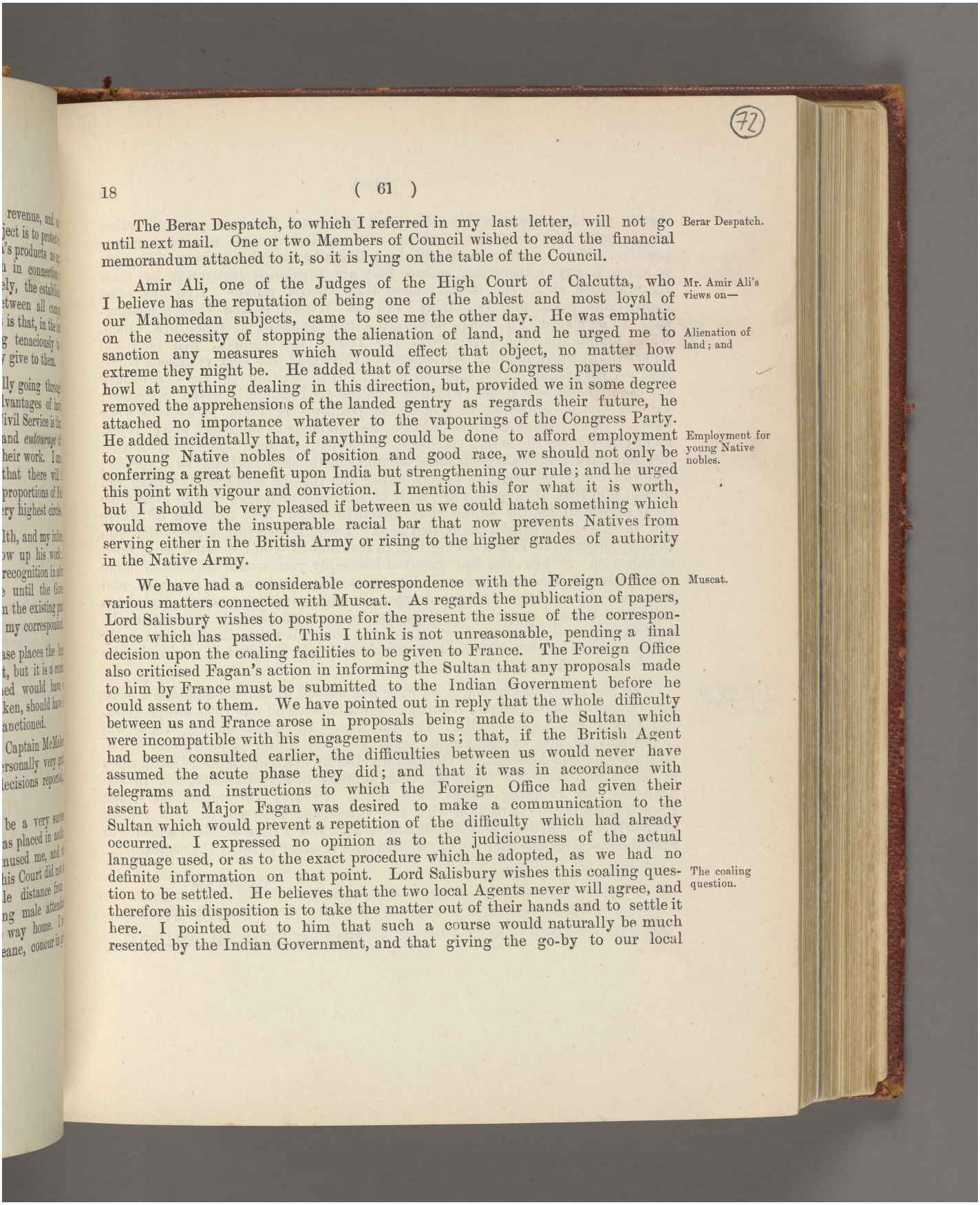

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Berar Despatch.

The Berar Despatch, to which I referred in my last letter, will not go until next mail. One or two Members of Council wished to read the financial memorandum attached to it, so it is lying on the table of the Council.

Mr. Amir Ali's views on—

Alienation of land; and

Amir Ali, one of the Judges of the High Court of Calcutta, who I believe has the reputation of being one of the ablest and most loyal of our Mahomedan subjects, came to see me the other day. He was emphatic on the necessity of stopping the alienation of land, and he urged me to sanction any measures which would effect that object, no matter how extreme they might be. He added that of course the Congress papers would howl at anything dealing in this direction, but, provided we in some degree removed the apprehensions of the landed gentry as regards their future, he attached no importance whatever to the vapourings of the Congress Party.

Employment for young Native nobles.

He added incidentally that, if anything could be done to afford employment to young Native nobles of position and good race, we should not only be conferring a great benefit upon India but strengthening our rule; and he urged this point with vigour and conviction. I mention this for what it is worth, but I should be very pleased if between us we could hatch something which would remove the insuperable racial bar that now prevents Natives from serving either in the British Army or rising to the higher grades of authority in the Native Army.

Muscat.

We have had a considerable correspondence with the Foreign Office on various matters connected with Muscat. As regards the publication of papers, Lord Salisbury wishes to postpone for the present the issue of the correspondence which has passed. This I think is not unreasonable, pending a final decision upon the coaling facilities to be given to France. The Foreign Office also criticised Fagan's action in informing the Sultan that any proposals made to him by France must be submitted to the Indian Government before he could assent to them. We have pointed out in reply that the whole difficulty between us and France arose in proposals being made to the Sultan which were incompatible with his engagements to us; that, if the British Agent had been consulted earlier, the difficulties between us would never have assumed the acute phase they did; and that it was in accordance with telegrams and instructions to which the Foreign Office had given their assent that Major Fagan was desired to make a communication to the Sultan which would prevent a repetition of the difficulty which had already occurred. I expressed no opinion as to the judiciousness of the actual language used, or as to the exact procedure which he adopted, as we had no definite information on that point. Lord Salisbury wishes this coaling question to be settled. He believes that the two local Agents never will agree, and therefore his disposition is to take the matter out of their hands and to settle it here. I pointed out to him that such a course would naturally be much resented by the Indian Government, and that giving the go-by to our local

The coaling question.

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Agent would unquestionably efface all the good that our prompt action in the past had done in asserting our authority and maintaining our prestige. But I think there will be a difficulty in getting the two Agents to agree to any proposition, unless they are previously instructed by their Governments as to the exact course they should pursue. And the most contentious point unquestionably will be, Where is the French coaling-shed to be placed? I think, however, I can suggest a procedure which, whilst maintaining the authority of the Indian Government, will facilitate an arrival at some definite settlement of this small but very vexatious point. And my suggestion is that Cambon should put in writing to Lord Salisbury the exact conditions under which a coaling-shed should be given to France; we will then telegraph out to you his propositions in order to receive your views. If, as I think is almost certain, we can come to some sort of an agreement either upon the actual conditions suggested, or upon some modification of them, then Lord Salisbury could communicate that decision to Cambon; and you could telegraph to Fagan telling him that he is to see the Sultan and inform him that, if proposals are made of a certain character which would be those agreed to, he, the Sultan, may assent to them. The question of where the shed is to be cannot be settled here. I would therefore suggest that you should telegraph to Fagan asking him to mention to you the sites least open to objection. When you had received his reply you would be able to judge of the relative disadvantages and advantages of the positions he indicated, and we could insert the site agreed upon in the conditions which had been submitted to Lord Salisbury. If this procedure is adopted it will settle the controversy with France, it will give you the full voice that you naturally desire to have in the settlement of the controversy, and it will maintain the *locus standi* of Fagan in Muscat.

Parliamentary and Foreign Affairs.

In the House of Commons we have had a good week: we obtained a very large majority on the second reading of the Budget, and our Bills are progressing slowly but satisfactorily. Though things are quiet abroad, there are indications of one or two storms brewing. The Kaiser is very angry at the strained relations between the German and the British and American authorities in Samoa, and Kruger's obstinacy and support of maladministration in the Transvaal are bringing things to a crisis. Debates are impending in the French Chamber in connection with the agreement between us and France in North-East Africa, and I sympathise with the Prime Minister's desire to smoothe down for the time being controversies in other parts of the world.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 18a.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
May 9th, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

This letter is intended as a sort of commentary or gloss upon the Despatch about improving the position of Members of your Council who are not soldiers or Indian civilians, which goes out by the same mail. (Copy enclosed.) Position of the Legal & Finance Members.

In the first place, I wish to explain how the Despatch came to be written at this moment. Last autumn, Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Chamberlain had some communication about the position of officers who are transferred from the Colonial to the Indian Service, or *vice versâ*. At present, such service is not regarded as continuous for purposes of pension-earning; but it was suggested that it ought to be so regarded, and, with this object, certain proposals were placed before a large Committee of Members of Council. For various reasons, these proposals fell through; but, during the discussions in Committee, a strong and unanimous opinion was expressed by the Members in favour of doing something in favour of those Members of your Council who, as matters now stand, go out for five years to India, and have no pension to look forward to.

I mention this, because I am anxious that you should know that this proposal to increase considerably the value of certain appointments, which are made by the Secretary of State, did not originate with him; but did originate with Members of his Council, who are the special guardians of the revenues of India, and who, many of them, have been themselves Members of the Viceroy's Council, either as soldiers or as members of the Indian Civil Service.

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As soon as the suggestion came forward, I was very glad to do what I could to support it. I have now had more or less to do with all the appointments that have been made from this country to the Viceroy's Council during the last 15 or 16 years; I believe I may say I have been behind the scenes in every case; and, judging by the experience thus gained, I do not hesitate to say that the matter is worthy of very serious attention. The subject is of course rather a delicate one; but the Legal and Financial Memberships of your Council are just now so irreproachably filled, that it is easier to say what is the truth, *viz.*, that the field of possible candidates has got steadily smaller and smaller, until it looks as if we might any day be left without a single candidate really qualified for the vacant post. It is significant that both the last two Legal Members have been bachelors: on neither occasion was there a married man who was both competent and willing to accept. Also it is to be observed that both these two, in order to accept, had to give up salaries and prospects of pension which made their acceptance a distinctly public-spirited act. We cannot reckon on a constant supply of able and self-sacrificing bachelors.

You will remember that Macaulay went out as Legal Member of Council in 1834 with the expressed purpose of acquiring in five years a sum of money (£30,000) which would make him independent for the rest of his life. He stayed out 3½ years, lived as became his station, and returned to England having already more than accomplished his purpose, helped by a legacy of £10,000. We are a long way from those days; but, until the gold value of the rupee began to fall, say 17 or 18 years ago, the attractions of these posts were still enough to make us pretty safe of a supply of competent candidates. I do not think that anyone who knows the circumstances will maintain that this is still the case.

The question, to my mind, is, not whether the thing should be done, but how it should be done. As to this you will see that our Despatch merely puts forward a suggestion for consideration; it does not endorse that suggestion with the authority of the Secretary of State in Council. Nevertheless, if you and your Council approve that suggestion, I feel pretty certain that it will be adopted here.

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To me, as at present advised, it seems the best way of dealing with the matter. There are great objections to raising the salaries of certain Members of Council above the salaries of their Colleagues; moreover, considering how a Member of Council is "expected" to spend up to the limits of his salary, it does not seem as if any mere increase of salary could be of use, unless, indeed, it were a very great increase. And a *great* increase would not be likely to find favour either with you or with us. So, too, as to a gratuity. The utmost that could be proposed would probably be a grant of an extra year's pay at the end of five years' tenure of office: and I find that the unanimous opinion of those who have been consulted is that this would not be enough to produce the desired effect.

There remains, therefore, the suggestion to give a pension after 7 years' service. I do not think that £1,000 is too much, considering that a Chief Justice of Bengal gets £1,800 a year pension after 11½ years' service in India. But, if this does not commend itself to your Government, I hope you will be able to make some counter-proposal which will add something not less substantial to the attractions of these posts.

Extra Public Works Member.

We have deliberately said nothing about the (extra) Public Works Member of Council, who, as you know, may be appointed at any time under a special Act (37 & 38 Vic., c. 91). We hope that no such appointment may be required in future; but, if a special Public Works Member has to be found, we think he may probably be found upon the existing terms.

I will only add that I hope you will, if possible, confine your consideration of the subject to the two appointments dealt with in our Despatch. From various indications, I think it would not be advisable to raise, in connection with this matter, any question as to making pensionable other offices which now do not carry pension.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

P. S.—I enclose a copy of the Despatch for your own convenience; also a copy of a Note which I wrote for the Committee, and from which, as you will see, one or two sentences were transplanted into the Despatch.

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[ENCLOSURES TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.]

1. Despatch from the Secretary of State, No. 61, Public, dated 11th May 1899, regarding the improvement of the positions of the Members of the Governor General's Council who are not members of the Indian Civil or Military Services.
2. Minute by Sir A. Godley on the above, dated 22nd March 1899.

No. 18b.

FROM
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
May 12th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Pensions for the Legal & Finance Members.

I wrote you a separate letter, two days ago, about the suggestion to pension those Members of Council who, under present arrangements, are not pensionable. Of course I see perfectly well that to give a man £1,000 a year after only seven years' work, and to take the chance of having half-a-dozen such persons walking about in this country at one and the same time, is a thing that one would rather not do if one could help it. But we seem almost to be driven to that, unless we either (1) do nothing, or (2) give a really substantial gratuity *in sterling* at the end of five years' service. Such a gratuity would be a new departure, and would be almost as much objected to by economists as the pension. But I hope it will not be decided to do nothing.

Muscat.

We are awaiting your reply to our telegrams, official and private, of the 5th about Muscat. As we have heard nothing so far, I hope we may think that you are at any rate prepared to acquiesce in the course proposed. My own opinion, as I think you know, is that, considering the attitude of the Foreign Office, we shall do very well if we manage to carry the matter through on the lines indicated in Lord George's telegram.

Hunza and Raskam.

As to Hunza and Raskam, we are backing you to the best of our ability, but Lee-Warner, who has been talking to the Foreign Office people, tells us that we must be prepared for cold water. The situation is very far from being an agreeable one, from our point of view.

Letter from the Amir.

How excellent was the Amir's letter to you! But I quite agree with you that it is a very good thing to have got such a clear indication of policy out of him. As for the supply of arms, you have a difficult job before you; but

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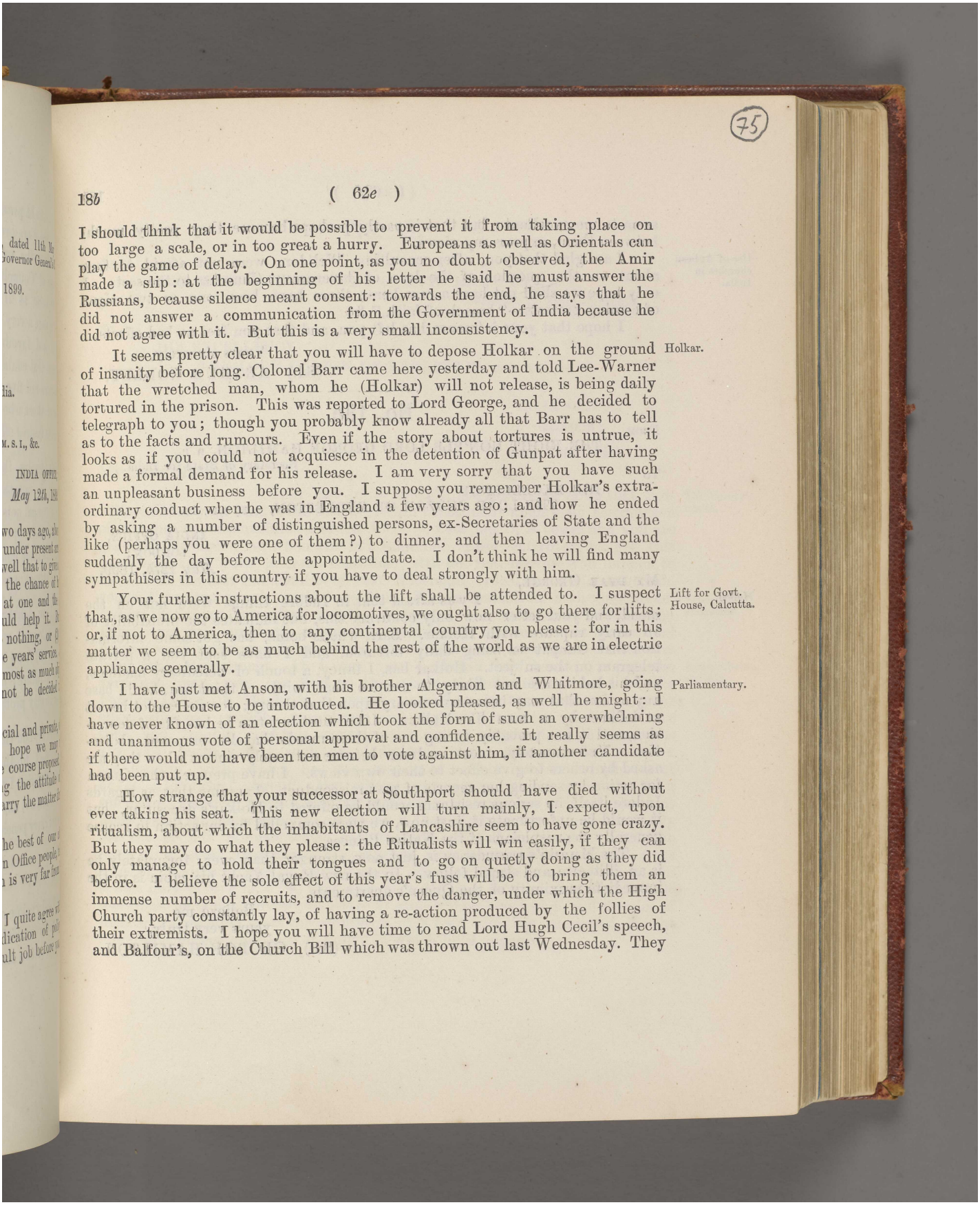

I should think that it would be possible to prevent it from taking place on too large a scale, or in too great a hurry. Europeans as well as Orientals can play the game of delay. On one point, as you no doubt observed, the Amir made a slip: at the beginning of his letter he said he must answer the Russians, because silence meant consent: towards the end, he says that he did not answer a communication from the Government of India because he did not agree with it. But this is a very small inconsistency.

Holkar.

It seems pretty clear that you will have to depose Holkar on the ground of insanity before long. Colonel Barr came here yesterday and told Lee-Warner that the wretched man, whom he (Holkar) will not release, is being daily tortured in the prison. This was reported to Lord George, and he decided to telegraph to you; though you probably know already all that Barr has to tell as to the facts and rumours. Even if the story about tortures is untrue, it looks as if you could not acquiesce in the detention of Gunpat after having made a formal demand for his release. I am very sorry that you have such an unpleasant business before you. I suppose you remember Holkar's extraordinary conduct when he was in England a few years ago; and how he ended by asking a number of distinguished persons, ex-Secretaries of State and the like (perhaps you were one of them?) to dinner, and then leaving England suddenly the day before the appointed date. I don't think he will find many sympathisers in this country if you have to deal strongly with him.

Lift for Govt. House, Calcutta.

Your further instructions about the lift shall be attended to. I suspect that, as we now go to America for locomotives, we ought also to go there for lifts; or, if not to America, then to any continental country you please: for in this matter we seem to be as much behind the rest of the world as we are in electric appliances generally.

Parliamentary.

I have just met Anson, with his brother Algernon and Whitmore, going down to the House to be introduced. He looked pleased, as well he might: I have never known of an election which took the form of such an overwhelming and unanimous vote of personal approval and confidence. It really seems as if there would not have been ten men to vote against him, if another candidate had been put up.

How strange that your successor at Southport should have died without ever taking his seat. This new election will turn mainly, I expect, upon ritualism, about which the inhabitants of Lancashire seem to have gone crazy. But they may do what they please: the Ritualists will win easily, if they can only manage to hold their tongues and to go on quietly doing as they did before. I believe the sole effect of this year's fuss will be to bring them an immense number of recruits, and to remove the danger, under which the High Church party constantly lay, of having a re-action produced by the follies of their extremists. I hope you will have time to read Lord Hugh Cecil's speech, and Balfour's, on the Church Bill which was thrown out last Wednesday. They

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seem to me excellent: but that is partly perhaps because they pretty much, between them, express my views.

Use of Aglican churches in India.

I am glad that you, after consulting Welldon, were not afraid to face about on the question of the loan of Government Churches to the sects. I only hope we shall not have a row here; there have been one or two signs of coming protests—"breach of faith," &c.

I hope that your influenza has left you, and that you feel no bad effects.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 18c.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
May 12th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Holkar.

I was afraid that in Indore things were not on the mend, and your letter now only confirms this, but indicates the probability of an early rupture with Holkar. Barr, who is home, has got some information that Ganpat is being daily tortured, and I have sent you a private telegram on the subject. Holkar has, I fancy, a touch of hereditary madness, and his habits are not likely to reduce that taint. I think we should base any action that may become necessary upon that theory; for we cannot be set at defiance by a man like Holkar. Like most lunatics he has fits of depression, and it was probably during one of these moods that he proposed abdication. Unfortunately, most madmen become extremely violent when they are asked by others to give effect to their own views. I have prepared the Queen for action by sending her reports of past misconduct. I assume that, as regards Indore itself, no serious resistance would be offered to Holkar's deposition, but it would be unfortunate if, just now, we were compelled by our action to arouse generally the suspicions of the Native Princes.

The Munshi's ascendency is, just now, stronger than ever: fortunately he is an illiterate and stupid fellow. In the new Royal Yacht his cabin is in the immediate proximity of the Queen's apartments.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 19.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
May 12*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Viceroy's health.

Your last letter brought the gratifying news that, notwithstanding your hard work and the strain consequent upon your assumption of the heavy responsibilities of the Viceroy, your health is better and you are generally stronger than when you left England. I am delighted to get this good report of your general condition: still do not, because you happen to have stood the first few months of your Viceregal ordeal so well, overstrain yourself by too much work hereafter.

Foreign Office draftsmen.

I have heard from both your predecessors that there were few capable draftsmen at the Foreign Office, and Lansdowne was emphatic upon this point, as he told me it cost him several hours a week revising and re-writing the drafts that were sent on to him from that Department.

Foreign Secretaryship.

If I were you I should not hesitate to put the very best man you can find in the whole of India at the head of the Foreign Office, I think it is most important to have some one at your elbow who can rapidly paraphrase and expand your ideas, and thus save time and trouble; and this consideration, in my judgment, quite outweighs any local benefits that such an individual might otherwise confer upon the locality with which he was associated either as an administrator or as a Political Agent. My official experience, which is now getting somewhat lengthy, teaches me that there are a vast number of small questions upon which no one is likely to go wrong if they can give to them individually the ten or five minutes which each requires. But if, on the other hand, the head of a great Department is compelled, from having to do a portion of the work of his subordinates, to leave himself little time for these minor matters, and is able only to give half the time necessary for the settlement of these little questions, he is not unlikely to arrive at some wrong conclusion, and a series of little mistakes often mars the reputation of a man who has succeeded in the larger and bigger questions of policy in which he is engaged.

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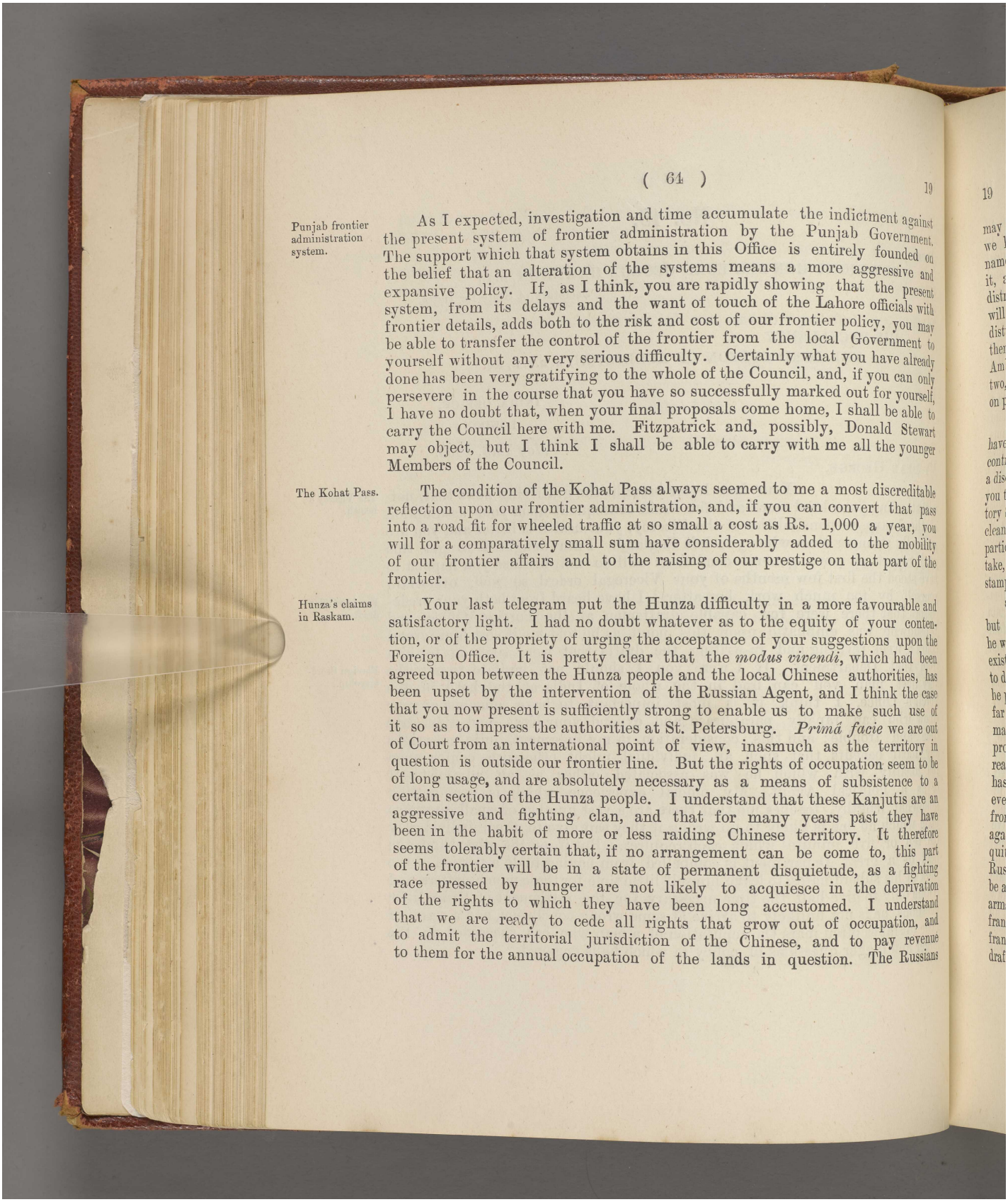

Punjab frontier administration system.

As I expected, investigation and time accumulate the indictment against the present system of frontier administration by the Punjab Government. The support which that system obtains in this Office is entirely founded on the belief that an alteration of the systems means a more aggressive and expansive policy. If, as I think, you are rapidly showing that the present system, from its delays and the want of touch of the Lahore officials with frontier details, adds both to the risk and cost of our frontier policy, you may be able to transfer the control of the frontier from the local Government to yourself without any very serious difficulty. Certainly what you have already done has been very gratifying to the whole of the Council, and, if you can only persevere in the course that you have so successfully marked out for yourself, I have no doubt that, when your final proposals come home, I shall be able to carry the Council here with me. Fitzpatrick and, possibly, Donald Stewart may object, but I think I shall be able to carry with me all the younger Members of the Council.

The Kohat Pass.

The condition of the Kohat Pass always seemed to me a most discreditable reflection upon our frontier administration, and, if you can convert that pass into a road fit for wheeled traffic at so small a cost as Rs. 1,000 a year, you will for a comparatively small sum have considerably added to the mobility of our frontier affairs and to the raising of our prestige on that part of the frontier.

Hunza's claims in Raskam.

Your last telegram put the Hunza difficulty in a more favourable and satisfactory light. I had no doubt whatever as to the equity of your contention, or of the propriety of urging the acceptance of your suggestions upon the Foreign Office. It is pretty clear that the *modus vivendi*, which had been agreed upon between the Hunza people and the local Chinese authorities, has been upset by the intervention of the Russian Agent, and I think the case that you now present is sufficiently strong to enable us to make such use of it so as to impress the authorities at St. Petersburg. *Primâ facie* we are out of Court from an international point of view, inasmuch as the territory in question is outside our frontier line. But the rights of occupation seem to be of long usage, and are absolutely necessary as a means of subsistence to a certain section of the Hunza people. I understand that these Kanjutis are an aggressive and fighting clan, and that for many years past they have been in the habit of more or less raiding Chinese territory. It therefore seems tolerably certain that, if no arrangement can be come to, this part of the frontier will be in a state of permanent disquietude, as a fighting race pressed by hunger are not likely to acquiesce in the deprivation of the rights to which they have been long accustomed. I understand that we are ready to cede all rights that grow out of occupation, and to admit the territorial jurisdiction of the Chinese, and to pay revenue to them for the annual occupation of the lands in question. The Russians

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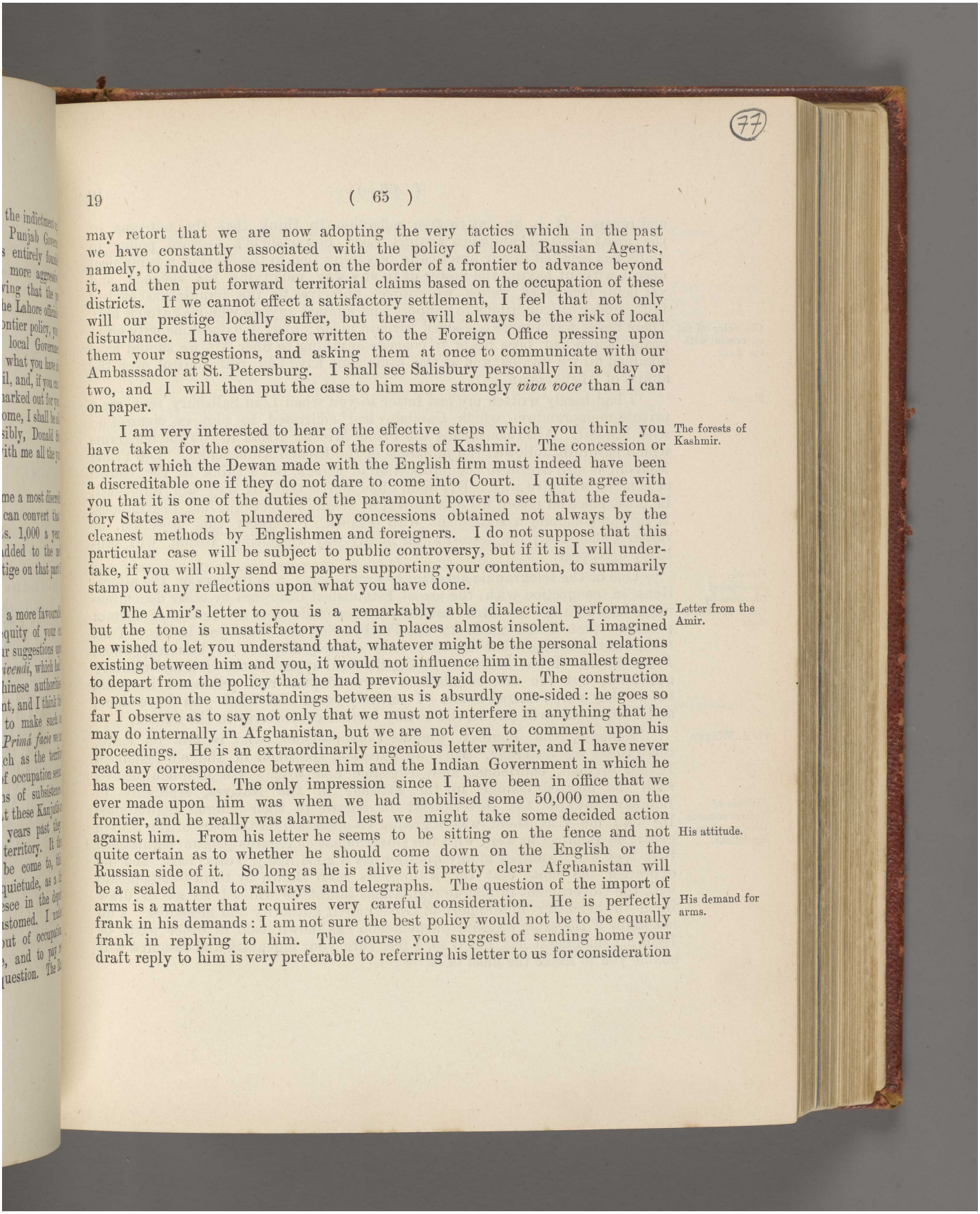

may retort that we are now adopting the very tactics which in the past we have constantly associated with the policy of local Russian Agents, namely, to induce those resident on the border of a frontier to advance beyond it, and then put forward territorial claims based on the occupation of these districts. If we cannot effect a satisfactory settlement, I feel that not only will our prestige locally suffer, but there will always be the risk of local disturbance. I have therefore written to the Foreign Office pressing upon them your suggestions, and asking them at once to communicate with our Ambasssador at St. Petersburg. I shall see Salisbury personally in a day or two, and I will then put the case to him more strongly *viva voce* than I can on paper.

The forests of Kashmir.

I am very interested to hear of the effective steps which you think you have taken for the conservation of the forests of Kashmir. The concession or contract which the Dewan made with the English firm must indeed have been a discreditable one if they do not dare to come into Court. I quite agree with you that it is one of the duties of the paramount power to see that the feudatory States are not plundered by concessions obtained not always by the cleanest methods by Englishmen and foreigners. I do not suppose that this particular case will be subject to public controversy, but if it is I will undertake, if you will only send me papers supporting your contention, to summarily stamp out any reflections upon what you have done.

Letter from the Amir.

The Amir's letter to you is a remarkably able dialectical performance, but the tone is unsatisfactory and in places almost insolent. I imagined he wished to let you understand that, whatever might be the personal relations existing between him and you, it would not influence him in the smallest degree to depart from the policy that he had previously laid down. The construction he puts upon the understandings between us is absurdly one-sided: he goes so far I observe as to say not only that we must not interfere in anything that he may do internally in Afghanistan, but we are not even to comment upon his proceedings. He is an extraordinarily ingenious letter writer, and I have never read any correspondence between him and the Indian Government in which he has been worsted. The only impression since I have been in office that we ever made upon him was when we had mobilised some 50,000 men on the frontier, and he really was alarmed lest we might take some decided action against him. From his letter he seems to be sitting on the fence and not quite certain as to whether he should come down on the English or the Russian side of it. So long as he is alive it is pretty clear Afghanistan will be a sealed land to railways and telegraphs. The question of the import of arms is a matter that requires very careful consideration. He is perfectly frank in his demands: I am not sure the best policy would not be to be equally frank in replying to him. The course you suggest of sending home your draft reply to him is very preferable to referring his letter to us for consideration

His attitude.

His demand for arms.

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and report. It is an instructive reflection to think that the outcome of the great political campaign against Lord Beaconsfield's forward policy in India has resulted in our practically becoming tied to the heels of a tyrannical despot without having the power of in any way modifying his violence, and yet being compelled, unless we subject ourselves to the imputation of bad faith, under all conditions to support him against anyone who may attack him.

Character of the agreement with the Amir.

There never was a more one-sided bargain made; and, if Gladstone only eight years before had been ready to concede anything to Sher Ali, we should have obtained all we wanted, and at the same time have had real control over the affairs of Afghanistan.

Muscat.

I had barely written my last letter to you when Lord Salisbury sent me a private memorandum which Cambon had addressed to him in connection with Muscat. After consulting the Prime Minster I sent to you the telegrams which naturally followed the proposals of the French Ambassador. The Prime Minister is still averse to the publication of papers, but I think in the course of time he will give way. His main objection is that, if they are published, he must place on record his disapproval of Meade's exceeding his instructions. If we can conclude a settlement with France, I daresay this objection, or rather I should say the necessity for in any way censuring Meade, will probably disappear.

Use of Established Churches by other denominations.

One of the telegraphic agencies has sent home a summary of the alterations in connection with the use of Established Churches by other denominations, in which it was stated that the changes made were a violation of certain promises that I had made to the Presbyterian and Wesleyan bodies. Your telegram explaining what has been done entirely disposes of this allegation. From the first I was averse to giving the final appeal to the civil and military authority, but the late regulations were adopted and published in India before they were referred home. I entirely agree with what you have done, and I think this will put an end to any further controversy in the matter.

Sir A. Wingate.

Wingate, the Bombay Plague Commissioner, who is now on leave, came to see me yesterday. He is an excellent specimen of the old-fashioned Indian civilian, courteous, knowledgeable and firm. He is much pleased with the marked change in the attitude of the Natives, especially in Bombay, towards the Government in regard to their plague regulations.

Attitude of Natives towards Bombay plague regulations.

He told me that there was a greater co-operation on the part of the Native gentry in Bombay to work with the Government as regards plague regulations than they had displayed in any question for a good many years past, and he expressed the hope that the willingness now shown by them to co-operate with the Government in plague regulations might be utilised so as to draw them in hereafter in support of Government authority and measures. I do not know if the same pleasant phenomenon has shown itself in other parts of India: I imagine it has, but if so, I feel sure your ingenuity and resource will enable you to make the most of it.

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Honours. The Honour List was relatively a short one, and presents no difficulties. I may have to add one or two names from here, but with that addition I will send on the names in their entirety to the Queen.

Proposal regarding the Financial and Legal Memberships of Council. There is a despatch going out by the present mail to which some of your Council may take exception. It is asking for your opinion upon the proposal to increase the attractions associated with the two posts upon your Council which can be held by lawyers and financiers. So long as a properly qualified person can be found for either of these posts in India, or can be taken from the Indian Civil Service, no special difficulty arises; but when we have to go outside India as has been the case with Dawkins and possibly his successor, there is very serious difficulty in getting a man of position and ability to cut himself adrift from his existing employment, and from the pension or emoluments attached to it, in order to take up an office the emoluments of which last for five years only. Both Chalmers and Raleigh are bachelors: if married I believe neither would have accepted the post. Godley, who has had long experience in dealing with these posts, is strongly of opinion that in some way or other they must be made more attractive. The Council here were at first averse to the idea of a pension being in any way associated with the tenure of these posts, but after some conversations they unanimously gave way and assented to the despatch. We find that I have the legal power in Council to give a pension without fresh legislation. As you know the advantages or disadvantages of extending the tenure of office beyond five years are very evenly balanced; but the best members of the Bar and Judges whom I have consulted are unanimously of opinion that, if a capable English barrister is required as Legal Member of your Council, something must be done to add to the pecuniary emoluments now attached to that office.

Parliamentary. We had the most interesting Debate of the Session yesterday upon a proposal to bring in a fresh Church Discipline Bill. Balfour, who has led us admirably, showed great tactical skill in meeting the somewhat difficult situation, as the Protestant agitation against Ritualism and Ritualists has assumed rather serious proportions in Lancashire. After a Debate in which the opponents of the Bill had much the best of the argument, we obtained a majority for our resolution of nearly two to one, and the agitation for the moment is stamped out. This Debate practically concludes the Session: our Government Bills are making slow but satisfactory progress, and except Sugar, upon which we shall have a Party Debate, there is nothing left to fight about this Session.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 19a.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
May 18*th*, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

India and the Congress.

The enclosed was given me by a native resident in London, on the understanding I was not to mention his name. Its statement of the harm Wedderburn & Co., through his wretched paper, is trying to do, entirely tallies with my own observation.

The three remedies to counteract the evil are—

1*st*.—To ascertain who subscribe amongst Native Princes and noblemen to the Congress, and to let them know that the Government are aware of that fact.

2*nd*.—To prefer for honours and distinctions those who are not Congress men.

3*rd*.—To exercise a greater control over education, its organization, and text books.

You know this so well that I need not repeat these formula, but, with the multiplicity of your other work and objects, it would be well not to lose sight of this counter-campaign, and so I trouble you with these remarks.

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I note that *India* frequently starts lies here that are reproduced in detail by the Congress papers; in fact nearly all information about India is derived from this poisonous little rag. We were too quick for them, otherwise they would have endeavoured to get up an agitation against the Sugar Duties.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 20.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
May 18*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I was sorry to learn from the concluding paragraph of your last letter that you had been suffering from neuralgia and rheumatic pains which necessitated your lying on your back. I assume they were the

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premonitory symptoms of the influenza, so I hope that now as that ailment has left you, it has taken with it all its disagreeable concomitants.

Advocate-Generalship of Bengal.

I was unable to see Sir Charles Paul before to-day, as he had been ill in Paris. He is an energetic and amusing old gentleman, full of subtlety and with no mean opinion of his own powers. I find out before seeing him that, if he was recalcitrant and declined to resign, I should have to make two submissions—first to get the Queen's assent to compulsorily retiring him, and then make a separate submission for the nomination of his successor. So far as we could ascertain no official appointed to hold an office during pleasure by warrant had been so dismissed from his office, and, although I have no doubt that I should ultimately have succeeded in making good my case to the Queen, still some delay might have occurred, and I might have had some little difficulty with my first submission. Sir Charles told me, what he had intimated in his letters to you, that he proposed to go back to India, and to resume for a year or two his duties. I told him that he must retire on the 1st July: against this he energetically protested. Finding that I would not give way he then suggested a compromise, namely, that if his sick leave—and he maintained he was in bad health—extended to December, he would, in the meantime, voluntarily resign his post. I thought it advisable to close with this offer, provided an Acting Judge Advocate was appointed at once. To this, after some little conversation, he assented, and therefore, as I have informed you by telegram, you can at once appoint Woodroffe as Acting Judge Advocate, with the knowledge that, in the course of a very few months, he will succeed Sir Charles Paul as Judge Advocate.

Mr. L. P. Pugh.

I was not predisposed in favour of Mr. Pugh before I got your letter. From what I heard concerning him, even from those who advocated his case, he did not seem to me to be a desirable official; for it was intimated to me that unless he was appointed he would probably make himself disagreeable. The same intimation seems to have been made to you. I can hardly understand Elgin assenting to such conditions as you recapitulate. I assume he thought he would be hard pressed in connection with the Sedition Bill, and endeavoured thus to quiet an inconvenient opponent. Pugh admitted in his letter to me that the arrangement was only binding upon Elgin, and therefore

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I do not think he will be surprised that we have come to the decision to ignore his pretensions.

Sedition in Poona.

Sir Charles Ollivant came to see me to-day, but, as he was in a hurry passing through London, I had not a sufficiently long conversation with him. He gives a bad account of Poona. He tells me that the young Brahmins, who are under sentence of death, all belong to the particular class or sect of Brahmin to which the old governing Mahratta classes belong; and that the Peishwa, the Natus, Tilak, and Nana Sahib all belong to this branch of Brahminism. He evidently thought the murder conspiracy deep-rooted, and he expressed his belief that we might hear of more assassinations. He is very ke n to keep a much tighter hand over education, both as regards its objects, control, and administration, than heretofore has been done. We did not do more than touch upon this branch of the subject, as I was obliged to come away to the House. He also advocates a stricter interpretation of the law of sedition with a view to more prosecutions against certain Native Poona newspapers. I will see him again in the course of a few days, and, as I have had from other quarters similar suggestions, I will try and balance in my mind the advantages and disadvantages of adopting a more vigorous censure over the Native Press. Certainly some of the articles which I have recently read, assuming they were correctly translated, do seem to justify outrage and murder.

Hunza and Raskam.

The Foreign Office have endeavoured to give effect to your suggestions in connection with the difficulties arising from the refusal of the Chinese to carry out the Agreement with Hunza, by directing our Ambassador at St. Petersburg to speak to the Russian Government on the subject: a communication is also being made to our Embassy at Pekin.

Relations with Russia.

Our relations with Russia just now are peculiar. We had barely concluded what seemed to be temporarily an amicable arrangement as to the delimitation of our respective spheres of railway construction, when the Russians endeavoured to obtain from China a railway concession which would have brought them straight into Pekin. The Prime Minister thinks that this is a move of the anti-English party, who wish to show that, although they have been overcome as regards their opposition to the railway agreement with us, they are still a strong, if not dominant

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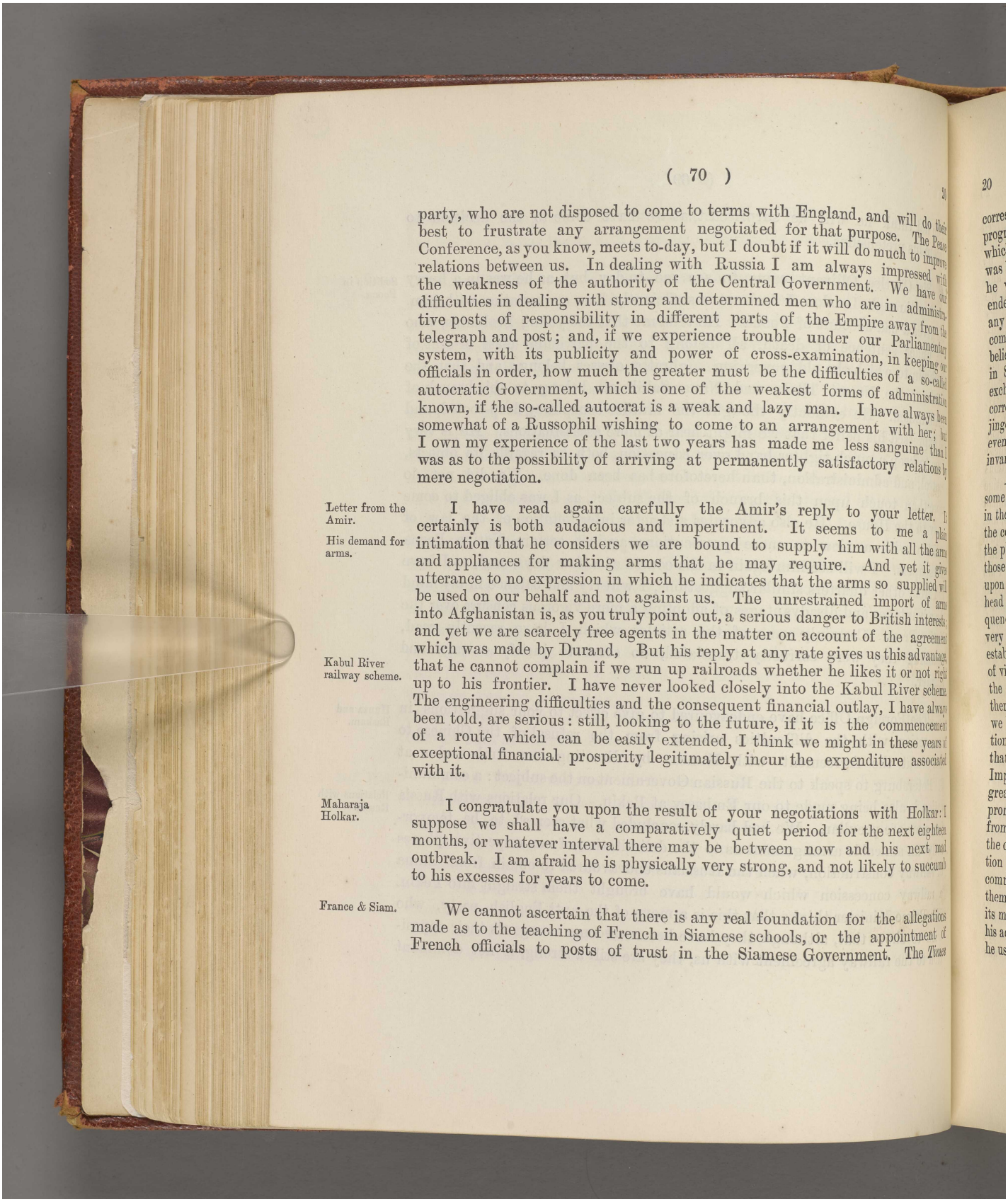

party, who are not disposed to come to terms with England, and will do their best to frustrate any arrangement negotiated for that purpose. The Peace Conference, as you know, meets to-day, but I doubt if it will do much to improve relations between us. In dealing with Russia I am always impressed with the weakness of the authority of the Central Government. We have our difficulties in dealing with strong and determined men who are in administrative posts of responsibility in different parts of the Empire away from the telegraph and post; and, if we experience trouble under our Parliamentary system, with its publicity and power of cross-examination, in keeping our officials in order, how much the greater must be the difficulties of a so-called autocratic Government, which is one of the weakest forms of administration known, if the so-called autocrat is a weak and lazy man. I have always been somewhat of a Russophil wishing to come to an arrangement with her; but I own my experience of the last two years has made me less sanguine than I was as to the possibility of arriving at permanently satisfactory relations by mere negotiation.

Letter from the Amir.
His demand for arms.

I have read again carefully the Amir's reply to your letter. It certainly is both audacious and impertinent. It seems to me a plain intimation that he considers we are bound to supply him with all the arms and appliances for making arms that he may require. And yet it gives utterance to no expression in which he indicates that the arms so supplied will be used on our behalf and not against us. The unrestrained import of arms into Afghanistan is, as you truly point out, a serious danger to British interests: and yet we are scarcely free agents in the matter on account of the agreement which was made by Durand. But his reply at any rate gives us this advantage, that he cannot complain if we run up railroads whether he likes it or not right up to his frontier. I have never looked closely into the Kabul River scheme. The engineering difficulties and the consequent financial outlay, I have always been told, are serious: still, looking to the future, if it is the commencement of a route which can be easily extended, I think we might in these years of exceptional financial prosperity legitimately incur the expenditure associated with it.

Kabul River railway scheme.

Maharaja Holkar.

I congratulate you upon the result of your negotiations with Holkar: I suppose we shall have a comparatively quiet period for the next eighteen months, or whatever interval there may be between now and his next mad outbreak. I am afraid he is physically very strong, and not likely to succumb to his excesses for years to come.

France & Siam.

We cannot ascertain that there is any real foundation for the allegations made as to the teaching of French in Siamese schools, or the appointment of French officials to posts of trust in the Siamese Government. The *Times*

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correspondent at Bangkok wrote a very glowing eulogy of the extraordinary progress that Siam had made of recent years, and the omnipotent position which Englishmen occupied in that country. I understand that this report was brought to the notice of the King, and, like a true Oriental, he thought he would show us that he was not so dependent upon England as that article endeavoured to show. The matters that are in negotiation do not, I think, in any way affect either the Treaty made or our position in Siam. What may come out of them in addition it is now difficult to forecast, but I cannot believe that, if we had only a short time ago such a satisfactory position in Siam, it will be either undermined or endangered by a few civil speeches exchanged between the King and the French Governor General. The *Times* correspondents all over the world have become, as you well know, extremely jingo of late, and any concession of any kind or sort to any foreign nation, even although it may be much less than that which we already enjoy, is invariably represented as a rebuff to England.

As regards Muscat, I received your telegram of the 17th instant with some concern. I do not think the procedure I suggest can fairly be described in the terms of that communication, but I want you just to think over the conditions existing here which have rendered negotiations difficult, because the phase of affairs with which we have to deal here is exactly the reverse of those which surround you. You had a very weak State to deal with, dependent upon us for pecuniary and material support, and an agreement which the head of that State could not ignore without subjecting himself to the consequence of a deliberate violation of engagement. Here we had to deal with a very strong State, which had international rights in Muscat the same as our own established by a Treaty to which we are a party. From an international point of view their request could not be refused, unless we declined to acknowledge the rights which they had thus acquired. We could have refused to consider them, and have done so in a tone which would have produced a rupture. But we had to consider, and especially the Foreign Office, that there are other questions far more serious than those of Muscat pending between us and France, that some of these were on the eve of a satisfactory solution, and that, from an Imperial standpoint, it would have been wholly unjustifiable to sacrifice these greater considerations merely in order to maintain, in an aggressive and uncompromising form, our political predominance in Muscat. I have never swerved from the principle that your Government must have a governing voice as to the conditions and site of any proposal made by France to Muscat in connection with coaling facilities. The procedure adopted by Fagan, and which was communicated to the French Government, namely, that any proposal made by them must be submitted to you before the Sultan could reply upon it, raised in its most aggressive form our preponderance of influence in Muscat. I defended his action, but, not being thoroughly acquainted with the exact form of words he used, I expressed no opinion upon them. But I made clear to the Foreign

Muscat.

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Office that what he had done was based on conditions which had been agreed upon by both Departments. I cannot see that there is a material difference in principle between saying to a reigning prince: "You must consult us before you assent to certain propositions that will be made to you," and saying: "If propositions of a certain character are hereafter made to you, we give you leave to agree to them." You know better than I do the difficulties that there are in dealing with the Foreign Office when the question is a triangular one such as the present. The Prime Minister from his long experience and intimacy with many of the Ambassadors does the great mass of his business colloquially and not on paper. A great deal often depends upon the exact turn of the phrase which he may use, and it has not unfrequently happened that the verbal communication made may not be entirely in accord with the views of a third party whose interests he was, in addition to those of the Foreign Office, representing. But, notwithstanding these difficulties, I have agreed to nothing which has infringed the conditions agreed upon, or which, in my judgment, would tend to lower the prestige of the Indian Government. What really affects the reputation of the Indian Government is that we have an Agent on the spot who, for various reasons, and chiefly because he cannot speak the language, is unable to cope on equal terms with the representative of France. I am further told that Fagan's Munshi is not a very reputable person, given to talking in the bazars, and I am afraid that, so long as there are these personal disqualifications associated with our representative at Muscat, we shall suffer. I wrote yesterday to Lord Salisbury pointing out to him that the position of the coaling station was the most essential of the conditions to be settled, and that it was necessary that this should be part of the conditions and referred to you for your opinion. I see no difficulty whatever in drawing up the conditions to be attached to the use of a coaling-shed, or coaling station, but it is no use attaching conditions unless we have some security that they will be observed, and, unless the site is in a position where our Agent shall be able to know and watch what is going on, the conditions will in all probability not be adhered to. I have not heard from him, and the Whitsuntide holidays may somewhat interfere with personal communications, as we are all just going off in different directions; but I shall stick to what I have said, and this will, I hope, convince you, both in this, as in all other communications of a similar kind to the Foreign Office, that I shall staunchly fight for the prestige of the Indian Government and the policy upon which we have agreed.

Official transfers.

I am very glad that you are taking up the subject of the vast number of acting appointments that there are in India. Brackenbury, who, as you know, has an exceptionally acute intellect, told me more than once that the acting appointments were ruining the civil and military administration in India. He calculated that, of the larger appointments, one-seventh were acting. I was

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afraid that the evil was beyond cure, but if you can suggest a remedy you will have done real good service to Indian administration.

The other point that you raise, namely, the telegraph rates, is one which we have constantly had under consideration here; but we have always been baffled by the determined opposition of the Eastern Telegraph Company. Telegraph Rates.

Colonel Gardiner goes back by this mail. I only saw him for a few minutes, but I liked him much He has been busy collecting information, and has been a great deal with Bisset. I hope during the next six months he and you may be able to loosen the red tape and routine of the Public Works Departments. Though I believe you can do much towards encouraging commercial enterprise in other directions, I am doubtful if you will be able to associate any satisfactory system of private railway enterprise in connection with the State and guaranteed system. Col. Gardiner.

We are just off for our holidays, and I am going down to take up my abode in my martello tower, known as Deal Castle. It is rather a nice old place, but the engineers at the commencement of the century put a vulgar sham Gothic addition built of brick to the gentlemanlike circular curves of Henry the Eighth's castle; and this protraction is now painted bright yellow and is visible for miles. Our British taste is certainly indifferent, or rather I should repeat what a distinguished old classical critic once said to me: "As a nation we have any amount of taste, but all of it of the worst possible description." Deal Castle.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 21.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

DEAL CASTLE;
May 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am holidaying in my new acquisition, and enjoying myself much. From long residence in London I have become a thorough Personal.

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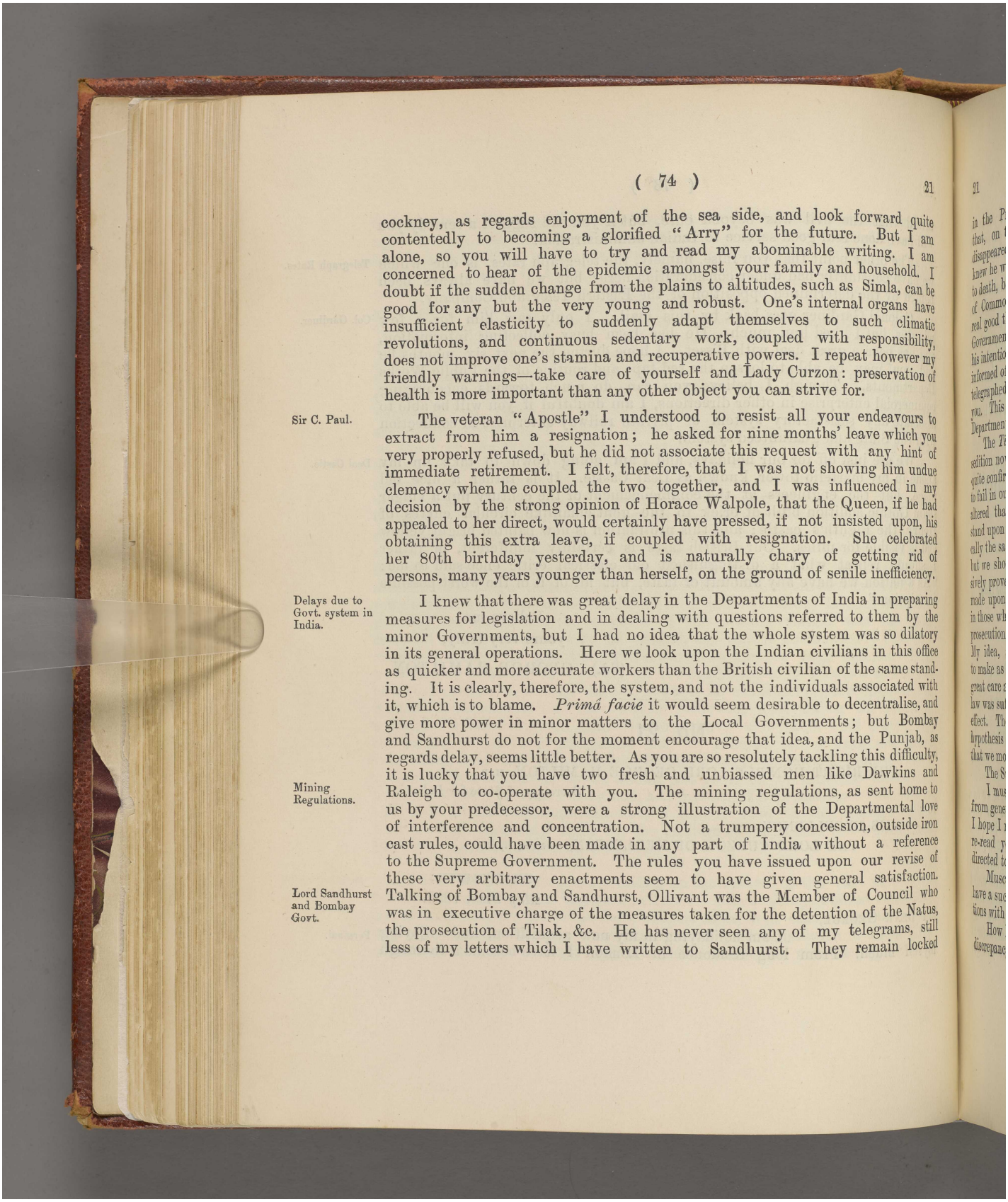

cockney, as regards enjoyment of the sea side, and look forward quite contentedly to becoming a glorified "Arry" for the future. But I am alone, so you will have to try and read my abominable writing. I am concerned to hear of the epidemic amongst your family and household. I doubt if the sudden change from the plains to altitudes, such as Simla, can be good for any but the very young and robust. One's internal organs have insufficient elasticity to suddenly adapt themselves to such climatic revolutions, and continuous sedentary work, coupled with responsibility, does not improve one's stamina and recuperative powers. I repeat however my friendly warnings—take care of yourself and Lady Curzon: preservation of health is more important than any other object you can strive for.

Sir C. Paul.

The veteran "Apostle" I understood to resist all your endeavours to extract from him a resignation; he asked for nine months' leave which you very properly refused, but he did not associate this request with any hint of immediate retirement. I felt, therefore, that I was not showing him undue clemency when he coupled the two together, and I was influenced in my decision by the strong opinion of Horace Walpole, that the Queen, if he had appealed to her direct, would certainly have pressed, if not insisted upon, his obtaining this extra leave, if coupled with resignation. She celebrated her 80th birthday yesterday, and is naturally chary of getting rid of persons, many years younger than herself, on the ground of senile inefficiency.

Delays due to Govt. system in India.

I knew that there was great delay in the Departments of India in preparing measures for legislation and in dealing with questions referred to them by the minor Governments, but I had no idea that the whole system was so dilatory in its general operations. Here we look upon the Indian civilians in this office as quicker and more accurate workers than the British civilian of the same standing. It is clearly, therefore, the system, and not the individuals associated with it, which is to blame. *Primâ facie* it would seem desirable to decentralise, and give more power in minor matters to the Local Governments; but Bombay and Sandhurst do not for the moment encourage that idea, and the Punjab, as regards delay, seems little better. As you are so resolutely tackling this difficulty, it is lucky that you have two fresh and unbiassed men like Dawkins and Raleigh to co-operate with you. The mining regulations, as sent home to us by your predecessor, were a strong illustration of the Departmental love of interference and concentration. Not a trumpery concession, outside iron cast rules, could have been made in any part of India without a reference to the Supreme Government. The rules you have issued upon our revise of these very arbitrary enactments seem to have given general satisfaction.

Mining Regulations.

Lord Sandhurst and Bombay Govt.

Talking of Bombay and Sandhurst, Ollivant was the Member of Council who was in executive charge of the measures taken for the detention of the Natus, the prosecution of Tilak, &c. He has never seen any of my telegrams, still less of my letters which I have written to Sandhurst. They remain locked

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in the Private Secretary's boxes. Ollivant told me for the first time, that, on the night of Rand and Ayerst's murders, Tilak's sub-editor disappeared, and has not since been heard of, and that the police knew he was one of the murder club, to which the young Brahmins, sentenced to death, belong. This one fact would have been invaluable in the House of Commons in dealing with Wedderburn, & Co. We shall never do any real good there until there is a change in the head, but the laxity of the Government is not altogether his fault: he is badly served. In announcing his intention to prosecute the *Gurákhi*, he said "Government of India is being informed of our proposed action." As I was leaving London next morning, I telegraphed to you direct, but no communication from Bombay had reached you. This is clearly stupidity, or delay, upon the part of some subordinate or Department.

Sedition in the Deccan.

The *Times of India* has some strong articles upon the propaganda of sedition now going on in the Deccan, and Ollivant, in his interview with me, quite confirmed this assertion. If the evil is certain, we must be careful not to fail in our first encounter with it. The law against sedition was so recently altered that I should be very reluctant to again strengthen it. We now stand upon impregnable ground; the law in Great Britain and India is practically the same. I do not say that it may not be necessary to alter it in India, but we should only be justified in so acting upon a case, or cases, that conclusively proved the justification for such coercion. The criticism that would be made upon us, and with some force, was that the fault lay less in the law than in those who had to administer it. Sandhurst had some kind of an idea that, if a prosecution or two failed, it would give a strong ground for further legislation. My idea, and one in which I am sure you will concur, is that we ought to make as far sure, as is possible, to succeed with our prosecutions, and that great care and circumspection should be exercised in showing that the existing law was sufficient. One or two successful prosecutions would have a magical effect. There is the possibility that we may fail, but I prefer to act on the hypothesis that, with ability and resolution, the law is sufficient, rather than that we move with a view to failure and fresh legislation.

Sugar debate.

The Sugar debate is postponed till the 8th proximo.

Persia.

I must look carefully into the Persian question. I wrote to you more from generalizations than from a close investigation of existing phenomena. I hope I may have been too pessimistic, but I will write fully when I have re-read your book, and have before me certain memoranda which I have directed to be prepared.

Muscat.

Muscat still hangs fire. The Prime Minister has been unwell. As you have a successor to Fagan in your mind, it might be well to spin out negotiations with Cambon until Cox is at Muscat. I will see if this can be managed.

How hard it is to get at the truth even of contemporary incidents. The discrepancy between Douglas's letter to the Admiralty and his statements to

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Fagan and Meade is not easily explained. In his telegram the exact words he used were I then "assumed a menacing attitude;" by which I gather he intended to convey that the force he might exercise depended upon the resistance he encountered.

Southport Election.

An interesting and rather test election is going on in your old Constituency. Young Balfour has declared himself in favour of a Catholic University in Ireland. This has rubbed up your old Protestant supporters, and I hear that certain of them intend to support, in consequence, his opponent, a Home Ruler. It is a gloriously inconsequent decision, for as Home Rule puts all Protestants in Ireland under the priests in the first place, and establishes, without any Parliamentary control whatever, a Catholic University in Dublin, in the second place, it is difficult to understand the stupidity which can induce so-called Protestants to thus make fools of themselves.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 22.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 2nd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

On my return to London from my Whitsuntide holiday, I found your letters awaiting me, which deal with a good many different subjects of varying interest.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

Let me first take the Calcutta Municipality Bill. I think that, if we can base our legislation upon the Bombay precedent, we are altogether on safe ground. It is true that the approval, which the Native members in their minute of dissent indicate towards the Bombay scheme, is very qualified; and I have no doubt that they would contrive, if you acted on their suggestion, to wriggle out of it and attack you for so acting. But Romesh Dutt here urged upon me the same course. He thought that, if we so modified Mackenzie's proposals, we should give general satisfaction, and have shown that we were prepared to modify, in deference to Native opinion, our original proposals as far as we safely could. The merit of the Bombay scheme seems to be that you get

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rid of the Native associations, and trust in electing your Council to the fact that you should have command over at least half the votes of the whole Corporation. I doubt if the nominees of any Native association or body in Calcutta could be trusted at a pinch to act with the Government. In communities, where the sects and religions are more equally divided than the rivalry between them, a dexterous Chairman or Commissioner is enabled to so manage his Corporation as to attain his own ends. But where one element, and that the Bengali element, is so absolutely predominant, as it is in Calcutta, I doubt if it would be prudent to rely to any great extent upon any Native association. I think it would be better to telegraph home any very material alteration in the scheme, and I would send you a telegraphic answer. The matter was a good deal discussed here, and certain Members of Council might be annoyed if they thought material changes were made without their knowledge.

Draft letter to the Amir.

I have read carefully your reply to the Amir. I quite agree with the tone and line you propose to adopt. The only criticism I would make is that in the bottom paragraph of page 2 you generalise somewhat freely as to the disadvantages of want of railway and telegraph communication by allusions to a number of recent wars. I am not sure that this dissertation is necessary or even germane to your general argument. My other criticism is in connection with the paragraph devoted to the arms question. That paragraph clearly indicates distrust of the use to which the Amir might put the arms which we have allowed him to obtain or manufacture, and if he is disposed to quarrel with us, the line adopted rather lends itself to the retort that we cannot trust him as a sovereign, or rely upon the repeated declarations that he has made. It is not easy, however, to suggest an effective and alternative method of argument. I am trying to see whether I could not frame an argument equally effective, but based on the known turbulence of the populations within Afghan rule, their dissensions, their fickleness, and their bloodthirsty tendencies: in fact adopt the same attitude towards the importation of arms into Afghanistan in a modified form as we have done in connection with the import of arms in the Persian Gulf. Otherwise I quite approve of the line you propose to take. It seems to me absolutely essential that we should put a proper interpretation upon the agreement between ourselves and the Amir, and, although he may resent it and may give us trouble, he is more likely to respect a firm and determined attitude than one of constant concession and conciliation. As you wish for a speedy reply, I will telegraph to you any suggested alterations.

Arms for Afghanistan.

Sugar Duties.

The Sugar Duties Debate will come on either on Thursday the 8th or on Monday the 12th. The telegram you sent me from the Engineer Superintendent of the North-West Provinces will be very valuable in debate. I cannot conceive the House of Commons, or even the more responsible members of the Opposition, over-ruling the Indian Government on a question where both the Council at home and the Executive and Legislative Council in India, and the

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whole of the Press and the people, are of one mind. In your telegram you bring home very clearly the danger of such an unwarrantable act of interference.

Mr. Tata's University scheme.

In speaking of Mr. Tata's University scheme you mention as an objection to it that he proposes, under a plea of endowing an educational scheme, to create an entail for the remaining and larger portion of his property, the proceeds of which are to constitute a perpetual endowment for his descendants, and you indicate that this practice is not permitted by law in India, and is contrary to the spirit of modern legislation. As I daresay you know, proposals came to us from the North-West, suggesting that some form of settlement or entail should be legalised in connection with certain landed properties, and the argument that was then urged was that what we were asked to agree to was in accordance with the practices and usages which prevailed in the North-West earlier in the century. No doubt this has not escaped your attention, but it would be necessary to reconcile any decision you take, in connection with Mr. Tata's proposal, with the legislation which I understand your Government is prepared to favourably consider in connection with landed property in the North-West Provinces.

Hunza's claims in Raskam.

As regards Hunza, a strong representation has been made to the Chinese Government; and further communications between the Foreign Office and Mouravieff on the surface indicate that he is not prepared to back up his local Agent, but the Russian Agents in China do not seem to pay much attention to what their Chief at St. Petersburg says to us; but the communications which have so far passed, I think, clearly justify you in backing up the Hunza people, as Russia could not, in view of Mouravieff's statement, risk a collision with us upon this question.

Muscat.

As regards Muscat, we have entered into a new phase. Cambon, I must tell you, pretends to be much annoyed at the delay in coming to any conclusion, which he attributes to the opposition of the Indian Government. He came to the Foreign Office, and he then airily informed Sanderson that the French had agreed upon a site, which was Bunder Gisseh. Sanderson at once pointed out to him that this was a proposal to which he did not think Lord Salisbury could possibly assent. Cambon replied angrily that there was no accommodation in Muscat Harbour, and that it was immaterial where the French obtained their site, provided they complied with the conditions agreed upon. Sanderson repelled this contention, and, when it was communicated to Lord Salisbury, he intimated clearly that, if any such proposition was put forward, he should feel it his duty to inform the Sultan of Muscat that it was not a proposal which the British Government could allow. So for the time being the matter stands. We are all very anxious here to try and get some settlement of this matter. Fagan's last telegram makes a suggestion which would leave us with all the honours of war, namely, that we should for a consideration part with one of our sheds, and allow the French to use it. I should like to work this idea, and upon it to come to a conclusion

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with the French. But I do not know what the Foreign Office views are at this moment, as Cambon's communication to the Foreign Office was only made yesterday afternoon; and I heard of it this morning, and have not been able yet to see the Prime Minister. But I will telegraph to you later on the purport of my conversation with him.

Despatch to Secretary of State on telegraph rates.

Reuter telegraphs this morning that a despatch is coming home from you, the nature of which you have already communicated in your previous letters, proposing a reduction of 50 per cent. in the telegraphic rates between India and England, half the cost to be borne by the Indian Government, and the remainder by the Home Treasury. Simla is a very leaky place. The despatch in question is not one which it is necessary to enshroud in secrecy: still I think it is better that publicity should not be given to proposals which affect a number of Departments here, who know nothing and who would receive the first intimation of the suggestions to be made to them not from an official source but from a newspaper. I am afraid we shall have some trouble with any proposal to reduce the telegraphic rates between India and Great Britain, owing to the new scheme which is about to be supported by Imperial and Colonial money for laying a cable between Canada and Australasia. This must, if effected, considerably curtail the revenue of the Eastern Telegraph Company, and Beach on that ground objected to the Government becoming associated with its management and construction. He, however, was over-ruled, and will be compelled to assist, to a greater extent than he wished, this new enterprise, and I am afraid that, if on the top of this extraction of funds from the Treasury a proposal comes from the other part of the world to put a further charge upon Imperial revenues, he will not reply to it in the politest manner. On the merits of the case I quite agree with you that it is desirable that communication should be cheapened, and I think, if it were not for the Pacific cable, we might have induced the Treasury to co-operate with us. As it is I will try, but I am not very sanguine of success.

The Dum-Dum bullet.

I see by this morning's telegrams that one of the sections of the Hague Conference has condemned the Dum-Dum bullet. What the grounds of their objection can be I cannot for the life of me imagine, because I believe every other nation in the world has a bullet which has a similar effect upon impact.

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We are too prosperous, and, in the opinion, I am afraid, of all other nations, we have too large a slice of the cake; and the jealousy thus created shows itself in these little silly petty acts of co-operation against us. It is rather amusing to note that the very powers, notably the United States, who decline to submit any question of importance to themselves to arbitration, are busily engaged in drawing up an elaborate scheme of procedure of the very ordeal to which they decline to submit themselves.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 22a.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 2nd, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I write a few lines in reply to your private letter.

Snowdon. First as regards Snowdon. This is one of those little questions upon which the Council are very stiff, and they are masters of the situation. I

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enclose extracts from the previous history of this residence. It was purchased on one condition, *viz.*, that the Commander-in-Chief should reside there, and pay the present rent. I enclose the extract from the letter of the Indian Government, in which they attach themselves this condition to the proposal they make. I am sure that the Council will not now waive the condition. Donald Stewart is the leader in these matters, and he carries great weight. Lockhart probably did not know of this condition, or he would not have pressed for its abolition. Elgin tried to get the Council here to assent to the purchase of the furniture: I put it before two Committees, and they would not look at it. I enclose the substance of the transaction. I was obliged to withdraw it. Therefore, much as I should like to meet Lockhart's views, I am certain I should be only subjecting him and me to a rebuff here, which neither of us would like, if I were to make any formal proposal to the Council of the kind suggested.

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

As to future Finance Minister. Godley, whom I sounded, is not in any way disposed to move from here. He has, for sixteen years, had a considerable voice in determining and controlling the policy of the Government of India, and he would not leave his present post, except for something where he would be his own master entirely, so we must dismiss him from consideration.

Edgar Vincent is also out of the running. He was for some years Manager of the Ottoman Bank, and I know the trouble he gave to my brother-in-law, Hillingdon, who was Chairman of that institution. He is a thorough adventurer, very able, and quite unreliable, and an unscrupulous utiliser of all opportunities for his own advantage.

There remain Gorst, Babington Smith, and Law.

I fully appreciate the objections you offer to Gorst, and his father has behaved so badly here, that I should not like to subject any one, in your position, to any risk of treatment similar to that we have undergone here.

There are obvious disadvantages to Babington Smith, and you enumerate them well, but they are more of an inferential than personal character. I admit fully the drawbacks of bringing in a prominent actor in one régime, to a

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higher position in a succeeding but wholly different administration; but limited as we are to choice, I put objections such as you urge, and forcibly, against him, in a different category to those of doubt and distrust of a man's personal attributes.

Law then remains: but you know more about him than I do. I am, however, corresponding with Sanderson on the subject.

The only available man here is Chalmers, the Secretary to the Currency Commission. He is young, perhaps too young, but his ability and sound judgment are admitted by all.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 22b.

FROM
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 2nd, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

The Viceroy's speeches.

I cannot write much to-day, but must send you a few words of acknowledgment of yours of the 10th. In it you refer to what Lord

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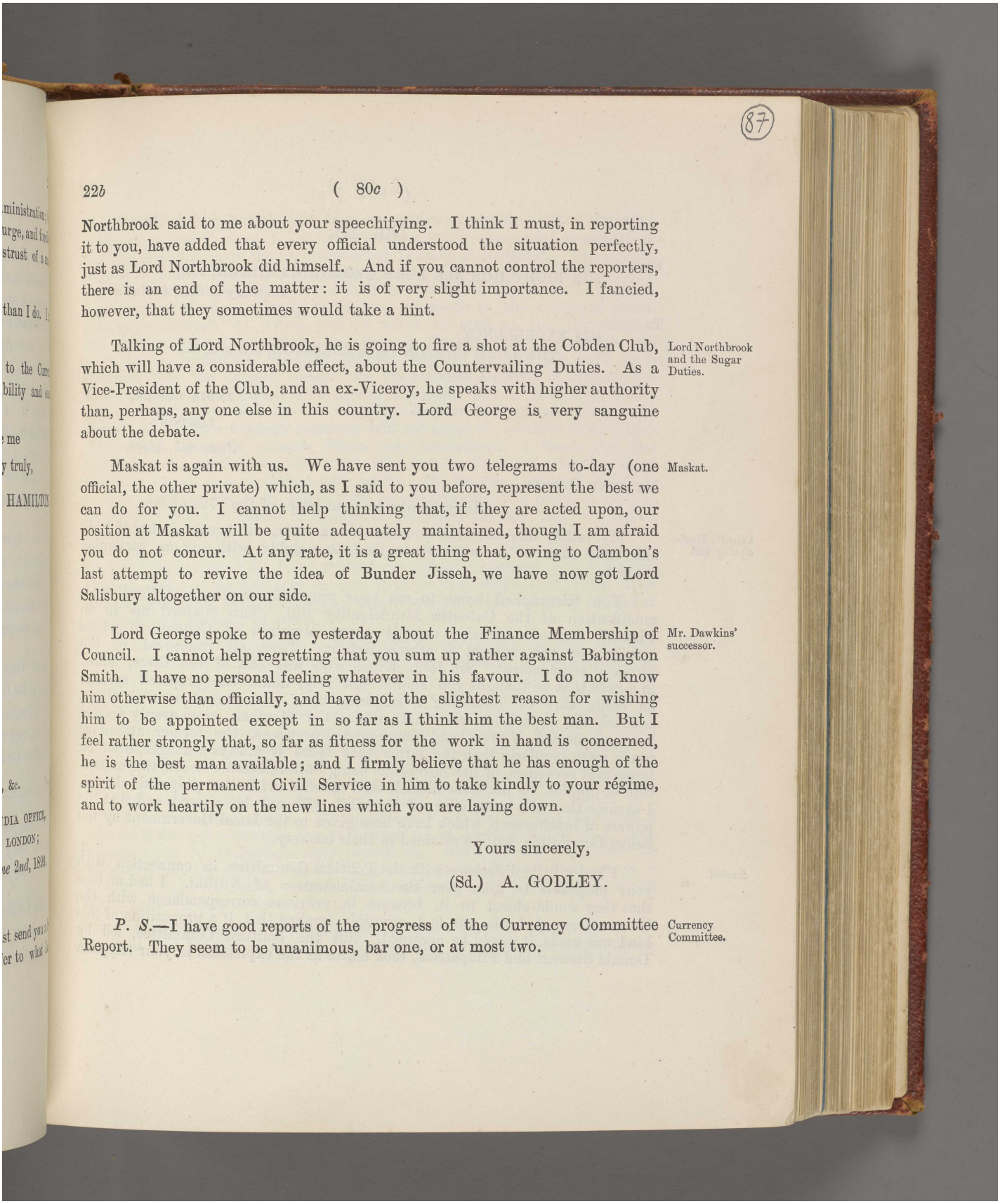

Northbrook said to me about your speechifying. I think I must, in reporting it to you, have added that every official understood the situation perfectly, just as Lord Northbrook did himself. And if you cannot control the reporters, there is an end of the matter: it is of very slight importance. I fancied, however, that they sometimes would take a hint.

Lord Northbrook and the Sugar Duties.

Talking of Lord Northbrook, he is going to fire a shot at the Cobden Club, which will have a considerable effect, about the Countervailing Duties. As a Vice-President of the Club, and an ex-Viceroy, he speaks with higher authority than, perhaps, any one else in this country. Lord George is very sanguine about the debate.

Maskat.

Maskat is again with us. We have sent you two telegrams to-day (one official, the other private) which, as I said to you before, represent the best we can do for you. I cannot help thinking that, if they are acted upon, our position at Maskat will be quite adequately maintained, though I am afraid you do not concur. At any rate, it is a great thing that, owing to Cambon's last attempt to revive the idea of Bunder Jisseh, we have now got Lord Salisbury altogether on our side.

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

Lord George spoke to me yesterday about the Finance Membership of Council. I cannot help regretting that you sum up rather against Babington Smith. I have no personal feeling whatever in his favour. I do not know him otherwise than officially, and have not the slightest reason for wishing him to be appointed except in so far as I think him the best man. But I feel rather strongly that, so far as fitness for the work in hand is concerned, he is the best man available; and I firmly believe that he has enough of the spirit of the permanent Civil Service in him to take kindly to your régime, and to work heartily on the new lines which you are laying down.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

Currency Committee.

P. S.—I have good reports of the progress of the Currency Committee Report. They seem to be unanimous, bar one, or at most two.

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No. 23.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 8th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Many thanks for your letter of the 17th ultimo.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

My letter, like the one to which it is a reply, will consist rather of odds and ends than of an attempt to deal thoroughly with any one particular subject.

You telegraphed home to me your proposed acceptance of Woodburn's modification of the Calcutta Municipality Bill. This enabled me to do what I wanted, namely, consult three Members of Council to whose opinions on this subject I attach weight. They all concurred in the proposed arrangement. Sir John Edge, who was one of the three, added in a note that he thought you should not rely, under the proposed system, on being sure of obtaining a majority upon the Executive Committee, because his experience was that, where the Members were evenly divided between elected Natives and nominated Europeans, the former attend so much more regularly than the latter that there is always a danger, even on important occasions, of the Europeans being outnumbered. With this expression of opinion, he professes himself well satisfied with the proposed change. I assume that the remainder of the Bill will not be altered, and that the powers of interference, which have been given to the Local Government by the Select Committee, will be retained in their entirety.

Nushki.

I had a little difference with the Political Committee in connection with your proposals to take over the administration of Nushki. I had no idea that they would object to it, because in previous correspondence with the Government of India we had certainly implied that, if a proposition of this kind was made, it would be accepted. But the Political Committee, led by Donald Stewart and Fitzpatrick, took alarm at the expression in your telegram

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that Nushki might become the base of future operations. They therefore declined to assent to any forward move until they were in full possession of the ultimate objects of the Government of India in Baluchistan. The subject seemed to me to come within the category of those questions which require sanction from a majority of the Council, as it involved expenditure. I therefore overcame the opposition by tacking on the words in the telegram which you have received, by which you are asked to send us full information, and not to extend responsibilities beyond Nushki. Your despatch will have to be somewhat carefully drafted, because on the one hand it is desirable that the Council should see the absolute necessity of bringing the whole of Baluchistan within our sphere of influence, and, if necessary, within our administration; and on the other hand there is a strong feeling in the Council that India's financial resources will not stand the increase of establishments which advances towards Persia may necessitate. I think that our establishments, considering the work they have to do, are at present reduced to as low a point as is consistent with safety. On the other hand, I think it is clear that we shall be called upon, at any rate in a few years, to come to some settlement with Russia as regards Persia, and I am sure that we ought, before that settlement is attempted, to be completely masters of the whole of Baluchistan. You will therefore have to write a letter which will somewhat test your diplomatic skill; but I think I can ensure acceptance of any gradual advance, but I must take care to put it in such a shape that I can overrule any opposition without rendering myself subject to the statutory obligation of obtaining a majority of votes.

Kalka-Simla Railway.

I sent your telegram on to the Public Works Committee, and both they and Godley do not think it desirable to make any concession to the Kalka-Simla Railway Company. They have given us a great deal of trouble in connection with the parent line, and Clarke, the Chairman, is a very shifty fellow. Legally they have us in their power if we change the terms of the contract, and, although they cannot commence operations without our assent, it would be held, I think, to be sharp practice to now break off the contract because we had changed our mind. This railway is not likely to lead to anywhere except Simla, and therefore it is not a very material point whether the break of gauge, for a short distance in the Hill Districts around Simla, is a 2 ft. or a 2 ft. 6-in. gauge. We telegraphed to you to that effect, and I shall no doubt get your reply if you thought the enlarged gauge to be of such importance as to necessitate some concession. But I scarcely see, unless the concession take the shape either of an increase in tariffs and fares or of a guarantee, how we could propose any suitable terms to the Company which they would be likely to accept.

Maharaja Holkar.

I was premature in my congratulations to you over the temporary settlement of the Holkar difficulty. He apparently is at his old games again,

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though possibly the change of Agent may enable you to bring him up more sharply than heretofore has been found possible.

Relations with the Bombay Government: Lord Sandhurst.

I felt pretty sure that you would find it almost impossible to establish satisfactory or reasonable relations with the Bombay Government, so long as its present head remains where he is. My experience is identical with yours. I cannot make him understand the most ordinary propositions, or get him to reply direct to any questions which I may put to him as to the future or what he proposes to do. He will write volubly about the past, and give me masses of details of plague administration. But I do not believe he knows his own mind or has sufficient grasp of current questions to be able to give any indication of what he will do. His time is up in February, and we must try and scrape along as best we can till then. I hear from various quarters

Sedition in the Deccan.

rumours of movements and of plots amongst the Mahratta Brahmins. There seems to be a general kind of propaganda going on throughout the Deccan to stir up bad feeling against the Government. The Brahmin element has been introduced much too much into the administrative offices, and I fancy is also dominant in their police system. Whether rightly or wrongly Reay is supposed to be the culprit, and for the sake of popularity to have increased the Brahmin element in directions and quarters where before it had been excluded or was

Relations with the Madras Government.

present only to a comparatively small extent. The distinction I would draw between Madras and Bombay is that Madras is detached because there is little going on in that sleepy Presidency of sufficient importance to necessitate references to you or the India Office. But whenever I have written to Havelock, I have always got a prompt and a comprehensive reply, and I should certainly place much greater reliance on his capacity to deal with trouble or an emergency than his brother Governor in Bombay.

Proposed scheme of transport organisation.

I sympathise very much with the multiplicity of the questions with which you have to deal, and when a question, such as transport organisation, is suddenly thrust upon you supported by experts, and you have no previous knowledge or special experience to meet their suggestions, a close analysis and investigation of the subject is absolutely necessary before you can give a sound opinion upon it. The present system of compulsory transport in the Punjab is, I am sure, a source of political danger. Northbrook is very strong upon this point, and I think we ought, if it be possible, to take steps to so re-organise our frontier transport as to prevent it being as heavy a burden upon the agriculturist as the last Committee's report proved it to be. I hope you will be able to reply to this question with the same form of analysis which you did to the Khyber proposals. What is the scheme wanted for? Is it wanted to effect the rapid mobilisation of any force that may be reasonably wanted on the frontier, or, under pretext of meeting likely and local wants, is it to be the foundation for some great scheme for supplying the whole of the Indian Army with transport in the case of a war with Russia? I am not fond of schemes

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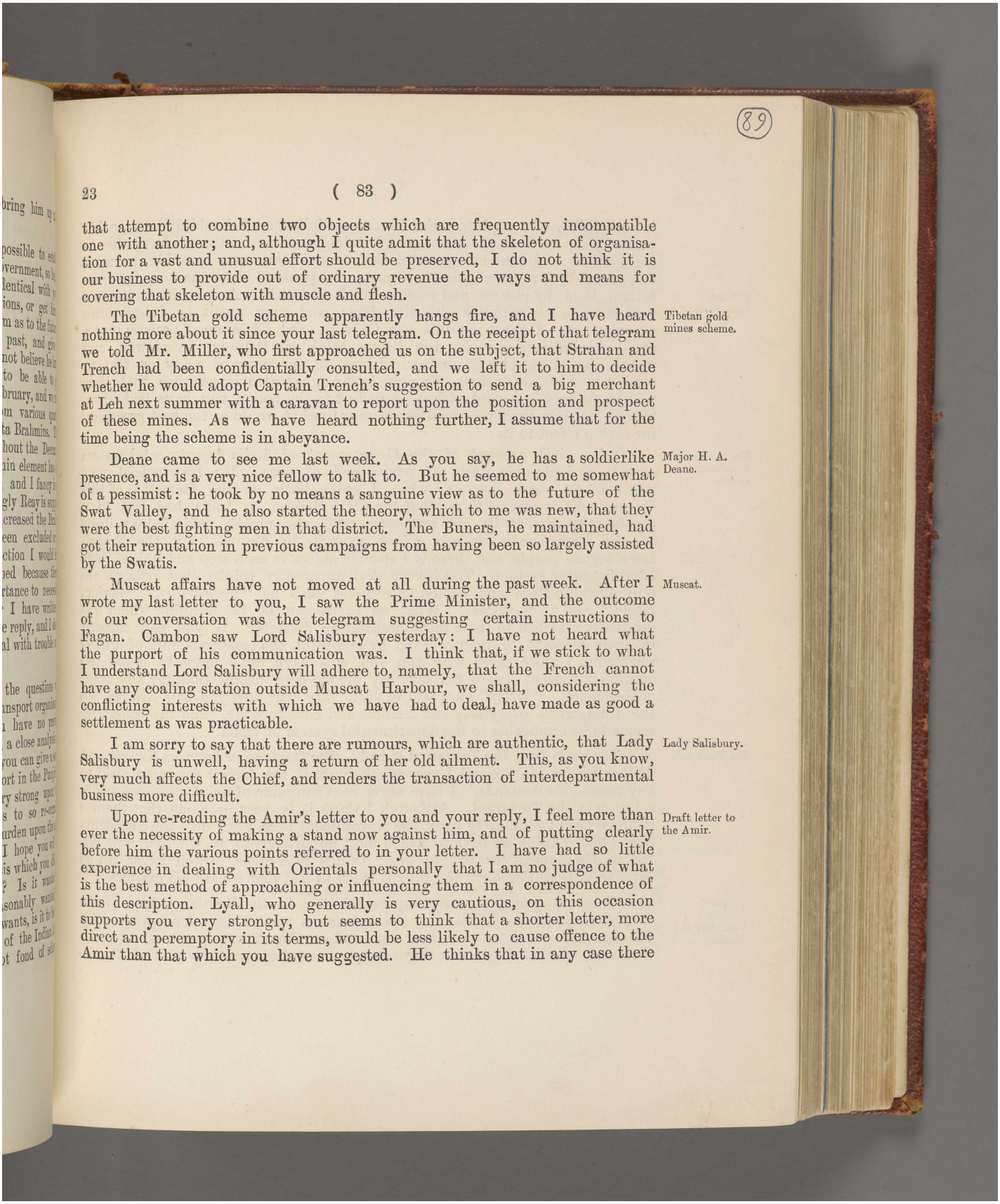

that attempt to combine two objects which are frequently incompatible one with another; and, although I quite admit that the skeleton of organisation for a vast and unusual effort should be preserved, I do not think it is our business to provide out of ordinary revenue the ways and means for covering that skeleton with muscle and flesh.

Tibetan gold mines scheme.

The Tibetan gold scheme apparently hangs fire, and I have heard nothing more about it since your last telegram. On the receipt of that telegram we told Mr. Miller, who first approached us on the subject, that Strahan and Trench had been confidentially consulted, and we left it to him to decide whether he would adopt Captain Trench's suggestion to send a big merchant at Leh next summer with a caravan to report upon the position and prospect of these mines. As we have heard nothing further, I assume that for the time being the scheme is in abeyance.

Major H. A. Deane.

Deane came to see me last week. As you say, he has a soldierlike presence, and is a very nice fellow to talk to. But he seemed to me somewhat of a pessimist: he took by no means a sanguine view as to the future of the Swat Valley, and he also started the theory, which to me was new, that they were the best fighting men in that district. The Buners, he maintained, had got their reputation in previous campaigns from having been so largely assisted by the Swatis.

Muscat.

Muscat affairs have not moved at all during the past week. After I wrote my last letter to you, I saw the Prime Minister, and the outcome of our conversation was the telegram suggesting certain instructions to Fagan. Cambon saw Lord Salisbury yesterday: I have not heard what the purport of his communication was. I think that, if we stick to what I understand Lord Salisbury will adhere to, namely, that the French cannot have any coaling station outside Muscat Harbour, we shall, considering the conflicting interests with which we have had to deal, have made as good a settlement as was practicable.

Lady Salisbury.

I am sorry to say that there are rumours, which are authentic, that Lady Salisbury is unwell, having a return of her old ailment. This, as you know, very much affects the Chief, and renders the transaction of interdepartmental business more difficult.

Draft letter to the Amir.

Upon re-reading the Amir's letter to you and your reply, I feel more than ever the necessity of making a stand now against him, and of putting clearly before him the various points referred to in your letter. I have had so little experience in dealing with Orientals personally that I am no judge of what is the best method of approaching or influencing them in a correspondence of this description. Lyall, who generally is very cautious, on this occasion supports you very strongly, but seems to think that a shorter letter, more direct and peremptory in its terms, would be less likely to cause offence to the Amir than that which you have suggested. He thinks that in any case there

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is a possibility of a rupture. For European diplomacy I should unquestionably prefer your method, because you indulge in no sort of threats but rather in insinuations and innuendoes. Asiatics' imagination may possibly be more frightened by language which is vague and capable of more than one interpretation, than by clearer and more explicit demands. As your letter marks a new phase in our relations with the Amir, and may result in far-reaching consequences, I must consult the Cabinet, and therefore I propose that a small Committee, namely, the Prime Minister, Balfour, Lansdowne, and myself, should consider the matter. I hope in the course of a day or two to send you our conclusions, though I can guarantee in advance that they will be entirely in accord with giving effect to the policy you have laid down, though possibly there may be differences as to what would be the best procedure for giving effect to it.

Cabinet Committee.

The Government departmental system.

Your vivid account of the Government of India departmental system reveals a deplorable waste of power and of time. My first official post was here 25 years ago, and when I came back, on the formation of this Government, it seemed to me that the Civil Service in India had lost to a considerable extent its old attributes, and was rapidly assimilating itself to the bureaucratic system which prevails in France. But the French are a logical people, and there is a specific object in each step and link of their administrative system. The Native clerk apparently thinks that officers are only made to store and accumulate notes such as "keep-withs," "major-heads," and "key-words." What on earth can be the meaning which was originally attached to these incomprehensible dockets? If you can succeed in your attempt to reduce, even by one-third, the enormous bulk of useless scribbling, I quite agree with you you will have done more to make the administration of India permanently strong and useful than by any other achievement. "Dizzy" once said to me: "My dear boy, you will live to see the time when everybody can scribble and nobody write," and that prophecy seems to be applicable to the departmental system of India.

The Transvaal.

The news from the Transvaal is bad. The Conference between Kruger and Milner has broken up, and I very much doubt if the former can now yield to any reasonable demands. I have never been sanguine of an ultimate peaceable solution in the Transvaal. Although I think it is very probable that the use of force might ultimately upset the Government here, yet I own the consideration which I think we have to attach most importance to is whether now is a favourable moment or not to bring things to a crisis, which never can be satisfactorily settled until the Boer is made to feel that we are his masters.

Proposed Russian Consulate at Bombay.

We sent you out some papers relating to the Russian proposal for a Consul at Bombay. With every desire to meet your wishes, I must say that the Russian case is a very strong one; and as they have pressed it, and make a refusal, of what they think they are by commercial treaties entitled to, an

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unfriendly act on our part, I hope you will be able to meet their wishes. I do not think from our point of view it would be wise to insist upon Consuls in inland towns in Central Asia, because, if they retaliate, Consuls, say at Benares or Peshawar, would find themselves, if mischievously disposed, able to do a great deal more harm than if located in semi-Europeanised maritime ports.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 23a.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 9th, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have made, as you suggested, enquiries through Sanderson about Law. I enclose his reply. I doubt if he will do. Currie could not get on with him at Constantinople, and a "sensitive or suspicious man" would not get on with the Departments, or stand the wear and tear of the life of a Finance Minister. Godley and I are both hunting about to try and find some other qualified men besides those we have corresponded about. There is no one in the Commons or Lords. So far as I know, there is no one in the Treasury, but we may be able to find some eligible man outside.

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

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Have you any one in India outside the Finance Department? Bisset occurred to me as a possible solution; he is able and strong, and has much knowledge, but I do not think that he has ever studied currency.

I will hunt the City also, but joint stocking has altered so the business of finance, the big banker and merchant trading on his own account is now scarcely to be found.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

FROM
SIR T. H. SANDERSON, K. C. B., K. C. M. G.

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

June 7th, 1899.

[Private.]

DEAR LORD GEORGE,

Law (he is now Sir E. Fitzgerald Law) is undoubtedly a man of very considerable ability, and a thoroughly good financier. He is perfectly presentable, and, in cases where he has been Member of a Commission, he has, I think, generally got on well with his colleagues. He is very hard working.

On the other hand, I do not think he is quite popular; it is difficult exactly to say why, but he has an odd kind of reserved manner, and seems generally dissatisfied, or not satisfied, about something. He is inclined to be suspicious and susceptible.

He has a Greek wife, who is, I believe, a nice person, but has weak health, and suffers from a chronic weak nervous condition. Whether the climate of India would suit her or not I have no idea.

Curzon knows Law, though his acquaintance was not of course so large as mine.

Believe me
very sincerely yours,
(Sd.) T. H. SANDERSON.

P. S.—Sir H. Brackenbury knows him very intimately, and swears by him.

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No. 23b.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 13*th*, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I am much touched by your letter of the 24th about the Finance Membership of Council; and I am grateful to you, not so much for the implied compliment (though no compliment could be higher) as for the friendly feeling without which you could not have written as you did.

Sir A. Godley suggested as Finance Member.

Lord George Hamilton *did* mention to me the suggestion contained in your letter to him; but he mentioned it in such a way that I was not obliged to treat it seriously.

It is all very well for you and me to correspond about this; but it is the Secretary of State who appoints Members of Council. And I do not think that Lord George can have held his present post for four years without perceiving that I have no turn whatever for finance. In an important matter of this kind, false modesty would be ridiculous: I am speaking the simple truth. No doubt, in my 16 years here I have picked up some superficial knowledge about it, as I have about Indian locomotives, Dum-Dum bullets, and many other technical matters. But I really think that there is not one of your Departments which I could not take up with more satisfaction to myself and to others than that of Finance—I hardly exclude the Legal Department, for I am a barrister, though perhaps you are not aware of the fact. And, if

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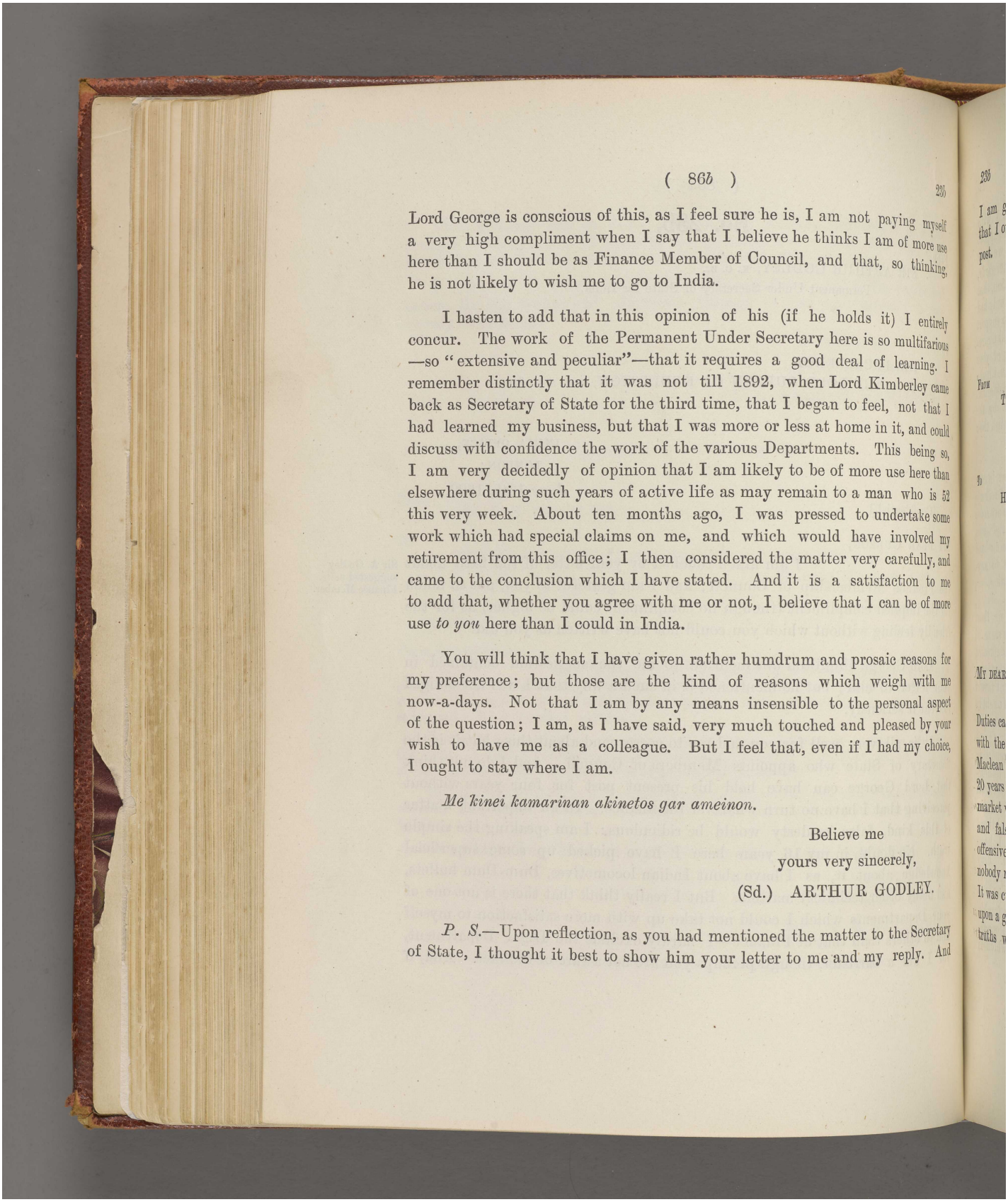

Lord George is conscious of this, as I feel sure he is, I am not paying myself a very high compliment when I say that I believe he thinks I am of more use here than I should be as Finance Member of Council, and that, so thinking, he is not likely to wish me to go to India.

I hasten to add that in this opinion of his (if he holds it) I entirely concur. The work of the Permanent Under Secretary here is so multifarious —so "extensive and peculiar"—that it requires a good deal of learning. I remember distinctly that it was not till 1892, when Lord Kimberley came back as Secretary of State for the third time, that I began to feel, not that I had learned my business, but that I was more or less at home in it, and could discuss with confidence the work of the various Departments. This being so, I am very decidedly of opinion that I am likely to be of more use here than elsewhere during such years of active life as may remain to a man who is 52 this very week. About ten months ago, I was pressed to undertake some work which had special claims on me, and which would have involved my retirement from this office; I then considered the matter very carefully, and came to the conclusion which I have stated. And it is a satisfaction to me to add that, whether you agree with me or not, I believe that I can be of more use *to you* here than I could in India.

You will think that I have given rather humdrum and prosaic reasons for my preference; but those are the kind of reasons which weigh with me now-a-days. Not that I am by any means insensible to the personal aspect of the question; I am, as I have said, very much touched and pleased by your wish to have me as a colleague. But I feel that, even if I had my choice, I ought to stay where I am.

Me kinei kamarinan akinetos gar ameinon.

Believe me
yours very sincerely,
(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

P. S.—Upon reflection, as you had mentioned the matter to the Secretary of State, I thought it best to show him your letter to me and my reply. And

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I am glad to find that, as I expected, he takes the same view that I do, *viz.*, that I ought to remain here. In other words, he does not offer me the post.

No. 24.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 16*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The long anticipated Debate on the Countervailing Duties came off last night, and I think we have every reason to be satisfied with the result. We got much the best of the argument. Fowler and Maclean trotted out the old well-worn arguments that were used some 20 years ago, when bounty-fed sugar first became a serious competitor in this market with cane sugar, although the events of the past 20 years had nullified and falsified every one of those arguments and predictions. Maclean was offensive and personal as he generally is; but, with the exception of Fowler, nobody made a serious attempt to grapple with the economic side of the question. It was curious to note the effect not only on men on the other side, but also upon a good many men on our own side, of the most obvious economic truths when applied to the sugar bounty system. It was quite a shock to

Debate on the Sugar Duties.

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them to find that the views and ideas, which they had associated with free trade, and perhaps inconsiderately adopted, were not capable of support by argument or proof; and undoubtedly, as the Debate proceeded, we won a considerable number of adherents. Several men came up to me afterwards, and told me that they had intended to vote against your legislation, but our case was so conclusive, when fully stated, that they felt that, not only had we done the right thing, but that they had no option whatever but to support us. The Whips anticipated a majority of about 100, whereas the actual figures were over 140. I therefore heartily congratulate you upon the effect of your first legislation: not only will it be beneficial to India, but it must make people here reconsider their views in connection with bounties, and I hope that we may be able to arrive at some conclusion with foreign nations, by the adoption of a penal clause against those who will not agree to abolish their system of bounty or subsidy.

The Secretary of State's speech.

I am fairly well reported in the *Times*, but I so seldom speak now, in consequence of there being so few debates on Indian questions, that I feel my elocution is getting more and more defective; and consequently there are some obvious inaccuracies in the speech, especially in connection with the words "India Office," "Revenue Committee," and "India Council." The terms have been substituted one for another in a way that is not very intelligible to anyone who understands the framework and machinery of our administration.

British rule in India.

I rather surprised the Radicals in the House of Commons by telling them that, in my judgment, our rule in India never would be, in the strong sense of the word, a popular rule. It is a truism which has been very often expressed before, but it was apparently a shock to their theories, which I assume are that, if a plebiscite was taken to-morrow as to whether our Government should or should not remain in India, and the decision was against us, we ought in compliance with that request to retire.

Muscat.

Muscat affairs remain as they were, so I have nothing to report in that direction. It has been, as you say, and may continue to be, a troublesome business, but one in which two old friends, and the relations between us, are too friendly for any element other than that of what is best for India to enter into our discussions on the subject. You say that you feel there is an element of ingratitude in your disagreeing with me, after I have in the main supported you against the views of the Foreign Office. Pray do not let any consideration of that kind ever prevent you from saying, or writing, exactly what you feel. Neither of us is thin-skinned, and neither of us is likely to be annoyed by the other expressing himself fully and frankly on any question where there is a difference. These triangular questions are much more difficult to manage and to control than any subject which is

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directly under the jurisdiction of the Indian Government. I must add that it is a great pleasure to me to find, in our exchange of opinions during the past few months, that there is not very likely to arise any difference, so far as purely Indian affairs are concerned, between us that we should not be able to satisfactorily settle from the great similarity of our ideas on most of the current questions of the day.

Koweit.

I will send on to the Foreign Office your suggestion about Koweit. The Emperor of Germany is buzzing about, and I think it is not improbable that he may have stirred up the Turks. I am afraid, however, that the present Sheikh is a bit of a ruffian, and obtained his throne by murdering his brother. I assume that is the not unusual method of succession: still it gives some plausibility to any attempt on the part of the Turks to back up some member of the family of the murdered Prince, who, by lineage and consanguinity, may have a good claim to the throne.

Tibet.

Our past relations with Tibet are from every point of view absurd, and I think that, previous to Lord Dalhousie's Viceroyalty, the relations that existed between us and Burma were very much on the same footing. China is very susceptible about the maintenance of her shadowy suzerainty. I think it would therefore be well, as soon as you can come to an arrangement with the Tibetans, to let us know in advance, so that we may inform China in a friendly way after, but not before, any agreement is arrived at.

Outrage by British soldiers at Rangoon.

I was very glad to see that you came down so promptly upon the civil and military authorities in Rangoon, in connection with the disgraceful outrage which some soldiers of the West Kent Regiment there committed. Curiously enough I was talking to Deane only a few days before, and asking him what British regiments did not behave well in that part of the North-West Frontier Campaign which took place in the Swat Valley; and the two worst regiments, both as regards discipline and fighting powers, that came up were the West Kent and the Somerset. I think Protheroe ought, if he really exercises his influence and powers, to be able, in spite of the natural tendency of the men of the regiment to shield their comrades, to get at the names of the perpetrators of this outrage, and in some way to punish them. But if the regiment shows a reluctance to give evidence, and a desire to shield the culprits, I hope that you and Lockhart will contrive to inflict some punishment upon them that will be a mark of your indignation and disgust at their conduct. I do not know what is the most unhealthy and unpleasant station in British India, but I should be disposed to send them to some quarter of that description, and keep them there for a considerable period. They are largely recruited in the East and South of London, and the offence is one which only town Hooligans would be likely to commit.

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Draft letter to the Amir.

I have been carefully considering your letter to the Amir, and I am bound to admit that I find it very difficult to substitute a better framework of argument than that which you have sent home. There are, however, one or two modifications which I think will improve the draft. I do not like the reference to the House of Commons, nor do I think it necessary to refer to the results of recent wars that have taken place. There are one or two other minor passages which are scarcely relevant to your argument, and might afford ground for a not ineffective reply. With these exceptions I do not think the general idea of the draft could be improved upon. You propose to send to the Amir the terms of the arrangement which was negotiated by Sir Lepel Griffin with him. We understand here that the agreement was written in Persian and English, and that the Persian copy was left in Kabul, and the English one was taken back to India. I assume you will have to re-translate it into Persian to send it to the Amir: if so, it will be rather difficult to prevent there being some dissimilarity between the Persian text which he has of the original treaty and the text of the double translation. However, this is a matter which you no doubt have considered, but it is advisable to give such a cunning old fox as few opportunities as possible of insinuating bad faith, or implying discrepancy between assurances given and the interpretation placed upon them.

Kalka-Simla Railway.

After considering the proposals of the Kalka-Simla Railway Company, we have come to the conclusion that the best course to adopt would be to say that we will sanction either gauge, leaving the decision to the Company, but in no case will the conditions of the contract be affected. This will probably induce them to adopt the wider gauge, as it will increase their capital, and give them consequently a somewhat greater importance.

The Transvaal.

Affairs in the Transvaal are still ticklish. Kruger's game evidently is to fine down the differences between his proposals and those made to him by Milner, so as to make it very difficult to fasten upon the difference as a *casus belli*. He is a cunning old fox, and, if bred in a European Foreign Office, would have been a diplomatist of the very highest calibre.

I am afraid your weekly mail from England will always contain solicitations of every kind and form, endorsed by friends and relations; but in nine cases out of ten, so far as my experience goes, they are not spontaneous, but are prompted by some friend of your friend or some relation of your relation.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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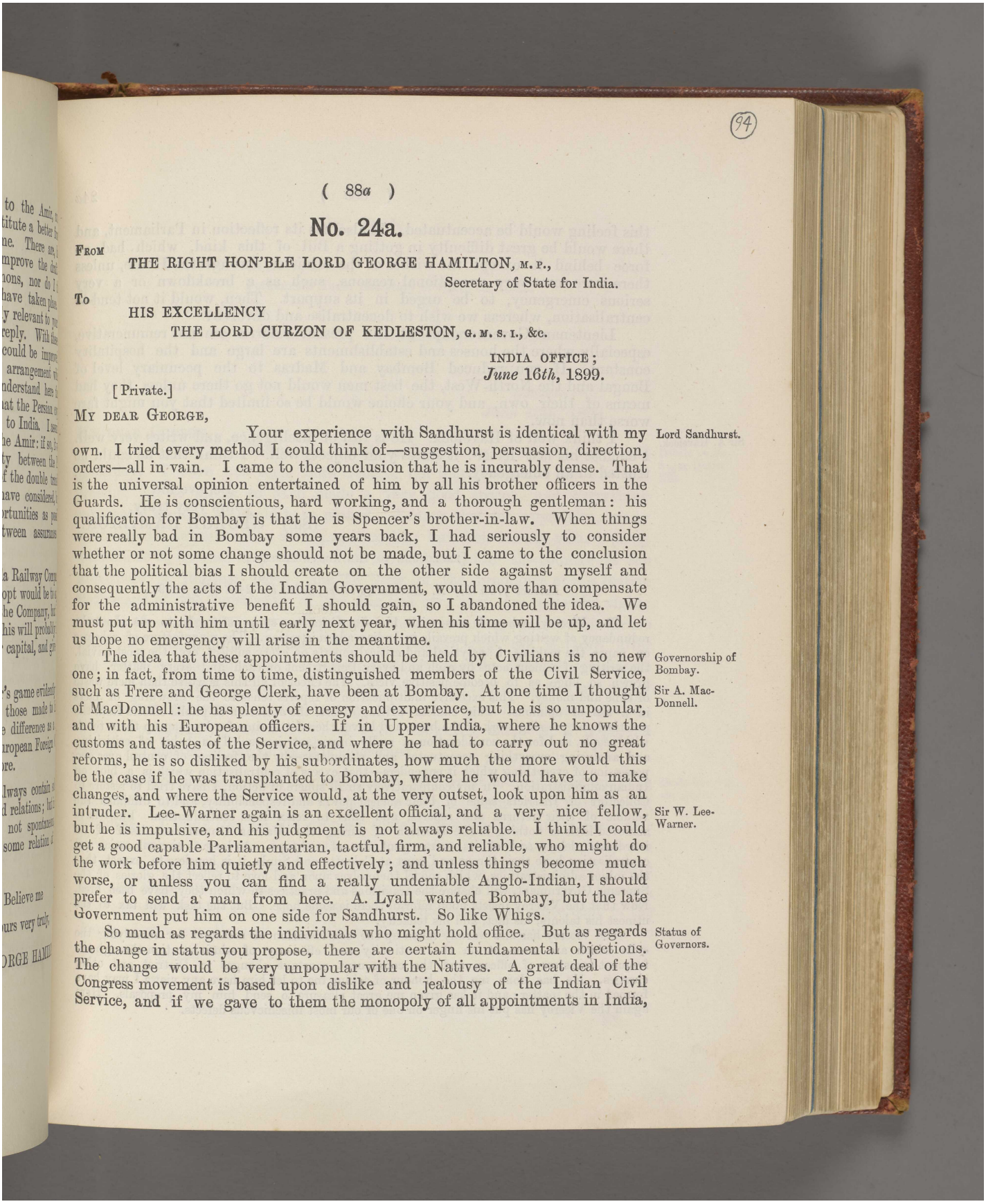

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No. 24a.

FROM
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE;
June 16th, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your experience with Sandhurst is identical with my own. I tried every method I could think of—suggestion, persuasion, direction, orders—all in vain. I came to the conclusion that he is incurably dense. That is the universal opinion entertained of him by all his brother officers in the Guards. He is conscientious, hard working, and a thorough gentleman: his qualification for Bombay is that he is Spencer's brother-in-law. When things were really bad in Bombay some years back, I had seriously to consider whether or not some change should not be made, but I came to the conclusion that the political bias I should create on the other side against myself and consequently the acts of the Indian Government, would more than compensate for the administrative benefit I should gain, so I abandoned the idea. We must put up with him until early next year, when his time will be up, and let us hope no emergency will arise in the meantime. Lord Sandhurst.

The idea that these appointments should be held by Civilians is no new one; in fact, from time to time, distinguished members of the Civil Service, such as Frere and George Clerk, have been at Bombay. At one time I thought of MacDonnell: he has plenty of energy and experience, but he is so unpopular, and with his European officers. If in Upper India, where he knows the customs and tastes of the Service, and where he had to carry out no great reforms, he is so disliked by his subordinates, how much the more would this be the case if he was transplanted to Bombay, where he would have to make changes, and where the Service would, at the very outset, look upon him as an intruder. Lee-Warner again is an excellent official, and a very nice fellow, but he is impulsive, and his judgment is not always reliable. I think I could get a good capable Parliamentarian, tactful, firm, and reliable, who might do the work before him quietly and effectively; and unless things become much worse, or unless you can find a really undeniable Anglo-Indian, I should prefer to send a man from here. A. Lyall wanted Bombay, but the late Government put him on one side for Sandhurst. So like Whigs. Governorship of Bombay. Sir A. Mac-Donnell. Sir W. Lee-Warner.

So much as regards the individuals who might hold office. But as regards the change in status you propose, there are certain fundamental objections. The change would be very unpopular with the Natives. A great deal of the Congress movement is based upon dislike and jealousy of the Indian Civil Service, and if we gave to them the monopoly of all appointments in India, Status of Governors.

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this feeling would be accentuated. It also has its reflection in Parliament, and there would be great difficulty in getting a Bill of this kind, which had no force behind it except the wishes of the Minister, through the House, unless there were some very exceptional reasons, such as a breakdown or a very serious emergency, to be urged in its support. Then, would it not tend to centralisation, whereas we wish to decentralise and devolve?

Lieutenant-Governorships at the present salaries are not remunerative, especially where the houses and establishments are large and the hospitality constant. If you reduced Bombay and Madras to the pecuniary level of Bengal and the North-West, the best men would not go there unless they had means of their own, and your choice would be so limited that you might fare worse than now.

Sir A. Havelock.

I think well of Havelock. He is full of intelligence, and writes very well. I enclose his last letter: it states your objects well. I think that he could be trusted in an emergency.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Extract from Sir A. Havelock's letter, dated the 24th May 1899.

The Viceroy, when I was with him in Calcutta, spoke strongly to me about the redundancy of writing which prevails in Indian administration. The manufacture of schemes on paper, the making of analytical and critical reports on every subject, even the most trivial, the writing of copious notes by each and every Department on each and every matter, have grown so huge as to become positive vices. The effect of all this is worse than mere waste of time and money. This excessive multiplication of reports tends to the drowning of facts in a sea of opinions. This endless writing diverts the attention of public officers from the practical and pressing work of the hour, and leaves them little time for keeping up their touch with people, and for the consideration of really important issues. This habit of criticising and analysing everything accentuates and stimulates—by the feeling of control over and possession of everything which it engenders—that excess of centralisation which is a blot on Indian administration. In my comparatively small sphere of action, I have tried to restore to Collectors of Districts some of their ancient power and responsibility, and to diminish the volume of their returns and reports, and thus to relax local centralisation. But I have achieved little or nothing in the direction of curing the Madras Government itself of its inordinate delays, and of its extravagant use of red tape. As long as circumlocution and centralisation have their throne and court at Calcutta and Simla, it is hopeless to expect that the minor administrations, which model themselves upon and love to reflect the glories of the Supreme Government, will change the traditions and practices in which they have been bred. Now that the Viceroy insists upon reform, there is some hope. But the task will tax to the utmost his talents, his tact, and his tenacity.

The Viceroy has also warmly taken up the consideration of measures for remedying the evils which are wrought on the continuity and efficiency of administration through the frequent transfers of officers and the consequent constant changes in District and other charges. He has done me the honour of asking me to let him have any views I may have formed in the matter: and it has given me great pleasure to send him my proposals. Here again the Viceroy has put his finger on one of our most mischievous defects.

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No. 24b.

FROM
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 16th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

The sugar debate and division went off very well yesterday. I have not seen Lord George, nor indeed any one else who was present: but he seems to have made a very good speech, and everything apparently went as we could have wished. I fancy that the opposition, many of them, did not much like voting as they did; but their leaders made a party question of it, because they wish to keep themselves before the country as the Free-trade or Big-loaf party; and in view of the ignorance of the British elector and of the popularity of the Big-loaf cry, they are possibly right; though, of course, they are really, in this instance, voting against Free Trade while they pose as its champions. You will observe that Sir E. Grey, after all, voted in the minority. I believe that, although he criticises some parts of the Government's action, he is in favour of countervailing duties generally, as a means of destroying the bounty system; so Lord Northbrook told me, who is a cousin of his and knows him well. However, there is, I hope, an end of the matter, so far as India is concerned.

Debate on the Sugar Duties Bill.

I have been reading and re-reading with very great interest your reply to the Amir. Lord George is going to discuss it with a Committee of the Cabinet, I believe. I think that he will propose some omissions and alterations, but that, on the whole, the document will go to the Amir pretty much as you wrote it. We are rather puzzled by the words in which you say that you have had the letter of 1880 to the Amir translated from English into Persian, whereas we should have expected you to quote from the office copy of the Persian letter, exactly as it was sent to the Amir. A telegram has gone to you to-day about this.

Draft letter to the Amir.

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Russian designs in Persia and the Persian Gulf.

As to the Persian Gulf, Persia, and Russia, I propose only to say a very few words. If Russia, as time goes on, gradually advances to the North of the Persian Gulf and so acquires a port or ports there, I do not see that we have a *casus belli*. Such a proceeding, if not a natural and almost unavoidable development, might, at any rate, be very plausibly represented as such. But this must take time, and people's minds will be gradually prepared for it. If, on the other hand, she were now suddenly to seize an island or a port in South Persia, it would obviously and undeniably be done as a hostile, or at least an unfriendly act: and I think we should have a very fair ground for resenting it. On the general question of Persia, my opinion is that there, as elsewhere, it is bad policy to annex or guarantee territory which you clearly have not the power of defending in case of war. The disregard of this principle has got us already into a very awkward position with regard to Herat; I do not wish to see such a mistake repeated. I doubt whether a Conservative Government could persuade this country to go to war with Russia in order to prevent her from overrunning Persia: I am quite sure that a Liberal Government would not, and would not wish to do so.

Indian Political Officers.

I am sorry to learn what you tell me about the inferior quality of your Political Officers, and I wish you all success with your reforms. Does Cox know Arabic? I hope he clearly understands that his business is to make the Sultan look upon him as a friend, and not to regard him as a school-boy does a savage but inefficient form-master—which appears to be the light in which he sees Fagan.

M. Haffkine.

As to Haffkine, no doubt it would be surprising, as matters now stand, if an English Doctor were put at the head of the Medical Department at Tashkend. But if an Englishman had been working there for three years, in the Russian Service, drawing pay and allowances, and if he had rendered very excellent and remarkable service and been decorated with the order of St. Vladimiz; if he had been practically the head of a great medical and experimental laboratory at Tashkend for the greater part of that time; then I do not suppose that, if a school of experimental medicine were established there, we should be much surprised at seeing him put at the head of it; and this, *mutatis mutandis*, is, I believe, Haffkine's case. But I hope you understand that I do not hold a brief for him: it was suggested to me that he was

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likely not to receive fair play, and I thought it worth while to hint to you that you might do well to be on your guard.

The Viceroy's Note on the system of Departmental noting.

Your Note on Noting is excellent: I read it from beginning to end with interest, and (I need not add) with high approval. Not only do I approve your conclusions, but I agree in almost everything that you say. The only point as to which it occurs to me just now to make an exception, is your admission that in India much writing and printing is needed to form a permanent record of the inner history of cases, on account of the fluctuating nature of the *personnel*. Now, I believe and must continue to believe that, in India and everywhere else, the writing which is sufficient for the discussion and decision of a case, is sufficient for the preservation of all that need be preserved by way of record of the case. You must remember that, owing to the fluctuation aforesaid, a rather fuller discussion will *ex-hypothesi* be needed, in order to satisfy and convince minds that are not thoroughly familiar with the facts and traditions of the office. This difference between Indian and English noting will be quite enough to supply the fluctuating Indian Official with the records which he requires. Of course the fatal cheapness of printing in India is a great snare to you all. I think you will have to keep your eye on this.

I feel quite sure that I am under the mark when I say that one-third of my time here, at the India Office, is taken up in *seeing* people: mostly the Secretaries (Heads of Departments). They are all very much in the habit, before they put a draft or proposal forward, of coming to speak to me about it, in order to see whether I shall agree with them. I encourage this, because it saves an immense deal of writing and re-writing at a later stage, as well as for other reasons. I mention this merely as an instance in support of what you say as to the advantages of the "interview."

But if I write any more, you will be writing a Note against the length of my letters.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

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No. 24c.

FROM

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 22nd, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Draft letter to the Amir.

The reply to your letter about the draft to the Amir goes by this mail, as settled by Lord George and the Cabinet. I hope you will think that the changes do not materially alter the force or the import of your letter: their general tendency is, or is intended to be, to omit or alter anything which might add to the irritation of the Amir, or provoke a further correspondence with him, which Lord Salisbury is anxious to avoid.

It is thought here to be important to have a copy of the Persian translation on which the Amir relies, and a form of words has been suggested accordingly. It follows, of course, if the words suggested are used, that all the quotation which you make from the letter of 1880 (you quote the whole of it, I think) must be in English.

The alterations, though not very great in proportion to the length of the draft, would make a very long telegram, and considering this, as well as the inevitable though slight risk of mistake involved in altering a draft by telegraph, Lord George thought it better to rely on the mail, and to take the

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consequences of a further delay of three weeks, which I suppose will not matter very much. You begin by telling the Amir that you have referred to England, and he must know very well that such a reference takes time.

Prosecution of the *Gurákhi*: letter to Lord Sandhurst.

Your letter to Sandhurst, a copy of which Lord George showed me, is excellent; and any one who does not know Sandhurst would suppose that it must produce either his resignation, or else an amendment of the ways of the Bombay Government. But I confess that I am inclined to expect that he will reply to it in a cheerful and friendly manner, as though you had paid him a well-deserved compliment, and go on as before.

Lord Sandhurst's successor.

I believe Lord George has written to you, as he has several times spoken to me, about the succession to Sandhurst. It seems to me to be almost essential to have a man who is not only a strong man and a reformer, but who also has some official experience, and will be able to contend with the "tricks that are dark, and the ways that are vain" of his Hon'ble Colleagues and subordinates; and the names that he mentioned to me were not quite satisfactory in this respect. He did not show me the letter in which you (as he told me) discussed the matter, but he told me you had suggested one or two names which he did not seem inclined to accept. I hope you will not cease from making any suggestions that occur to you: I feel very helpless about it here. We ought really to be able to offer the Governor of Bombay another £1,000 a year salary: he is very much underpaid compared to Madras.

Pensions for the Legal and Finance Members.

Talking of that: of course I quite understand that our suggestion about pensioning the Legal and Financial Members will need time for consideration. And I hope that you on your side will understand that, if I wrote to you at length about it, I did so solely because there was a good deal to be said which could not well be said in a despatch, not because I take any special interest in the proposal, which, as I told you, originated with a Committee of Members of Council. Nevertheless, I do hope that something of the kind may be done, and I think the case is a strong one. My view is that the Legal Membership of Council ought to be at least as attractive to an eminent lawyer as the Chief Justiceship of Bengal. Now, the Chief Justice draws a salary very nearly equal to that of a Member of Council, and he gets, after 11½ years, a pension of £1,800 a year; while a Barrister who takes the Legal Membership for five

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years forfeits his prospects at the Bar just as surely as the man who goes out for 11½; but, as matters stand, gets no pension at all, and has to rely on the chance of finding some sort of remunerative employment when he comes back to England.

The Commander-in-Chief as a Member of Council.

Have you considered the question whether the Commander-in-Chief ought to be a member of your Council? I am not sure whether I mentioned this to you before. But the question has been raised more than once, and I believe I may say that our Council here are unanimous in thinking that he ought *not*. The appointment, as you know, lies, not with the Queen or the Secretary of State, but with the Secretary of State *in Council*, who "may" (so says the Act of 1858) appoint him to be an extraordinary member—or may not. If any change is to be made, now is the time to decide upon it, when there can be nothing personal about the proposal, inasmuch as we have no idea who the next man will be. You will understand that I put out this feeler entirely of my own proper motion. Lord George has not spoken to me about it for some months past: but the question is sure to come up again before long, and I should like to know your opinion.

Holkar.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to bring Holkar to his senses, and will not have to resort to violent measures: even if deposition is well-deserved and unavoidable, it does a good deal of harm, both here and in India.

Your story about the proposal to provide the tribes with artificial legs is excellent.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

M. Haffkine.

P. S.—A propos of what I wrote about Haffkine, I saw Harvey (who as you know is at home on leave) yesterday: and from what he told me I was glad to gather that if his (Harvey's) scheme for the establishment of Bacteriological Laboratories is sanctioned, Haffkine's deserts will be recognized, and a suitable post and pay assigned to him. He will not be head of the central establishment, but this he can hardly expect. He seems to be in high favour with Lord Lister and the other great scientific people here.

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No. 25.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 23rd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Many thanks for your letter of the 31st ultimo.

Some three weeks back I expressed an opinion that there would be no more fighting this Session. I was unduly sanguine, for we have been obliged to introduce a stupid little Tithe Bill to relieve the clergy from their unproportionate contribution to local rates; and this small just measure has apparently given the Opposition the weapon they want, and I suppose we shall pass a series of nights very similar to those associated with Harry Chaplin's Rating Relief Bill. — Parliamentary.

The growing ritualism of a certain proportion of the clergy has produced great distrust and animosity towards them from various sections of the community, and, for Parliamentary purposes, any opportunity for attack upon High Church parsons is seized upon by our opponents; and, if a discussion is started, a good many of our friends take part in it. I have seldom known the House of Commons more prejudiced against a class than it is just now against the extreme section of the High Church; and unfortunately we may get dragged into this vortex in connection with the alteration of the rules that you recently made, regulating the use of churches in India. Assuming that consecration gives a legal right of control to the consecrating authority, and consequently that the consecrating churches are under not the civil authority but the episcopal authorities of the Anglican Church in India, it seemed to me that bringing in Welldon as a final arbitrator in these questions was dexterous and judicious. He was known to be disposed to facilitate, in every way he could, the use by Presbyterians and Wesleyans of Churches connected with the Anglican community, and, being the recognised legal head of that Church, no one could — Feeling against High Church Clergy. — Use of Anglican Churches in India.

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Deputation to the Secretary of State.

dispute the legality of any decision at which he could arrive. But the whole of the Scotch nation, including the General Assembly, have taken dire umbrage at the change. They look upon it as a national insult. A deputation of the heads of the Church, mostly conservative, came to see me yesterday, accompanied by several conservative members of Parliament of the stamp of Campbell and Charles Dalrymple. Nothing that I could say would make the slightest impression upon them: the more I pointed out to them that the proposed alteration was, so far as we knew, the only effective legal means of enforcing our wish that a liberal use should be made by Presbyterians and Wesleyans of places of worship under the control of the Established Church, the angrier they became. They maintained that they had a right to the free use of ecclesiastical buildings erected by the Government of India; that consecration and trust deeds should not be allowed, if they gave possession of the buildings so consecrated to one particular denomination; that they would not submit to this their right being determined by a Bishop of another Church; and in fact they intimated that, unless I could in some way satisfy them, they would be disposed to raise the question as a national one in the House of Commons. I think I can prevent this for the next two or three weeks; but, if it is raised, unquestionably we shall be in a very considerable Parliamentary difficulty. What apparently has aggravated both the Presbyterians and Wesleyans are some indiscreet utterances of High Church Chaplains, who, I believe, have intimated to Nonconformist bodies that, if they be allowed the use of their Churches, it will be necessary to reconsecrate them, in order to get rid of the defilement caused by their being used by members of other religious denominations. I daresay these stories are not true, but they have been circulated, and tend to inflame the excitement of the moment. I have been turning over in my mind what can be done to mollify these gentlemen, but I cannot hit upon any solution which will be just to both parties. I have asked Finlay to carefully look, from a legal point of view, at the effect of consecration and the words of the trust deeds, so that I may have the highest legal opinion as to whether or not buildings, after consecration, do pass legally under the control of the Bishops and clergy of the Anglican Church. The fact of Lockhart having dissented from your proposal also aggravates the position. A. Balfour is a good deal alarmed, as he feels that, if a Debate in the House of Commons takes place, it may affect, at the next election, the whole of the representation of Scotland. I had a resolution sent to me from Dunfermline which I suppose represents the feelings of the Extremists. It denounced us for providing church accommodation for Papist and Prelatist, but forcing the Highland heroes, who did the fighting in India, to music halls, theatres, and canteens for their religious ministrations. I will try during the next few days, in consultation with Balfour and Finlay, to see if we can hit upon any modification of the rule, which will stop for the moment this agitation: if we could only get temporary quiet, I have no doubt that we should ultimately,

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by some concessions here and there, be able to so far mollify these Scotchmen. It is rather curious that you and I who probably take a more liberal view of the rights of other denominations to worship in Anglican Churches than any Secretary of State or Viceroy of recent days, should find ourselves involved in a controversy of this character.

The Rangoon outrage.

I have had several questions put to me about the Rangoon outrage. The Military Court of Enquiry elicits, as usual, a contradiction of the main allegations given in the Civil Court. In almost every case of this kind there always is this direct conflict of evidence. Whether both sides wilfully lie, or whether the discrepancy is due to the soldiers not understanding Native customs, or language, it is difficult to say. I am very glad you are taking so determined a line, for it seems to me that the honour both of our army and of our rule is involved, if we cannot in a case like this ascertain who were the perpetrators of this outrage.

Draft reply to the Amir.

We put your letter to the Amir through rather a stiff ordeal, but it has emerged from it with no serious alteration. Salisbury was most anxious that we should engage as little as was possible in a war of words with the Amir, and this was the governing consideration in the omissions and suggestions which we made in your draft. I think we have improved it, and we certainly intended to endorse, in its entirety, your contention. Cuningham came to see me the other day, and he told me that the Persian language did not permit of very accurate or definite translation into English. As I said before, I think it would be risky to retranslate back into Persian the English version of the Assurance of 1880. It is a comment on the officialdom of that time, which I suppose was Alfred Lyall, that they should have had no copy in Persian of the original document.

Russian Consulate at Bombay.

The Foreign Office sent us a short time back a copy of a conversation which Loftus had when Ambassador in St. Petersburg: it practically gives us away so far as the Consulate at Bombay is concerned. I do not think we have any option but to acquiesce. I know you differ from me in thinking that the location of a Russian Consul at Bombay may become inconvenient to us, and that he and his *entourage* would become a centre of intrigue. A nation like Russia, with unlimited service money, can always have secret agents about intriguing and conveying information; and I am rather doubtful if the stamp of man, who would officially be Consul, would be likely to be as harmful to us as the unrecognised agents Russia could undoubtedly otherwise employ.

Koweit.

I sent your suggestion, contained in your letter of the 24th May, about Koweit to Salisbury, and he is opposed to our making any communication at present to Constantinople; for he argues: "There is no danger of surprise on the part of Turkey: therefore I see no object in giving them warning. If they come on, they would be turned off, warning or no warning." There are

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Persian Gulf.

so many rumours flying about about a cession here or an attempt there by foreign nations to occupy some part of the Persian Gulf, that I think there must be some truth behind them. Foreign nations naturally dislike our monopoly of trade and authority in the Persian Gulf, and are certain, sooner or later, to attempt to infringe upon it. Persia has, however, had a distinct warning that we should consider as an unfriendly act any allocation on her part of any portion of the shores of the Persian Gulf, or any portion of the customs collected in the Persian Gulf, to a foreign nation. What I fear in the future is that Persia will be put on one side, and that Russia will, with or without Persia's acquiescence, advance southwards; and, if she does so on some plausible excuse, I do not see where the material force is to come from to prevent her. Our only means of arresting such a movement would be by a declaration of war, and I doubt if popular opinion here would support such action, as the tyranny and misgovernment in Persia is becoming yearly more well-known.

Punjab system of frontier administration.

You are certainly accumulating a heavy indictment against the Punjab system of frontier management. Whenever you make any suggestions for a vital alteration, it would be well to enumerate and marshal, with all your skill, the various phases of this indictment. It is quite clear that the Lahore Government, having its hands full of pressing questions in its immediate vicinity, as a regular practice postpones decisions on frontier questions. They seem to keep a kind of book balance, debiting to the discredit of a certain tribe its various offences; and when in the aggregate they arrive at a certain magnitude, then they slowly collect a large expeditionary force, destroy as much of their property as they can, and start with a fresh balance sheet. This allegation was several times made to me in past years; I did not believe it at the time, but it is clear that it is too true.

The Secretariat Departments.

The official accommodation for the various Government establishments seems to me, from your account, extraordinarily bad at Simla. The Council here are very chary in assenting to increased expenditure upon Government buildings at Simla. They have at the back of their heads the idea, which is perfectly sound, that Simla is not a proper site for the summer capital of India. You will, therefore, have to make good your case before they will be disposed to give their assent to any large outlay. My experience here is that dispersion of departments in small buildings is ruinous to the efficiency of the departments, and an almost insuperable obstacle to continuous and effective work by the lower subordinates. The head of every department, or sub-department, gets a good room, probably the only good room in the building, and the rest of his staff are located in the bedrooms, closets, kitchens, and cupboards of the building. What I cannot understand in the present organisation of the Indian Government is, how the members of Council have become so dissociated from the Departments which they are supposed

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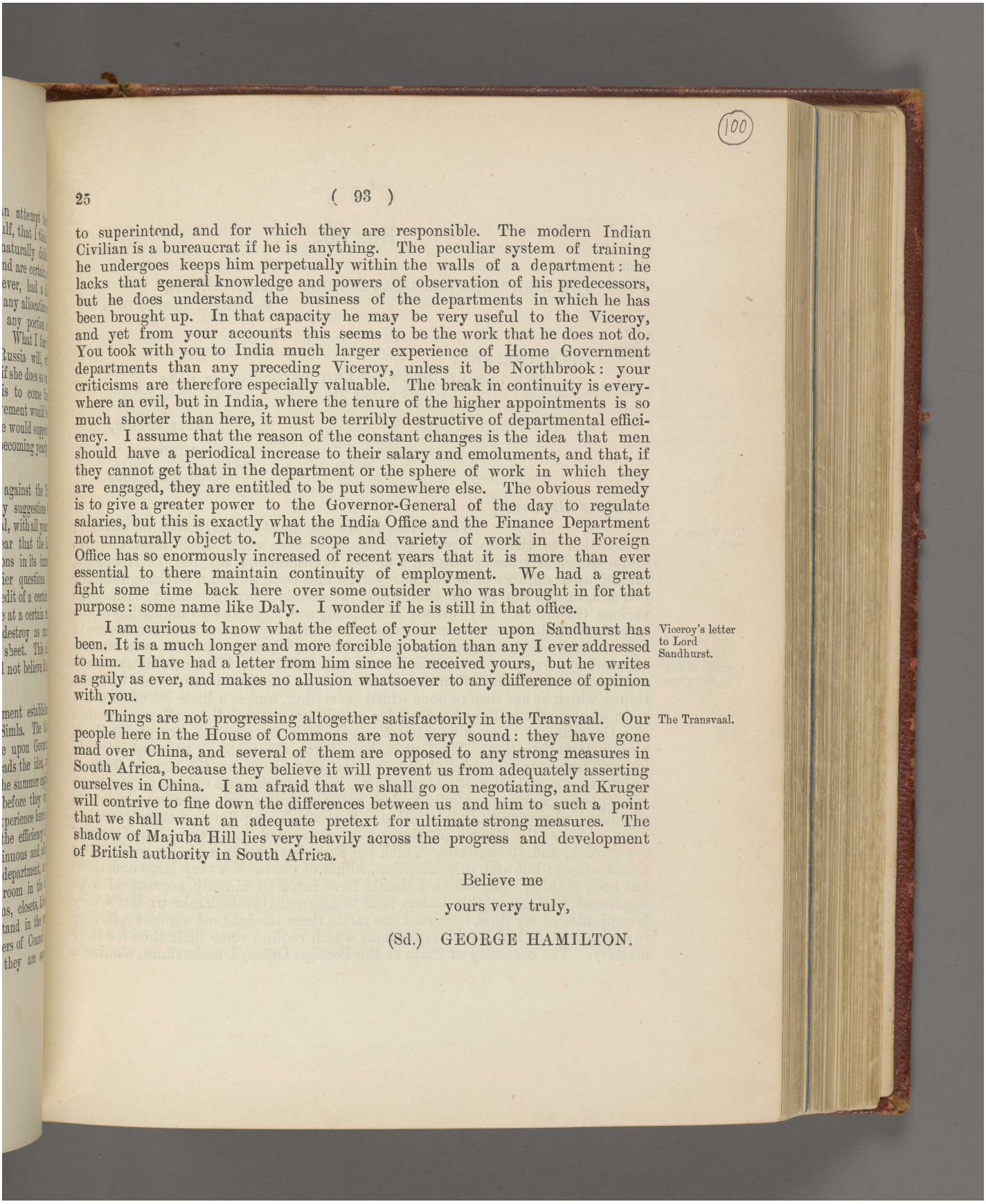

to superintend, and for which they are responsible. The modern Indian Civilian is a bureaucrat if he is anything. The peculiar system of training he undergoes keeps him perpetually within the walls of a department: he lacks that general knowledge and powers of observation of his predecessors, but he does understand the business of the departments in which he has been brought up. In that capacity he may be very useful to the Viceroy, and yet from your accounts this seems to be the work that he does not do. You took with you to India much larger experience of Home Government departments than any preceding Viceroy, unless it be Northbrook: your criticisms are therefore especially valuable. The break in continuity is everywhere an evil, but in India, where the tenure of the higher appointments is so much shorter than here, it must be terribly destructive of departmental efficiency. I assume that the reason of the constant changes is the idea that men should have a periodical increase to their salary and emoluments, and that, if they cannot get that in the department or the sphere of work in which they are engaged, they are entitled to be put somewhere else. The obvious remedy is to give a greater power to the Governor-General of the day to regulate salaries, but this is exactly what the India Office and the Finance Department not unnaturally object to. The scope and variety of work in the Foreign Office has so enormously increased of recent years that it is more than ever essential to there maintain continuity of employment. We had a great fight some time back here over some outsider who was brought in for that purpose: some name like Daly. I wonder if he is still in that office.

Viceroy's letter to Lord Sandhurst.

I am curious to know what the effect of your letter upon Sandhurst has been. It is a much longer and more forcible jobation than any I ever addressed to him. I have had a letter from him since he received yours, but he writes as gaily as ever, and makes no allusion whatsoever to any difference of opinion with you.

The Transvaal.

Things are not progressing altogether satisfactorily in the Transvaal. Our people here in the House of Commons are not very sound: they have gone mad over China, and several of them are opposed to any strong measures in South Africa, because they believe it will prevent us from adequately asserting ourselves in China. I am afraid that we shall go on negotiating, and Kruger will contrive to fine down the differences between us and him to such a point that we shall want an adequate pretext for ultimate strong measures. The shadow of Majuba Hill lies very heavily across the progress and development of British authority in South Africa.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 26.

FROM

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON;
June 30th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Viceroy's work.

You certainly are the most indefatigable of mortals: in addition to the heavy routine of administrative work, which most Viceroys find a sufficiently heavy burden, you are re-organising all the Departments, taking up a number of most controversial and complicated questions, and now you add, on the top of all this work, a weekly correspondence with your various Governors. My weekly correspondence, so far as an indication of the intentions of Government upon questions of any importance is concerned, could well be confined to my correspondence with the Viceroy. I write, as a matter

Correspondence with Governors.

of courtesy, every week both to Madras and Bombay. Havelock always sends me a well-written, and often an amusing reply; but it generally deals with the things which he has seen or done whilst travelling, and is a little bit of an essay as to what ought to have been, under certain conditions, the policy or action of a Government. From Sandhurst I get little or nothing except details of plague administration. The fact is that, if you eliminate all the most interesting and important of administrative questions, such as the army, finance, public works, and all political questions, both internal and external, from your correspondence, you have only to deal with the duller and more prosaic details of police and revenue administration. Bombay during the past three years has been, so far as the Deccan provinces were concerned, in an exceptional state of commotion, and the agitation which has there been going on has a good many ramifications; but with this exception, which of course is a very large one, there has been nothing upon which I should have cared to directly correspond with Sandhurst, and my weekly letters both to him and Havelock take up but a very few minutes of my time, because I can rattle them straight off without referring to documents, or looking into questions which require some little time for their mastery. The Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, I understand, obtains a

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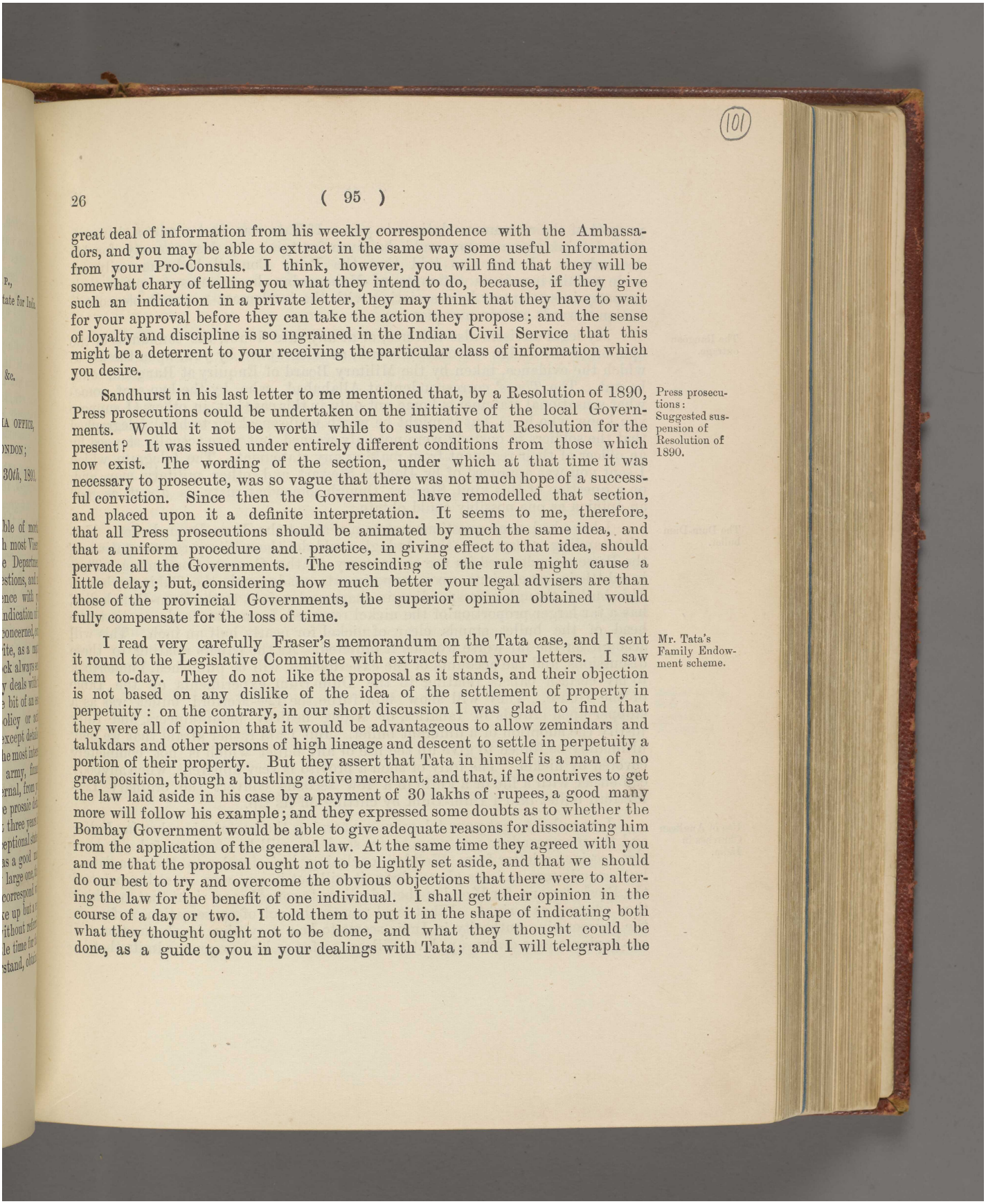

great deal of information from his weekly correspondence with the Ambassadors, and you may be able to extract in the same way some useful information from your Pro-Consuls. I think, however, you will find that they will be somewhat chary of telling you what they intend to do, because, if they give such an indication in a private letter, they may think that they have to wait for your approval before they can take the action they propose; and the sense of loyalty and discipline is so ingrained in the Indian Civil Service that this might be a deterrent to your receiving the particular class of information which you desire.

Press prosecutions: Suggested suspension of Resolution of 1890.

Sandhurst in his last letter to me mentioned that, by a Resolution of 1890, Press prosecutions could be undertaken on the initiative of the local Governments. Would it not be worth while to suspend that Resolution for the present? It was issued under entirely different conditions from those which now exist. The wording of the section, under which at that time it was necessary to prosecute, was so vague that there was not much hope of a successful conviction. Since then the Government have remodelled that section, and placed upon it a definite interpretation. It seems to me, therefore, that all Press prosecutions should be animated by much the same idea, and that a uniform procedure and practice, in giving effect to that idea, should pervade all the Governments. The rescinding of the rule might cause a little delay; but, considering how much better your legal advisers are than those of the provincial Governments, the superior opinion obtained would fully compensate for the loss of time.

Mr. Tata's Family Endowment scheme.

I read very carefully Fraser's memorandum on the Tata case, and I sent it round to the Legislative Committee with extracts from your letters. I saw them to-day. They do not like the proposal as it stands, and their objection is not based on any dislike of the idea of the settlement of property in perpetuity: on the contrary, in our short discussion I was glad to find that they were all of opinion that it would be advantageous to allow zemindars and talukdars and other persons of high lineage and descent to settle in perpetuity a portion of their property. But they assert that Tata in himself is a man of no great position, though a bustling active merchant, and that, if he contrives to get the law laid aside in his case by a payment of 30 lakhs of rupees, a good many more will follow his example; and they expressed some doubts as to whether the Bombay Government would be able to give adequate reasons for dissociating him from the application of the general law. At the same time they agreed with you and me that the proposal ought not to be lightly set aside, and that we should do our best to try and overcome the obvious objections that there were to altering the law for the benefit of one individual. I shall get their opinion in the course of a day or two. I told them to put it in the shape of indicating both what they thought ought not to be done, and what they thought could be done, as a guide to you in your dealings with Tata; and I will telegraph the

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purport of their recommendations to you. If Tata was first made a baronet, then, I think, some reason could be given for tying up his property for his descendants. I was also told that the Privy Council had summarily set aside certain ingenious attempts of Mahomedan landowners to place their property in settlement by associating with the settlement a charitable contribution towards certain mosques.

The Rangoon outrage.

My legal advisers also traverse, or at any rate doubt, the soundness of the opinion of the Judge Advocate-General, as telegraphed by you, upon the use to which the evidence, taken by the Military Board of Enquiry at Rangoon, could be put. The *Times'* correspondent at Allahabad, who by-the-bye sent somewhat sensational statements home not only in this case but in others (I suppose you know who he is, but it might be worth while speaking to him), telegraphed that the soldiers in custody were not only warned, but were actually stopped by an officer of their regiment from making any statement. The telegram which I sent you was approved of by Donald Stewart and other military men, and, on a question of this kind, Stewart, though somewhat rusty, is about as good an opinion as one possibly could obtain.

The Dum-Dum bullet.

I have had some questions put to me about the Dum-Dum bullet. Notwithstanding everything that Ardagh could do, the military representatives of the Powers condemned its use as contrary to the Geneva Convention. They based their conclusions upon experiments made with the Tubingen bullet. This bullet, though corresponding in shape and weight to the Dum-Dum bullet, has a far larger proportion of the nickel removed from the lead, so that the head of the bullet stands clear of nickel for nearly half an inch. This will account for the far worse wounds it inflicted. As the papers relating to these discussions, and the accounts of the experiments, will be published, I undertook to lay certain papers relating to the Dum-Dum experiments on the Table of the House. They will show how futile the Lee-Metford bullet was as a stopper upon crowds of fanatics, or strong healthy mountaineers, and fully justify the adoption of a different bullet. But I am rather afraid that we may ultimately be forced to give up the use of any bullet which is not completely covered by nickel. The folly of such a proviso is very apparent, when anybody can either with a file or a knife in a few seconds convert the ordinary Lee-Metford bullet into a Dum-Dum by cutting off its tip.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

I was glad to get your telegram concerning the use of churches in India; and the memorandum you propose to send us will be very useful. I have also received a letter from Welldon enclosing his circular to the chaplains; but, conciliatory as is its phraseology, it will not in any way meet the point of the Presbyterians, for Welldon there declines to concede as a right that for which they contend as a right. What legal powers the act of consecration confers on the consecrating authority in India seems to be a very nice legal question. I am having a case drawn up, but Wilson, so far as he has gone, admits that he

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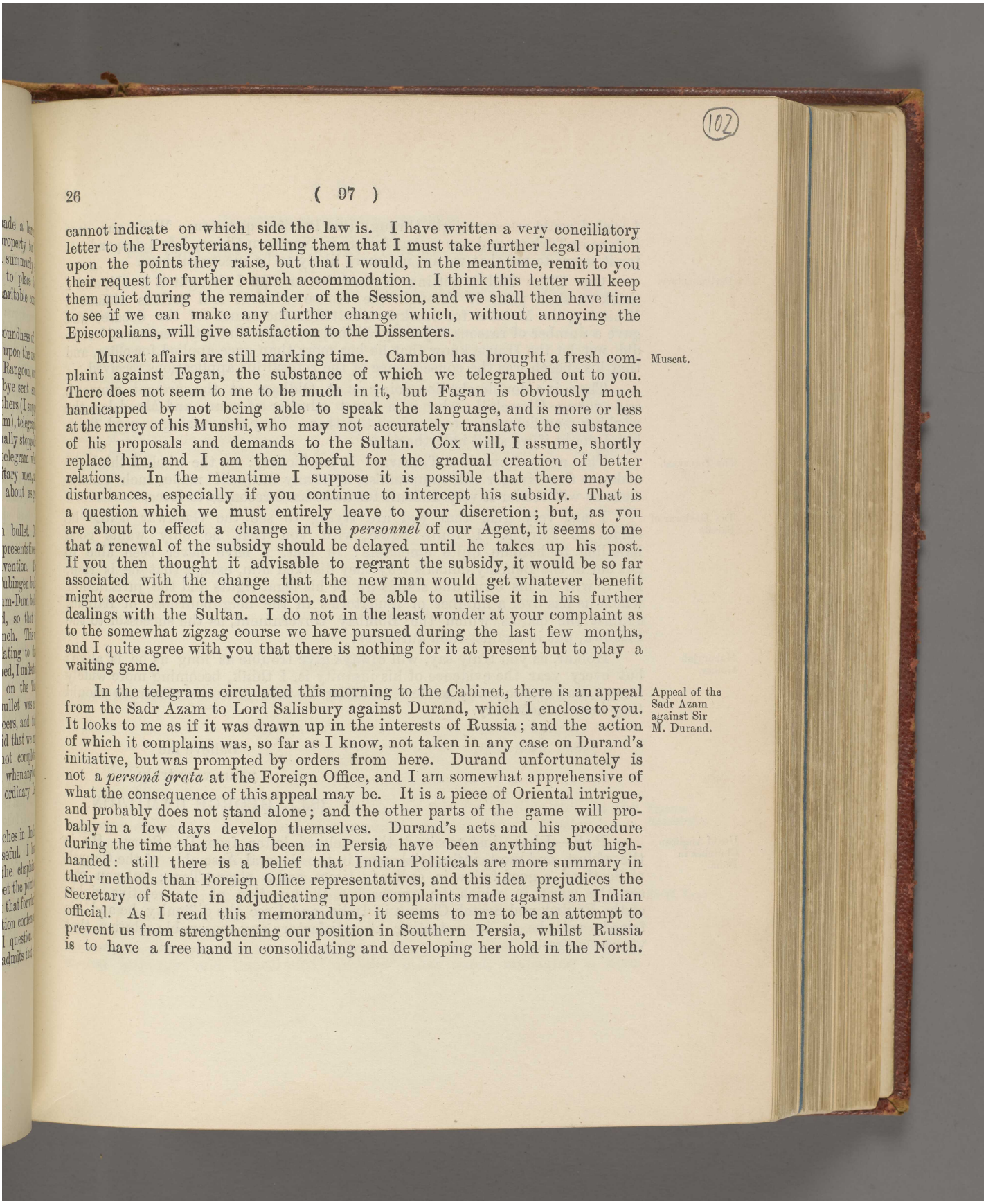

cannot indicate on which side the law is. I have written a very conciliatory letter to the Presbyterians, telling them that I must take further legal opinion upon the points they raise, but that I would, in the meantime, remit to you their request for further church accommodation. I think this letter will keep them quiet during the remainder of the Session, and we shall then have time to see if we can make any further change which, without annoying the Episcopalians, will give satisfaction to the Dissenters.

Muscat.

Muscat affairs are still marking time. Cambon has brought a fresh complaint against Fagan, the substance of which we telegraphed out to you. There does not seem to me to be much in it, but Fagan is obviously much handicapped by not being able to speak the language, and is more or less at the mercy of his Munshi, who may not accurately translate the substance of his proposals and demands to the Sultan. Cox will, I assume, shortly replace him, and I am then hopeful for the gradual creation of better relations. In the meantime I suppose it is possible that there may be disturbances, especially if you continue to intercept his subsidy. That is a question which we must entirely leave to your discretion; but, as you are about to effect a change in the *personnel* of our Agent, it seems to me that a renewal of the subsidy should be delayed until he takes up his post. If you then thought it advisable to regrant the subsidy, it would be so far associated with the change that the new man would get whatever benefit might accrue from the concession, and be able to utilise it in his further dealings with the Sultan. I do not in the least wonder at your complaint as to the somewhat zigzag course we have pursued during the last few months, and I quite agree with you that there is nothing for it at present but to play a waiting game.

Appeal of the Sadr Azam against Sir M. Durand.

In the telegrams circulated this morning to the Cabinet, there is an appeal from the Sadr Azam to Lord Salisbury against Durand, which I enclose to you. It looks to me as if it was drawn up in the interests of Russia; and the action of which it complains was, so far as I know, not taken in any case on Durand's initiative, but was prompted by orders from here. Durand unfortunately is not a *persona grata* at the Foreign Office, and I am somewhat apprehensive of what the consequence of this appeal may be. It is a piece of Oriental intrigue, and probably does not stand alone; and the other parts of the game will probably in a few days develop themselves. Durand's acts and his procedure during the time that he has been in Persia have been anything but high-handed: still there is a belief that Indian Politicals are more summary in their methods than Foreign Office representatives, and this idea prejudices the Secretary of State in adjudicating upon complaints made against an Indian official. As I read this memorandum, it seems to me to be an attempt to prevent us from strengthening our position in Southern Persia, whilst Russia is to have a free hand in consolidating and developing her hold in the North.

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I wish I could see some light through this Persian question. With our past failure in Turkey, and our recent failure in Northern China, I feel despondent, for it seems to me that we are not more likely to be successful here.

Parliamentary.

Our Tithe Bill is getting on much better than I thought it would, and I think we shall push it through the House without real serious difficulty. Whiteley, the Member for Stockport, ratted in the course of the debate, and gave a number of reasons to justify his indignation with the Government, but he did not let the House know that he has more than once applied for office, and that his speech was the consequence of the refusal his applications received.

There is a double election going on at Oldham at the present moment, and young Churchill, who is a great admirer of yours, and Maudsley, the working man delegate, are standing together. They are making a good fight, but I doubt if we shall hold the seats.

The Transvaal.

The news from the Transvaal is conflicting: on the whole I think the odds are that Kruger will compromise, or at any rate will make such concessions as will render it very difficult for us to have recourse to force.

The Gaekwar of Baroda.

I am very glad that you are trying to see the Gaekwar before he comes to Europe. I quite agree with you that he only wants good handling to become quite amenable: in fact, I have never been able to get out of the Bombay officials why they disliked him, except that he is rich, has a will of his own, and stands up for his legal rights and the jurisdiction which he has over a number of feudatories in the neighbourhood of Baroda, against the claims which the Bombay Government, as the successor to the Peishwa, put in against such authority.

Maharajah Holkar.

Holkar, as you truly say, will always give trouble as long as he is alive; but every year the evidence of his insanity is, I think, becoming more widely known, and consequently renders it easier to take coercive measures should they become necessary.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

P. S.—I have just received the enclosed letter from Dr. Story. He is the ablest and most influential man in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, a good fellow in ordinary times, and a strong Tory; but you can see the spirit in which he approaches the question of the relative rights of the English and Scotch Church in India, and I see the difficulty he and his friends will be in in accepting as satisfactory any reasonable solution that we can suggest.

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[ENCLOSURE TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.]

THE VERY REVD. R. H. STORY TO LORD. G. HAMILTON.

Glasgow University, June 28th, 1899.

MY LORD,

I enclose your Lordship an extract from the *Statesman* (Calcutta) of 6th June, which perhaps your Lordship will be good enough to read. One might have expected that the headmaster of a great school promoted to an important Bishopric should possess an elementary knowledge of the Constitution of the Empire. This knowledge, it is obvious, Dr. Welldon does not possess. In this address to his Clergy he writes under the impression that every person who does not belong to the Church of England is a Nonconformist, and in evident ignorance of the fact that in all the British dependencies and colonies the rights of the Church of Scotland are exactly the same as those of the Church of England. "We cannot admit," he says, that the Nonconformists have the same right as Anglicans to the use of churches consecrated for the services of the English Church," plainly unconscious of the gross injustice of consecrating churches built by the Government for all Her Majesty's Protestant subjects, and then pleading this consecration as a reason for excluding from them all but Anglicans. Yet it is to a prelate so ignorant and so prejudiced that the Scottish Clergy in India must by the new regulations look as the final arbiter of all questions connected with their use of the Government churches. It is to this indignity and injustice I venture to assure your Lordship that the Church of Scotland will not stoop, but will use every means in her power to have redressed.

I am, &c.,

(Sd.) R. HERBERT STORY.

No. 26a.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE;
June 30th, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

We have been hunting in vain for eligible men in the City and elsewhere for the post of Finance Minister in India. Godley heard of a fair man who had been in the Colonial Office and Colonies, and was supposed to be a good financier, but there are several before him, and I will take them in the priority I give them. Finance Membership.

First, Law. Brackenbury knows him very well, and I wrote to him asking for a full reply as to his qualities and disqualifications, and he has replied in that sense. I send you his letter. Provided you can manage him, his strength and determination are just what you want in dealing with Departmental lethargy and ineptitude: on the other hand, managing a man Sir E. Law.

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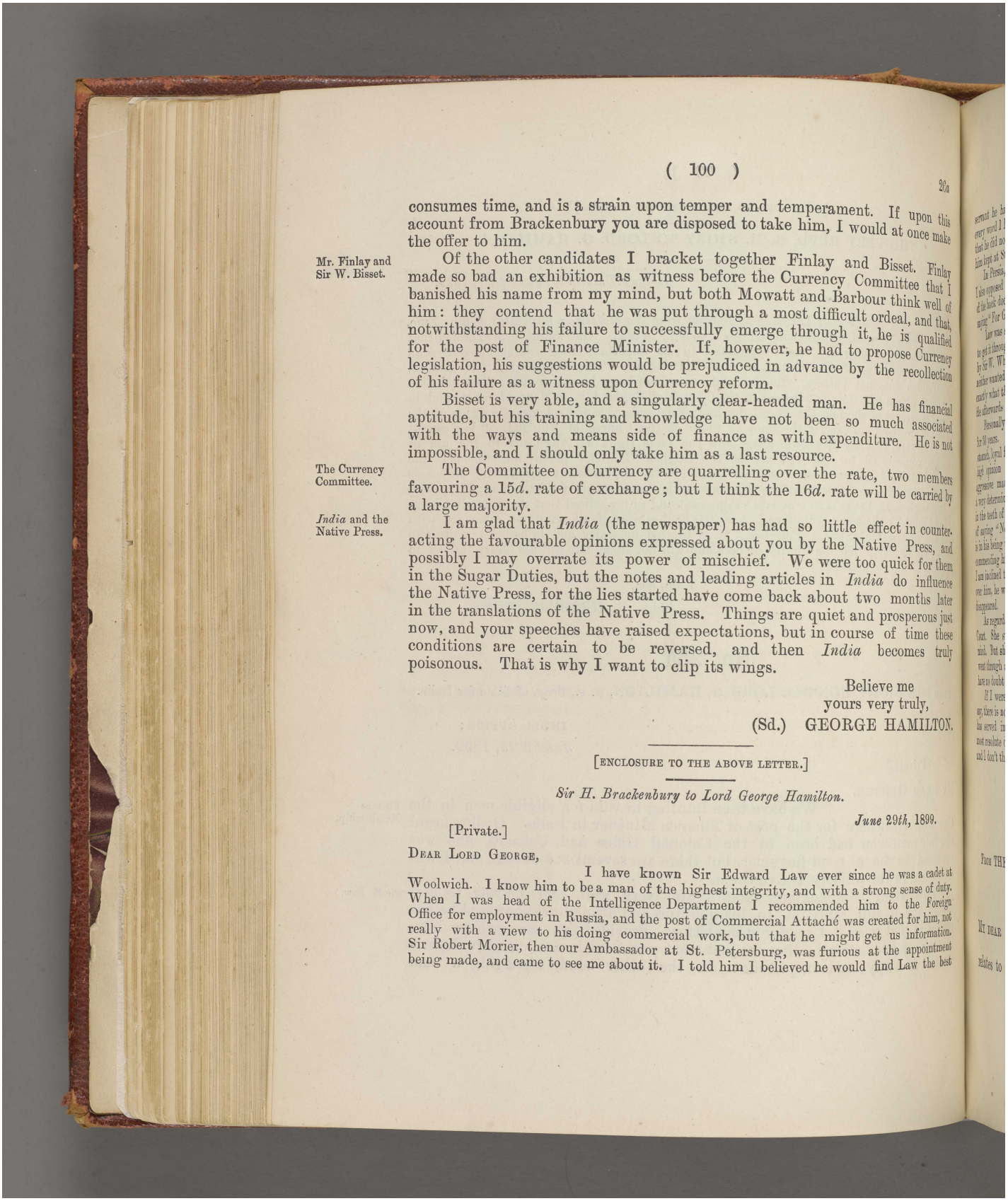

consumes time, and is a strain upon temper and temperament. If upon this account from Brackenbury you are disposed to take him, I would at once make the offer to him.

Mr. Finlay and Sir W. Bisset.

Of the other candidates I bracket together Finlay and Bisset. Finlay made so bad an exhibition as witness before the Currency Committee that I banished his name from my mind, but both Mowatt and Barbour think well of him: they contend that he was put through a most difficult ordeal, and that, notwithstanding his failure to successfully emerge through it, he is qualified for the post of Finance Minister. If, however, he had to propose Currency legislation, his suggestions would be prejudiced in advance by the recollection of his failure as a witness upon Currency reform.

Bisset is very able, and a singularly clear-headed man. He has financial aptitude, but his training and knowledge have not been so much associated with the ways and means side of finance as with expenditure. He is not impossible, and I should only take him as a last resource.

The Currency Committee.

The Committee on Currency are quarrelling over the rate, two members favouring a 15*d*. rate of exchange; but I think the 16*d*. rate will be carried by a large majority.

India and the Native Press.

I am glad that *India* (the newspaper) has had so little effect in counteracting the favourable opinions expressed about you by the Native Press, and possibly I may overrate its power of mischief. We were too quick for them in the Sugar Duties, but the notes and leading articles in *India* do influence the Native Press, for the lies started have come back about two months later in the translations of the Native Press. Things are quiet and prosperous just now, and your speeches have raised expectations, but in course of time these conditions are certain to be reversed, and then *India* becomes truly poisonous. That is why I want to clip its wings.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Sir H. Brackenbury to Lord George Hamilton.

June 29th, 1899.

[Private.]

DEAR LORD GEORGE,

I have known Sir Edward Law ever since he was a cadet at Woolwich. I know him to be a man of the highest integrity, and with a strong sense of duty. When I was head of the Intelligence Department I recommended him to the Foreign Office for employment in Russia, and the post of Commercial Attaché was created for him, not really with a view to his doing commercial work, but that he might get us information. Sir Robert Morier, then our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was furious at the appointment being made, and came to see me about it. I told him I believed he would find Law the best

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servant he had ever had in his Embassy. A few months later Sir Robert wrote to me that every word I had said was true, that the Foreign Office wanted Law to go to Constantinople, that he did not know how he should get on without him, and begging me to help him to get him kept at St. Petersburg.

In Persia, Law opposed Sir Drummond Wolff's policy, and Wolff hated the sight of him. I also opposed a certain policy of Wolff's, and Philip Currie told me Wolff had bolted out of the back door as soon as my name was announced in Currie's room at the Foreign Office, saying "For God's sake don't let me meet him."

Law was sent to Constantinople to negotiate a Commercial Treaty. He was determined to get it through, and worked like a slave; but for some reason obstacles were put in his way by Sir W. White and our own Embassy; he was not told till long afterwards that it was neither wanted nor intended to make the treaty, and that his strenuous efforts had been exactly what they did not want. I can believe he made himself very obnoxious at that time. He afterwards did splendid work for the Foreign Office in Italy, Greece, &c.

Personally, I have never had any difficulty with Law, and I have known him intimately for 30 years. Whether he was down in his luck, or successful, I always found him the same staunch, loyal friend, true and honourable. Others who know him intimately have the same high opinion of him. But there is no doubt he has an unpleasant manner at times,—an aggressive manner. He is, I think, intolerant of lethargy, idleness, and obstruction. He is a very determined man, and does not know when he is beaten. But he has fought his way up in the teeth of a good deal of obstruction. As for his being sensitive or shy, or being afraid of saying "No," you need not have the slightest fear on that point. To my mind the danger is in his being too determined, too much resolved to have his own way, and in his manner not commending him to his colleagues. He is hard as iron in matters of business. Personally, I am inclined to think that if he were the head of a great Department, with only the Viceroy over him, he would be likely to soften in manner. All need for aggressiveness would have disappeared.

As regards Lady Law, she is a Greek, of very good family, a *personâ grata* at the Greek Court. She speaks very good English, and is a lady in manners, and a woman of cultivated mind. But she is a bundle of sensitive nerves, and her health is not good. She recently went through an operation, from which she has recovered. They are very hospitable, and I have no doubt would do more than their share of entertaining.

If I were Viceroy I would rather have Law as Financial Member than anyone. As you say, there is no doubt of his financial ability; he has wide experience, has been in the Army, has served in the Foreign Office for many years. He is an extraordinary hard worker,—a most resolute determined man. I should know how to keep him in order if he were obstinate; and I don't think Lord Curzon is less likely to be able to do that than I am sure I should be.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) H. BRACKENBURY.

No. 27.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
July 6th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

A compliment is always pleasant, especially when it relates to a subject on which one knows oneself to be weak. I am therefore

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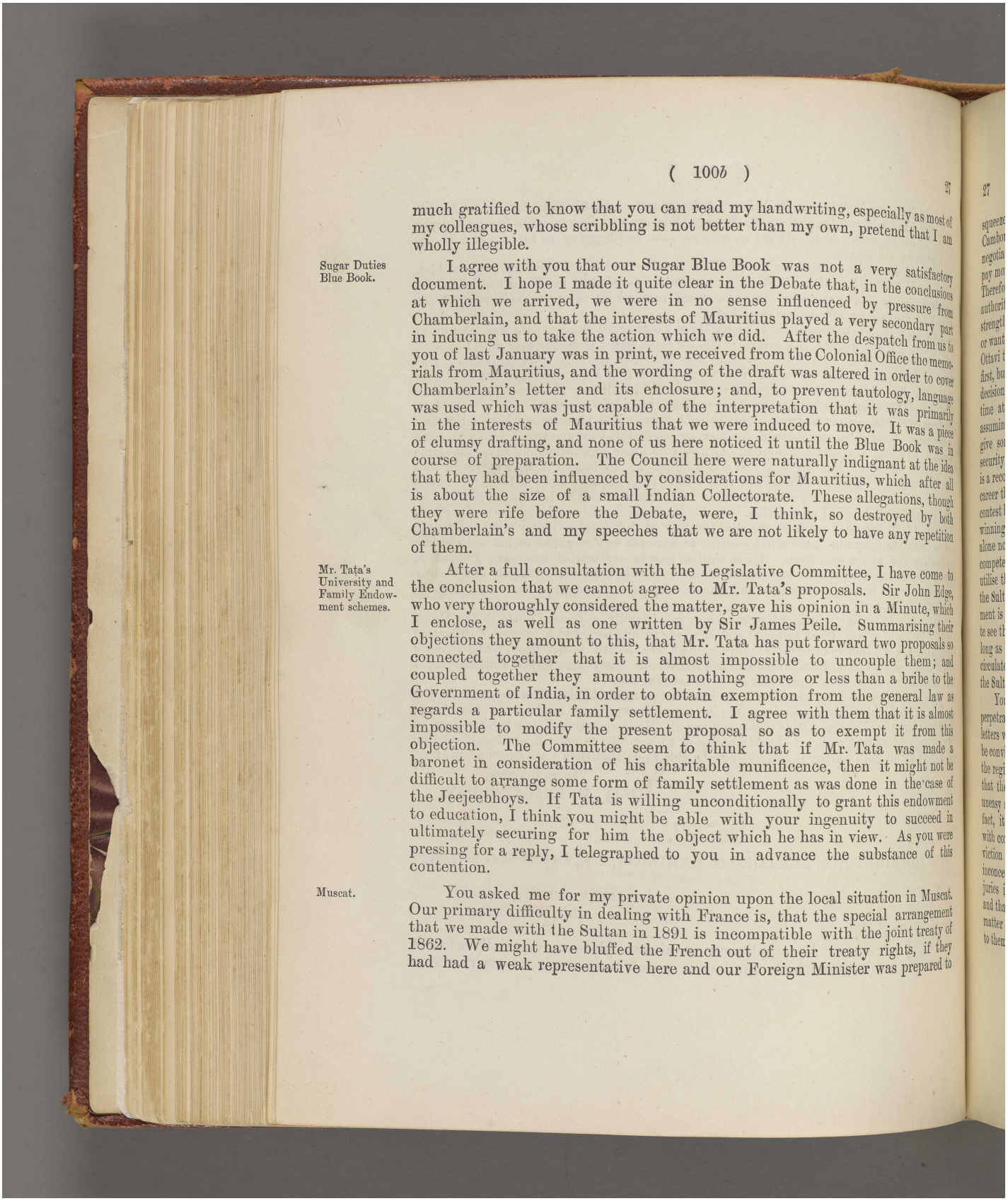

much gratified to know that you can read my handwriting, especially as most of my colleagues, whose scribbling is not better than my own, pretend that I am wholly illegible.

Sugar Duties Blue Book.

I agree with you that our Sugar Blue Book was not a very satisfactory document. I hope I made it quite clear in the Debate that, in the conclusions at which we arrived, we were in no sense influenced by pressure from Chamberlain, and that the interests of Mauritius played a very secondary part in inducing us to take the action which we did. After the despatch from us to you of last January was in print, we received from the Colonial Office the memorials from Mauritius, and the wording of the draft was altered in order to cover Chamberlain's letter and its enclosure; and, to prevent tautology, language was used which was just capable of the interpretation that it was primarily in the interests of Mauritius that we were induced to move. It was a piece of clumsy drafting, and none of us here noticed it until the Blue Book was in course of preparation. The Council here were naturally indignant at the idea that they had been influenced by considerations for Mauritius, which after all is about the size of a small Indian Collectorate. These allegations, though they were rife before the Debate, were, I think, so destroyed by both Chamberlain's and my speeches that we are not likely to have any repetition of them.

Mr. Tata's University and Family Endowment schemes.

After a full consultation with the Legislative Committee, I have come to the conclusion that we cannot agree to Mr. Tata's proposals. Sir John Edge, who very thoroughly considered the matter, gave his opinion in a Minute, which I enclose, as well as one written by Sir James Peile. Summarising their objections they amount to this, that Mr. Tata has put forward two proposals so connected together that it is almost impossible to uncouple them; and coupled together they amount to nothing more or less than a bribe to the Government of India, in order to obtain exemption from the general law as regards a particular family settlement. I agree with them that it is almost impossible to modify the present proposal so as to exempt it from this objection. The Committee seem to think that if Mr. Tata was made a baronet in consideration of his charitable munificence, then it might not be difficult to arrange some form of family settlement as was done in the case of the Jeejeebhoys. If Tata is willing unconditionally to grant this endowment to education, I think you might be able with your ingenuity to succeed in ultimately securing for him the object which he has in view. As you were pressing for a reply, I telegraphed to you in advance the substance of this contention.

Muscat.

You asked me for my private opinion upon the local situation in Muscat. Our primary difficulty in dealing with France is, that the special arrangement that we made with the Sultan in 1891 is incompatible with the joint treaty of 1862. We might have bluffed the French out of their treaty rights, if they had had a weak representative here and our Foreign Minister was prepared to

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squeeze France in this direction; but both those conditions were reversed; Cambon is able and energetic, and the Prime Minister has other difficult negotiations on hand with France to which he is not unnaturally disposed to pay more attention than to this, comparatively speaking, unimportant dispute. Therefore I think we must fall back upon the re-assertion of influence and authority in the locality through the personality of our Agent. We have the strength, and we have the purse behind us, and nothing but bad management, or want of force of character, on the part of our local Agent could have allowed Ottavi to attain his present position. Cox will no doubt have a difficult task at first, but he has the ultimate trump cards in his hand. I certainly think no decision should be arrived at as regards the subsidy until he has been some little time at Muscat; and it would be well worth considering whether or not, assuming he can break down the Sultan's present suspicion, we should not give some assurance of material support to the Sultan in the event of the security of his throne being threatened by rebellion or disturbance. It is a recollection of our abstention in the past at a critical moment of his career that is the primary cause of the Sultan's distrust and dislike of us. The contest between us and France in Muscat is unequal: all the permanent winning cards are on our side. It is the personal influence of the Consul which alone now counteracts their work, and, therefore, I hope with patience, with a competent Agent on the spot, occasions will occur in which he will be able to utilise the superior advantages that he has behind him, and once more bring the Sultan into an acknowledgment of our supremacy, because its acknowledgment is in accord with his own interests. The Frenchmen are sharp enough te see that the Foreign Office is a little distrustful of Fagan, and, therefore, so long as he is at Muscat we are sure to have exaggerated, if not false, reports circulated as to what he says, or what he does, in bringing pressure to bear on the Sultan.

Rangoon outrage.

You do not seem to be making much progress in bringing to justice the perpetrators of the Rangoon outrage. I am very glad to find that, in our letters which crossed, the same idea pervades both—that, if those guilty cannot be convicted for want of evidence, some punishment should be inflicted upon the regiment.

Outrages by British soldiers in India.

I am somewhat perturbed at your remark that you believe that the number of cases of such outrages is on the increase: I have had an uneasy suspicion that such was the case, and I am afraid that, if this is the fact, it is due to the knowledge that this class of offence can be committed with comparative immunity from the extreme difficulty of obtaining a conviction from the jury. I understand that, ever since Ripon raised, by his inconceivable stupidity, racial feeling in India, it has affected the decision of juries in cases where they have to adjudicate between Europeans and Natives, and that, previous to Ripon's advent in India, it was easier to get juries, no matter what their composition might be, to look at the questions submitted to them impartially rather than from the standpoint of the colour of the

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defendant. The British soldier is treated with far greater consideration in India than in any other part of the world, and he is surrounded with comforts and with attendants such as he never gets elsewhere; and if, under such conditions, he misuses his power or superior strength, I quite agree that it is for you to take some notice of such improper conduct. But pray be very cautious and circumspect in anything that you propose. I admit that this class of outrage is perhaps more damaging to our rule, and creates more deep-seated resentment in the Native mind, than any class of transactions connected with our rule in India. To successfully arrest and diminish this class of offence it is necessary to carry with you, to a certain extent, Anglo-Indian opinion. I recollect Lytton issuing a Minute, the substance of which was indisputably correct, and in connection with a case in which a European, who had accidentally killed a Native, had been subjected to a ridiculously lenient sentence. But it created a great uproar at the time, and undoubtedly subjected Lytton to very great unpopularity, and thus diminished for the future his influence with Europeans in India.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

I have not yet been able to extract from the Legal Department a case to be submitted to the Law Officers, as to the legal effect of consecration of churches in India. It seems a knotty and doubtful legal point, and they are spending more than their usual care in elaborating a case. I answered Dr. Story's intemperate effusion, and with some effect, as he has written in a much more reasonable spirit. But, roughly speaking, his contention is that it is contrary to the whole principle upon which ecclesiastical establishments in India are maintained that any particular community by consecration should get a practical monopoly of a church, and that they will not be content until a final appeal on questions of this kind rests with the civil authority. It sounds rather ridiculous to settle so small a matter, but I am not sure that, if the Viceroy was added to the link of authorities who now have to be consulted, and to whom has to be made a final appeal, it would not settle the matter. You cannot dispossess the Metropolitan from the authority which you have given him, as he alone is supposed at present to have legal authority as to the purposes to which consecrated churches can be put. But, assuming you were the final court of appeal, it always would be possible, in those very limited cases where there was only one consecrated church, and where the Metropolitan was unable to sanction its use by other denominations, to get over these very exceptional cases of difficulty by increasing the church accommodation in that one particular locality, and the person who could most effectively and rapidly secure that end is naturally the Viceroy. I only throw this out as a sort of perfunctory suggestion to get rid of a small and exceedingly tiresome controversy, and which might become public property at this inopportune moment when High Churchmen are in such great public disfavour.

Muscat.

Whilst I am in the process of writing this letter, a despatch has come from the Foreign Office in reply to our general defence of Fagan's action in

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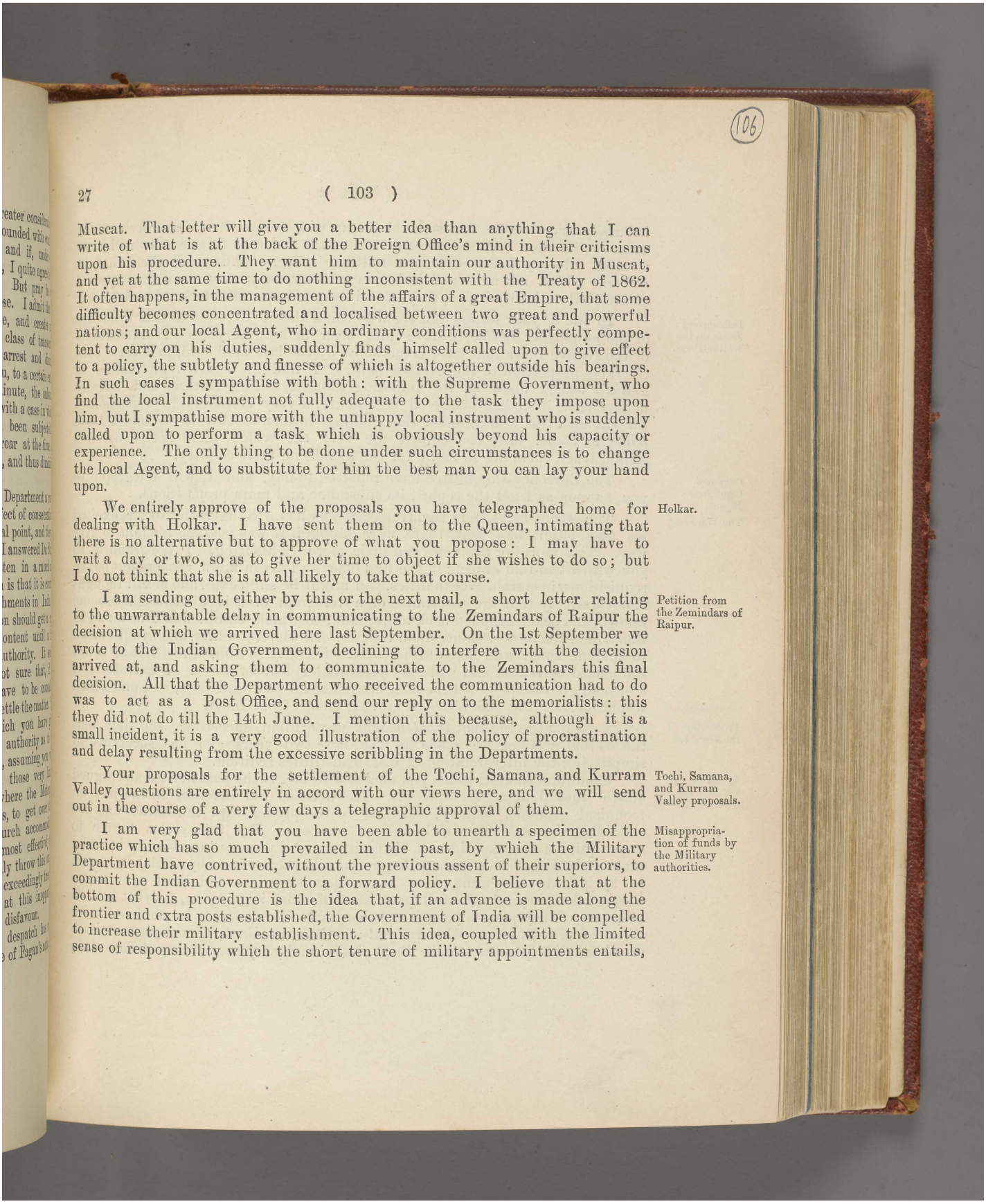

Muscat. That letter will give you a better idea than anything that I can write of what is at the back of the Foreign Office's mind in their criticisms upon his procedure. They want him to maintain our authority in Muscat, and yet at the same time to do nothing inconsistent with the Treaty of 1862. It often happens, in the management of the affairs of a great Empire, that some difficulty becomes concentrated and localised between two great and powerful nations; and our local Agent, who in ordinary conditions was perfectly competent to carry on his duties, suddenly finds himself called upon to give effect to a policy, the subtlety and finesse of which is altogether outside his bearings. In such cases I sympathise with both: with the Supreme Government, who find the local instrument not fully adequate to the task they impose upon him, but I sympathise more with the unhappy local instrument who is suddenly called upon to perform a task which is obviously beyond his capacity or experience. The only thing to be done under such circumstances is to change the local Agent, and to substitute for him the best man you can lay your hand upon.

Holkar.

We entirely approve of the proposals you have telegraphed home for dealing with Holkar. I have sent them on to the Queen, intimating that there is no alternative but to approve of what you propose: I may have to wait a day or two, so as to give her time to object if she wishes to do so; but I do not think that she is at all likely to take that course.

Petition from the Zemindars of Raipur.

I am sending out, either by this or the next mail, a short letter relating to the unwarrantable delay in communicating to the Zemindars of Raipur the decision at which we arrived here last September. On the 1st September we wrote to the Indian Government, declining to interfere with the decision arrived at, and asking them to communicate to the Zemindars this final decision. All that the Department who received the communication had to do was to act as a Post Office, and send our reply on to the memorialists: this they did not do till the 14th June. I mention this because, although it is a small incident, it is a very good illustration of the policy of procrastination and delay resulting from the excessive scribbling in the Departments.

Tochi, Samana, and Kurram Valley proposals.

Your proposals for the settlement of the Tochi, Samana, and Kurram Valley questions are entirely in accord with our views here, and we will send out in the course of a very few days a telegraphic approval of them.

Misappropriation of funds by the Military authorities.

I am very glad that you have been able to unearth a specimen of the practice which has so much prevailed in the past, by which the Military Department have contrived, without the previous assent of their superiors, to commit the Indian Government to a forward policy. I believe that at the bottom of this procedure is the idea that, if an advance is made along the frontier and extra posts established, the Government of India will be compelled to increase their military establishment. This idea, coupled with the limited sense of responsibility which the short tenure of military appointments entails,

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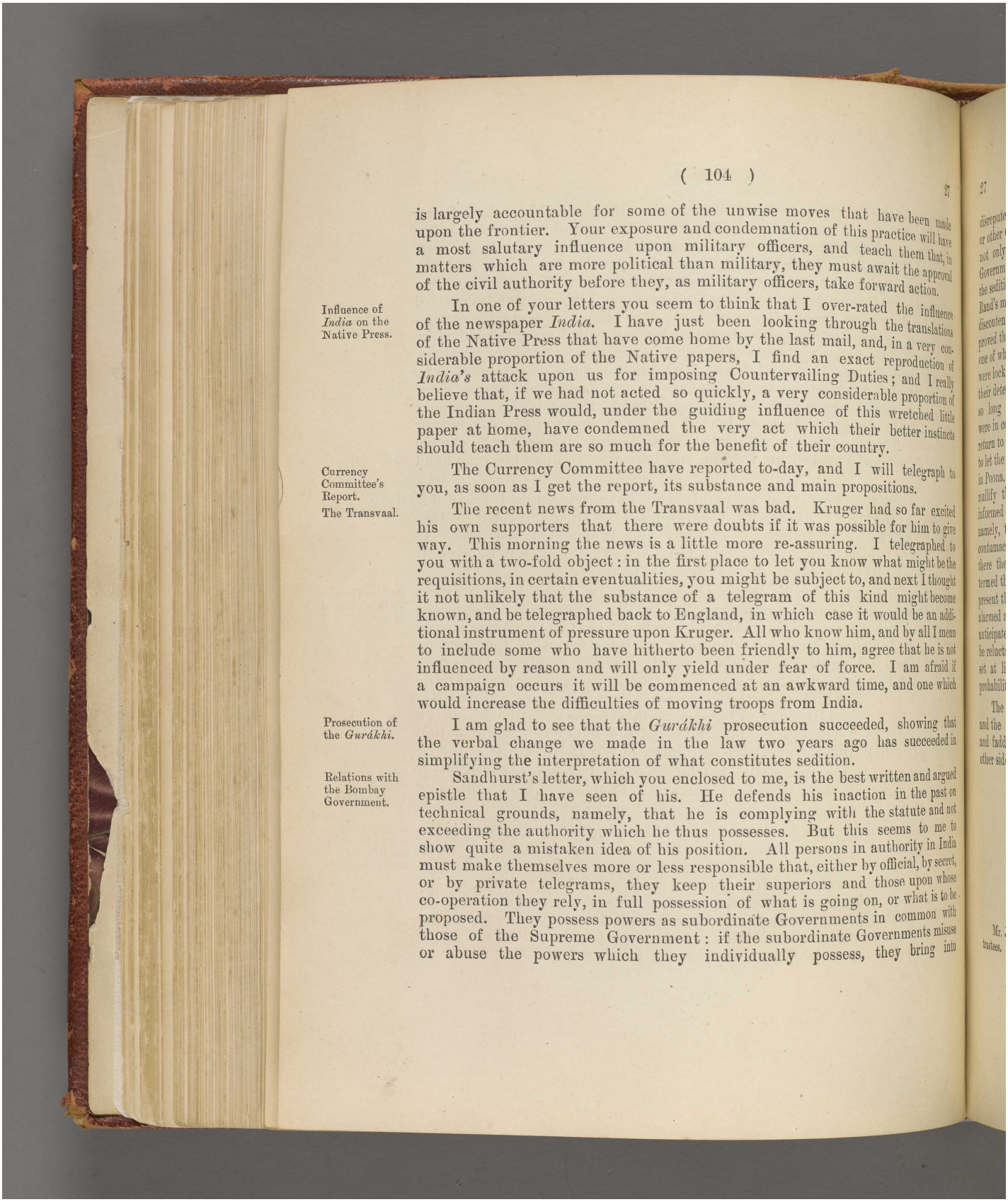

is largely accountable for some of the unwise moves that have been made upon the frontier. Your exposure and condemnation of this practice will have a most salutary influence upon military officers, and teach them that, in matters which are more political than military, they must await the approval of the civil authority before they, as military officers, take forward action.

Influence of *India* on the Native Press.

In one of your letters you seem to think that I over-rated the influence of the newspaper *India*. I have just been looking through the translations of the Native Press that have come home by the last mail, and, in a very considerable proportion of the Native papers, I find an exact reproduction of *India's* attack upon us for imposing Countervailing Duties; and I really believe that, if we had not acted so quickly, a very considerable proportion of the Indian Press would, under the guiding influence of this wretched little paper at home, have condemned the very act which their better instincts should teach them are so much for the benefit of their country.

Currency Committee's Report.

The Currency Committee have reported to-day, and I will telegraph to you, as soon as I get the report, its substance and main propositions.

The Transvaal.

The recent news from the Transvaal was bad. Kruger had so far excited his own supporters that there were doubts if it was possible for him to give way. This morning the news is a little more re-assuring. I telegraphed to you with a two-fold object: in the first place to let you know what might be the requisitions, in certain eventualities, you might be subject to, and next I thought it not unlikely that the substance of a telegram of this kind might become known, and be telegraphed back to England, in which case it would be an additional instrument of pressure upon Kruger. All who know him, and by all I mean to include some who have hitherto been friendly to him, agree that he is not influenced by reason and will only yield under fear of force. I am afraid if a campaign occurs it will be commenced at an awkward time, and one which would increase the difficulties of moving troops from India.

Prosecution of the *Gurákhi*.

I am glad to see that the *Gurákhi* prosecution succeeded, showing that the verbal change we made in the law two years ago has succeeded in simplifying the interpretation of what constitutes sedition.

Relations with the Bombay Government.

Sandhurst's letter, which you enclosed to me, is the best written and argued epistle that I have seen of his. He defends his inaction in the past on technical grounds, namely, that he is complying with the statute and not exceeding the authority which he thus possesses. But this seems to me to show quite a mistaken idea of his position. All persons in authority in India must make themselves more or less responsible that, either by official, by secret, or by private telegrams, they keep their superiors and those upon whose co-operation they rely, in full possession of what is going on, or what is to be proposed. They possess powers as subordinate Governments in common with those of the Supreme Government: if the subordinate Governments misuse or abuse the powers which they individually possess, they bring into

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disrepute all similar laws or powers which are at the disposal of the Supreme or other Governments. The Bombay Regulation of 1827 calls public attention not only to that Regulation, but to similar powers possessed by the other Governments. I am a good deal puzzled as to the complicity of the Natus in the seditious movements in Poona. Undoubtedly it was felt, at the time of Rand's murder, that they had largely fomented the feeling of disaffection and discontent which had assumed such large proportions in Poona, and it was also proved that they had, in some form or other, encouraged the Gymnastic Clubs, one of which has since proved to be a murder club. Therefore, when the Natus were locked up, and when I could get no detailed reasons from Sandhurst for their detention, I defended it in the House of Commons on the ground that, so long as plague was prevalent in Poona, and anti-plague regulations were in consequence a necessity, it would not be safe to allow the Natus to return to Poona. But eight months afterwards Sandhurst suddenly proposed to let the Natus out, and at the very moment when the plague was increasing in Poona. I pointed out to him that such a course would contradict and nullify the defence I had given of his action. Almost by return of post he informed me he agreed with my conclusions, but for wholly different reasons, namely, that the Natus had displayed such a spirit of insubordination and contumacy that the officials were very reluctant for them to be at large. And there the matter has rested. At present they are only under what can be termed the mildest police surveillance, and it is perhaps better that for the present they should so remain. The Commissioner of Poona seems to be really alarmed at the state of things in that town, and he and other officials evidently anticipate a renewal of the murder policy. Under such conditions I should be reluctant to over-rule the Bombay Government and insist upon their being set at liberty, and I anticipate that the question of their release will, in all probability, be left over for Sandhurst's successor. The Natus.

The elections are not going well for us, but four years' tenure of office, and the absence of any burning cry, has been an encouragement to cliques and faddism on our side, and these, quite as much as the larger polls on the other side, have contributed to our defeat. Parliamentary.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Minute by Sir John Edge, 30th June 1899.

Mr. J. N. Tata, a Parsi Merchant of Bombay, is desirous of vesting his property in trustees. The property is estimated to exceed in value 60 lakhs of rupees. As I read

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Mr. Fraser's Minute of 3rd June 1899, Mr. Tata's proposal is that of the property so proposed to be vested in trustees—

(1) The income of 30 lakhs should be applied by the trustees to the founding and maintenance of a Research Institute, and

(2) The balance of the property, estimated to exceed 30 lakhs, should be held by the trustees for the benefit of Mr. Tata and his descendants in perpetuity. Mr. Tata proposes that the Government of India should effect this object by legislative enactment. I regard Mr. Tata's proposal as one and as not divisible. In plain language Mr. Tata's proposal is that, in consideration of his devoting 30 lakhs to the endowment of a Research Institute, the Government of India, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, should pass an Act settling the balance of Mr. Tata's property upon him and his descendants in perpetuity, and thus remove that balance from the application of the general Statute Law against perpetuities.

It may be inferred from the 8th paragraph of Mr. Fraser's Minute that he could not advise the Government of India to accede to Mr. Tata's application, unless there were (*apart altogether from his proposed endowment of a Research Institute*) some sufficient reasons for granting the concession to Mr. Tata of a family settlement in perpetuity.

Putting aside the proposed endowment of a Research Institute, the sole ground that Mr. Fraser suggests for treating Mr. Tata's as a special case, calling for special consideration is "the enterprise and enlightenment of the family for which provision is to be made." Doubtless Mr. Tata is an enlightened man and a successful merchant, but there are many such in India. And if Mr. Tata's application be acceded to, doubtless many other enlightened men and successful merchants of India will come forward with applications similar to his.

I am personally averse to special legislation removing a particular family from the application of the general Statute Law. In Mr. Tata's case there is, in my opinion, a cogent reason for not entertaining his application. If his application were acceded to, it would be said, and it would be believed, that the bribe of an endowment of a Research Institute had obtained for him the concession of a family settlement in perpetuity. Such adverse comment might be avoided by the Government of India granting the concession of a family settlement in perpetuity, and declining the endowment; but I do not gather from Mr. Fraser's Minute that such is the intention of the Government of India or of the Government of Bombay.

The concession of a family settlement in perpetuity was by the Secretary of State's Despatch of the 26th April 1894 (Legislative No. 8) refused to classes whose support of the Government in times of difficulty might be of the greatest value. I cannot see that political assistance in times of difficulty could be expected from men like Mr. Tata, and, in my opinion, such a departure from the principles of the general Statute Law as Mr. Tata asks for could only be justified on the ground of political necessity.

Minute by Sir James Peile.

I concur with my Colleagues. The offer of Mr. Tata is clearly a bargain into which the Government of India cannot with propriety enter. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Tata should have conditioned his offer of funds with the settlement proposal, but he has done so, and it is stated very distinctly that the first will not be carried out if the second is refused. I think it is impossible that the Government of India should accept such a position.

3-7-99. (Sd.) J. P.

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No. 27a.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE;

July 7th, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your next Finance Minister is still a stumbling-block. Edward Hamilton, whom I met yesterday, worked with Law for some time, I think, but I cannot be sure, upon the Greek loan; and, in talking quite incidentally about him, said "The more I saw of him the lower was my opinion of him." I pressed him for reasons, but they were not very definable: he thought him superficial, but he also found him difficult to get on with, and acrid. Hamilton no doubt in this transaction represented the Treasury, to whose ideas Law was probably hostile; still he is an easy man of great experience, and if he could not get on with him, not many men would succeed where he failed. Finance Membership. Sir E. Law.

Taking personal attributes, and looking at the nature of the work you want done, the best man here is Mackay. He knows the Currency question thoroughly, he is a first-rate man of business, very pleasant to deal with, clear and concise in speech, and with excellent judgment, and as a commercial man he would be most useful in untying red tape regulations around the development of private enterprise. Would you care to have him, and if you did, would he go? His past commercial connection with Calcutta, and the fact that he is a very large shareholder and the head of Mackinnon's Steamship Company may in your judgment be a disqualification, and, if so, it would be no use sounding him. He was about to leave this Council in order to undertake the management of his Steamship Company, but he stayed on till the Currency Report is published. The dignity of the post of Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer might tempt him to subordinate his own pecuniary benefit, Sir J. Mackay.

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but if I tried him I ought to be able to close with him if he is willing, and this I could not do until I had your views and those of your advisers. Lansdowne thought very well of him, but he was then only an extra Member of the Legislative Council.

Lord Wharncliffe.

Poor Wharncliffe! His death was a release, for his sufferings, which he bore with great fortitude, were daily becoming worse. Susan is resigned and courageous, but a widow without children has a desolate life to look forward to.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 28.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

July 13th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Despatch on Currency Report.

It seems already a long time since the Currency Report came out, though it is really less than a week. We have got our draft despatch on it into shape, and it will be circulated to the Cabinet to-morrow. It is exceedingly short, having been drafted with the express purpose of passing the Cabinet as easily as possible. Your telegram of to-day arrived just in time for us to make some modifications in it to meet your views: but we had

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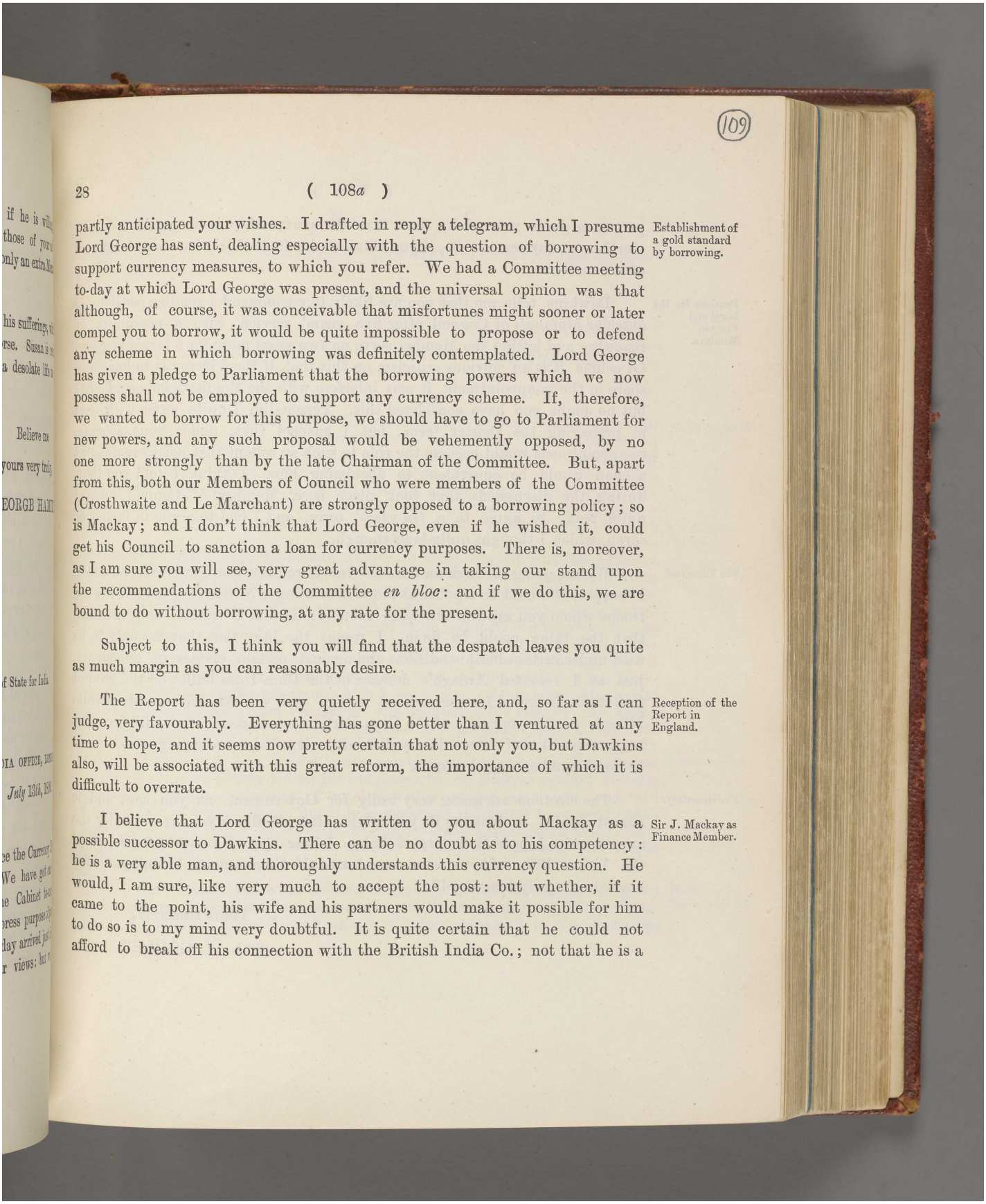

partly anticipated your wishes. I drafted in reply a telegram, which I presume Lord George has sent, dealing especially with the question of borrowing to support currency measures, to which you refer. We had a Committee meeting to-day at which Lord George was present, and the universal opinion was that although, of course, it was conceivable that misfortunes might sooner or later compel you to borrow, it would be quite impossible to propose or to defend any scheme in which borrowing was definitely contemplated. Lord George has given a pledge to Parliament that the borrowing powers which we now possess shall not be employed to support any currency scheme. If, therefore, we wanted to borrow for this purpose, we should have to go to Parliament for new powers, and any such proposal would be vehemently opposed, by no one more strongly than by the late Chairman of the Committee. But, apart from this, both our Members of Council who were members of the Committee (Crosthwaite and Le Marchant) are strongly opposed to a borrowing policy; so is Mackay; and I don't think that Lord George, even if he wished it, could get his Council to sanction a loan for currency purposes. There is, moreover, as I am sure you will see, very great advantage in taking our stand upon the recommendations of the Committee *en bloc*: and if we do this, we are bound to do without borrowing, at any rate for the present.

Establishment of a gold standard by borrowing.

Subject to this, I think you will find that the despatch leaves you quite as much margin as you can reasonably desire.

The Report has been very quietly received here, and, so far as I can judge, very favourably. Everything has gone better than I ventured at any time to hope, and it seems now pretty certain that not only you, but Dawkins also, will be associated with this great reform, the importance of which it is difficult to overrate.

Reception of the Report in England.

I believe that Lord George has written to you about Mackay as a possible successor to Dawkins. There can be no doubt as to his competency: he is a very able man, and thoroughly understands this currency question. He would, I am sure, like very much to accept the post: but whether, if it came to the point, his wife and his partners would make it possible for him to do so is to my mind very doubtful. It is quite certain that he could not afford to break off his connection with the British India Co.; not that he is a

Sir J. Mackay as Finance Member.

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poor man (he is very rich), but that the partnership is too good a thing to sacrifice on any terms. So, if you think that a fatal objection, there is an end of the matter.

Pensions for the Legal and Finance Members.

Dawkins tells me that you are likely to recommend a smaller pension for outsider Members of Council after five years' service, with a possibility of renewing and letting the Member serve on two years more for a larger pension. Of course it is an obvious criticism on this that, if the Viceroy is to have any share in the re-appointment, it may interfere with the Member's independence: but no doubt you have considered this. Personally, I quite agree with you in preferring the shorter term: but I suspect that, under your scheme, re-appointment would become the rule to such an extent that not to re-appoint a man would be equivalent to dismissing him. I think I told you that, during the discussions that took place here, Members of Council seemed quite ready to agree to a *ten* years' term, and I had to argue in favour of seven, which I thought quite long enough.

The Transvaal.

We are going through an anxious time here over the Transvaal business. I suppose it would be a political blunder to bring a Native Regiment with the troops whom you say you can spare from India, but I cannot help wishing that the thing could be done. I resent the idea that they are only to be used under certain local conditions and against certain classes of opponents, just as I resented Ardagh's defence of the Dum-Dum bullet on the ground that it was intended for use against savage and warlike tribes. Meanwhile Milner, on the opening of the Cape Parliament, is confronted with a constitutional position of extraordinary difficulty: it will be interesting to see how he and Chamberlain get over it.

Parliamentary.

The elections are going very badly for Government, as you see; and it almost begins to look as if you might, after all, finish your reign under the auspices of a Liberal Secretary of State. I hear that Harcourt, *à propos* of the Tithes Bill, said to some member of the Government, "Well, you *have* bowled us a jolly long-hop!"

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

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No. 29.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

July 14*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am filled with perturbation by the weekly exposure that your letter has given of individual cases of laxity and procrastination on the part of local authorities in dealing with questions either of importance or urgency. I am afraid it is this detestable system of red-tape minuting which has absorbed not only the energies but also the intelligence of higher official-dom. With all its faults, I had always believed that the Indian Civil Service was prompt, resourceful, and efficient. Fryer's apathy in reporting, still more in dealing with the disgraceful outrage which occurred at Rangoon seems to me quite inexcusable. Any Lieutenant-Governor worth his salt must have known that such an outrage, putting on one side its atrocious character, would cause widespread perturbation and alarm in the Province for which he is responsible. I am exceedingly glad to know that you and Lockhart are probing the matter to its bottom. As soon as I got your telegram, asking for a legal opinion as to the possibility of bringing the evidence given before the Court of Enquiry in such a way before the Civil Court as to enable it to be acted upon, I sent it over to the War Office. They gave every help, and the upshot of our inter-communications was the telegram which I sent you. A resolute Magistrate will be able to extract, from the officer who conducted the enquiry, the neces-sary information, but he will have to exercise his authority, and in all pro-bability will be compelled to press the officer to so speak. On re-reading my letter of last week to you, I used language which might imply that I was averse to your taking any strong action for the protection of Natives against assaults by soldiers. On the contrary, I most heartily concur with you, and will support you in every way. But it is necessary at the outset to proceed cauti-ously, so as to carry the better class of Anglo-Indian opinion with you: other-wise it is just possible that, in your attempt to improve matters, you might be dragged into an inter-racial controversy.

Official delays in India.

The Rangoon outrage.

Outrages by British soldiers in India.

I entirely agree with your recommendation that a medal should be given to the officers and soldiers who took part in the Tirah campaign. The perform-ances of our army in the Soudan were child's play compared to the hardships

Medal for the Tirah campaign.

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and ordeal through which our troops in India had to pass. But if you give a medal for the Tirah campaign, I think you must also include the Malakand and Chakdara fight. The Military Committee here entirely agree with you, but Donald Stewart, who speaks with very great experience, thought it quite possible that the War Office would refuse the medal, even if the Viceroy was backed by the Secretary of State; and he therefore suggested that I should approach Lansdowne first. As you know, there is considerable jealousy between the officials administering the British Army and those responsible for the Indian Army. The disposition is to give medals much more readily to the former than to the latter, and, by usage and warrant, the War Office alone is the judge as to when a medal should be given; but I will press the point. I had spoken to George Wyndham (who by-the-bye is doing his work very well), when he answered a question stating that a medal was to be conferred upon all the troops recently engaged in Egypt, as to whether any proposition had been made by the Military authorities for a medal for those engaged in the recent North-West Frontier campaign.

The Transvaal.

We were all very pleased to find that you could temporarily spare 10,000 troops for the Transvaal. The position is not improving, but, on the contrary, I think is becoming more perplexing. Kruger concedes certain points at the point of the bayonet, until he reduces the difference between our minimum and his concessions to such a point, that it is exceedingly difficult upon that difference to found a justification for the exercise of force. In the meantime the feelings and passions of both races are being excited, and it will require the most dexterous steering not to fall between two stools, or declare war against the South African Republic.

Telegraph rates.

The telegraph rates question has become a little complicated, as you will see from a telegram which I have just sent to you. As the question has assumed quite recently rather a new aspect, I postpone till next week any remarks about it.

Holkar.

I sent on to the Queen your proposals to place Holkar under the control of a Resident. It is the sort of question on which Native Princes are apt to appeal to her. I gave her two days in which to object to your proposals, and, as I had no reply, I telegraphed to you approving of them. I got a letter the next day from her, in which, in the most peremptory manner, she requested me to telegraph to you her opinion that the officer in question should be a military man and one of some standing. I have sent on to her the substance of your answer, and I have no doubt it will quite satisfy her. Unfortunately all the influences about her, both those of her own family and of the Natives whom she sees, are very hostile to the Indian Civil Service. She is unjust in her estimate of what they do and of the exceeding fine qualities which as a service they are perpetually showing. But still we have to deal with this

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prejudice, and in the present instance I am pretty sure we have so far successfully combatted it, as to prevent the likelihood of there being any objection to your proposed procedure.

Lord Kitchener.

I have seen a little of Kitchener lately. He is no doubt an extraordinary organiser, but he is a hard unpopular machine. He would no doubt brush up very much the organisation and transport of the Indian Army. On the other hand, I am sure he would be not equally successful in dealing with the human beings under his control; and therefore I think we had, at any rate for the present, better dismiss the idea of employing him in a military capacity in India.

Prosecution of the *Gurâkhi*.

The Bombay Government after all succeeded in obtaining both their convictions. So far, so good! When I received the draft of your letter which you had written to Sandhurst, I wrote to him intimating in general terms that I had much the same causes of complaint. He has telegraphed somewhat indignantly to ask me to give instances, which I have supplied by telegraph. To give an idea of the extraordinary lack of method in his entourage, his telegram came *en clair*. We must make the best of him for the next six months, and let us only hope that no emergency in that interval will occur in Bombay.

Currency Report.

The Currency Report has elicited almost unanimous approval from the Press and public opinion here. I have read it again, and I certainly think it is quite one of the very best documents of the kind that I have ever seen. In arrangement, in argument, and in the marshalling of the facts, it is extraordinarily lucid, and it chose the very highest art of exposition by so marshalling its facts as to convert them into a consecutive argument. I had thought in the past that the quickest and most effective way of establishing a gold currency would be to borrow a large sum in sovereigns, and to utilise them both for keeping up the exchange if necessary, and under certain conditions exchanging them for rupees. But an extreme course of this kind would only be possible if it had very strong authority behind it. The loan would have to be raised here, and would require a special Act; and, if it amounted to a very large sum, the Imperial credit would be required, as otherwise the present price of Indian securities might be depreciated. The course of trade and exchange during the past year has been much more favourable and rapid towards the establishment of a gold standard in India than I had thought possible. The rupee has been kept at 1*s.* 4*d.*, you have between two and three million sovereigns in your Treasury reserve, and we have reduced our gold obligations here below the estimate of last year by £2,700,000, that being the excess of our actual drawings over those estimated in the Budget. Taking these two sums together we are as regards accumulation of gold and reduction of gold obligations, five millions better off than we anticipated, and I think

Establishment of a Gold Currency by borrowing.

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a steady perseverance in this course ought, in two or three years, to give us sufficient funds to commence the convertibility of silver in India into gold. I am afraid that in this sense the report will be a disappointment to Dawkins, who had what seemed to me a very feasible scheme in his mind for the establishment of convertibility; and I think it is very probable that the Indian newspapers, and the Indian commercial world, will support him in those ideas. But a large gold loan for the purpose of establishing a gold currency is for the present impossible here. That report is acquiesced in by two leading authorities of the Treasury, by a Cabinet Minister of our Government, and by a Cabinet Minister of the late Government. You have thus a combination of Parliamentary forces against you, which renders it quite impossible for me to make any such suggestion to Parliament. Would you indicate this to Dawkins, as it really is, under existing conditions, of no use attempting, for the present at any rate, to obtain a large loan for currency purposes? On the other hand, the Committee very clearly indicate that the lack of banking facilities in India tends to increase the natural trade fluctuations of exchange; and I think, if Dawkins would devote his attention to that part of the subject, he would find he has as much as he can accomplish between now and his departure, and, if he could only frame a scheme which would be taken up in Lombard Street, by which a quasi State bank, with a large capital and power of note issue, and associated with men of high reputation as directors, could be established, I believe he would do much towards accelerating the establishment of a gold currency in India.

Tithes Bill.

We have been having a great fight over the Tithe Bill. Our Conservative candidate unexpectedly has held one of the Metropolitan boroughs which the Opposition thought they were certain of securing, and this will probably terminate, more quickly than we thought, the obstruction to the Committee stages of the Bill.

Lady Salisbury.

I am sorry to say that Salisbury was yesterday telegraphed for to go down to Walmer. Lady Salisbury is very seriously ill: she had a slight fit a few days ago, and at her time of life, and with all the complications which her long and dangerous illness has set up, I am afraid that we are near the beginning of the end. Poor Salisbury! I do not know what he will do without her; and Kruger's, as well as other foreign difficulties just now require his very closest attention.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 30.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
July 19*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

My letter to you of to-day must necessarily be short, because I have been knocked over by a feverish attack, which has left me a very poor creature; and therefore I will write more fully next week on most of the matters to which your letters by last mail refer.

Despatch on Nushki.

Your Despatch, explaining your action regarding Nushki, will, I think, propitiate our Political Committee here. You must bear in mind that they still look at you a little askance as a very forward man; and, although your action since you have been in authority has tended to greatly diminish these suspicions, certain of the Committee are still tainted by them. Therefore they think it essential, whenever they can, to put, both in their drafts and telegrams, words of caution and admonition.

Kalka-Simla Railway.

I am told that the probability is that the Directors of the Kalka-Simla Railway will ultimately of their own accord adopt the 2 ft. 6 in. gauge; but, so far, they have not, to the best of my knowledge, made any movement in that direction.

Rangoon Outrage.

I am very glad that you and Lockhart have been able to take such combined and decided action in running the culprits of the Rangoon outrage to earth. If the peculiar procedure of our Military Courts of Enquiry had precluded the evidence there obtained from being made available in a Criminal Court, unquestionably the Natives and the critics of the Indian Government would have assumed that the Military and Civil authorities were in collusion, with the object of shielding the perpetrators of this outrage.

Foreign Office papers sent to Financial Dept.

I will attend to the flaw in the procedure which transmitted to your Financial Department the confidential Minutes of Salisbury, Chamberlain, and myself, upon that very nice point as to whether or not Countervailing Duties are technically an infraction of the best favoured nation clause. It is not generally the custom of the Foreign Office to include notes of this kind in the papers which they send to other Departments, and on this occasion they seem to have printed everything they had got, and the Department of the India Office which sent them on to India cannot, I think, have looked through the papers in question: otherwise they would have sent them direct to your Private Secretary and not to the Department.

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Use of Anglican Churches in India.

I quite agree with your version of the object of the new regulations for the use of consecrated churches in India, and I think the opposition of the Scotch Church is unreasonable. Though no lawyer myself, I have looked through the case referred to the lawyers, and my strong belief is that it will be decided that consecration does give, not merely a moral, but an actual legal right of control over buildings consecrated to the authority that consecrates them. Unfortunately, Welldon spoke of the Scotch Church as Nonconformist: this has produced a vehement protest from the Church Assembly, and their protest concludes by saying that they never can receive justice in India so long as so biassed a man as Welldon is the ultimate arbiter of the use of churches. I have smoothed them down for the time being, and I think we shall be able to come to some sort of satisfactory compromise, if I can only keep quiet that little red-headed lady, Lady Frances Balfour, who has been exercising all her ingenuity in poking up Presbyterian divines.

Leave for the Viceroy, the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and the Commander-in-Chief.

As regards leave for the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, I put them into one category, and the Commander-in-Chief into another. I do not think it will be ever possible to bring in an Act of Parliament by which the Viceroy will be allowed to leave India during his tenure of office. The tendency of your action and of your investigations has been to tighten the personal authority of the Viceroy both over the Departments as well as the minor Governments: you are concentrating more and more responsibility and authority in the head of the Indian Government. I do not think it would be possible, except in the case of illness, for Parliament to assent to any other person in India undertaking his very exceptional duties. It is one of those cases in which whatever feeling there was on the subject would be opposed to the Bill in Parliament, and I should have no motive power behind it which would enable me to counteract that opposition. The Commander-in-Chief is in a somewhat different position: the difference between him and the Lieutenant-Generals Commanding in Madras and Bombay is not nearly so great as it is between you and the lesser Civil authorities. It might be possible, though I speak doubtfully, to give this power of obtaining leave to the Commander-in-Chief, but it would not be worth while to go through all the trouble and bother of forcing such an Act through Parliament if it excluded the Governors and Viceroy. Of course five years without a break is a very long period, and therefore I again repeat my advice: do not try to do too much in the various parts of your Viceroyalty. Worries and troubles are sure to multiply and augment as time goes on, and Atlas himself would be unable to bear their ultimate load, if he over-weighted himself unduly at the commencement of his labours.

If I am well enough I will try and write personally on the more confidential matters in your other letters.

The Transvaal.

Things in the Transvaal are going somewhat better.

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At the last Cabinet there was a universal feeling of pity for poor Lord Salisbury; and, although his wife is better, I very much doubt if she can ever become permanently convalescent. Lady Salisbury.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 31.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
July 21*st*, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I propose in this letter to speak only about the proposal to give pensions to Members of Council appointed from home. Pensions for the Legal & Finance Members.

I am very glad that you recognize the necessity for doing something in this direction, and that the mention of £1,000 a year does not frighten you, as I was afraid it might.

You tell me that you are inclined to propose two modifications of our suggestion:—

(1.) You want to appoint a man for five years, with prospect of £750 a year pension, and to prolong him, as the reward of merit, for two years longer; in which case he would have a pension of £1,000: the prolongation to be the act of the Secretary of State on the initiative of the Viceroy.

Now, I believe that it would be almost impossible, in these circumstances, to avoid prolonging a man; he would have to be more inefficient than any one is likely to be, I hope, for a long time to come, before the Viceroy and the Secretary of State would be willing to let him go home disgraced—for so it would be regarded. Therefore I do not think you would gain very much in point of efficiency; and, in considering the probabilities, you must kindly bear in mind that not all Viceroys and Secretaries of State are as likely to put down a firm foot as you yourself might be; I speak from observation of a considerable number of them. On the other hand it seems to me rather contrary to the spirit of your constitution that the Viceroy should be specifically mentioned as having any part or lot in the prolongation. The Queen (*i. e.*, the Secretary

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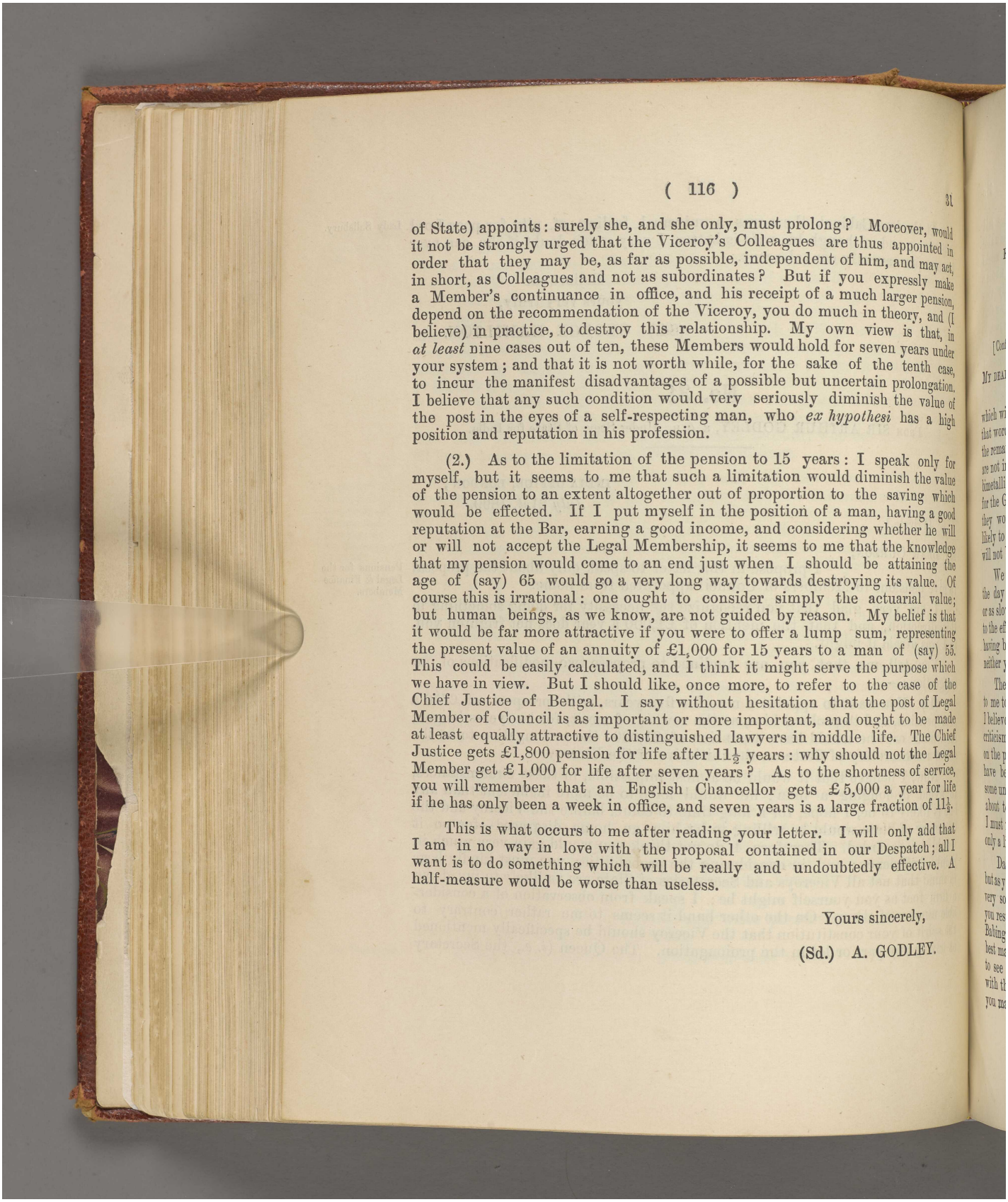

of State) appoints: surely she, and she only, must prolong? Moreover, would it not be strongly urged that the Viceroy's Colleagues are thus appointed in order that they may be, as far as possible, independent of him, and may act, in short, as Colleagues and not as subordinates? But if you expressly make a Member's continuance in office, and his receipt of a much larger pension, depend on the recommendation of the Viceroy, you do much in theory, and (I believe) in practice, to destroy this relationship. My own view is that, in *at least* nine cases out of ten, these Members would hold for seven years under your system; and that it is not worth while, for the sake of the tenth case, to incur the manifest disadvantages of a possible but uncertain prolongation. I believe that any such condition would very seriously diminish the value of the post in the eyes of a self-respecting man, who *ex hypothesi* has a high position and reputation in his profession.

(2.) As to the limitation of the pension to 15 years: I speak only for myself, but it seems to me that such a limitation would diminish the value of the pension to an extent altogether out of proportion to the saving which would be effected. If I put myself in the position of a man, having a good reputation at the Bar, earning a good income, and considering whether he will or will not accept the Legal Membership, it seems to me that the knowledge that my pension would come to an end just when I should be attaining the age of (say) 65 would go a very long way towards destroying its value. Of course this is irrational: one ought to consider simply the actuarial value; but human beings, as we know, are not guided by reason. My belief is that it would be far more attractive if you were to offer a lump sum, representing the present value of an annuity of £1,000 for 15 years to a man of (say) 55. This could be easily calculated, and I think it might serve the purpose which we have in view. But I should like, once more, to refer to the case of the Chief Justice of Bengal. I say without hesitation that the post of Legal Member of Council is as important or more important, and ought to be made at least equally attractive to distinguished lawyers in middle life. The Chief Justice gets £1,800 pension for life after 11½ years: why should not the Legal Member get £1,000 for life after seven years? As to the shortness of service, you will remember that an English Chancellor gets £5,000 a year for life if he has only been a week in office, and seven years is a large fraction of 11½.

This is what occurs to me after reading your letter. I will only add that I am in no way in love with the proposal contained in our Despatch; all I want is to do something which will be really and undoubtedly effective. A half-measure would be worse than useless.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

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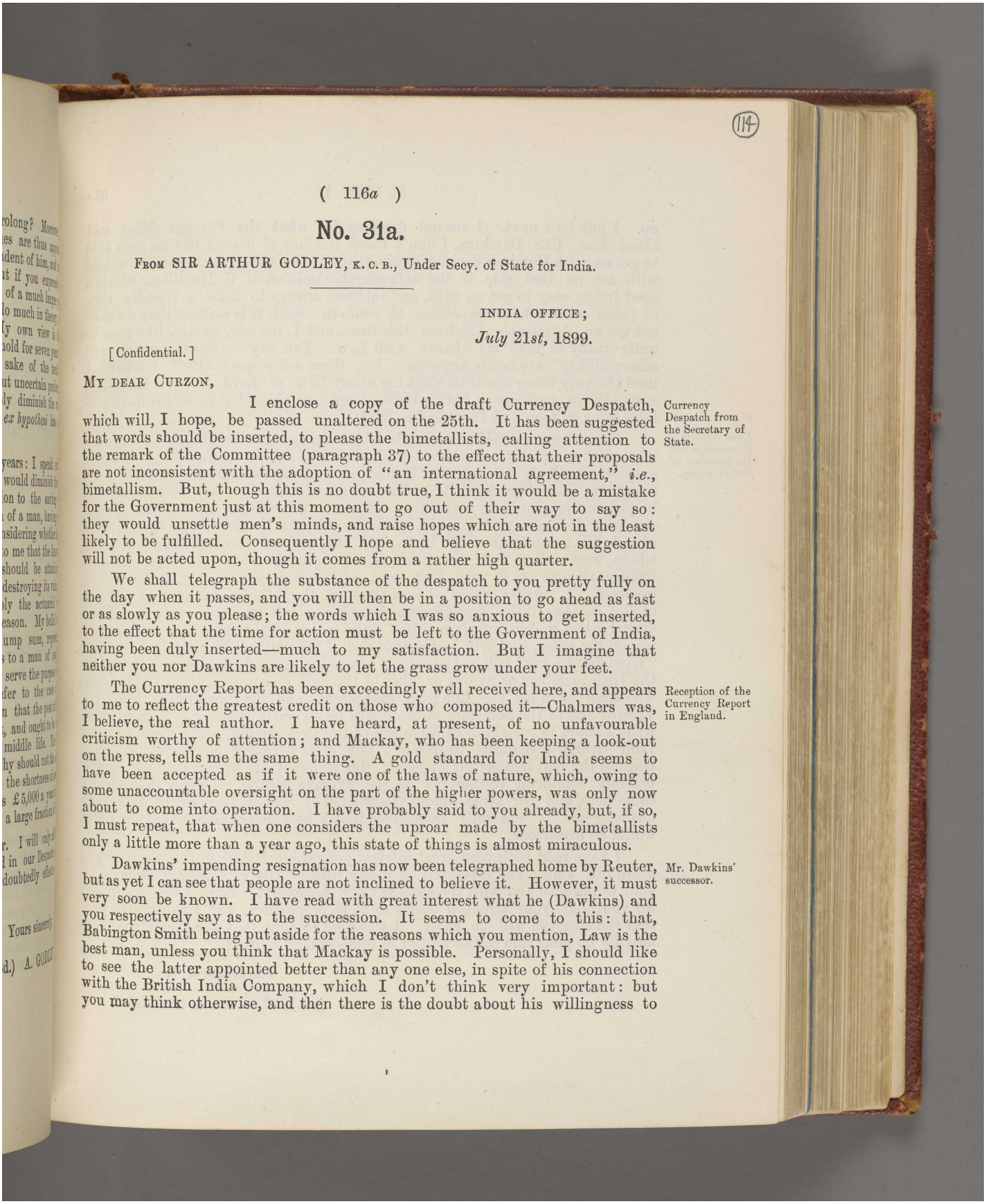

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No. 31a.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE;
July 21*st*, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I enclose a copy of the draft Currency Despatch, which will, I hope, be passed unaltered on the 25th. It has been suggested that words should be inserted, to please the bimetallists, calling attention to the remark of the Committee (paragraph 37) to the effect that their proposals are not inconsistent with the adoption of "an international agreement," *i.e.*, bimetallism. But, though this is no doubt true, I think it would be a mistake for the Government just at this moment to go out of their way to say so: they would unsettle men's minds, and raise hopes which are not in the least likely to be fulfilled. Consequently I hope and believe that the suggestion will not be acted upon, though it comes from a rather high quarter. Currency Despatch from the Secretary of State.

We shall telegraph the substance of the despatch to you pretty fully on the day when it passes, and you will then be in a position to go ahead as fast or as slowly as you please; the words which I was so anxious to get inserted, to the effect that the time for action must be left to the Government of India, having been duly inserted—much to my satisfaction. But I imagine that neither you nor Dawkins are likely to let the grass grow under your feet.

The Currency Report has been exceedingly well received here, and appears to me to reflect the greatest credit on those who composed it—Chalmers was, I believe, the real author. I have heard, at present, of no unfavourable criticism worthy of attention; and Mackay, who has been keeping a look-out on the press, tells me the same thing. A gold standard for India seems to have been accepted as if it were one of the laws of nature, which, owing to some unaccountable oversight on the part of the higher powers, was only now about to come into operation. I have probably said to you already, but, if so, I must repeat, that when one considers the uproar made by the bimetallists only a little more than a year ago, this state of things is almost miraculous. Reception of the Currency Report in England.

Dawkins' impending resignation has now been telegraphed home by Reuter, but as yet I can see that people are not inclined to believe it. However, it must very soon be known. I have read with great interest what he (Dawkins) and you respectively say as to the succession. It seems to come to this: that, Babington Smith being put aside for the reasons which you mention, Law is the best man, unless you think that Mackay is possible. Personally, I should like to see the latter appointed better than any one else, in spite of his connection with the British India Company, which I don't think very important: but you may think otherwise, and then there is the doubt about his willingness to Mr. Dawkins' successor.

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go. I put Law next. I am not deterred by what the Foreign Office said about him: like Dawkins, I don't think the fact of his not having been able to get on with Currie is decisive against him; the thing that chiefly weighs with me on that side is the unfavourable opinion of E. Hamilton, who is a good judge, easy to get on with, and inclined always to take a friendly view of those with whom he comes in contact. Still, it is evident that we shall not get an Admirable Crichton this time, and I, for one, should, like you, be quite ready to take my chance with Law. You say "'Suspiciousness and susceptibility' are faults anywhere, but there are worse faults." I believe I used the very same words in speaking about Law to Lord George Hamilton, a month or two ago. I wish Finlay were available; but as to his qualifications your opinion and Dawkins' is final.

Lord Welby's Commission and the Secretary of State's salary.

I have been a good deal disturbed by hearing that the Royal Commission now sitting upon the relations of English and Indian finance under Welby's auspices is likely to vote in favour of a recommendation suggested by Courtney (just like him) that the salary of the Secretary of State should be put on the (English) estimates. There is no earthly reason that I can see why his salary should be paid for by the United Kingdom and those of all his subordinates by India. If the cost of our establishment as a whole were taken over by England, it would be a sensible relief to Indian finance, though not a very large one, and certainly not worth the results involved. I greatly value the control of the House of Commons as a sort of *être suprème* in the background, interfering seldom, but always absolute master when it does interfere. But if the salary of the Secretary of State is put on the votes, that will be the thin end of the wedge: Indian administration "from day to day" will be the subject of resolutions and amendments, moved by the Irish members or by one or other of the half dozen men, like Wedderburn, who have taken up the Congress movement, and the position both of the Viceroy and of the Secretary of State will be seriously affected. I have done what I could by speaking to Members of the Commission, and by writing (at Lord George's request) to Welby; but it is a difficult matter to deal with, because the real reasons for opposing the proposal are reasons which cannot possibly commend themselves to the average Briton. I know that when I came here, and for some years afterwards, I was in favour of this very change; and it was only by degrees that I became convinced that the effect would be disastrous.

I have read with very great interest your three letters to the Secretary of State this week; and especially that one which deals with your relations with your Colleagues and with the Civil Service generally. Your work is cut out for you, but your strength seems to be in proportion; and I think, like you, that the struggle will be short. I was glad to note that the Secretaries are heartily on your side in the matter of long-winded writing.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

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No. 32.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
July 27th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have been cogitating during the past eight days on your account of the inner life of a reforming Viceroy in India. I underwent something of the same kind a good many years ago when I went to the Admiralty, as I had to turn the whole of that Office, and the Dockyards and the general system of the administration of the Navy, inside out; and my colleagues in that job, in addition to three rather stiff-backed Naval officers, were Charlie Beresford, Ashmead-Bartlett, and Forwood. My experience is that it is better not to try too many reforms at once: concentrate your attention on the successive changes which you wish to achieve and push them one by one vigorously forward. You are sure to have opposition, and the wider your field of operations the easier it is to obstruct. But if you carry some considerable change by concentrating all your attention upon it, the moral influence that you thus gain is such that it tends very much to diminish opposition to further and other reforms. A five years' tenure of office in a relaxing climate, such as India, with a daily routine of work which in itself is as much as many men can master, does not encourage ordinary men to undertake reforms which will be a source of trouble to them though a benefit to their successors; and so I suppose it has come to pass that your predecessors have acquiesced in a good deal of which they did not altogether approve. I think you are doing a real good service to India in overhauling and bustling up the various Departments.

The Viceroy's reforms.

Donald Stewart has always contended that the presence of the Commander-in-Chief in Council has given the Military authorities a preponderance which they ought not to have obtained, and he is strongly of opinion that the Commander-in-Chief would have much more time to attend to his own work and business if he did not ordinarily attend Council; and the combination of the two military men in Council is often sufficient to enable them to get their own way, because there is nobody, except possibly the Finance Minister and the Viceroy, who will venture to oppose them. Certainly expenditure, during Elgin's régime, was authorised on insufficient grounds, and during the whole of the time he was there, I never read any Minute written by a military man on the frontier policy with which I agreed. There is an idea in the military mind that, if they put forward proposals for expenditure in the regular recognised manner, they are very likely to have their proposals curtailed

Presence of the Commander-in-Chief in Council.

Military expenditure.

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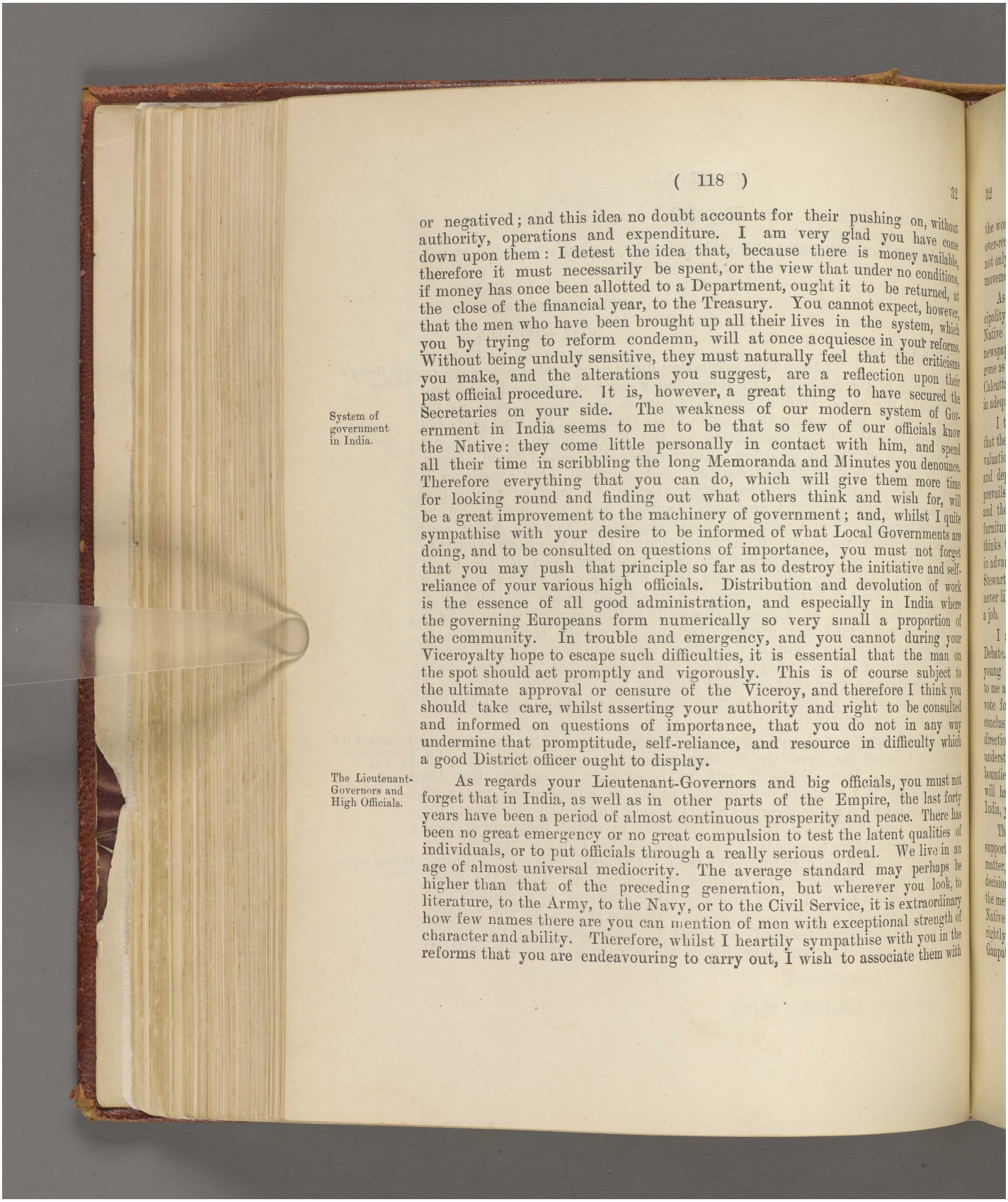

or negatived; and this idea no doubt accounts for their pushing on, without authority, operations and expenditure. I am very glad you have come down upon them: I detest the idea that, because there is money available, therefore it must necessarily be spent, or the view that under no conditions, if money has once been allotted to a Department, ought it to be returned, at the close of the financial year, to the Treasury. You cannot expect, however, that the men who have been brought up all their lives in the system, which you by trying to reform condemn, will at once acquiesce in your reforms. Without being unduly sensitive, they must naturally feel that the criticisms you make, and the alterations you suggest, are a reflection upon their past official procedure. It is, however, a great thing to have secured the Secretaries on your side. The weakness of our modern system of Government in India seems to me to be that so few of our officials know the Native: they come little personally in contact with him, and spend all their time in scribbling the long Memoranda and Minutes you denounce. Therefore everything that you can do, which will give them more time for looking round and finding out what others think and wish for, will be a great improvement to the machinery of government; and, whilst I quite sympathise with your desire to be informed of what Local Governments are doing, and to be consulted on questions of importance, you must not forget that you may push that principle so far as to destroy the initiative and self-reliance of your various high officials. Distribution and devolution of work is the essence of all good administration, and especially in India where the governing Europeans form numerically so very small a proportion of the community. In trouble and emergency, and you cannot during your Viceroyalty hope to escape such difficulties, it is essential that the man on the spot should act promptly and vigorously. This is of course subject to the ultimate approval or censure of the Viceroy, and therefore I think you should take care, whilst asserting your authority and right to be consulted and informed on questions of importance, that you do not in any way undermine that promptitude, self-reliance, and resource in difficulty which a good District officer ought to display.

System of government in India.

As regards your Lieutenant-Governors and big officials, you must not forget that in India, as well as in other parts of the Empire, the last forty years have been a period of almost continuous prosperity and peace. There has been no great emergency or no great compulsion to test the latent qualities of individuals, or to put officials through a really serious ordeal. We live in an age of almost universal mediocrity. The average standard may perhaps be higher than that of the preceding generation, but wherever you look, to literature, to the Army, to the Navy, or to the Civil Service, it is extraordinary how few names there are you can mention of men with exceptional strength of character and ability. Therefore, whilst I heartily sympathise with you in the reforms that you are endeavouring to carry out, I wish to associate them with

The Lieutenant-Governors and High Officials.

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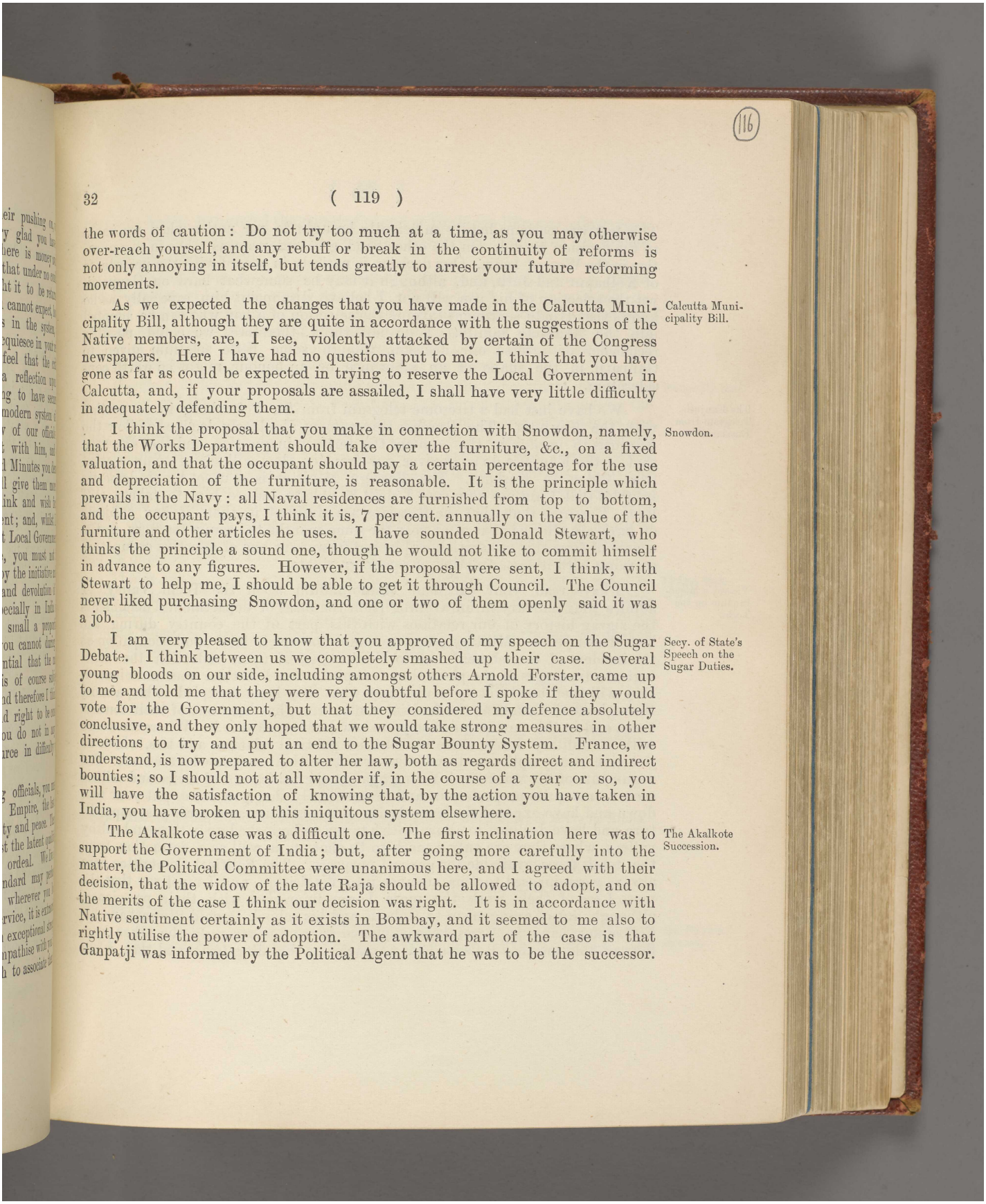

the words of caution: Do not try too much at a time, as you may otherwise over-reach yourself, and any rebuff or break in the continuity of reforms is not only annoying in itself, but tends greatly to arrest your future reforming movements.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

As we expected the changes that you have made in the Calcutta Municipality Bill, although they are quite in accordance with the suggestions of the Native members, are, I see, violently attacked by certain of the Congress newspapers. Here I have had no questions put to me. I think that you have gone as far as could be expected in trying to reserve the Local Government in Calcutta, and, if your proposals are assailed, I shall have very little difficulty in adequately defending them.

Snowdon.

I think the proposal that you make in connection with Snowdon, namely, that the Works Department should take over the furniture, &c., on a fixed valuation, and that the occupant should pay a certain percentage for the use and depreciation of the furniture, is reasonable. It is the principle which prevails in the Navy: all Naval residences are furnished from top to bottom, and the occupant pays, I think it is, 7 per cent. annually on the value of the furniture and other articles he uses. I have sounded Donald Stewart, who thinks the principle a sound one, though he would not like to commit himself in advance to any figures. However, if the proposal were sent, I think, with Stewart to help me, I should be able to get it through Council. The Council never liked purchasing Snowdon, and one or two of them openly said it was a job.

Secy. of State's Speech on the Sugar Duties.

I am very pleased to know that you approved of my speech on the Sugar Debate. I think between us we completely smashed up their case. Several young bloods on our side, including amongst others Arnold Forster, came up to me and told me that they were very doubtful before I spoke if they would vote for the Government, but that they considered my defence absolutely conclusive, and they only hoped that we would take strong measures in other directions to try and put an end to the Sugar Bounty System. France, we understand, is now prepared to alter her law, both as regards direct and indirect bounties; so I should not at all wonder if, in the course of a year or so, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that, by the action you have taken in India, you have broken up this iniquitous system elsewhere.

The Akalkote Succession.

The Akalkote case was a difficult one. The first inclination here was to support the Government of India; but, after going more carefully into the matter, the Political Committee were unanimous here, and I agreed with their decision, that the widow of the late Raja should be allowed to adopt, and on the merits of the case I think our decision was right. It is in accordance with Native sentiment certainly as it exists in Bombay, and it seemed to me also to rightly utilise the power of adoption. The awkward part of the case is that Ganpatji was informed by the Political Agent that he was to be the successor.

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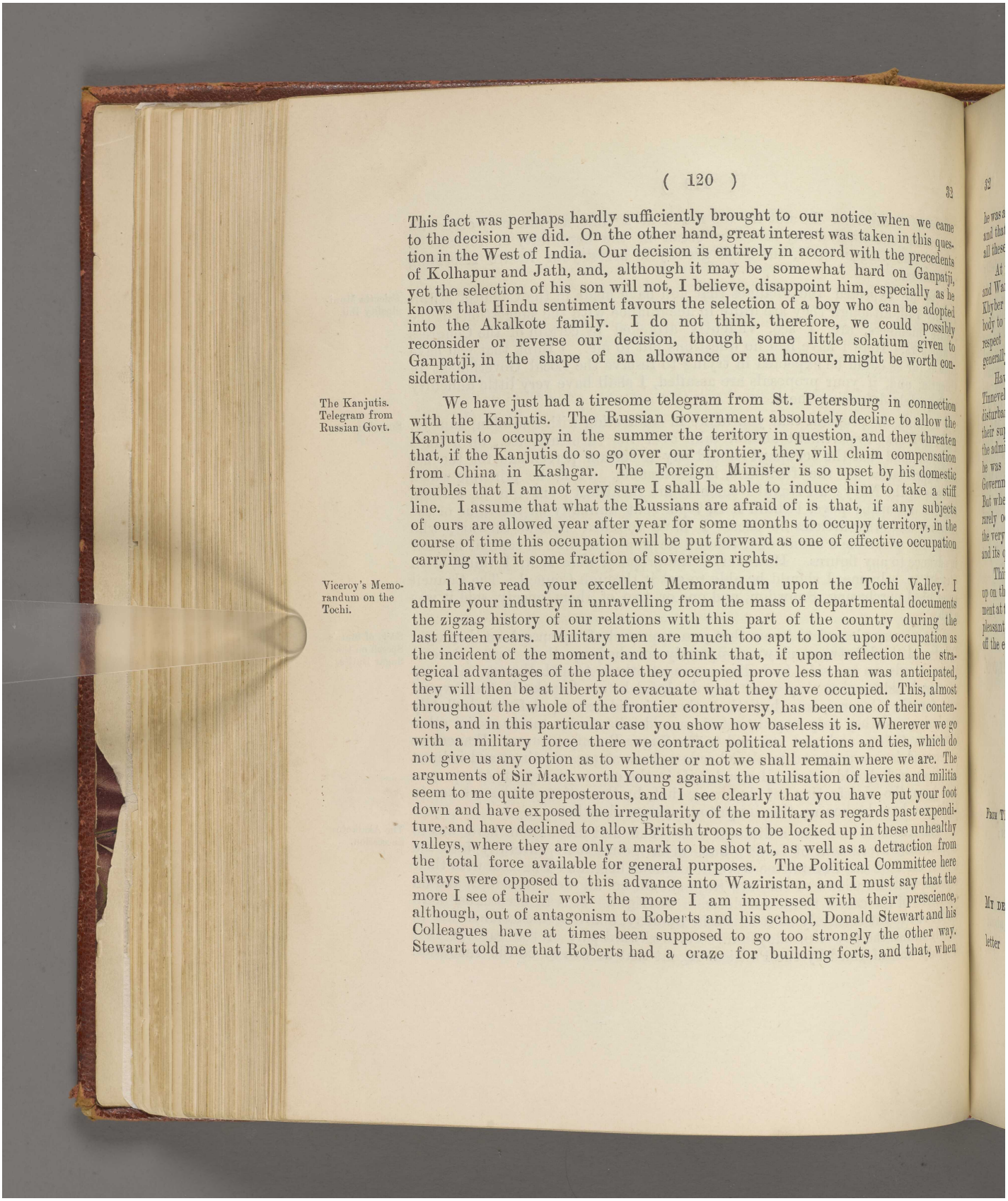

This fact was perhaps hardly sufficiently brought to our notice when we came to the decision we did. On the other hand, great interest was taken in this question in the West of India. Our decision is entirely in accord with the precedents of Kolhapur and Jath, and, although it may be somewhat hard on Ganpatji, yet the selection of his son will not, I believe, disappoint him, especially as he knows that Hindu sentiment favours the selection of a boy who can be adopted into the Akalkote family. I do not think, therefore, we could possibly reconsider or reverse our decision, though some little solatium given to Ganpatji, in the shape of an allowance or an honour, might be worth consideration.

The Kanjutis. Telegram from Russian Govt.

We have just had a tiresome telegram from St. Petersburg in connection with the Kanjutis. The Russian Government absolutely decline to allow the Kanjutis to occupy in the summer the teritory in question, and they threaten that, if the Kanjutis do so go over our frontier, they will claim compensation from China in Kashgar. The Foreign Minister is so upset by his domestic troubles that I am not very sure I shall be able to induce him to take a stiff line. I assume that what the Russians are afraid of is that, if any subjects of ours are allowed year after year for some months to occupy territory, in the course of time this occupation will be put forward as one of effective occupation carrying with it some fraction of sovereign rights.

Viceroy's Memorandum on the Tochi.

I have read your excellent Memorandum upon the Tochi Valley. I admire your industry in unravelling from the mass of departmental documents the zigzag history of our relations with this part of the country during the last fifteen years. Military men are much too apt to look upon occupation as the incident of the moment, and to think that, if upon reflection the strategical advantages of the place they occupied prove less than was anticipated, they will then be at liberty to evacuate what they have occupied. This, almost throughout the whole of the frontier controversy, has been one of their contentions, and in this particular case you show how baseless it is. Wherever we go with a military force there we contract political relations and ties, which do not give us any option as to whether or not we shall remain where we are. The arguments of Sir Mackworth Young against the utilisation of levies and militia seem to me quite preposterous, and I see clearly that you have put your foot down and have exposed the irregularity of the military as regards past expenditure, and have declined to allow British troops to be locked up in these unhealthy valleys, where they are only a mark to be shot at, as well as a detraction from the total force available for general purposes. The Political Committee here always were opposed to this advance into Waziristan, and I must say that the more I see of their work the more I am impressed with their prescience, although, out of antagonism to Roberts and his school, Donald Stewart and his Colleagues have at times been supposed to go too strongly the other way. Stewart told me that Roberts had a craze for building forts, and that, when

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he was at Kabul, he covered the country round with things like martello towers; and that the first thing Stewart did when he was in command was to destroy all these useless outposts.

Viceroy's Frontier proposals.

At the last Council all your proposals relating to Samana, Kurram, Tochi, and Wana passed through, and I have very little doubt that next week the Khyber Rifle proposals will receive a similar assent. The Council is a curious body to work: they particularly dislike being hurried, and therefore in that respect I humour them. Though occasionally I may lose a few days, I generally contrive to get them to assent to what we want.

Tinnevelly riots.

Havelock in his letters to me quite admits that the subordinate officials in Tinnevelly and the neighbourhood were very slack in not either anticipating the disturbances, or, when they occurred, in not taking more prompt measures for their suppression. It is such a sleepy quiet place, that I can quite understand the administration there being behind the rest of India. Lord Lytton, when he was Viceroy, wrote one of the most amusing Minutes I ever read upon the Government of Madras. It was a little too sarcastic, and it had to be suppressed. But where the people are so easily governed, and where disturbances so very rarely occur, you can hardly expect the machinery of Government to be up to the very highest standard, and I daresay after all it accomplishes its objects; and its quiet apathetic ways are not disliked by those whom it rules.

Budget Statement.

Things are moving a little more rapidly in Parliament, and we hope to be up on the 10th. It is a great nuisance having to make a long Budget Statement at the end of the Session, when everyone is tired; and the task is not more pleasant when one does not feel, as I do, over well, for I have not yet shaken off the effects of the feverish attack of a few days back.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 32a.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
[? *July* 28*th*, 1899.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

Almost simultaneously with the receipt of the covering letter you sent me, enclosing Finlay's application, Robert Finlay, the

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Solicitor-General, came to see me, and pressed very hard his brother's claims. I did not hold out any hopes, beyond the vaguest generalities, as I was not pleased at his pertinacity. The Solicitor-General has done Yeoman's service the whole Session, and is, as you know, a first-rate fellow, but I am decidedly of opinion that his brother is not up to the standard of a Finance Minister; though it is possible we may ultimately be forced to take him, for other candidates who are available have all some drawback. Godley is writing to you, and reporting Cromer's opinion of Law. It is not favourable, and he has acted upon it, for he has persistently kept him out of the Egyptian Financial Department. Of all the men we have thought of, Mackay, assuming he would go, is incomparably the best, but he would lose so heavily by accepting the post, that it is very doubtful if he could be induced to accept it. He is a first-rate man of business. Of few words, he goes straight to his point, and he is an excellent judge of character and men. We are all impressed here with his ability and handiness, and you would find him invaluable in co-operating with you in improving the Departmental system, and in removing red tape bandages from private enterprise.

Budget Statement.

We are rapidly winding up the Session, and I am getting the dullest of speeches—the Indian budget—into shape: the general statement is so extraordinarily satisfactory as compared to the condition of things twelve months back, that I fear we must have some catastrophe hanging over our heads.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 32b.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
July 28th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Telegraphic communication with the Persian Gulf.

Many thanks for your letter of July 5th. I have made the communication which you asked me to make to the Foreign Office about the telegraphic communications in the region of the Persian Gulf.

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We are now awaiting your answer about this new place, Rijam, or Rujam, at which the French want to have their coal-sheds. I have no idea where it is, but I hope that you will not find it necessary to object, as, if it is so situated that we can properly agree, this tiresome business will at last, I suppose, be at an end. Muscat.

I think I ought to tell you that I have received two rather unfavourable opinions about Law, which I pass on to you for what they are worth, from Lord Cromer and from Welby. The former had no personal knowledge of him, but evidently had heard what very much displeased him, and had absolutely refused to have him in Egypt. He confessed, however, that he might have been prejudiced by the fact that Law's brother, who is a Judge in Egypt, is a very objectionable person, and a Fenian. His impression about Law was that he was very quarrelsome and difficult to get on with. Mr. Dawkins' successor. Sir E. Law.

Welby, on the other hand, had had some experience of Law's work when he was at the Treasury, and did not rate him highly: he said that he thought he was "the kind of man who would write you a report to order;" clever, but nothing more. Probably his opinion was more or less unconsciously a reflection of E. Hamilton's view, which you already know.

I feel bound to let you know these things, as the matter is such an important one to you personally. In my last letter, I remember, I said that I was quite inclined to accept your impressions about Law, and so I am still, though these things rather shake me.

It seems almost incredible to me that the Currency Despatch actually goes by this mail, and that the great step is at last to be taken. What has become of the Bimetallists? Last year one could hardly hear one's self speak, such was their noise: now, all is silent.

I hope that you find Gardiner a good Colleague, and are getting on with your Public Works reforms. I have heard little about them since he went out. Col. R. Gardiner.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 33.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
August 3rd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your last letter found us still sweltering here in tropical heat: London is getting thoroughly baked through. The nights are

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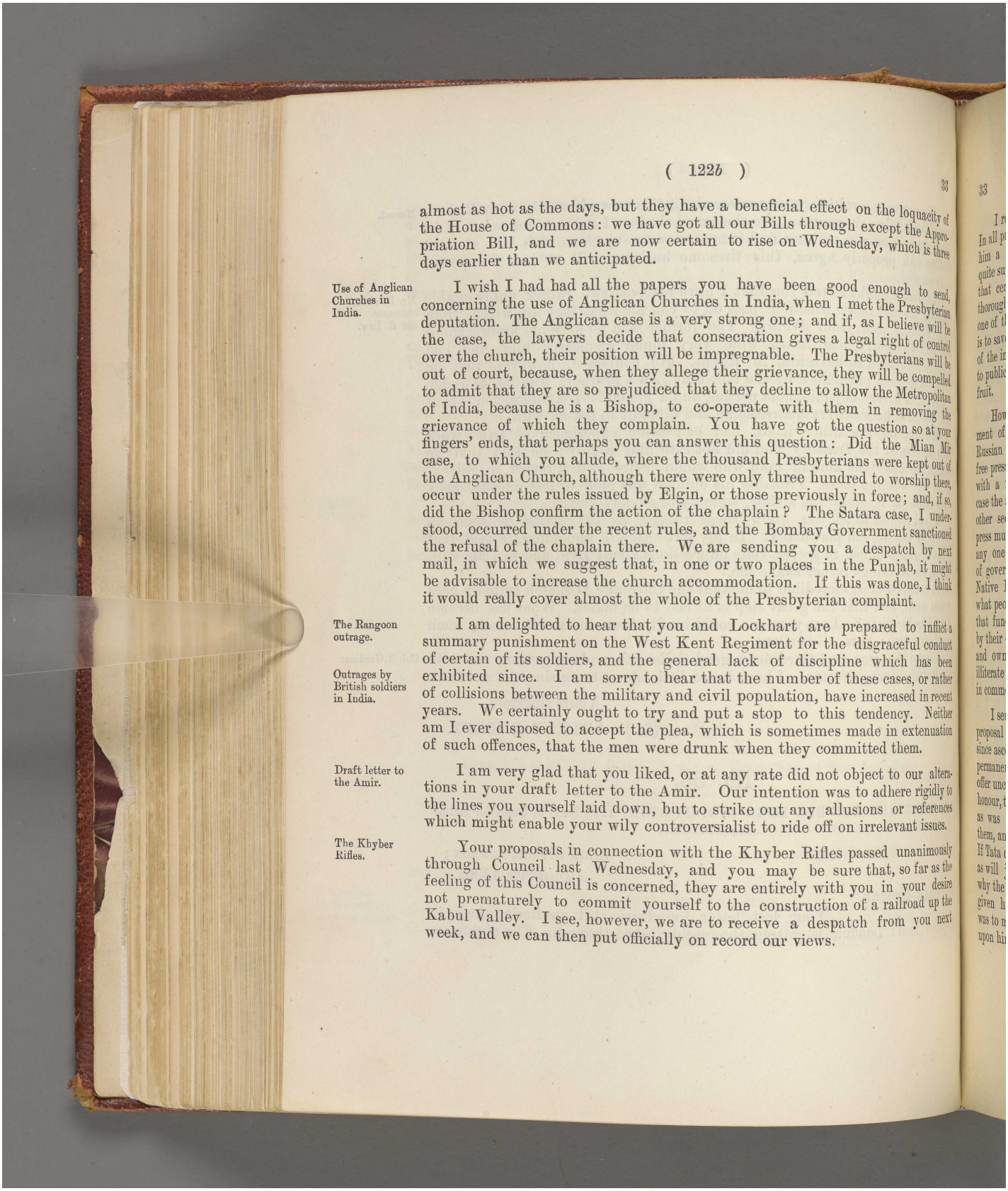

almost as hot as the days, but they have a beneficial effect on the loquacity of the House of Commons: we have got all our Bills through except the Appropriation Bill, and we are now certain to rise on Wednesday, which is three days earlier than we anticipated.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

I wish I had had all the papers you have been good enough to send, concerning the use of Anglican Churches in India, when I met the Presbyterian deputation. The Anglican case is a very strong one; and if, as I believe will be the case, the lawyers decide that consecration gives a legal right of control over the church, their position will be impregnable. The Presbyterians will be out of court, because, when they allege their grievance, they will be compelled to admit that they are so prejudiced that they decline to allow the Metropolitan of India, because he is a Bishop, to co-operate with them in removing the grievance of which they complain. You have got the question so at your fingers' ends, that perhaps you can answer this question: Did the Mian Mir case, to which you allude, where the thousand Presbyterians were kept out of the Anglican Church, although there were only three hundred to worship there, occur under the rules issued by Elgin, or those previously in force; and, if so, did the Bishop confirm the action of the chaplain? The Satara case, I understood, occurred under the recent rules, and the Bombay Government sanctioned the refusal of the chaplain there. We are sending you a despatch by next mail, in which we suggest that, in one or two places in the Punjab, it might be advisable to increase the church accommodation. If this was done, I think it would really cover almost the whole of the Presbyterian complaint.

The Rangoon outrage.

Outrages by British soldiers in India.

I am delighted to hear that you and Lockhart are prepared to inflict a summary punishment on the West Kent Regiment for the disgraceful conduct of certain of its soldiers, and the general lack of discipline which has been exhibited since. I am sorry to hear that the number of these cases, or rather of collisions between the military and civil population, have increased in recent years. We certainly ought to try and put a stop to this tendency. Neither am I ever disposed to accept the plea, which is sometimes made in extenuation of such offences, that the men were drunk when they committed them.

Draft letter to the Amir.

I am very glad that you liked, or at any rate did not object to our alterations in your draft letter to the Amir. Our intention was to adhere rigidly to the lines you yourself laid down, but to strike out any allusions or references which might enable your wily controversialist to ride off on irrelevant issues.

The Khyber Rifles.

Your proposals in connection with the Khyber Rifles passed unanimously through Council last Wednesday, and you may be sure that, so far as the feeling of this Council is concerned, they are entirely with you in your desire not prematurely to commit yourself to the construction of a railroad up the Kabul Valley. I see, however, we are to receive a despatch from you next week, and we can then put officially on record our views.

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I read with great amusement your jobation to the Gaekwar of Baroda. In all probability he has never been so spoken to in his life, and it will do him a great deal of good. I have never been in the East myself, but I am quite sure nothing more disconcerts an Eastern than suddenly to be aware that certain acts and practices, which he wished to keep in the dark, are thoroughly known to the head of the British Government. I believe that one of the objects of the Native Princes in subscribing to the Congress party is to save themselves from attack. The very clear intimation you gave to him of the impropriety of subscribing money to persons, in order to enable them to publicly develop their hostility to the British Government, will bear good fruit.

The Viceroy's interview with the Gaekwar of Baroda.

How difficult it is to combine the working of a free press with the establishment of autocratic rule! I am beginning now to see how it is that the Russian and other similarly circumstanced Governments decline to permit a free press; and I think they are right. A free press really is only compatible with a representative system and party Government tacked on to it. In that case the attacks of one sect of newspapers is counteracted by the replies of the other sect. But with an autocratic Government the whole tendency of the press must be to attack not a political party, or the Government associated with any one particular sect of politics, but to run amuck to the very foundations of government, of order and of authority. Elgin used always to say that the Native Press in India were useful to him in giving him some indication of what people were thinking about. They do not seem to me to perform even that function, because, although they may poison the minds of the uneducated by their constant attacks upon British rule, yet those who write these articles and own the papers are, by their training and education, so removed from the illiterate dumb masses of India that they seem to me to have little or nothing in common.

Dangers of a free press in India.

I sent you, in one of my previous letters, the papers relating to the proposal of Mr. Tata, and the Minutes of various Members of Council. I have since ascertained that they are very strongly opposed to any proposals for the permanent endowment of the family, and that, even if Tata were to make his offer unconditionally, and subsequently were given a baronetcy or some such honour, they might then object to the family property being put in settlement, as was done in the case of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy. I do not agree with them, and there is little doubt that I should have power to overrule them. If Tata does make such munificent donations for the endowment of education as will justify us in conferring upon him a hereditary honour, I cannot see why the precedent I have alluded to may not be applied to associate the title given him with the permanent settlement of his property. Assuming Tata was to make any such proposals, and you had any idea of ultimately conferring upon him a distinction with the right of associating any settlement of his

Mr. Tata's University and Family Endowment schemes.

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property to support that title, it would be well to give me some warning, so that I might make my preparations here for overcoming the opposition I should have to face. I should be sorry to lose the endowment suggested, which comes at an opportune moment, and fits well in with your idea of trying to develop the technical and utilitarian side of education.

Hunza and Raskam.

The pretexts on which the Russians refuse to allow the Chinese to adhere to their bargain with the Mir of Hunza are most frivolous; but I do not quite see how we are to get over them. Both in Persia and in China a threat from the Russian Government has more effect than any demonstration or menace that we can use; and, when it comes to bluff, I do not see how we are to counteract this superiority, which increases as time goes on, and as the Russians consolidate and augment their territorial annexations. In this case they have deliberately upset an arrangement that was absolutely harmless as far as we are concerned, and was beneficial to the Kanjutis. We have written to the Foreign Office to urge them to press upon the Russians that we have not the slightest intention of setting any claim up to territorial rights outside the boundary agreed upon, and urging them under these conditions to assent to the continuation of what the Kanjutis have been accustomed to. I am not very sanguine as to what the result of our appeal will be.

Lady Salisbury.

I am sorry to say that reports of Lady Salisbury's health are bad. I go down every week to Deal, and I there come in contact with the local doctor who is attending her; and there is evidently a return of all the old abdominal symptoms. Her lungs are to a certain extent affected, and she is partially paralysed on one side. Putting all these cumulative ailments together, I think it is very doubtful if at her time of life, she being 74, a recovery is possible. Salisbury, though very plucky and apparently cheerful, feels very much the weight of this impending blow; and the difficulty, which as you know exists at ordinary times in inducing the Foreign Office to take a stiff line, is very much increased by this temporary trouble.

Russian Consulate at Bombay.

As regards the Consul at Bombay I own I think that we are so far out of court. The best thing we can do is to assent to it, but at the same time I think there is force in your argument that the Russians have put themselves outside the best favoured nation clause by the differential treatment they accord to Indian goods, and I think that if we, as an act of grace in consequence of the half assurances which were given before, permit a Consul at Bombay, we should clearly intimate to the Russian Government that they have put themselves outside the best favoured nation clause, and that, so long as they choose to infringe that clause by the differential treatment they apply to our goods, they cannot pretend that that clause gives them Consular rights in India. We cannot allow them to appeal to it as an argument in favour of their right to Consulates elsewhere.

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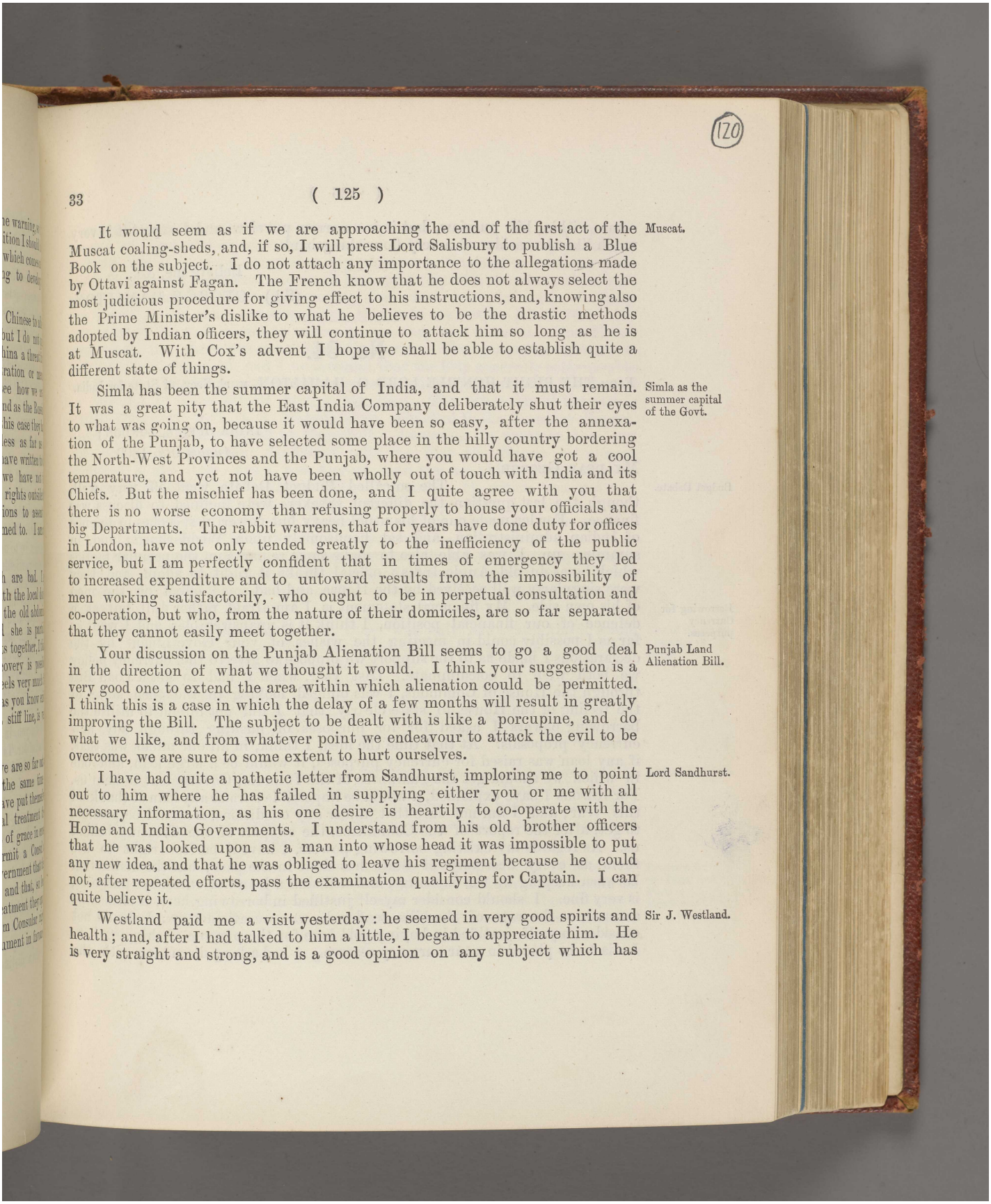

Muscat.

It would seem as if we are approaching the end of the first act of the Muscat coaling-sheds, and, if so, I will press Lord Salisbury to publish a Blue Book on the subject. I do not attach any importance to the allegations made by Ottavi against Fagan. The French know that he does not always select the most judicious procedure for giving effect to his instructions, and, knowing also the Prime Minister's dislike to what he believes to be the drastic methods adopted by Indian officers, they will continue to attack him so long as he is at Muscat. With Cox's advent I hope we shall be able to establish quite a different state of things.

Simla as the summer capital of the Govt.

Simla has been the summer capital of India, and that it must remain. It was a great pity that the East India Company deliberately shut their eyes to what was going on, because it would have been so easy, after the annexation of the Punjab, to have selected some place in the hilly country bordering the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, where you would have got a cool temperature, and yet not have been wholly out of touch with India and its Chiefs. But the mischief has been done, and I quite agree with you that there is no worse economy than refusing properly to house your officials and big Departments. The rabbit warrens, that for years have done duty for offices in London, have not only tended greatly to the inefficiency of the public service, but I am perfectly confident that in times of emergency they led to increased expenditure and to untoward results from the impossibility of men working satisfactorily, who ought to be in perpetual consultation and co-operation, but who, from the nature of their domiciles, are so far separated that they cannot easily meet together.

Punjab Land Alienation Bill.

Your discussion on the Punjab Alienation Bill seems to go a good deal in the direction of what we thought it would. I think your suggestion is a very good one to extend the area within which alienation could be permitted. I think this is a case in which the delay of a few months will result in greatly improving the Bill. The subject to be dealt with is like a porcupine, and do what we like, and from whatever point we endeavour to attack the evil to be overcome, we are sure to some extent to hurt ourselves.

Lord Sandhurst.

I have had quite a pathetic letter from Sandhurst, imploring me to point out to him where he has failed in supplying either you or me with all necessary information, as his one desire is heartily to co-operate with the Home and Indian Governments. I understand from his old brother officers that he was looked upon as a man into whose head it was impossible to put any new idea, and that he was obliged to leave his regiment because he could not, after repeated efforts, pass the examination qualifying for Captain. I can quite believe it.

Sir J. Westland.

Westland paid me a visit yesterday: he seemed in very good spirits and health; and, after I had talked to him a little, I began to appreciate him. He is very straight and strong, and is a good opinion on any subject which has

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come within his purview, but it is a narrow purview, and I expect it is very much like the cashier of a very flourishing bank.

Believe me, &c.,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 34.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
August 9th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Budget Debate.

The so-called Budget Debate went off very well, though the last question the different speakers were inclined to discuss was finance. Fowler made one of his usual heavy but powerful speeches in defence of Indian administration, and sat handsomely upon Wedderburn; and, in summing up, I was able also to make some remarks on the peculiar tactics which he as an old Anglo-Indian official thinks it right to adopt, and they were singularly well received by the House, and had some effect on the men of his own side. My financial statement is, I am afraid, rather dull, but, as a defence of our financial position, I think it is unanswerable; and I went as far as I possibly could in meeting the wishes of your Government by the declarations I made as to the support we propose to give to the currency policy we both wish to consummate. Last year, when I had to get a Loan Bill through the House of Commons, I was obliged, looking to the then state of the feeling of the House, to state clearly that I did not intend to utilise the borrowing powers I asked for for purposes of pushing through any new currency proposals. At that time the idea, I think, in all our minds was that, if any loan was raised for currency purposes, it would be a large loan, and one in which we should get the guarantee of the Imperial Government to help us. For reasons I have explained, it would be impossible to raise any loan of that kind this year; and I am not sure that, under any conditions, it would be possible to get, after the report of the Committee, the support of the Treasury behind us. As regards my existing borrowing powers, I have a perfect right to use them as every Secretary of State has done in the past; but the distinction between keeping up the exchange, and utilising a loan for currency purposes, is very fine. I should consider myself justified in borrowing here, if either the amount, or the rate of the bills tendered, was unsatisfactory: I should not consider myself justified in buying gold here for the purpose of shipping it to India to be placed in your currency reserve. I had a long discussion with the

Borrowing for Currency purposes.

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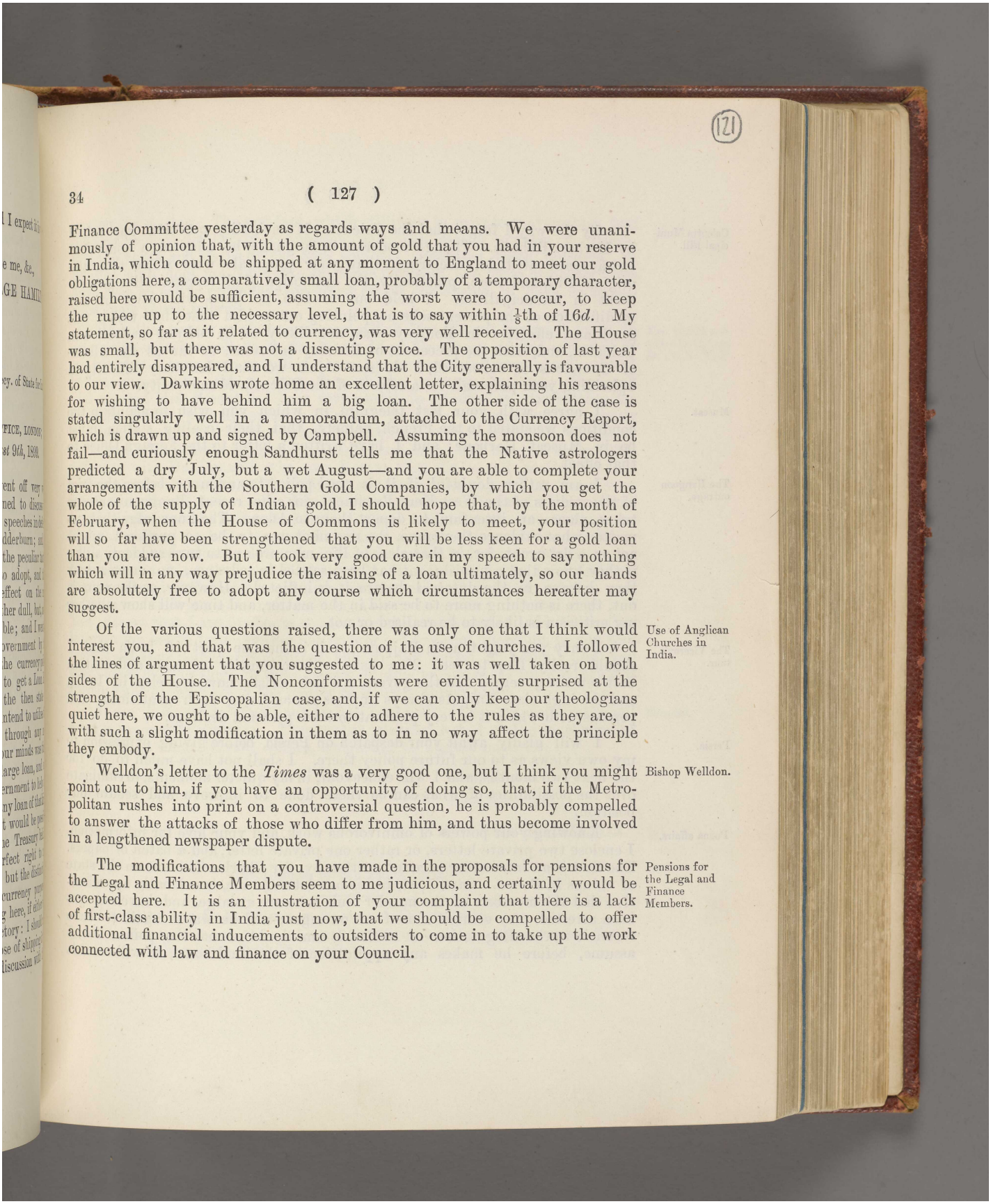

Finance Committee yesterday as regards ways and means. We were unanimously of opinion that, with the amount of gold that you had in your reserve in India, which could be shipped at any moment to England to meet our gold obligations here, a comparatively small loan, probably of a temporary character, raised here would be sufficient, assuming the worst were to occur, to keep the rupee up to the necessary level, that is to say within $\frac{1}{8}$th of 16*d*. My statement, so far as it related to currency, was very well received. The House was small, but there was not a dissenting voice. The opposition of last year had entirely disappeared, and I understand that the City generally is favourable to our view. Dawkins wrote home an excellent letter, explaining his reasons for wishing to have behind him a big loan. The other side of the case is stated singularly well in a memorandum, attached to the Currency Report, which is drawn up and signed by Campbell. Assuming the monsoon does not fail—and curiously enough Sandhurst tells me that the Native astrologers predicted a dry July, but a wet August—and you are able to complete your arrangements with the Southern Gold Companies, by which you get the whole of the supply of Indian gold, I should hope that, by the month of February, when the House of Commons is likely to meet, your position will so far have been strengthened that you will be less keen for a gold loan than you are now. But I took very good care in my speech to say nothing which will in any way prejudice the raising of a loan ultimately, so our hands are absolutely free to adopt any course which circumstances hereafter may suggest.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

Of the various questions raised, there was only one that I think would interest you, and that was the question of the use of churches. I followed the lines of argument that you suggested to me: it was well taken on both sides of the House. The Nonconformists were evidently surprised at the strength of the Episcopalian case, and, if we can only keep our theologians quiet here, we ought to be able, either to adhere to the rules as they are, or with such a slight modification in them as to in no way affect the principle they embody.

Bishop Welldon.

Welldon's letter to the *Times* was a very good one, but I think you might point out to him, if you have an opportunity of doing so, that, if the Metropolitan rushes into print on a controversial question, he is probably compelled to answer the attacks of those who differ from him, and thus become involved in a lengthened newspaper dispute.

Pensions for the Legal and Finance Members.

The modifications that you have made in the proposals for pensions for the Legal and Finance Members seem to me judicious, and certainly would be accepted here. It is an illustration of your complaint that there is a lack of first-class ability in India just now, that we should be compelled to offer additional financial inducements to outsiders to come in to take up the work connected with law and finance on your Council.

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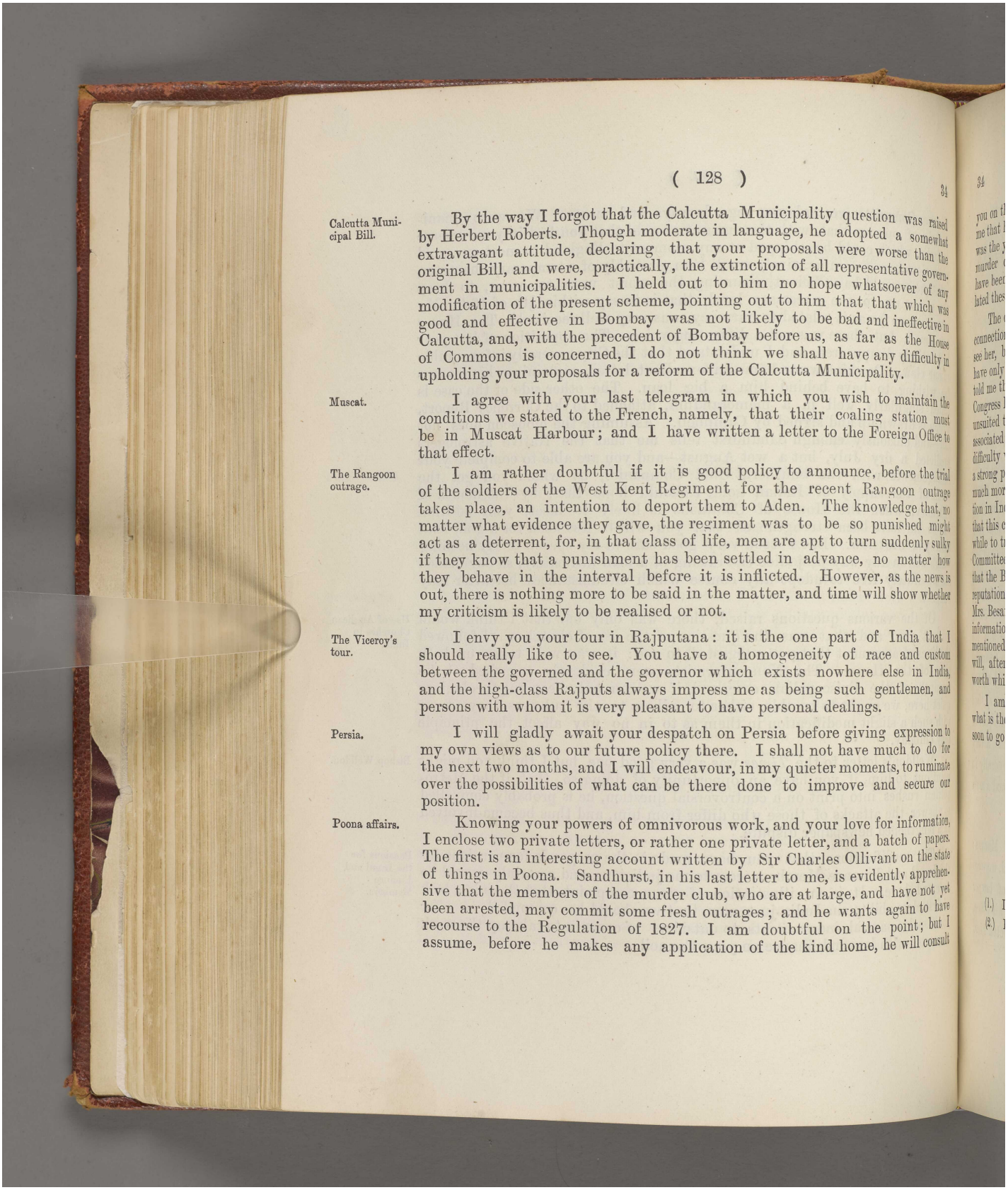

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

By the way I forgot that the Calcutta Municipality question was raised by Herbert Roberts. Though moderate in language, he adopted a somewhat extravagant attitude, declaring that your proposals were worse than the original Bill, and were, practically, the extinction of all representative government in municipalities. I held out to him no hope whatsoever of any modification of the present scheme, pointing out to him that that which was good and effective in Bombay was not likely to be bad and ineffective in Calcutta, and, with the precedent of Bombay before us, as far as the House of Commons is concerned, I do not think we shall have any difficulty in upholding your proposals for a reform of the Calcutta Municipality.

Muscat.

I agree with your last telegram in which you wish to maintain the conditions we stated to the French, namely, that their coaling station must be in Muscat Harbour; and I have written a letter to the Foreign Office to that effect.

The Rangoon outrage.

I am rather doubtful if it is good policy to announce, before the trial of the soldiers of the West Kent Regiment for the recent Rangoon outrage takes place, an intention to deport them to Aden. The knowledge that, no matter what evidence they gave, the regiment was to be so punished might act as a deterrent, for, in that class of life, men are apt to turn suddenly sulky if they know that a punishment has been settled in advance, no matter how they behave in the interval before it is inflicted. However, as the news is out, there is nothing more to be said in the matter, and time will show whether my criticism is likely to be realised or not.

The Viceroy's tour.

I envy you your tour in Rajputana: it is the one part of India that I should really like to see. You have a homogeneity of race and custom between the governed and the governor which exists nowhere else in India, and the high-class Rajputs always impress me as being such gentlemen, and persons with whom it is very pleasant to have personal dealings.

Persia.

I will gladly await your despatch on Persia before giving expression to my own views as to our future policy there. I shall not have much to do for the next two months, and I will endeavour, in my quieter moments, to ruminate over the possibilities of what can be there done to improve and secure our position.

Poona affairs.

Knowing your powers of omnivorous work, and your love for information, I enclose two private letters, or rather one private letter, and a batch of papers. The first is an interesting account written by Sir Charles Ollivant on the state of things in Poona. Sandhurst, in his last letter to me, is evidently apprehensive that the members of the murder club, who are at large, and have not yet been arrested, may commit some fresh outrages; and he wants again to have recourse to the Regulation of 1827. I am doubtful on the point; but I assume, before he makes any application of the kind home, he will consult

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you on the matter. The one fact, which Ollivant in private conversation told me that he most disliked in connection with the recent outrages in Poona, was the youth and status of the boys who had committed these murders. A murder club does not come into existence of itself, and there evidently must have been an active propagandism going on for some time to have so inoculated these young fellows.

Mrs. Besant and a Hindoo College for the N.-W. P.

The other papers relate to a request which Mrs. Besant has made to me, in connection with her college in the North-West Provinces. I had intended to see her, but I have been so pulled down by my recent influenza attack, that I have only just been able to drag through the ordinary business. Havelock told me that Mrs. Besant had been very useful in Madras in combatting the Congress leaders, and denouncing Western methods of agitation as wholly unsuited to India, and endeavouring to establish a system of modern education associated with definite religious and moral training. She has had some little difficulty with MacDonnell, who, as a Roman Catholic, in all probability has a strong personal dislike to Mrs. Besant and her philosophy. You know very much more than I do as to the demerits of the present system of higher education in India, and the evils which it is likely to lead to, and it seems to me that this college might be a useful antidote, and if so, it would be worth our while to try and smoothe down the difficulties which have occurred between the Committee of this college and Sir Antony MacDonnell. Charles Lyall tells me that the Board of Trustees is composed in the main of men of position and reputation: that you of course will be able to ascertain. I have only told Mrs. Besant that I am unable to see her, but that I will send to India for further information before I can give her any answer. I have not, therefore, in any way mentioned your name, or committed you to any course of action; and you will, after looking through these papers, be able to judge as to whether it is worth while to interfere in the matter or to leave things alone.

Personal.

I am just off to Deal, not feeling very well. I cannot quite make out what is the matter with me. I am rather alarmed lest I should be compelled soon to go to some German waters, which will be a great nuisance.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

(1.) Letter from Sir C. Ollivant on the state of affairs in Poona.

(2.) Papers relating to a request by Mrs. Besant in connection with a proposed Hindoo College in the North-Western Provinces.

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No. 34a.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
August 10*th*, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

When you wrote on the 19th July, you had not got Cromer's opinion about Law. At first he was strong in his denunciation of his temper; later on he modified his criticisms. I should be entirely guided by you, for you will have to work with your Finance Minister, and control and manage him. If you are still satisfied with Law, I will at once approach him. Mackay is the man I should myself personally prefer, but the opinion of the two persons I confidentially consulted is that his business will scarcely allow him to go out of England. We have good accounts of another outsider, Sir George O'Brien, Governor of Fiji. The Colonial Office report him as being the ablest man in their service, with special aptitude for finance. He was for years Treasurer and Auditor-General of Ceylon, and he also had a financial position in Hongkong. Godley thinks well of him. Finlay I put out of the running: he is just equal to the performance of the duties of Secretary, but is evidently lacking in all the qualities required, over and above, for the post of Finance Minister. Westland, whom I saw for a few minutes, has a very high opinion of Bisset's capacity, with whom he had worked, but generally in an opposing sense, and thought him, assuming outsiders failed, as good a man in the Indian Services as you could get.

Chief Justiceship of Madras.

Rawlinson, as you now know, refused the Chief Justiceship of Madras: whether his business was too good here, or domestic reasons intervened, we were unable to ascertain, but I was sorry to lose him, as he is the type of lawyer we want, and would have well maintained the honour and dignity of his office. Arnold White was the best of the other available candidates, so I selected him.

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Sandhurst is perturbed at the political intrigue and fermentation in Poona, and his Police officials want him to use the Regulation of 1827, or fresh coercive powers, to deal with the suspected members of the Murder Club that are at large. I told him that the Regulation of 1827 was not intended to be used as a supplement to the ordinary Criminal law, but should only be applied to those political cases where individuals, by intrigue or otherwise, were a menace to public tranquillity, and whose offences were not such as could be made amenable to ordinary processes of law. I added that, if he wanted fresh coercive powers, he must establish both to you and me a strong proof of the inadequacy of his present powers. Sedition in Poona.

By the bye, you telegraphed to the Fergusson College, congratulating them on the success of the former graduate in the mathematical competition for Senior Wranglership. Here we look upon that institution as the mainspring of the political conspiracies in Poona, and this idea has received some confirmation from outside. Bhownaggree had got some wealthy Parsees and other native gentlemen to subscribe to a fund for running loyal Native papers; but, after they read your congratulatory message, they withdrew, saying that the College was the most dangerous and seditious institution in India. I give you this for what it is worth. Viceroy's congratulations to the Fergusson College.

The native astrologers in Bombay predicted a dry July and wet August: I wonder on what their accuracy is based; they cannot get their information by intuition, or from the stars. I assume that they have some meteorological training and knowledge. The Monsoon.

I am obliged to lead a quasi-invalid existence for a few days; the influenza has slightly congested one of my lungs, which is a horrible nuisance, coming at the beginning of one's holiday. Personal.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 35.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
August 11*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I have to thank you for your letter of July 12th, which I did not acknowledge last week.

Draft letter to the Amir.

I am glad that you are satisfied with the letter to the Amir, as revised and altered here. Like you, I regretted the passage about the bleaching bones, and others, too, which were of a picturesque nature: but the revisers were in a prudent mood, and I suppose must be assumed to have known the probable effect of such passages upon the astute savage for whom they were intended. His reply will be awaited, to say the least of it, with interest.

Proposed Eurasian Regiment.

I telegraphed to you (privately) about the Eurasian regiment proposal. The natural man in me is inclined to take the view of the Military authorities, who say, "if we are to pay for a regiment, let us pay for one that can fight." But I can quite understand the policy of squandering some money on satisfying the military aspirations of these patriotic hybrids; and I keep an open mind.

Presence of the Commander-in-Chief in Council.

As to the question about making, or not making, the Commander-in-Chief a Member of Council, I quite appreciate the position of affairs which you describe, though I do not think I did so until I had read your description. You end without giving an opinion one way or the other: on the other hand, our authorities here, who have, many of them, been Members of the Viceroy's Council, and, one of them, a Commander-in-Chief, are strong in favour of the change, and I confess that I am impressed by the weight of their knowledge and experience, and by the strength of their opinions.

Status of the Bombay and Madras Governments.

I am, and long have been, satisfied that Bombay and Madras ought to be put on the same footing as the other Provinces; but I am sorry to say that I see very little prospect of the change which you suggest. All sorts of prejudices and interests stand in the way. But, so far as our Council are concerned, I believe they would jump at it: the two Governors are, in their official capacitiy, red rags to them.

Lord Sandhurst's successor.

As it is, I fear we shall not get the ideal man for Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

Budget Debate.

P. S.—I think you have good reason to be satisfied with the discussion on the financial statement; and I hope that the words used by Lord George

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Hamilton will produce the desired impression as to the Currency policy of Her Majesty's Government. Wedderburn got what he deserved, and the whole thing may be considered to have gone off very well, though I believe it was dull to listen to.

I have written to Dawkins, briefly, what I had to say about the candidates for the Finance Membership, and I shall not repeat it here. I suppose we shall soon hear what is your view about Mackay—if he will take it, but I am afraid he won't. Mr. Dawkins' successor.

No. 36.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

DEAL CASTLE;

August 17*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your last letter came to me whilst at my new marine residence (which is to me a delightful new plaything), where I am rapidly picking up after the Session. The influenza had congested one of my lungs, and my old family doctor being deaf never found this out. It is a hard thing to kill a healthy person, but my old adviser did his best. Personal.

Our correspondence keeps opening out like a fan. I will, however, deal very briefly with some of the current topics it refers to.

We sent you a despatch suggesting that where a Presbyterian garrison or regiment is likely to be permanently stationed, a church might be built and handed over to that denomination. I believe there are two or more such quarters to be found in Upper India. This suggestion is Machiavellian. If they accept this offer, they upset their contention that all churches built by Government should be open to all Protestant denominations; if they decline the offer they reject the redress of the grievance they advance. The lawyers, I hear, have decided that consecration gives to the consecrating authority legal power as to the future use of the church. This makes our position stronger than ever. I will think over the procedure to be adopted for bringing the Presbyterians round to a sensible frame of mind; it will not be very easy, but you have given me such good material that I ought to be able to do it without modifying in any degree the principles your Government has laid down. Proposal to build churches for Presbyterians. Use of Anglican Churches in India.

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Foreign Office policy.

Your old Department is very difficult to deal with. The policy there pursued is a hand to mouth one, regulated by expediency and the incidents of the moment. No clear and definite aims are before them, except it be to keep the peace. The position, reputation, and intellectual subtlety of its chief make it possible for him to carry on this form of diplomacy with an authority and apparent success that a lesser man could not attempt.

Muscat.

The Muscat Agreement of 1891 was forced on the Indian Government by the Foreign Office, but in the recent negotiations with France, it is the one document they will give the go-bye to. The Foreign Office have been all smiles to Cambon up to a certain point; it was that tiresome and recalcitrant Indian Government that was the difficulty. Cambon is now, I am told, very angry; he feels that he has been tricked and not treated straightforwardly. I have, for a long time past, been strongly of opinion that, in differences with France and Germany, we should put our foot down firmly; we can hit them so much harder than they can us that they will not provoke a war. But other ideas carry the day, with the result that we (are) not trusted either as an ally, friend, or opponent.

Lady Salisbury cannot indefinitely prolong her fight against the multiplication of diseases with which she has to contend; this makes it harder than ever to infuse fighting powder into our policy, but I believe that there is no likelihood of Cambon's last proposals being accepted. Delcassé used recently very strong language to Monson about Muscat, but Salisbury thinks he is trying to get together some material for a patriotic display before the Chamber when it meets. The Government are very shaky.

Irregularities of the Mily. Dept. in India.

You are grumbling about the irregularities of the Military Department in India, but wherever there exists a British War Office, there will be irregularities, and, to a certain extent, inefficiency. You are far better off than we are here; but that is no reason why you should relax your laudable efforts to improve your military system. I am no believer in soldiers as administrators. Individually they do very well in isolated posts; collectively they seem to be dominated by the views of the least wise, and unless civilian experience, or outside common sense, is brought in they cannot be induced to look at expenditure as a fund from which the best possible results should be derived. But, at any rate, your system is fairly effective; ours is most extravagant and absurdly effete.

The British War Office.

The last move of the War Office is that, in the event of hostilities with the Transvaal, they require no troops from India. This is in the teeth of their previous requests, and, so far as I can judge, wholly unsupported by any valid reasons. Their own powers of mobilization are so slow that it will be months before they will have a sufficient force in South Africa. You can put two or three Brigades into Natal within five weeks, and I really believe that it is the contrast between your rapidity and their

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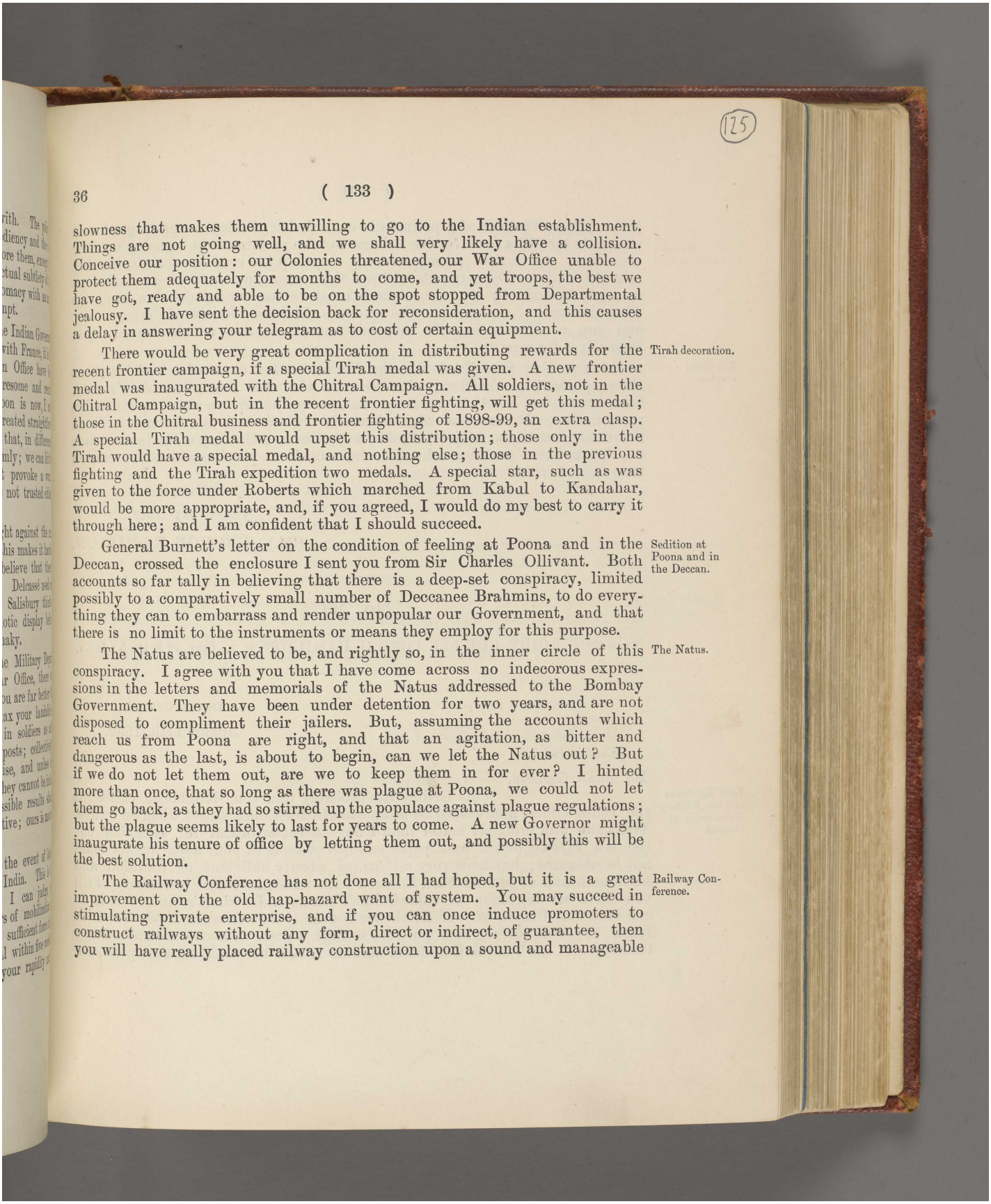

slowness that makes them unwilling to go to the Indian establishment. Things are not going well, and we shall very likely have a collision. Conceive our position: our Colonies threatened, our War Office unable to protect them adequately for months to come, and yet troops, the best we have got, ready and able to be on the spot stopped from Departmental jealousy. I have sent the decision back for reconsideration, and this causes a delay in answering your telegram as to cost of certain equipment.

Tirah decoration.

There would be very great complication in distributing rewards for the recent frontier campaign, if a special Tirah medal was given. A new frontier medal was inaugurated with the Chitral Campaign. All soldiers, not in the Chitral Campaign, but in the recent frontier fighting, will get this medal; those in the Chitral business and frontier fighting of 1898-99, an extra clasp. A special Tirah medal would upset this distribution; those only in the Tirah would have a special medal, and nothing else; those in the previous fighting and the Tirah expedition two medals. A special star, such as was given to the force under Roberts which marched from Kabul to Kandahar, would be more appropriate, and, if you agreed, I would do my best to carry it through here; and I am confident that I should succeed.

Sedition at Poona and in the Deccan.

General Burnett's letter on the condition of feeling at Poona and in the Deccan, crossed the enclosure I sent you from Sir Charles Ollivant. Both accounts so far tally in believing that there is a deep-set conspiracy, limited possibly to a comparatively small number of Deccanee Brahmins, to do everything they can to embarrass and render unpopular our Government, and that there is no limit to the instruments or means they employ for this purpose.

The Natus.

The Natus are believed to be, and rightly so, in the inner circle of this conspiracy. I agree with you that I have come across no indecorous expressions in the letters and memorials of the Natus addressed to the Bombay Government. They have been under detention for two years, and are not disposed to compliment their jailers. But, assuming the accounts which reach us from Poona are right, and that an agitation, as bitter and dangerous as the last, is about to begin, can we let the Natus out? But if we do not let them out, are we to keep them in for ever? I hinted more than once, that so long as there was plague at Poona, we could not let them go back, as they had so stirred up the populace against plague regulations; but the plague seems likely to last for years to come. A new Governor might inaugurate his tenure of office by letting them out, and possibly this will be the best solution.

Railway Conference.

The Railway Conference has not done all I had hoped, but it is a great improvement on the old hap-hazard want of system. You may succeed in stimulating private enterprise, and if you can once induce promoters to construct railways without any form, direct or indirect, of guarantee, then you will have really placed railway construction upon a sound and manageable

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basis. I like the idea of a peripatetic commission; it may do great good and stimulate localities and Native Princes to take an interest in opening up their countries. As a rule promoters only draw up the crudest schemes, trusting that the Railway Departments will put them into shape. So long as railways can only be built by guarantee, there must be an annual decision to decide what the limit of charge upon the revenues shall be. Get rid of the guarantee, and you could sanction all the year round schemes which depend upon themselves for a return.

The Berar surplus.

I am glad you think that the Nizam has less cause of complaint about the surpluses from the Berars than seemed the case from Waterfield's note. Our annexation of that territory was, in my judgment, a very questionable performance. It was one of Dalhousie's high-handed annexations. When Salar Jung raised the subject, I had to wade through the very voluminous papers relating to it. I would much sooner have made a speech against the cession than in its favour.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 37.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE;
August 17th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Lord Kitchener and the Military Membership of Council.

As Godley has probably told you, Kitchener called at the India Office, and wished to be considered for Collen's post when he retires. You know him probably better than I do. A better broom for sweeping out the red tape cobwebs and paper rubbish of some of your departments could not be obtained; but he is very self-willed, utterly oblivious of tradition and sentiment, and unpopular with the men with whom he comes in contact. Still you have no big man to take Collen's place, or Lockhart's, and there is no one here that I know of. If Kitchener is ever to be Commander-in-Chief in India he ought, before he is put into so high a post, to have some preliminary training. If the Punjab Command became vacant he would fill that post well.

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Assuming that it was advisable to try Kitchener as Military Member, you would be prevented from making the experiment if you have Law and Raleigh on your Council, as two non-Indians is the statutory limitation upon that class serving on the Viceroy's Council. Of the financial Indians available there are only Bisset, Finlay, and Risley (Westland spoke very well of his financial aptitude). Mackay is not qualified by his commercial work in India, and I agree with you that his shipping connections are an insuperable bar to him as Finance Minister. I am sorry, because he is far the best man for the post I know. Bisset with Kitchener, Law without him, are the alternatives. In speaking of Bisset I said to Westland, "You might object to him as a Public Works man." "No," said Westland, "I do not. As Finance Minister he would fight hard for his department. I think very well of him; but Finlay would be desperately annoyed if he was appointed." I am absolutely at one with you about the Councillors saving their salaries by not entertaining. Example is contagious, and the late Viceroy's hospitality for other reasons was limited, but it has apparently set the fashion. If anyone is appointed from here, and qualified for a pension, I should speak to him just as you have done to your Councillors. Finance Membership.

I enclose a note containing certain information about the Nizam's interests here. I have noted recently the push of the Munshi and Rafi-ud-din Ahmed to be in the Court Circular, or at Palace entertainments. The Nizam of Hyderabad.

Thanks for your book of speeches. Your address to the sons of the Punjab Chiefs and nobility is delightful reading. My blood or temperament is too cold to be able to exhilarate others as you can: but then I am getting an old man, very nearly the father of the House of Commons. The Viceroy's speeches.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Note by Sir W. Lee-Warner, dated 9th August 1899.

While listening to the Debate on the Indian Budget on Tuesday, I was asked to see Mr. Lawder of Hyderabad, who told me this story. He said that he knew that the Nizam had remitted some lakhs of rupees to an agent, one Hormusjee N. Chinoy (I think this was the name), whose wife was now settling at Windsor to be near the wife of the Queen's Munshi. He said that Mr. Rafi-ud-din Ahmed was engaged in the intrigue, of which the object was to get the benefit of the Nizam's remittance, and pretend that it had been spent to secure influence at Court for His Highness. He added that he was sure of the facts. Mr. Chinoy's wife was an East Indian lady.

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No. 38.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE;
August 18*th*, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

The Viceroy's speeches.

Accept my best thanks for the first volume of your speeches: I have read two or three of them, for the second time, with pleasure and edification. They will be a valuable record of your reign. How many volumes are there to be?

This is a short letter, written just before I start for my holiday. But although I shall not be in this office for the next 5 or 6 weeks, I shall, for the greater part (nearly the whole) of that time be within 40 miles of London, receiving a daily pouch; so that our relations will not be interrupted, though I shall probably write rather less than usual.

Monsoon and crop prospects.

I wish I could congratulate you on some rain in the threatened districts: this is the subject which is now uppermost in my mind, as I suppose it is in yours. Your weekly telegram is due to-morrow, but I am afraid that if any good rain had fallen the newspapers would have anticipated you. But we have still a fortnight or so before us.

Lord Kitchener and the Military Membership of Council.

Lord George is, I believe, writing to you about Lord Kitchener and the Military Membership. His appearance at this Office was most unexpected and, I should suppose, very characteristic: he came in, like Dick, Tom, or Harry, and asked to see Onslow. Onslow had gone abroad: so his Private Secretary came forward to ask if he could be of use. Kitchener then said very openly that he had come as a candidate for the Military Membership of Council, and wanted to find out "whether he had any chance." The Private Secretary, rather taken aback, urged him to see me (I was in my room); but he would not, saying that as he did not know me personally he did not like to trouble me about a vacancy still so distant; and so he departed. He gave Hirtzel (the Private Secretary) the impression that he was very anxious to get the post; and said he should write about it later on.

Finance Member of Council.

It seems to come to this: that, if the door is to be left open for him, either Finlay or Bisset must be appointed Finance Member—no one else who is at all in the running has the necessary Indian qualification of 10 years' service

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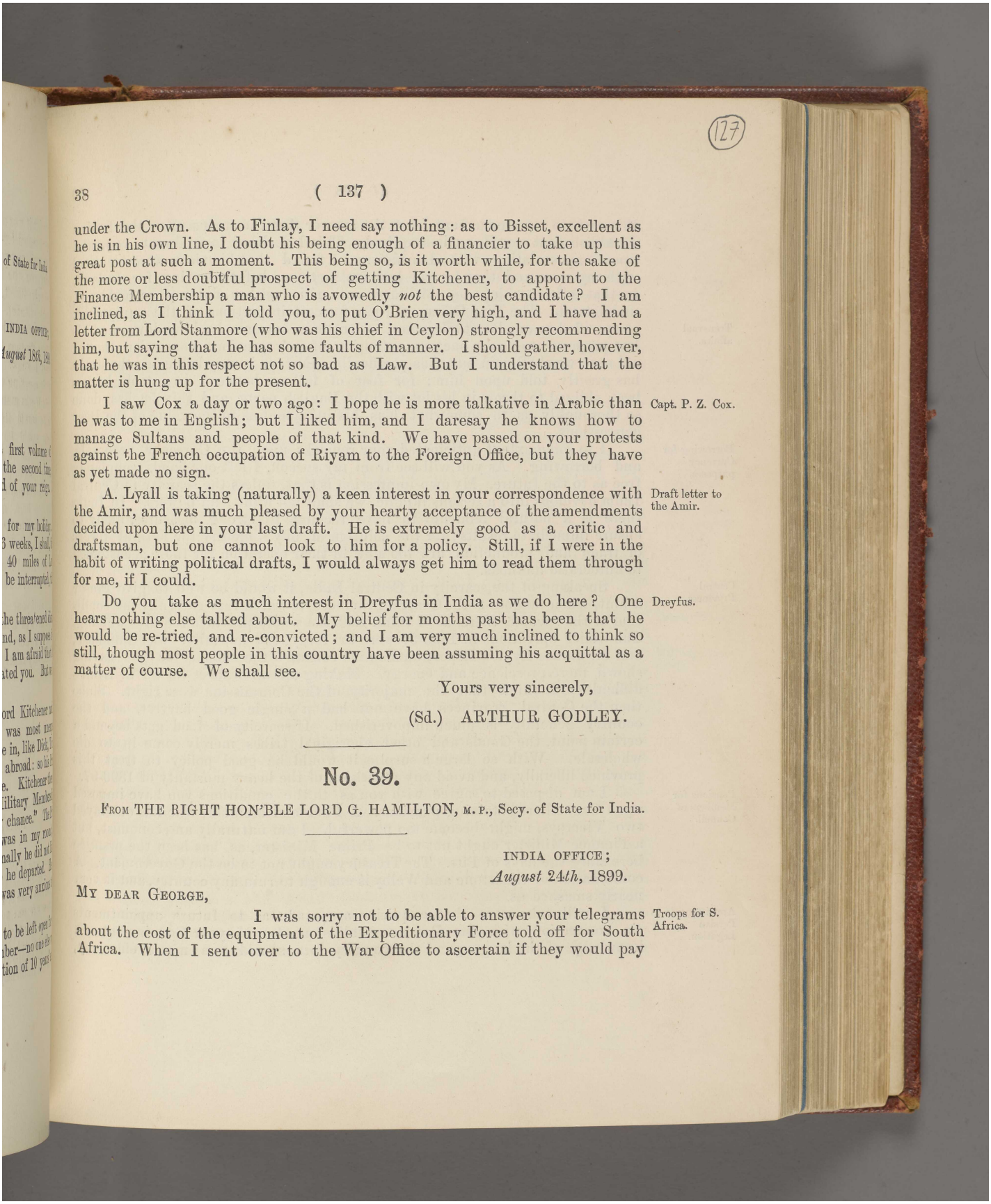

under the Crown. As to Finlay, I need say nothing: as to Bisset, excellent as he is in his own line, I doubt his being enough of a financier to take up this great post at such a moment. This being so, is it worth while, for the sake of the more or less doubtful prospect of getting Kitchener, to appoint to the Finance Membership a man who is avowedly *not* the best candidate? I am inclined, as I think I told you, to put O'Brien very high, and I have had a letter from Lord Stanmore (who was his chief in Ceylon) strongly recommending him, but saying that he has some faults of manner. I should gather, however, that he was in this respect not so bad as Law. But I understand that the matter is hung up for the present.

Capt. P. Z. Cox.

I saw Cox a day or two ago: I hope he is more talkative in Arabic than he was to me in English; but I liked him, and I daresay he knows how to manage Sultans and people of that kind. We have passed on your protests against the French occupation of Riyam to the Foreign Office, but they have as yet made no sign.

Draft letter to the Amir.

A. Lyall is taking (naturally) a keen interest in your correspondence with the Amir, and was much pleased by your hearty acceptance of the amendments decided upon here in your last draft. He is extremely good as a critic and draftsman, but one cannot look to him for a policy. Still, if I were in the habit of writing political drafts, I would always get him to read them through for me, if I could.

Dreyfus.

Do you take as much interest in Dreyfus in India as we do here? One hears nothing else talked about. My belief for months past has been that he would be re-tried, and re-convicted; and I am very much inclined to think so still, though most people in this country have been assuming his acquittal as a matter of course. We shall see.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 39.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE;
August 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Troops for S. Africa.

I was sorry not to be able to answer your telegrams about the cost of the equipment of the Expeditionary Force told off for South Africa. When I sent over to the War Office to ascertain if they would pay

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this cost, to my amazement I got the answer that the troops upon the Indian Establishment would not be required. This I declined to send on to you, and upon expostulating with Lansdowne, I found that his views were identical with my own, and that he had left instructions, before leaving for Ireland, to that effect, which the Military authorities either did not, or could not, understand. The War Office will pay for certain portions of the equipment, as specified in our latest telegrams. Kruger is, however, backing down, and his last proposals to us are such an extension of any previous concession that I am sure we shall gain our ends pacifically. Milner is very bellicose; the strain has greatly told upon him: for fear of falling between two stools, he has been obliged to throw in his lot with the English party, and this he has done so thoroughly as to somewhat bias his judgment as to the value of the Boer concessions.

Transvaal affairs.

Borrowing for Currency purposes.

I to some extent anticipated your remarks upon the Currency proposals, and borrowing. As you will see from my speech, I left our hands completely free as to the future. My own impression is that, unless the scarcity in Central India develops into a serious famine, we shall not want loan powers. In India there is a natural tendency to have recourse to strong measures, likely to ensure immediate results; for the solution of any difficulty the natural forces of trade and production are too slow in their operation for those accustomed to autocratic methods.

Central Provinces.

Speaking of the scarcity in Central India, it would be well to give Fraser a hint, when he goes to the Central Provinces, to watch very carefully the condition of the people there, as I think that the whole province requires nursing. The relief operations in 1896-97 were too tardy, the mortality was immense, and Sir James Lyall's Report on Famine censures the officials for not having shown more prescience and energy. Making all allowances for Sir C. Lyall's difficulties, I think that the majority of the Commission were right. Since then the Central Provinces have not had a single good harvest, and the country generally is much impoverished. If scarcity of food gets beyond a certain point, the Gonds and other aboriginal tribes merely come in to die wholesale. With so large a surplus it would be good policy to treat this province liberally, and avoid any repetition of the heavy mortality of 1896-97.

Pensions for Members of Council.

I am disposed to agree with you as to the conditions you have imposed upon Councillors obtaining pensions. A Financial Member, who has outstayed two Viceroys, might become too powerful. I am naturally an economist, but a Finance Minister ought not to be Prime Minister, as has been the practice here since the days of Pitt. The Treasury ought not to be the Government. A combination of Gladstone and Welby is enough to ruin any country, and it very nearly smashed us.

Appointments to Persian Legation.

I will take care that enquiries are made as to future appointments (in connection with the Persian establishments) of your Government. A knowledge of the language of the country does so add to a man's efficiency,

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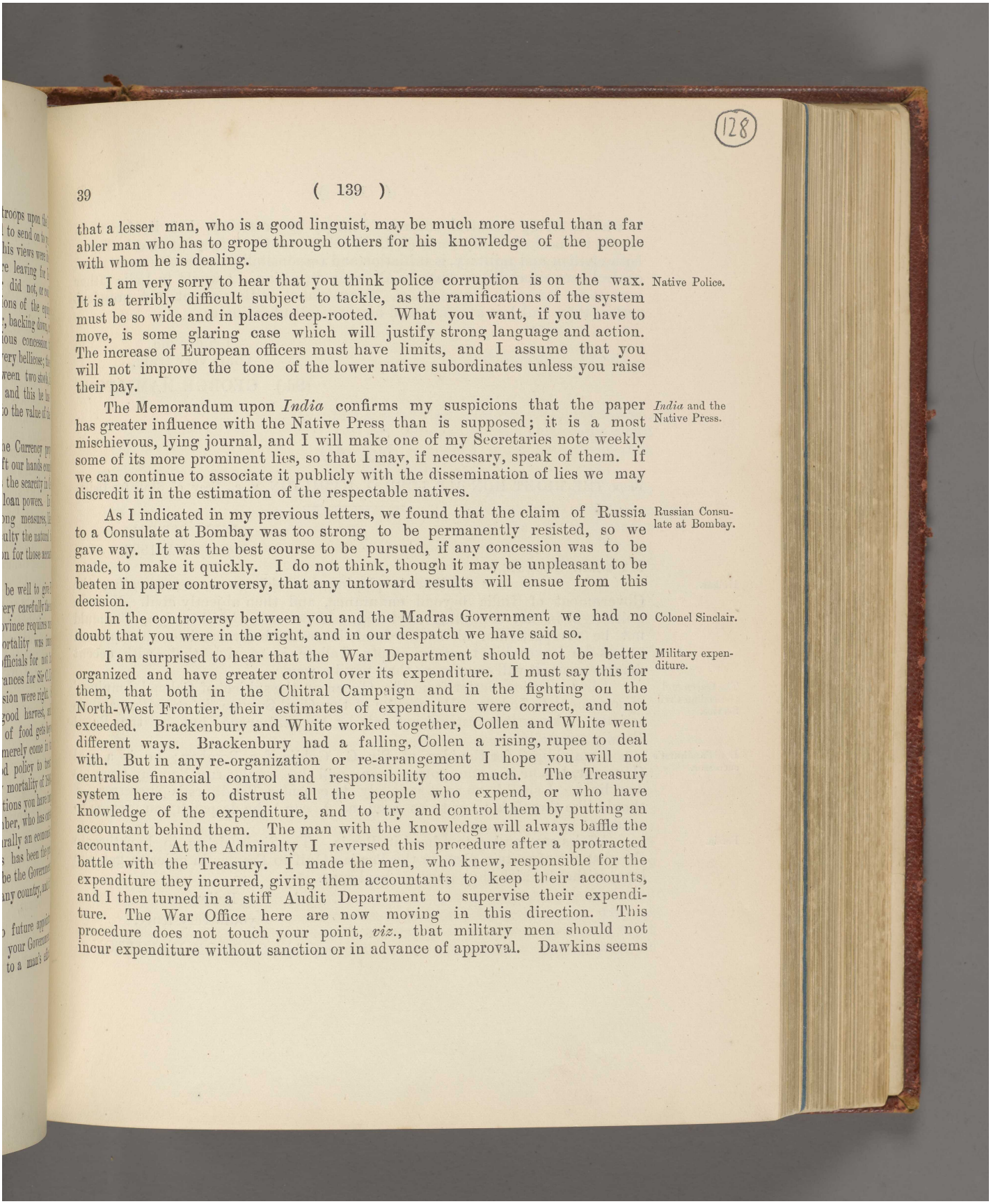

that a lesser man, who is a good linguist, may be much more useful than a far abler man who has to grope through others for his knowledge of the people with whom he is dealing.

Native Police.

I am very sorry to hear that you think police corruption is on the wax. It is a terribly difficult subject to tackle, as the ramifications of the system must be so wide and in places deep-rooted. What you want, if you have to move, is some glaring case which will justify strong language and action. The increase of European officers must have limits, and I assume that you will not improve the tone of the lower native subordinates unless you raise their pay.

India and the Native Press.

The Memorandum upon *India* confirms my suspicions that the paper has greater influence with the Native Press than is supposed; it is a most mischievous, lying journal, and I will make one of my Secretaries note weekly some of its more prominent lies, so that I may, if necessary, speak of them. If we can continue to associate it publicly with the dissemination of lies we may discredit it in the estimation of the respectable natives.

Russian Consulate at Bombay.

As I indicated in my previous letters, we found that the claim of Russia to a Consulate at Bombay was too strong to be permanently resisted, so we gave way. It was the best course to be pursued, if any concession was to be made, to make it quickly. I do not think, though it may be unpleasant to be beaten in paper controversy, that any untoward results will ensue from this decision.

Colonel Sinclair.

In the controversy between you and the Madras Government we had no doubt that you were in the right, and in our despatch we have said so.

Military expenditure.

I am surprised to hear that the War Department should not be better organized and have greater control over its expenditure. I must say this for them, that both in the Chitral Campaign and in the fighting on the North-West Frontier, their estimates of expenditure were correct, and not exceeded. Brackenbury and White worked together, Collen and White went different ways. Brackenbury had a falling, Collen a rising, rupee to deal with. But in any re-organization or re-arrangement I hope you will not centralise financial control and responsibility too much. The Treasury system here is to distrust all the people who expend, or who have knowledge of the expenditure, and to try and control them by putting an accountant behind them. The man with the knowledge will always baffle the accountant. At the Admiralty I reversed this procedure after a protracted battle with the Treasury. I made the men, who knew, responsible for the expenditure they incurred, giving them accountants to keep their accounts, and I then turned in a stiff Audit Department to supervise their expenditure. The War Office here are now moving in this direction. This procedure does not touch your point, *viz.*, that military men should not incur expenditure without sanction or in advance of approval. Dawkins seems

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to wish to set up a central control. It may be necessary, but its functions should be most carefully controlled. What we want to infuse into local officers, both civilian and military, is initiation and responsibility. An over-centralised control over expenditure destroys all such intuition. I would in India rather have some laxity in expenditure, if associated with prompt and prescient action, than faultless accounts and mechanical subordinates.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 40.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE;
August 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Holkar. Holkar is playing his old game, exasperating the Government of India beyond endurance, and then abjectly civil. You are quite right in not conceding anything. If he really will resign, I should not be overparticular about the funds he remits beforehand to other places: unless he leaves his treasury empty, Indore is so rich that, with decent management, it will soon more than pay its way.

The Queen and the Indian Civil Service. I had a curious letter from the Queen on the subject of Colonel Jennings' appointment to Indore. Her dislike of the Civil Service is growing, and is serious. I know it is fostered not only by her *entourage*, but by the Royal Family generally.

Lord Sandhurst's successor. I am obliged for the idea of Sir G. Goldie for Bombay; he is a real Governor, but he is a one power man, and he would run Bombay upon his own lines. I shall have soon seriously to consider Sandhurst's successor. I should like therefore to get, as soon as I can, the despatch you propose to send us.

Persia. Affairs are coming to a head in Persia. The Shah wishes to hypothecate the customs of certain ports in the Persian Gulf to France, in order to get the loan, without which they must go bankrupt.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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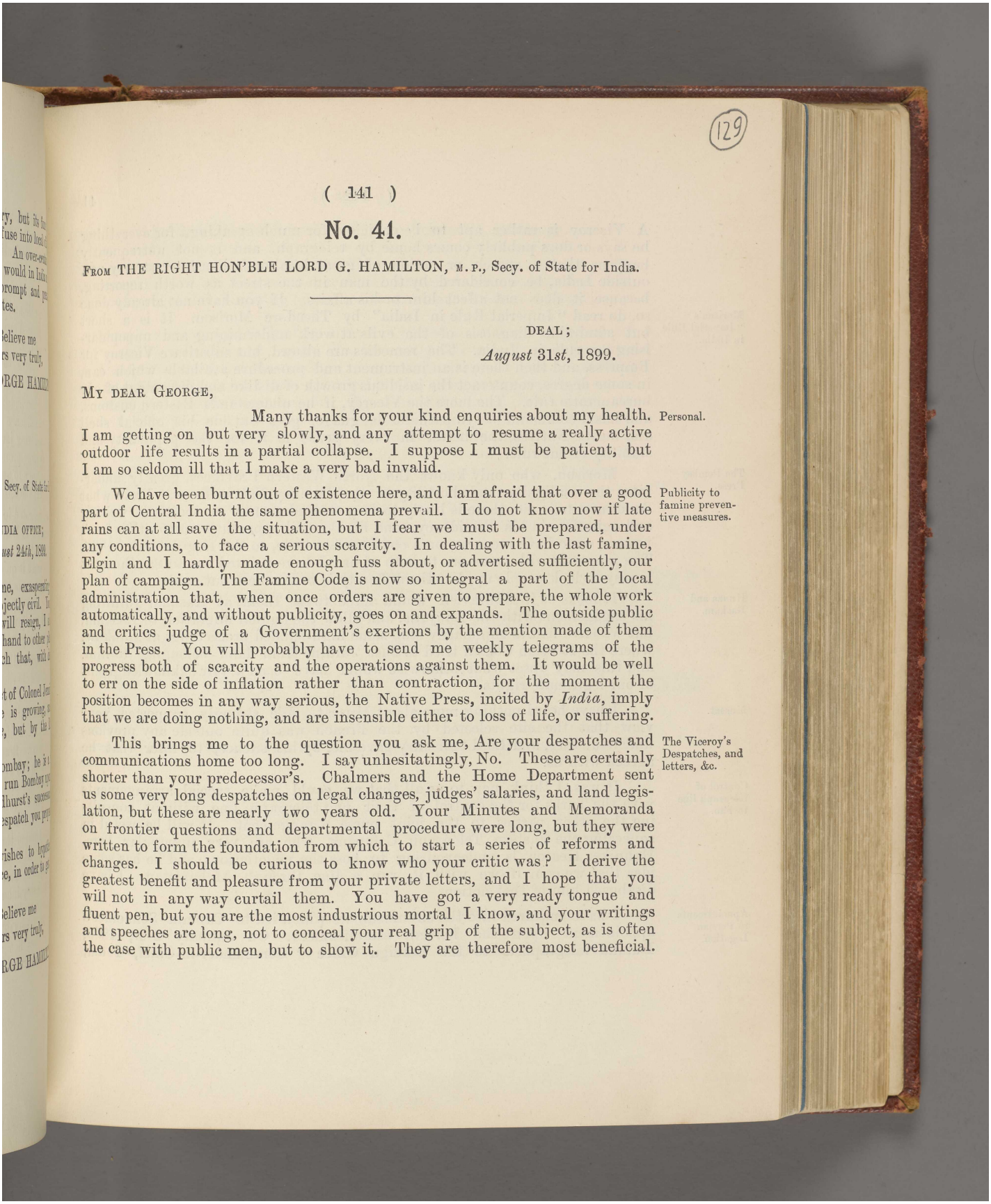

No. 41.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

DEAL;
August 31*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Many thanks for your kind enquiries about my health. Personal.
I am getting on but very slowly, and any attempt to resume a really active outdoor life results in a partial collapse. I suppose I must be patient, but I am so seldom ill that I make a very bad invalid.

We have been burnt out of existence here, and I am afraid that over a good part of Central India the same phenomena prevail. I do not know now if late rains can at all save the situation, but I fear we must be prepared, under any conditions, to face a serious scarcity. In dealing with the last famine, Elgin and I hardly made enough fuss about, or advertised sufficiently, our plan of campaign. The Famine Code is now so integral a part of the local administration that, when once orders are given to prepare, the whole work automatically, and without publicity, goes on and expands. The outside public and critics judge of a Government's exertions by the mention made of them in the Press. You will probably have to send me weekly telegrams of the progress both of scarcity and the operations against them. It would be well to err on the side of inflation rather than contraction, for the moment the position becomes in any way serious, the Native Press, incited by *India*, imply that we are doing nothing, and are insensible either to loss of life, or suffering. Publicity to famine preventive measures.

This brings me to the question you ask me, Are your despatches and communications home too long. I say unhesitatingly, No. These are certainly shorter than your predecessor's. Chalmers and the Home Department sent us some very long despatches on legal changes, judges' salaries, and land legislation, but these are nearly two years old. Your Minutes and Memoranda on frontier questions and departmental procedure were long, but they were written to form the foundation from which to start a series of reforms and changes. I should be curious to know who your critic was? I derive the greatest benefit and pleasure from your private letters, and I hope that you will not in any way curtail them. You have got a very ready tongue and fluent pen, but you are the most industrious mortal I know, and your writings and speeches are long, not to conceal your real grip of the subject, as is often the case with public men, but to show it. They are therefore most beneficial. The Viceroy's Despatches, and letters, &c.

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A Viceroy is rather apt to be criticised for much speaking, for everything he says or does publicly comes home by telegraph, and it not unfrequently happens that a speech or action of great local or Indian interest may not, outside India, be considered by the man in the street as worth reporting, because it does not affect him or his affairs. If you have not already done so, do read "Imperial Rule in India" by Theodore Morison. It is a short but admirable diagnosis of the evils at work undermining and unpopularising our rule in India. The remedies are absurd, but substitute Viceroy for Empress, and then there is an instrument and procedure available which can, in some degree, counteract the insidious growth of dislike and discontent of our bureaucratic rule. The more the Viceroy, if he understands Eastern customs, and has a command of sympathetic language, goes outside his official shell and meets Natives, the better in every sense is it for the popularity and stability of our rule.

Morison's "Imperial Rule in India."

Morison, who only knows the North-Western Provinces, greatly underrates the malignity and hostility of the Bombay Native Press. From what Sandhurst tells me, there is likely to be a recrudescence of seditious writing and agitation in his Presidency, and his Council apparently want either fresh powers, or to have recourse, on a considerable scale, to the Regulation of 1827. The proposals will come on to both of us: I have pointed out to Sandhurst it is easy to lock people up, but the difficulty is to let them out again.

The Bombay Press.

It looks as if Mouravieff would agree to the Taotai at Kashgar fulfilling his engagement with the Kanjutis, and allow the annual migration to Raskam, but we have had to summarily stop some high-handed proceedings at Hankow, where the Russian Consul tried to oust Jardine from land belonging to him, and this may upset what otherwise would have been a fair acknowledgment of our legitimate rights.

Hunza and Raskam.

I have heard nothing more about Muscat. We strongly supported your view that the site selected by the French was quite outside any previous understanding, and Lord Salisbury gave me, by his silence, to infer that he agreed with us.

Muscat.

It was, I think, new to us all that we could make special arrangements with the Turks for the control of their Fao telegraph line without consulting the other parties to the joint purse arrangement. It will be useful in squeezing the Eastern Telegraph Company, who are very unpopular here. Henniker Heaton is endeavouring to boss the negotiations, and he has some idea that we can, if we wish it, run a line through Afghanistan. I have disabused him of that notion.

Control of telegraph line to Fao.

I have enquired into the circumstances which led to Captain Schneider's appointment upon the Persian establishment. On January 21st, 1899, Durand telegraphed to the Foreign Office "Commander-in-Chief, India,

Appointments to Persian Legation.

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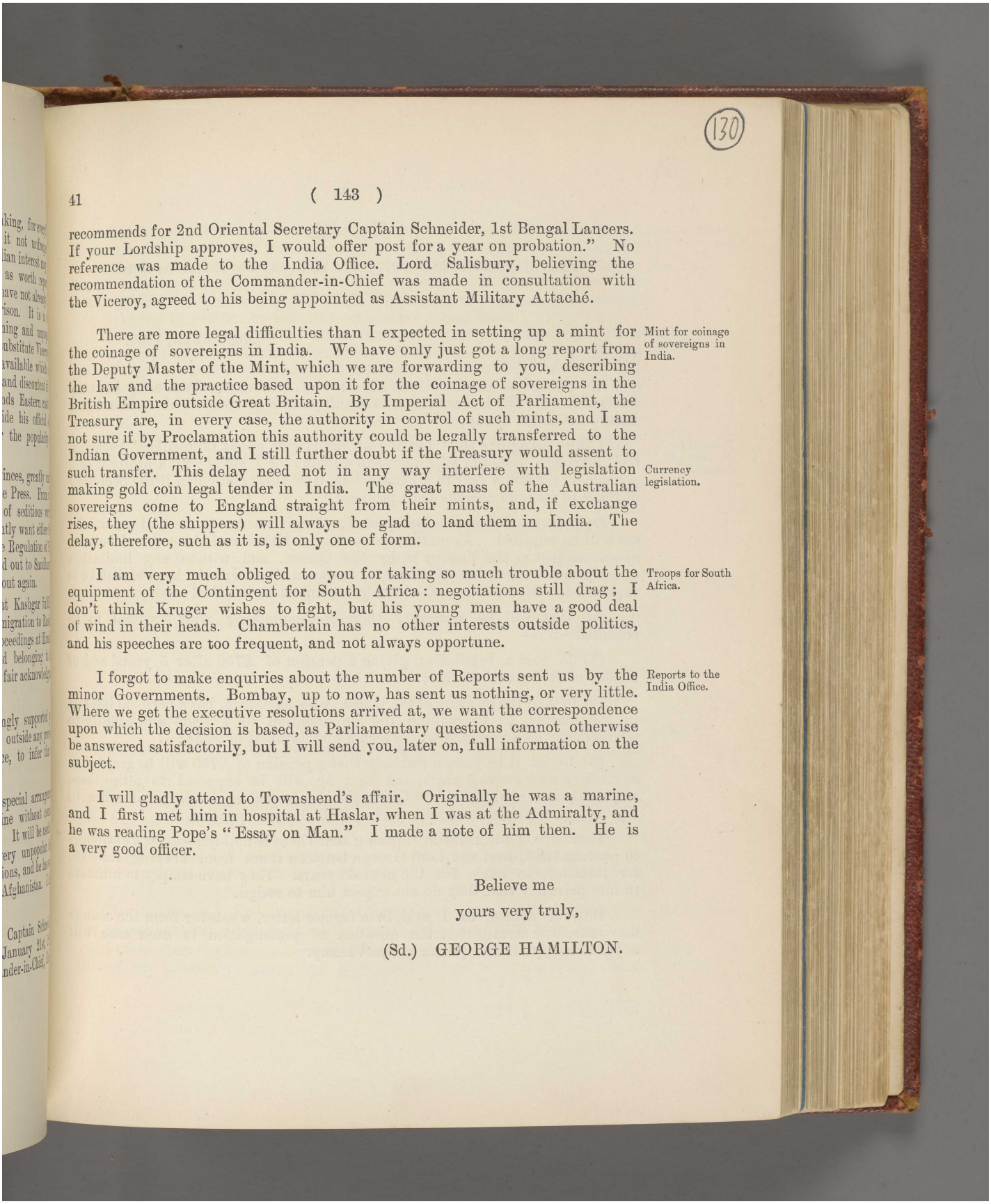

recommends for 2nd Oriental Secretary Captain Schneider, 1st Bengal Lancers. If your Lordship approves, I would offer post for a year on probation." No reference was made to the India Office. Lord Salisbury, believing the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief was made in consultation with the Viceroy, agreed to his being appointed as Assistant Military Attaché.

Mint for coinage of sovereigns in India.

There are more legal difficulties than I expected in setting up a mint for the coinage of sovereigns in India. We have only just got a long report from the Deputy Master of the Mint, which we are forwarding to you, describing the law and the practice based upon it for the coinage of sovereigns in the British Empire outside Great Britain. By Imperial Act of Parliament, the Treasury are, in every case, the authority in control of such mints, and I am not sure if by Proclamation this authority could be legally transferred to the Indian Government, and I still further doubt if the Treasury would assent to such transfer. This delay need not in any way interfere with legislation making gold coin legal tender in India. The great mass of the Australian sovereigns come to England straight from their mints, and, if exchange rises, they (the shippers) will always be glad to land them in India. The delay, therefore, such as it is, is only one of form.

Currency legislation.

Troops for South Africa.

I am very much obliged to you for taking so much trouble about the equipment of the Contingent for South Africa: negotiations still drag; I don't think Kruger wishes to fight, but his young men have a good deal of wind in their heads. Chamberlain has no other interests outside politics, and his speeches are too frequent, and not always opportune.

Reports to the India Office.

I forgot to make enquiries about the number of Reports sent us by the minor Governments. Bombay, up to now, has sent us nothing, or very little. Where we get the executive resolutions arrived at, we want the correspondence upon which the decision is based, as Parliamentary questions cannot otherwise be answered satisfactorily, but I will send you, later on, full information on the subject.

I will gladly attend to Townshend's affair. Originally he was a marine, and I first met him in hospital at Haslar, when I was at the Admiralty, and he was reading Pope's "Essay on Man." I made a note of him then. He is a very good officer.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 42.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

August 31*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I write in the country, having now been away from the India Office for the last ten days, to thank you for your letter of the 9th. But I have not much to say.

Pensions for Members of Council.

I fully recognize the force of your arguments about Councillors' pensions, and, although I should still prefer to appoint for 7 years with a prospect of a pension of £1,000 a year in all cases, I shall be fully contented if the Secretary of State in Council accepts your proposal.

Only, as to the method of prolongation, it seems to me that no official act will be required. As matters now stand, a Member of Council is, I believe, appointed just as the Viceroy is, by the Queen, and without any limitation of his term of office; but of course he knows, and everybody knows, that he is expected to resign at the end of five years unless he is asked to stay on.

All that will be necessary therefore—supposing your proposal to be accepted—is :—

(1) to pass a regulation, giving a pension of £750 after 5 years' and of £1,000 after 7 years' service;

(2) to take the pleasure of the Queen, who, as patron, has a personal interest in the matter, as to making the prolongation to 7 years a possibility to be distinctly contemplated whenever an appointment is made;

(3) to let it be known publicly that a pension of £750 will be granted to any officer who serves 5 years, and that he will be expected to retire then, and on those terms, unless the Queen decides to prolong his tenure of office to 7 years; in which case he will receive £1,000 a year pension.

I believe I am right in thinking that there is nothing—except custom—to prevent the Queen and Lord George between them from keeping Raleigh, for instance, in office for the next 30 years. They have simply to intimate to him privately that they do not expect him to resign.

But, of course, as I said in a former letter, whatever form the change may take, it is certain that the question of prolongation in each case will depend mainly on the opinion of the Viceroy.

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The Report of Welby's Commission seems still to be a long way off, and when it comes I doubt if it will carry much weight. We managed to get the recommendation about the Secretary of State's salary somewhat toned down, but I believe something of the kind will appear. You may be quite sure, however, that no action will be taken upon it by the present Government, nor, I venture to predict, by the next—whatever it may be. Lord Welby's Commission and the Secy. of State's salary.

I am afraid you seem to be in for a bad scarcity, though hardly for a famine; and the plague looks threatening. But I hope this is not enough to threaten your general prosperity. Your failure of the monsoon can hardly have been worse than ours: the drought has been terrible, especially in this arid, sandy soil of North-East Hampshire. I never was so sick of fine weather in my life. Scarcity and plague.

The delay in letting you know how to proceed in the matter of the coinage of gold is entirely the fault of the Treasury. We were obliged to ask their advice and approval, and they have taken nearly a month over it. Mint for coinage of sovereigns in India.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 43.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

DEAL;

September 6th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am still at my marine residence, but I have been forbidden to try "to put little balls into little holes with implements quite unsuited for the purpose," as I cannot get rid of the chest and throat congestion the influenza has left behind it. I am now going to lead a vegetable life by sitting in a chair on the beach, and doing nothing else, in the hope that this may recuperate me. The heat all throughout England has been intense, and the phenomena generally so abnormal that I cannot help hoping you may experience an exceptional downfall of rain later on, as I generally find that, when the weather does indulge in vagaries in one part of the globe, the lead there given is followed elsewhere. Personal.

Poor Sandhurst! One cannot help pitying him; the burden that has been laid on his shoulders would have tried the mettle of a first-rate man. Lord Sandhurst.

I read your Conference speech with entire approval. The so-called Conference has introduced something like method into what was before chaos. Railway Conference.

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I only hope you may succeed in developing Railway construction by private enterprise, but I have not a high opinion of the promoters I have come in contact with, and they do not get the local backing that in other countries so develops branch lines and through connections. I assume that the native banker and capitalist can make so much more by advancing to agriculturists, that they do not care for the modest return of 3 to 4 per cent. obtainable from railways.

Reports to the India Office.

By some oversight the order to the different Secretaries of Departments to report upon the documents and information sent home to us by the various Governments, with the view of curtailing them, was not given during the Session, and I am afraid that we cannot furnish it now for some little time, as so many officials are holidaying. I would gladly cut down to the smallest limits reports or statements which are not required for Parliamentary purposes, and the preparation of which is an additional burden to the ordinary and necessary duties of the official. Where resolutions are reported to us by the Local Governments, we like to have the correspondence also, on which the decision is based. What you want to know is, what information or returns over and above those necessary for carrying on the government in India are required by us. Sending us printed matter which has, in the ordinary routine, been sent to the various Governments by their departments and executive officers is only a question of postage, and I like to get much of this information, as it enables one to dispose at once of questions suddenly put in the House of Commons. Roughly speaking, I should say that any returns you could dispense with without administrative inconvenience are not wanted here, and, therefore, I think you might safely begin your work of cutting down returns, for those you do not want are not likely to be required here.

The Indian Civilian and Indian Administration.

Jennings seems much the sort of man that the Queen wanted for Indore. I wish there was not such a prejudice against the Indian Civilian. No doubt he is at times a prig, and, being largely recruited from the middle classes, he lacks at times the manners and consideration that the hereditary exercise of influence so often gives to families of long pedigrees and power. But he is wonderfully loyal, conscientious, and hardworking. The rut into which the administration of India has settled is that made by the utilitarian or Manchester school. From 1832 to 1885 the ideas, policy, and precepts of this most narrow, parochial, uninteresting, political party dominated the policy of Great Britain. The school was at the height of its power when the Mutiny broke out, and the Government of India put upon a Parliamentary foundation. Competitive examination was to be the instrument by which the world was to be regenerated, and political economy and abstract reasoning were to sweep away sentiment, tradition, pageantry, and aspirations. In no country could be found less appreciative elements of these ideas than in India. If you can, as you say, endow the administrative services with a novel initiative and bigger ideals, you will have done something to make personal Government more palatable and less angular in India than it now is.

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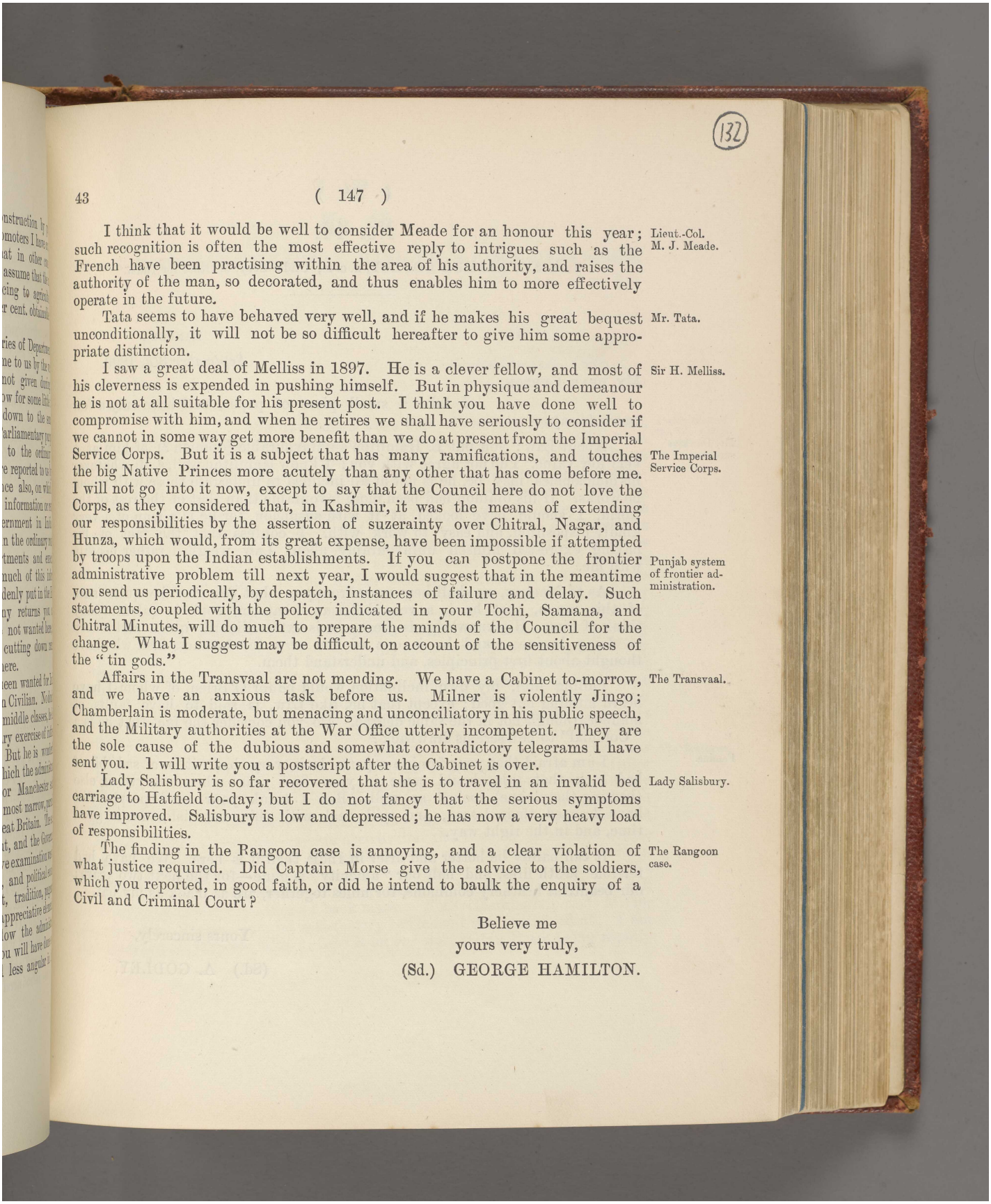

I think that it would be well to consider Meade for an honour this year; such recognition is often the most effective reply to intrigues such as the French have been practising within the area of his authority, and raises the authority of the man, so decorated, and thus enables him to more effectively operate in the future. Lieut.-Col. M. J. Meade.

Tata seems to have behaved very well, and if he makes his great bequest unconditionally, it will not be so difficult hereafter to give him some appropriate distinction. Mr. Tata.

I saw a great deal of Melliss in 1897. He is a clever fellow, and most of his cleverness is expended in pushing himself. But in physique and demeanour he is not at all suitable for his present post. I think you have done well to compromise with him, and when he retires we shall have seriously to consider if we cannot in some way get more benefit than we do at present from the Imperial Service Corps. But it is a subject that has many ramifications, and touches the big Native Princes more acutely than any other that has come before me. I will not go into it now, except to say that the Council here do not love the Corps, as they considered that, in Kashmir, it was the means of extending our responsibilities by the assertion of suzerainty over Chitral, Nagar, and Hunza, which would, from its great expense, have been impossible if attempted by troops upon the Indian establishments. If you can postpone the frontier administrative problem till next year, I would suggest that in the meantime you send us periodically, by despatch, instances of failure and delay. Such statements, coupled with the policy indicated in your Tochi, Samana, and Chitral Minutes, will do much to prepare the minds of the Council for the change. What I suggest may be difficult, on account of the sensitiveness of the "tin gods." Sir H. Melliss. The Imperial Service Corps. Punjab system of frontier administration.

Affairs in the Transvaal are not mending. We have a Cabinet to-morrow, and we have an anxious task before us. Milner is violently Jingo; Chamberlain is moderate, but menacing and unconciliatory in his public speech, and the Military authorities at the War Office utterly incompetent. They are the sole cause of the dubious and somewhat contradictory telegrams I have sent you. I will write you a postscript after the Cabinet is over. The Transvaal.

Lady Salisbury is so far recovered that she is to travel in an invalid bed carriage to Hatfield to-day; but I do not fancy that the serious symptoms have improved. Salisbury is low and depressed; he has now a very heavy load of responsibilities. Lady Salisbury.

The finding in the Rangoon case is annoying, and a clear violation of what justice required. Did Captain Morse give the advice to the soldiers, which you reported, in good faith, or did he intend to baulk the enquiry of a Civil and Criminal Court? The Rangoon case.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 44.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B., Under Secy. of State for India.

[Confidential.]

MINLEY;
September 8th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I take a small piece of paper, as I have only a few words to say.

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

About Law: you put E. Hamilton's unfavourable (opinion?) of him at a very low value. I do not agree with you; I know Hamilton well, and, whatever his deficiencies may be, he is not at all inclined to underrate those with whom he works. If his opinion had been more favourable than that of the rest of the world, I should have looked at it with suspicion, for he is a man of a very kindly disposition, and easy to work with. I confess that the fact of his having expressed himself unfavourably about Law weighed rather heavily with me.

As to Mackay, we shall hear more from you: but you may be quite sure of this much, that he is a very able man, whatever people in Calcutta may think of him. His knowledge is great; he is extraordinarily quick and sharp in doing business: and he is one of the *very* few business men who have thought about first principles, and understand them.

Failing him, my own inclination would be for O'Brien, of whom I have heard nothing but good; except that he, like Law, is said to have faults of manner, though not in the same degree. Do you consider the fact that he is a "Colonial" to be a serious drawback?

Famine.

I am afraid that your famine reports look very bad: it is a sad bit of bad luck that this should come in your first year, when everything else (barring the plague) looked so well. But I think your local people will have learned their lesson, and will deal with this new misfortune in good time, and in the right way.

It can hardly be hotter and drier in India than it is here. We have had terrible heath fires, and half our "amenity" is gone—for the next two years: our beautiful heathery commons, for miles together, are as black as my hat.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

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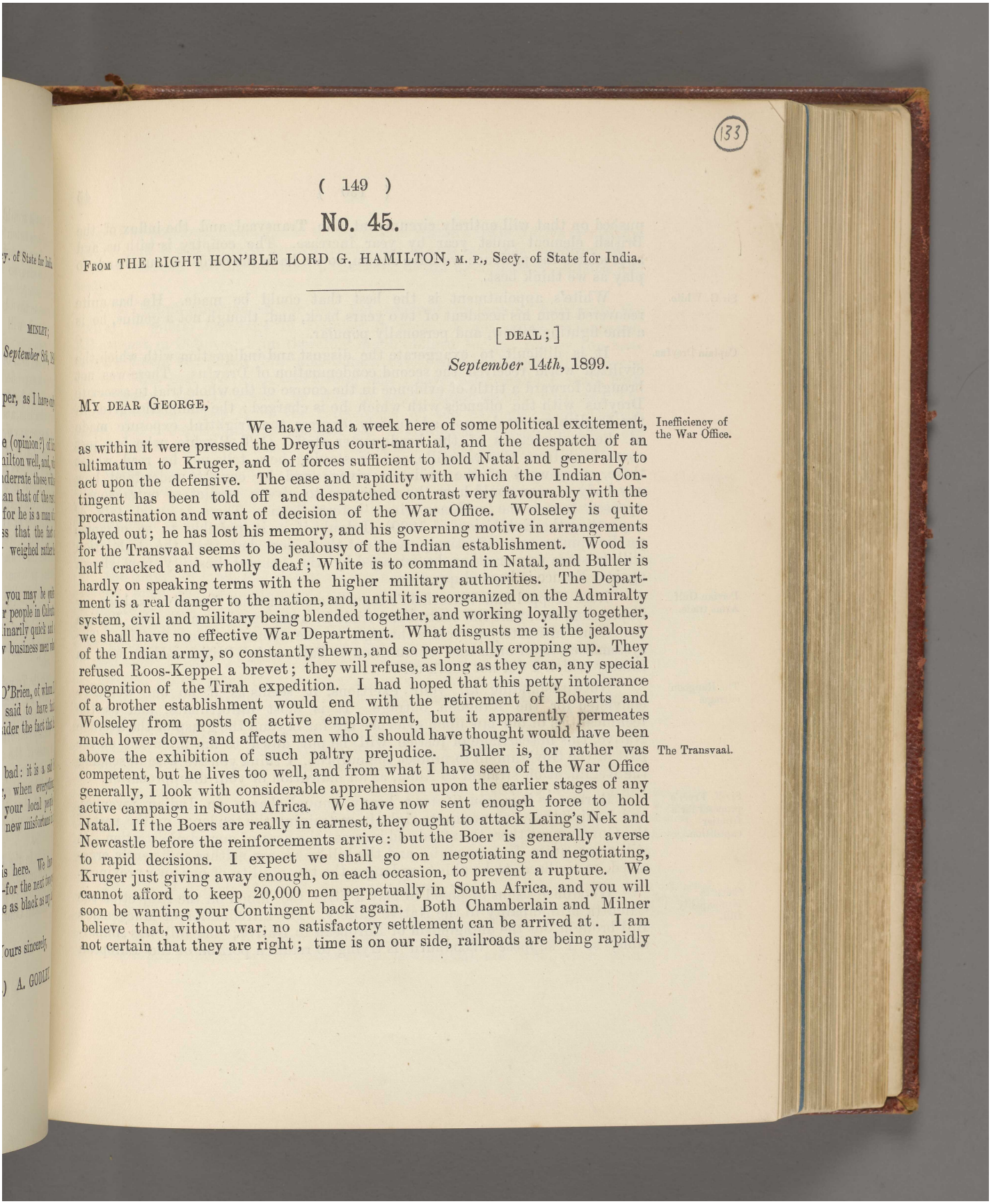

No. 45.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

[DEAL;]

September 14*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

We have had a week here of some political excitement, as within it were pressed the Dreyfus court-martial, and the despatch of an ultimatum to Kruger, and of forces sufficient to hold Natal and generally to act upon the defensive. The ease and rapidity with which the Indian Contingent has been told off and despatched contrast very favourably with the procrastination and want of decision of the War Office. Wolseley is quite played out; he has lost his memory, and his governing motive in arrangements for the Transvaal seems to be jealousy of the Indian establishment. Wood is half cracked and wholly deaf; White is to command in Natal, and Buller is hardly on speaking terms with the higher military authorities. The Department is a real danger to the nation, and, until it is reorganized on the Admiralty system, civil and military being blended together, and working loyally together, we shall have no effective War Department. What disgusts me is the jealousy of the Indian army, so constantly shewn, and so perpetually cropping up. They refused Roos-Keppel a brevet; they will refuse, as long as they can, any special recognition of the Tirah expedition. I had hoped that this petty intolerance of a brother establishment would end with the retirement of Roberts and Wolseley from posts of active employment, but it apparently permeates much lower down, and affects men who I should have thought would have been above the exhibition of such paltry prejudice. Buller is, or rather was competent, but he lives too well, and from what I have seen of the War Office generally, I look with considerable apprehension upon the earlier stages of any active campaign in South Africa. We have now sent enough force to hold Natal. If the Boers are really in earnest, they ought to attack Laing's Nek and Newcastle before the reinforcements arrive: but the Boer is generally averse to rapid decisions. I expect we shall go on negotiating and negotiating, Kruger just giving away enough, on each occasion, to prevent a rupture. We cannot afford to keep 20,000 men perpetually in South Africa, and you will soon be wanting your Contingent back again. Both Chamberlain and Milner believe that, without war, no satisfactory settlement can be arrived at. I am not certain that they are right; time is on our side, railroads are being rapidly

Inefficiency of the War Office.

The Transvaal.

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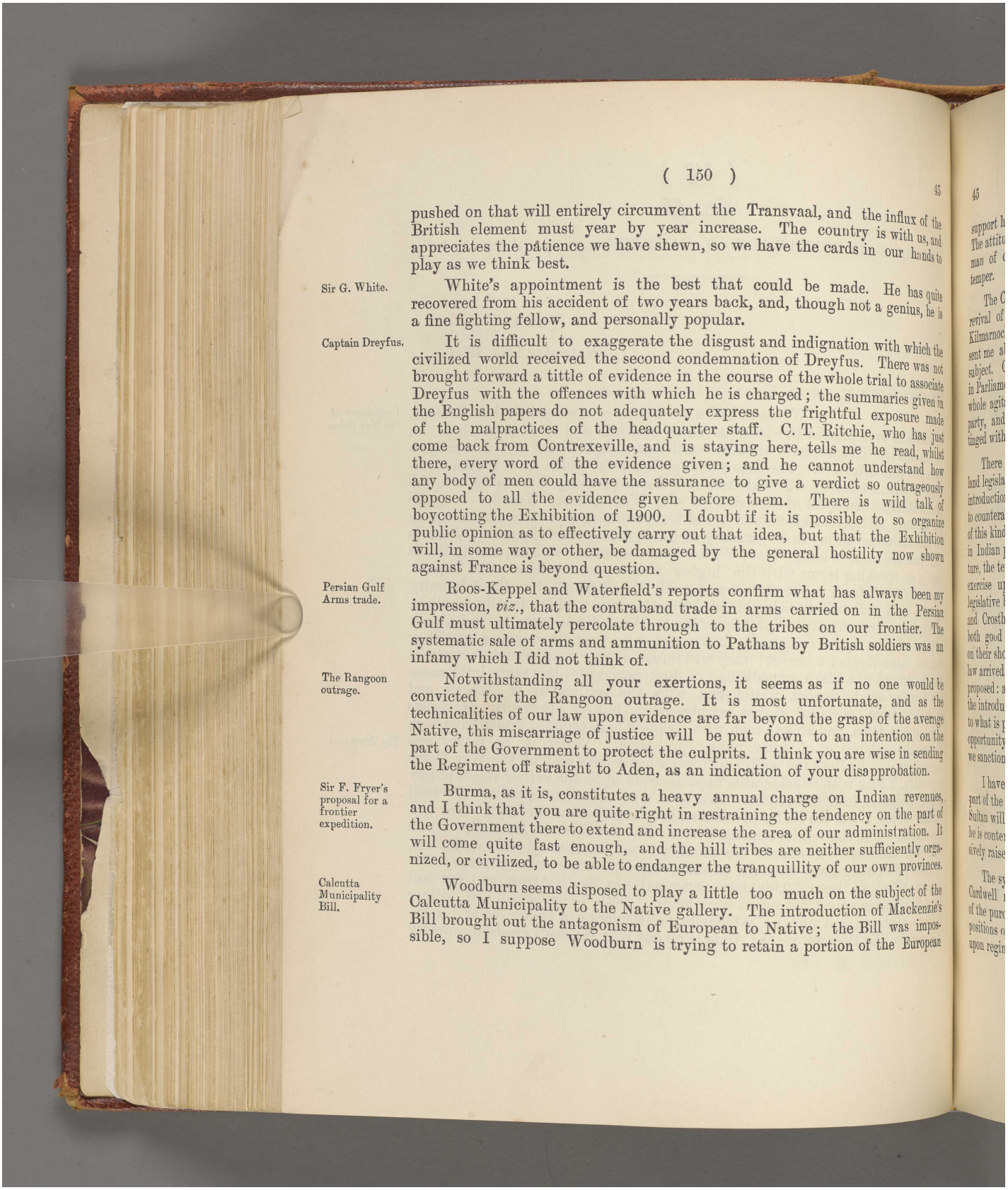

pushed on that will entirely circumvent the Transvaal, and the influx of the British element must year by year increase. The country is with us, and appreciates the patience we have shewn, so we have the cards in our hands to play as we think best.

Sir G. White. White's appointment is the best that could be made. He has quite recovered from his accident of two years back, and, though not a genius, he is a fine fighting fellow, and personally popular.

Captain Dreyfus. It is difficult to exaggerate the disgust and indignation with which the civilized world received the second condemnation of Dreyfus. There was not brought forward a tittle of evidence in the course of the whole trial to associate Dreyfus with the offences with which he is charged; the summaries given in the English papers do not adequately express the frightful exposure made of the malpractices of the headquarter staff. C. T. Ritchie, who has just come back from Contrexeville, and is staying here, tells me he read, whilst there, every word of the evidence given; and he cannot understand how any body of men could have the assurance to give a verdict so outrageously opposed to all the evidence given before them. There is wild talk of boycotting the Exhibition of 1900. I doubt if it is possible to so organize public opinion as to effectively carry out that idea, but that the Exhibition will, in some way or other, be damaged by the general hostility now shown against France is beyond question.

Persian Gulf Arms trade. Roos-Keppel and Waterfield's reports confirm what has always been my impression, *viz.*, that the contraband trade in arms carried on in the Persian Gulf must ultimately percolate through to the tribes on our frontier. The systematic sale of arms and ammunition to Pathans by British soldiers was an infamy which I did not think of.

The Rangoon outrage. Notwithstanding all your exertions, it seems as if no one would be convicted for the Rangoon outrage. It is most unfortunate, and as the technicalities of our law upon evidence are far beyond the grasp of the average Native, this miscarriage of justice will be put down to an intention on the part of the Government to protect the culprits. I think you are wise in sending the Regiment off straight to Aden, as an indication of your disapprobation.

Sir F. Fryer's proposal for a frontier expedition. Burma, as it is, constitutes a heavy annual charge on Indian revenues, and I think that you are quite right in restraining the tendency on the part of the Government there to extend and increase the area of our administration. It will come quite fast enough, and the hill tribes are neither sufficiently organized, or civilized, to be able to endanger the tranquillity of our own provinces.

Calcutta Municipality Bill. Woodburn seems disposed to play a little too much on the subject of the Calcutta Municipality to the Native gallery. The introduction of Mackenzie's Bill brought out the antagonism of European to Native; the Bill was impossible, so I suppose Woodburn is trying to retain a portion of the European

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support he previously had, and at the same time regain a little Native sympathy. The attitude is one we have known before, but in this case it is begotten by a man of caution having to take up the work begun by a man of impulse and temper.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

The Church question so far has not cropped up again, but with the revival of public meetings in October it may. I am going to speak at Kilmarnock in October; I am therefore much obliged for the replies you have sent me about the Mian Mir and Satara cases, as I shall then allude to the subject. Our case is so clear and strong that I have little doubt I shall, both in Parliament and elsewhere, be able to carry public opinion with us. The whole agitation arises from the intolerance of the extreme High Church party, and I am afraid that some of our chaplains and prelates in India are tinged with what, for the want of a better name, I must call sacerdotalism.

Land legislation.

There is one subject on which the Council here are very particular, *viz.*, land legislation, and they greatly dislike having the deliberations over the introduction of a bill shortened or unduly quickened. I have not attempted to counteract this tendency, as I think it is sound. The Council, on questions of this kind, is well worth listening to; they represent the Conservative element in Indian politics; and, looking to the overwhelming influence which agriculture, the tenure of land, and questions arising out of the occupation of land, exercise upon the population of India, and the consequences of any serious legislative blunder, I think their attitude is not unreasonable. Alfred Lyall and Crosthwaite are both ex-Lieutenant-Governors of the North-West, and both good exponents of two separate schools of thought. Both were away on their short holiday when MacDonnell's proposals for changes in the existing law arrived. Both asked for time to examine and write upon the legislation proposed: and this was the reason for my being unable to sanction by telegraph the introduction of the Bill on the 27th September. I do not think they object to what is proposed, but they want time for examination. If you have an opportunity, would you explain this to MacDonnell? Your Punjab legislation we sanctioned, as the question had been thoroughly thrashed out in advance.

Rain in the Deccan and Madras.

Koweit.

I have just got two telegrams—one that good rain has fallen over a large part of the Deccan and Madras, which is a great relief; the other that the Sultan will not press the appointment of a Harbour Master at Koweit. As he is content to let the question lie, I see no reason why we should obtrusively raise it.

Confidential Reports on Military Officers.

The system of reporting upon military officers was, I think, started by Cardwell many years ago here, and it was, if I mistake not, in consequence of the purchase system, by which men with money and nothing else got into positions of responsibility. There is something to be said for periodical reports upon regimental officers, whose duties are so mechanical, and who, when with

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their regiments, are so much in personal contact with their Commanding Officers, but it seems to me to be quite unnecessary to apply this system to staff officers, whose work is special, and more or less under the notice of their superiors. To submit the report when hostile to the person criticised is a premium upon eulogy and panegyric.

Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh.

In your tour, would you remember to look into the position of old Pertab Singh in Jodhpur? Rumours reached me that his nephew had treated him very badly, and had somehow or other deprived him of his property. He wrote to me about a year and a half ago to ask if the British Government would give him a *jagir*. I wrote back to say that it was only now the habit to give them on a very small scale, and I was afraid we could not offer him anything worthy of his position and rank. The correspondence thus ended, but his suggestion may have been a hint that he was hard up and wanted help.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 46.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

[Confidential.]

DEAL;
September 14th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

The report of your commercial man in Calcutta, coming upon the top of other objections, is, I think, conclusive, as to Mackay's eligibility for the post of Minister of Finance. He has been a very successful man of business, and this means cutting out competitors, none of whom naturally love him.

I think that Law, taking him all round, is the best of the candidates, and if you are willing to take him, I shall be quite ready to nominate him. Time is getting on.

Sir M. Durand.

As regards Durand, an intimate friend of his told me that he considered him quite played out; that the work he had done in India had been exceptionally severe, and that he was not the same man he was a few years ago, and failing fast. Salisbury seems to be in a better or more appreciative mood as to his merits just now, and I doubt his wishing for the present to make a change in Teheran.

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Sir Charles Fremantle is staying here. He is Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Bondholders, and has had a good deal of personal contact with Law. He describes him as a strong, straight, and capable man, with a cold bad manner, but possessing unquestionable financial aptitude. He has a very wide and general knowledge of the financial and currency systems of foreign countries. Sir E. Law.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

P. S.—Thanks for your enquiries as to my health. I am at last picking up.

No. 47.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
September 20th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have come to London for two days in anticipation of a Cabinet Council which has been suddenly called, so you will have the advantage of reading my letter in legible type, rather than in my own most indifferent handwriting.

You are rather severe in your criticisms upon poor Fowler's efforts to back up your Government. At times he may somewhat overpraise the excellences of the Indian Government, but the House of Commons is not an assembly in which people balance very carefully their censure or approval, and he certainly is most useful to us in keeping in check Wedderburn and his associates, whose object is not to improve our administration, but to set on foot principles which strike at its very foundation. Sir H. Fowler.

Since you wrote, the Native astrologers' anticipations have to some little extent been verified, though I gather from your latest telegram that you are still apprehensive as regards portions of the Punjab, Central Provinces, and North-West Provinces. Your arrangements seem to be well in advance of the time at which actual scarcity or famine may occur. May I remind you of my previous hint that it would be just as well that the widest publicity should be given to the prescient precautions thus taken, and it might be well, in addition to any resolution issued by the Indian Government, to send us home some despatch which I could publish. Monsoon and Crop prospects. Publicity to Famine preventive measures.

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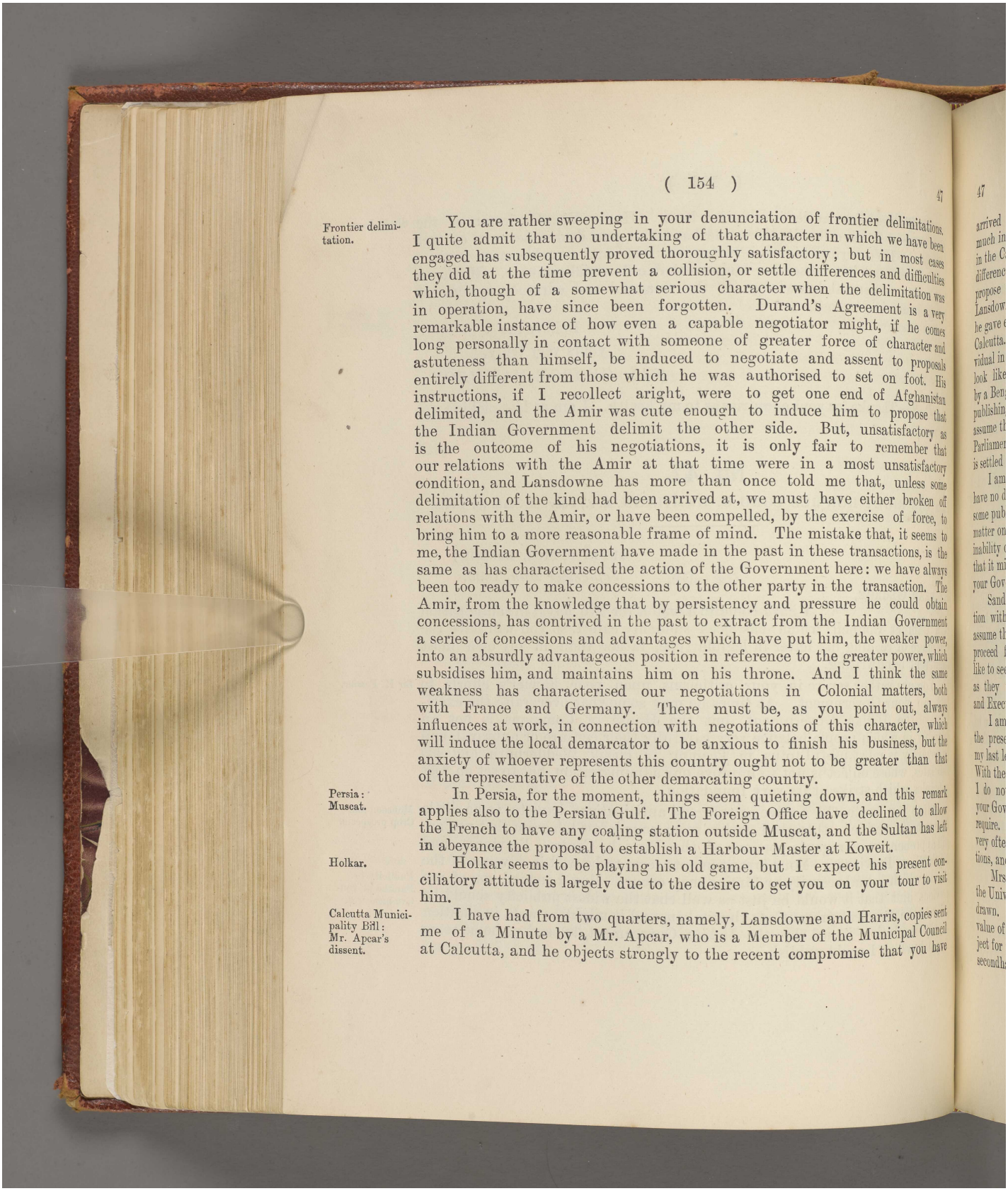

Frontier delimitation.

You are rather sweeping in your denunciation of frontier delimitations. I quite admit that no undertaking of that character in which we have been engaged has subsequently proved thoroughly satisfactory; but in most cases they did at the time prevent a collision, or settle differences and difficulties which, though of a somewhat serious character when the delimitation was in operation, have since been forgotten. Durand's Agreement is a very remarkable instance of how even a capable negotiator might, if he comes long personally in contact with someone of greater force of character and astuteness than himself, be induced to negotiate and assent to proposals entirely different from those which he was authorised to set on foot. His instructions, if I recollect aright, were to get one end of Afghanistan delimited, and the Amir was cute enough to induce him to propose that the Indian Government delimit the other side. But, unsatisfactory as is the outcome of his negotiations, it is only fair to remember that our relations with the Amir at that time were in a most unsatisfactory condition, and Lansdowne has more than once told me that, unless some delimitation of the kind had been arrived at, we must have either broken off relations with the Amir, or have been compelled, by the exercise of force, to bring him to a more reasonable frame of mind. The mistake that, it seems to me, the Indian Government have made in the past in these transactions, is the same as has characterised the action of the Government here: we have always been too ready to make concessions to the other party in the transaction. The Amir, from the knowledge that by persistency and pressure he could obtain concessions, has contrived in the past to extract from the Indian Government a series of concessions and advantages which have put him, the weaker power, into an absurdly advantageous position in reference to the greater power, which subsidises him, and maintains him on his throne. And I think the same weakness has characterised our negotiations in Colonial matters, both with France and Germany. There must be, as you point out, always influences at work, in connection with negotiations of this character, which will induce the local demarcator to be anxious to finish his business, but the anxiety of whoever represents this country ought not to be greater than that of the representative of the other demarcating country.

Persia: Muscat.

In Persia, for the moment, things seem quieting down, and this remark applies also to the Persian Gulf. The Foreign Office have declined to allow the French to have any coaling station outside Muscat, and the Sultan has left in abeyance the proposal to establish a Harbour Master at Koweit.

Holkar.

Holkar seems to be playing his old game, but I expect his present conciliatory attitude is largely due to the desire to get you on your tour to visit him.

Calcutta Municipality Bill: Mr. Apcar's dissent.

I have had from two quarters, namely, Lansdowne and Harris, copies sent me of a Minute by a Mr. Apcar, who is a Member of the Municipal Council at Calcutta, and he objects strongly to the recent compromise that you have

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arrived at. I read his Minute of Dissent carefully: I do not think there is much in it. He gives himself away by proclaiming that no reform is required in the Calcutta Municipality, and he then proceeds to grossly exaggerate the differences between the existing system in Bombay and that which you propose to set up in Calcutta. He wrote, however, two letters, one to Lansdowne and the other to Harris, both intimating that the views to which he gave expression were shared by a large proportion of the Europeans in Calcutta. There was an Apcar at Harrow with me, and I assume the individual in question comes from the same stock. From their appearance they look like half-castes, and, as the dissentient has only recently been returned by a Bengali Ward to the Municipality, I assume that one of his motives in publishing his dissent is to try and continue to remain in their good books. I assume that you will get the new Bill through all the necessary stages before Parliament meets, and that I shall then be able to argue it as a question which is settled and cannot be re-opened.

The Rangoon Outrage.

I am very sorry the further trials at Rangoon ended in acquittal. You have no doubt considered whether it would be advisable or not for you to take some public notice of this gross miscarriage of justice. It is a very delicate matter on which to issue a pronunciamento, but the case is so gross, and the inability of the Government to bring the offenders to justice so widely known, that it might be worth while to take an opportunity of expressing, on behalf of your Government, your annoyance at the abortive conclusions arrived at.

Mr. Tilak and the Natus.

Sandhurst has not sent me the papers he promised a month ago in connection with Tilak and the Natus, so I am writing to him to remind him. I assume that his Council have changed their mind, and do not propose to proceed further in the direction of asking for increased powers, but I should like to see their original Minutes and the proposals on which they were made, as they would be indicative of the frame of mind of the Bombay Government and Executive.

Reports to the India Office.

I am afraid that I cannot send the views of the India Office as to how far the present system of report-writing is in excess of their requirements; but in my last letter I think I gave you a line upon which you might safely work. With the exception of the Moral and Material Progress and Financial papers, I do not think there are any reports or documents which are not essential to your Government for their executive and administrative duties which we here require. What we really want to know is what you are doing, and that entails very often merely forwarding to us your recorded opinions and public resolutions, and the correspondence upon which those opinions are based.

Mrs. Besant and a Hindoo College for the N. W. P.

Mrs. Besant writes to me to say that the prohibition that was placed by the University of Allahabad upon the affiliation of her College has been withdrawn. She asks me, however, just to give her my private opinion as to the value of the movement with which she is associated. It is too ticklish a subject for me to venture upon, as all my ideas and information are obtained secondhand; but I should like to encourage the movement. I think the

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real danger to our rule in India, not now but say 50 years hence, is the gradual adoption and extension of Western ideas of agitation and organisation; and, if we could break the educated Hindu party into two sections holding widely different views, we should, by such a division, strengthen our position against the subtle and continuous attack which the spread of education must make upon our present system of Government.

Sir A. Havelock.

I am very glad that you find Havelock an amusing and pleasant correspondent. He writes delightful letters to me weekly, but my great difficulty is to find material for a reply. It seems to me that the great mass, if not almost the entirety, of the work of the Madras Government is of so routine and prosaic a character as hardly to necessitate reference to higher authorities. Havelock's general complaint to me is that the system of centralisation, pursued by the Secretaries of the Departments of the Supreme Government, is tending to destroy all initiative and originality in local administration, and he further did complain bitterly of the delay which the references he is bound to make to the Supreme Government involve. We had to over-ride the Indian Government in connection with some Bill relating to the levying of a municipal tax in Madras, and I think in that case the Legislative Department kept the Madras Government waiting two years to decide one point out of a Bill of several hundred clauses. I mention this because I think the Local Governments have their grievances as well as the Supreme Government, but I have no doubt Havelock, who is, as you say, a very capable controversialist, will state that side of his case adequately.

Mr. Beresford.

I have made a note of the application of Mr. Beresford, who has been head of the Irrigation Department in the Punjab, for the vacancy at Cooper's Hill: I believe he is a good man. But his predecessor, Ottley, is also a competitor, and, though I have not looked closely into their relative claims, I think his record of service and general qualifications are the best.

Expenditure at Gilgit.

I have no doubt the establishment at Gilgit is now in excess of what is required. Elgin's Government up to the last wobbled as to what was to be ultimately the means of access to Chitral, and I think it was due to that hesitancy that the reductions, which otherwise ought to have been made at Gilgit, were postponed.

The Transvaal.

I am sorry we cannot induce the War Office to adopt your hospital accommodation arrangements, but, as they bear all expenditure, we are not in a position to push matters of this kind beyond a certain point. From the last telegrams you sent me, I think it is clear that you will keep well within the limit of five weeks, which was the time you told me originally it would take to send troops from India to Durban.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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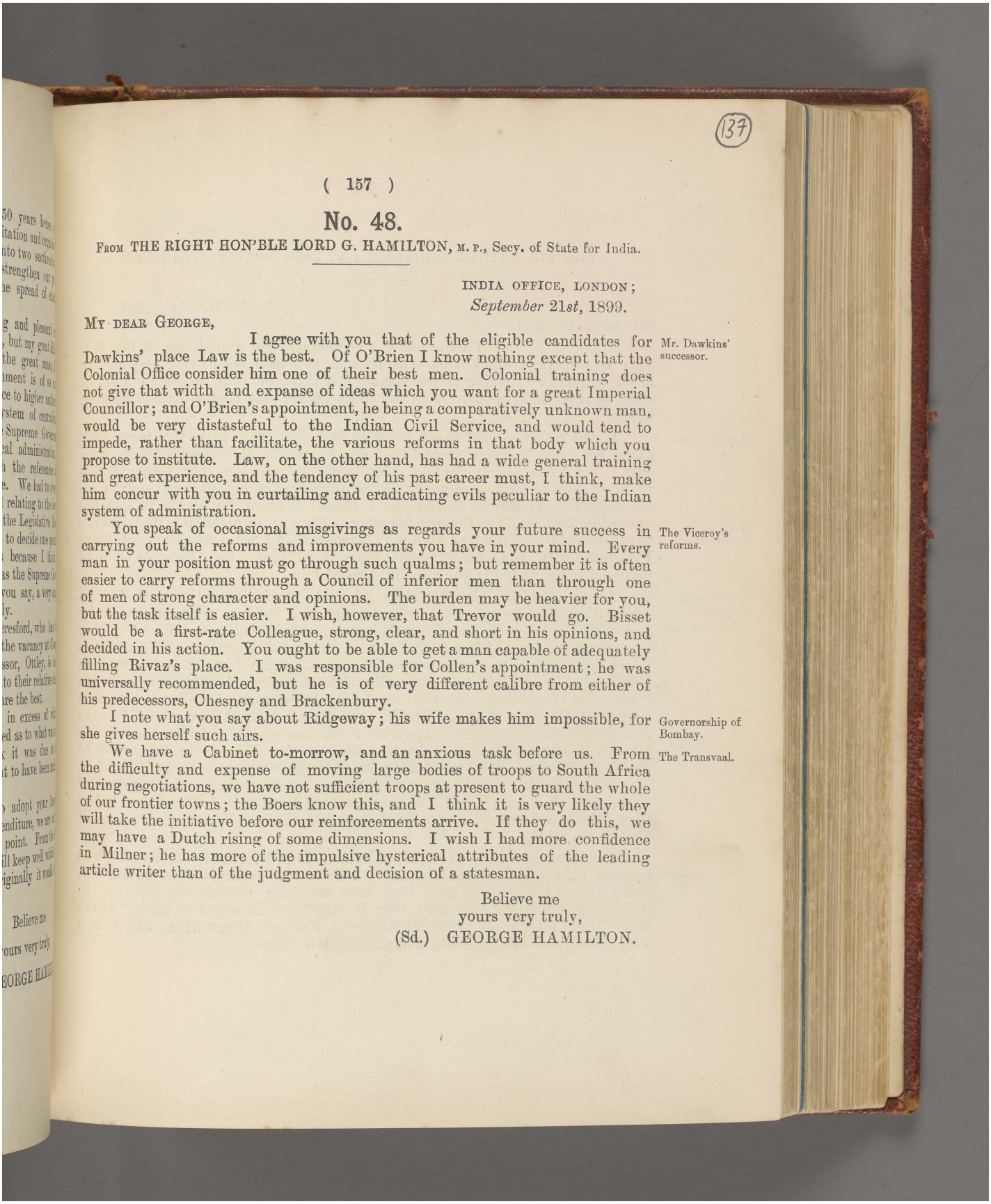

(137)

No. 48.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
September 21*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I agree with you that of the eligible candidates for Dawkins' place Law is the best. Of O'Brien I know nothing except that the Colonial Office consider him one of their best men. Colonial training does not give that width and expanse of ideas which you want for a great Imperial Councillor; and O'Brien's appointment, he being a comparatively unknown man, would be very distasteful to the Indian Civil Service, and would tend to impede, rather than facilitate, the various reforms in that body which you propose to institute. Law, on the other hand, has had a wide general training and great experience, and the tendency of his past career must, I think, make him concur with you in curtailing and eradicating evils peculiar to the Indian system of administration. Mr. Dawkins' successor.

You speak of occasional misgivings as regards your future success in carrying out the reforms and improvements you have in your mind. Every man in your position must go through such qualms; but remember it is often easier to carry reforms through a Council of inferior men than through one of men of strong character and opinions. The burden may be heavier for you, but the task itself is easier. I wish, however, that Trevor would go. Bisset would be a first-rate Colleague, strong, clear, and short in his opinions, and decided in his action. You ought to be able to get a man capable of adequately filling Rivaz's place. I was responsible for Collen's appointment; he was universally recommended, but he is of very different calibre from either of his predecessors, Chesney and Brackenbury. The Viceroy's reforms.

I note what you say about Ridgeway; his wife makes him impossible, for she gives herself such airs. Governorship of Bombay.

We have a Cabinet to-morrow, and an anxious task before us. From the difficulty and expense of moving large bodies of troops to South Africa during negotiations, we have not sufficient troops at present to guard the whole of our frontier towns; the Boers know this, and I think it is very likely they will take the initiative before our reinforcements arrive. If they do this, we may have a Dutch rising of some dimensions. I wish I had more confidence in Milner; he has more of the impulsive hysterical attributes of the leading article writer than of the judgment and decision of a statesman. The Transvaal.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 49.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

September 26th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I write one line to acknowledge your letter of the 6th. This is always a slack time with us, and, as I have been living very quietly in the country and seeing no one for the last three or four weeks, I feel, in spite of my daily pouch from the India Office, that I have little or nothing to say.

Lord Kitchener.

It was rather a relief to my mind to find that you took the same view about Kitchener's appointment that I do: or, rather, that you go further than I do. For I cannot help feeling, in spite of what you say, that I should like to bring him to bear upon your military organization and finance: only, I see the objections, and, upon the whole, I think it more important to get the absolutely best man for Finance Member. My own impression is that, looking to all the evidence, the best man is O'Brien, and if I were Secretary of State I should, with your concurrence, offer it to him. But I should be quite prepared to acquiesce in the appointment of Law.

Finance Membership.

Governorship of Bombay.

As to Bombay; the Secretary of State has for some time past shown a strong disposition to appoint Northcote, who is, I believe, much approved by Lord Salisbury: and I, knowing nothing of him personally, and almost nothing by reputation, was not in a position to say much for or against. The qualities which you allow him are enough, I think, to make him a useful man in Bombay at this juncture; especially if he is strong, and able and willing to insist upon the reforms that are required. It was you, I believe, who first suggested the idea of Lee-Warner. At first I felt rather doubtful (though few people can like him better, or think more highly of him than I do) for the reasons which make you uneasy about Kitchener: he would be decidedly "seismic:" a sort of King Stork let loose upon the frogs of Bombay. But since the idea was first suggested to me, I have had several more months' experience of Bombay, and the result is that I am more inclined than before for a drastic measure. I do not think, however, that the Secretary of State will change his mind.

Posting of Native Civilians.

I note what you say about the allotment to provinces of the natives who succeed at the I. C. S examination. I know the matter is an important one, and I always take care to have each case carefully considered, first by the Judicial and Political Secretary (Sir C. Lyall), who ought to know "what's what:" and afterwards by the Judicial and Political Committee, which is a very strong one—Edge, Peile, Fitzpatrick, Hutchins.

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How extraordinarily high exchange has been of late! I believe, however, that Dawkins rather expected this. Exchange.

You seem to be managing the sending of troops to the Transvaal very smoothly and successfully; but of course I don't as yet know enough to form an opinion. It seems to me that the Government are making a mistake in not sending a larger number from here. If, besides your force, they had sent 15,000 men from elsewhere, they would (1) have had a better chance of peace; and (2) a better position in case of war, than they can have at present. Troops for the Transvaal.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 50.

From THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

September 28th, 1899.

My dear George,

Since you wrote, your crop prospects seem generally to have improved, and to have largely decreased the area which a short time back was threatened with scarcity. Sending your Military Secretary down to Rajputana, in order that he may ascertain what the state of affairs there is, seems to me to be highly judicious. Elgin made a similar tour just previous to the last great famine, and his action, and the heavy expenditure which it entailed, were most severely criticised by a large portion of the Press, both Native and European. Your suggestion, assuming things do not improve, to proceed with your Private Secretary and a limited following to the suffering localities is excellent. It will put heart into the workers, and will personally enable you to get a great deal of most useful information. Sandhurst made the mistake of trying himself to gauge the adequacy, or inadequacy, of the arrangements which he inspected. Such a task is obviously beyond the capacity of anybody who has not been right through the mill, and is not thoroughly acquainted with the normal conditions, generally prevailing, of the locality in which the distress occurs. I am rather doubtful if, after you have made this tour, you would be able later on in the year to commence your more ceremonial series of visits. The Chiefs whom you intended to visit will naturally be disappointed if you have to postpone your tour: on the other Famine. Inspection of distressed localities by Viceroy. Ceremonial tour.

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hand, I think you will gain considerably more than you lose, and the substitution of a working tour, to inspect the measures for relief, for a ceremonial tour on pleasure cannot fail to make a good impression on the Native public.

Finance.

We got your telegram explaining your probable financial position up to the end of the year. My experience is that Indian finance almost invariably turns out better than was anticipated; and I doubt if you will ultimately find it necessary to curtail our drawings. The tenders for our Bills during the last month have been of almost unprecedented dimensions: one tender amounted to fourteen crores, the next week it was twelve, the week after nine, and this week it is thirteen crores, and we have sold both Bills and telegraphic transfers above the gold point. I cannot get at the bottom of this movement: the export trade from India this year is comparatively speaking small, though I understand the jute crop is very good, and this is the crop which is, I believe, moved about this time of the year. This is the first year, that I can recollect, in which the Government are carrying out large expenditure on public works and borrowing neither in England nor in India. If borrowing is to be resorted to, I think it is clear that, under the circumstances, it should be here.

The Rangoon outrage case.

The outcome of the Rangoon proceedings is most annoying. What is your opinion of the object of Major Morse in using the words which have prevented the evidence given at the Military Enquiry being utilized before the Civil Tribunal? Did he wish to encourage the men of his regiment to speak the truth, or did he deliberately make use of language which he thought would preclude any evidence so given from being utilised for purposes of prosecution hereafter? The failure of justice is all the more annoying as it is so very difficult to explain to ignorant or unintelligent minds.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

Most of the difficulty that you have in dealing with the Calcutta Municipality Bill is due to Mackenzie, who seems to me to have as thoroughly mismanaged the affair as was well possible. I am not sure that the resignation of the 28 members has not been made in concert with the Congress party here. They have resigned because a high official brought charges of corruption against them, on the plea that they could not continue to discharge duties of a public character so long as the charges publicly made were not withdrawn, or substantiated. Now if their case is presented to Parliament it would be a very difficult one to argue. I could not, on the one hand, decline to produce any evidence in support of the charge, even assuming there is evidence, which I doubt, and, on the other hand, if I say that no facts have been brought to my notice justifying the allegation, I practically throw over the Bengal Government, and, by implication, your Government, as in the opening paragraphs of your letter you allude to this charge. I think that, if any such motion were made in Parliament, my best course would be to say that nothing has been brought to my notice which would justify me in saying that there was corruption in the Calcutta Municipality, or that my assent

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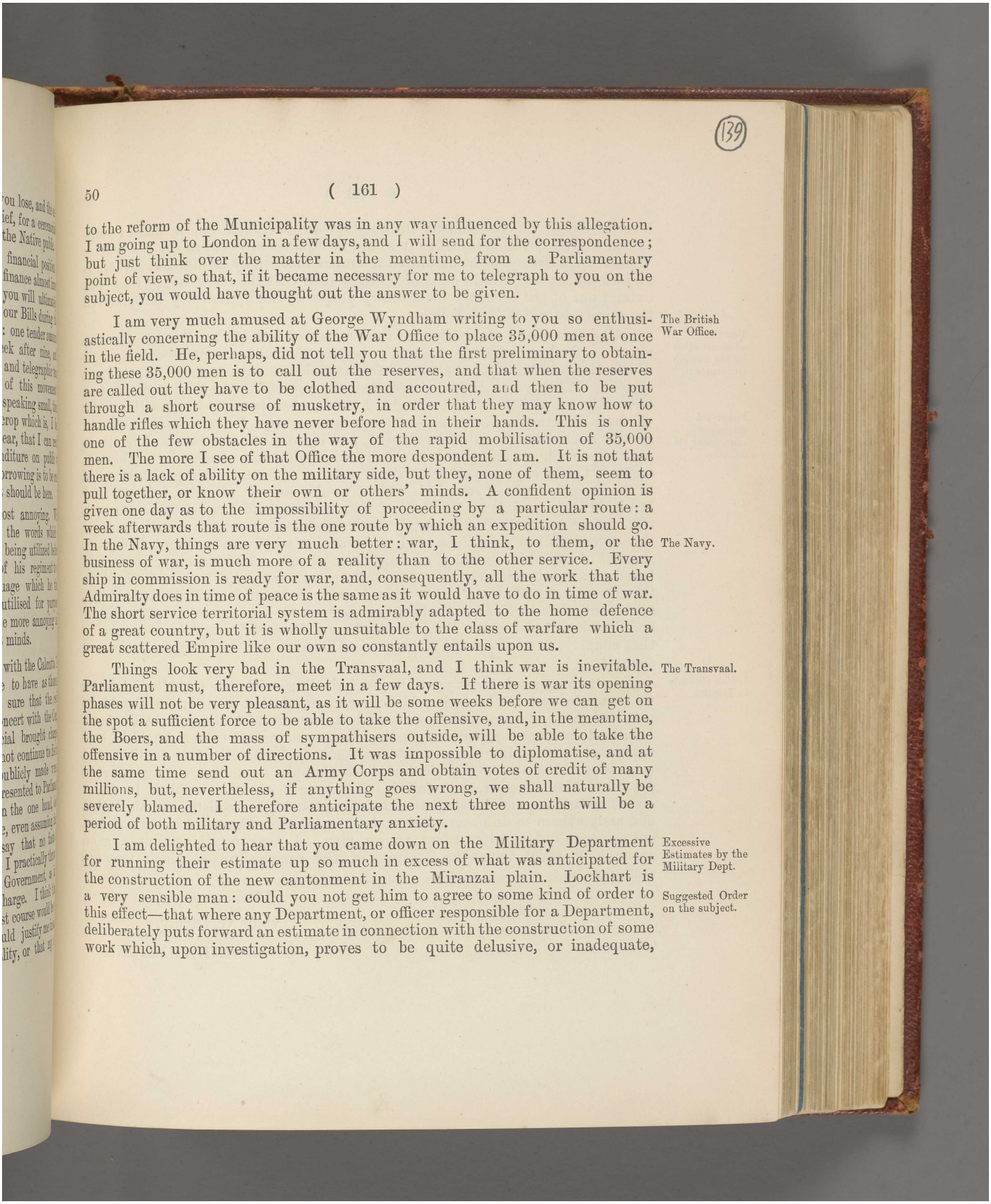

to the reform of the Municipality was in any way influenced by this allegation. I am going up to London in a few days, and I will send for the correspondence; but just think over the matter in the meantime, from a Parliamentary point of view, so that, if it became necessary for me to telegraph to you on the subject, you would have thought out the answer to be given.

The British War Office.

I am very much amused at George Wyndham writing to you so enthusiastically concerning the ability of the War Office to place 35,000 men at once in the field. He, perhaps, did not tell you that the first preliminary to obtaining these 35,000 men is to call out the reserves, and that when the reserves are called out they have to be clothed and accoutred, and then to be put through a short course of musketry, in order that they may know how to handle rifles which they have never before had in their hands. This is only one of the few obstacles in the way of the rapid mobilisation of 35,000 men. The more I see of that Office the more despondent I am. It is not that there is a lack of ability on the military side, but they, none of them, seem to pull together, or know their own or others' minds. A confident opinion is given one day as to the impossibility of proceeding by a particular route: a week afterwards that route is the one route by which an expedition should go.

The Navy.

In the Navy, things are very much better: war, I think, to them, or the business of war, is much more of a reality than to the other service. Every ship in commission is ready for war, and, consequently, all the work that the Admiralty does in time of peace is the same as it would have to do in time of war. The short service territorial system is admirably adapted to the home defence of a great country, but it is wholly unsuitable to the class of warfare which a great scattered Empire like our own so constantly entails upon us.

The Transvaal.

Things look very bad in the Transvaal, and I think war is inevitable. Parliament must, therefore, meet in a few days. If there is war its opening phases will not be very pleasant, as it will be some weeks before we can get on the spot a sufficient force to be able to take the offensive, and, in the meantime, the Boers, and the mass of sympathisers outside, will be able to take the offensive in a number of directions. It was impossible to diplomatise, and at the same time send out an Army Corps and obtain votes of credit of many millions, but, nevertheless, if anything goes wrong, we shall naturally be severely blamed. I therefore anticipate the next three months will be a period of both military and Parliamentary anxiety.

Excessive Estimates by the Military Dept.

I am delighted to hear that you came down on the Military Department for running their estimate up so much in excess of what was anticipated for the construction of the new cantonment in the Miranzai plain. Lockhart is a very sensible man: could you not get him to agree to some kind of order to this effect—that where any Department, or officer responsible for a Department, deliberately puts forward an estimate in connection with the construction of some work which, upon investigation, proves to be quite delusive, or inadequate,

Suggested Order on the subject.

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because based on insufficient information or investigation, a mark should be put against his name, just as it would be against any officer in the Public Works Department who committed a similar inaccuracy or blunder. There is an idea amongst a certain class of military men that the more money they can extract out of the Treasury for military purposes, the better they have served the service to which they belong.

Frontier administration by the Punjab Government.

The case that you mention, of the procrastination of the Punjab Government in dealing with the Mahsud tribesmen and its consequences, is the best illustration you have yet sent me of the inefficiency and cost of the present system. When you make your proposals for any change in the present system of frontier administration, you ought, I think, to accompany them with a series of facts illustrating the defects of the present system. Such a statement will greatly annoy the Punjab Government, and it would be somewhat difficult to draw up such an indictment in a despatch against one of your Local Governments. Could you not yourself write a minute, or have certain papers attached to the Despatch which you send, which would convey all this information? It would be accessible to Members of Council here, and I could make use of it if it was necessary in Parliament. The Punjab Government has still amongst the older officials traditions and a reputation which make them reluctant to shear it of any of its existing authority or powers. This reluctance is largely based on a recollection of the undoubtedly great men who were associated in the Government of the Punjab in the early days of its annexation; but a statement, such as I suggest, offers such a striking contrast to the promptitude and decision of the earlier Punjab school, and those who are now governing that country, as to afford the strongest justification for the changes you would suggest.

Suggested statement illustrating its defects.

Indian students in London.

I was very glad to get your Despatch dealing with the confidential letter we sent some months back, in which we suggested that certificates should be obtained by Indian students who wished to educate themselves in England. I will at once act on your suggestion that a competent officer should be here appointed to look after the students in London. You know the qualities and capacities of the present Political Aide-de-Camp. I made a strong effort to get rid of him this year, but failed. His tenure of office expires in about eighteen months, and we shall then be able probably to re-distribute his duties, and assign them to different officers; but, in the meantime, I will try and find out someone to look after these young men. I hear anything but a good account of them from the Masters of the various Inns at which they are studying.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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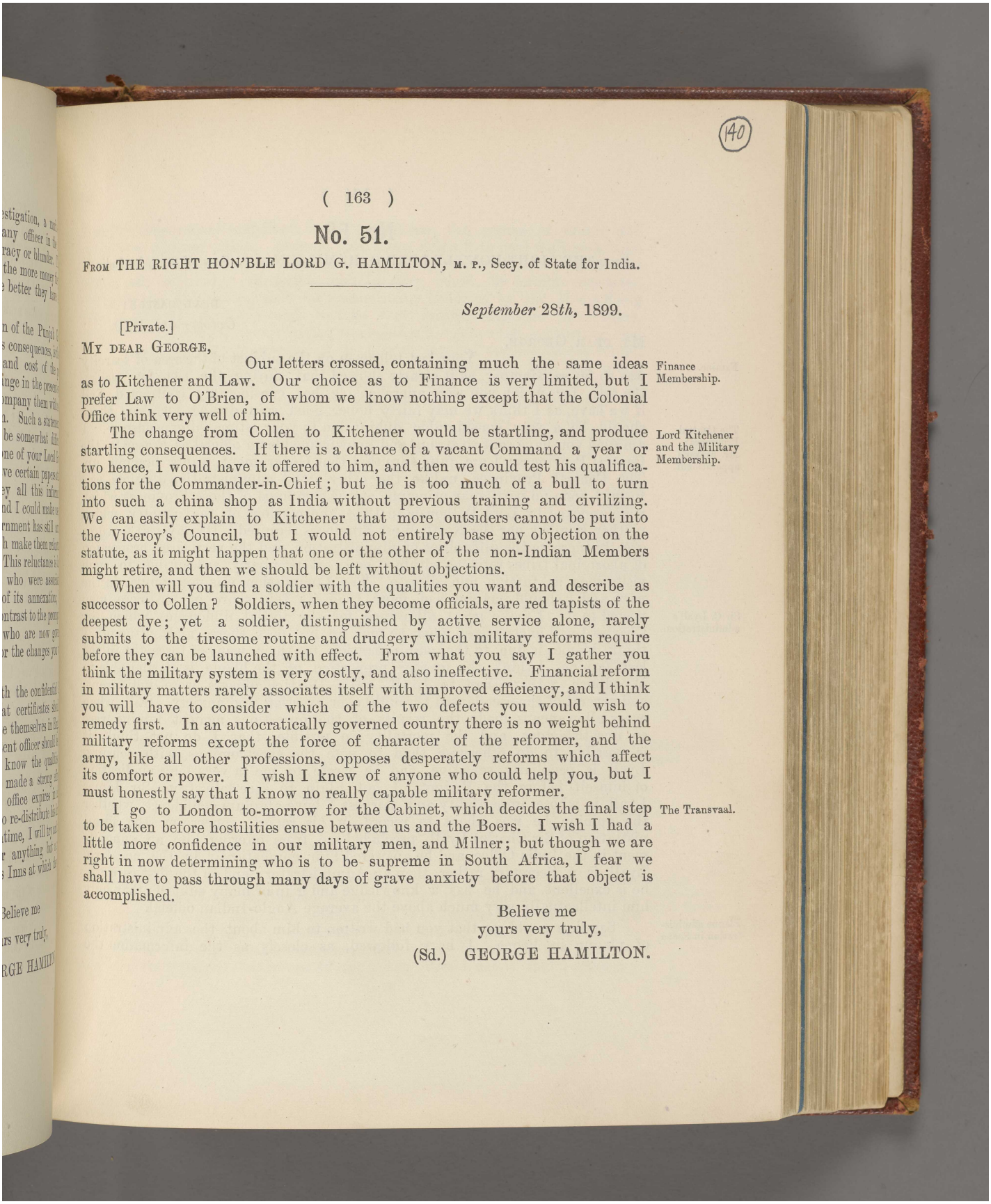

No. 51.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

September 28th, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Our letters crossed, containing much the same ideas as to Kitchener and Law. Our choice as to Finance is very limited, but I prefer Law to O'Brien, of whom we know nothing except that the Colonial Office think very well of him. Finance Membership.

The change from Collen to Kitchener would be startling, and produce startling consequences. If there is a chance of a vacant Command a year or two hence, I would have it offered to him, and then we could test his qualifications for the Commander-in-Chief; but he is too much of a bull to turn into such a china shop as India without previous training and civilizing. We can easily explain to Kitchener that more outsiders cannot be put into the Viceroy's Council, but I would not entirely base my objection on the statute, as it might happen that one or the other of the non-Indian Members might retire, and then we should be left without objections. Lord Kitchener and the Military Membership.

When will you find a soldier with the qualities you want and describe as successor to Collen? Soldiers, when they become officials, are red tapists of the deepest dye; yet a soldier, distinguished by active service alone, rarely submits to the tiresome routine and drudgery which military reforms require before they can be launched with effect. From what you say I gather you think the military system is very costly, and also ineffective. Financial reform in military matters rarely associates itself with improved efficiency, and I think you will have to consider which of the two defects you would wish to remedy first. In an autocratically governed country there is no weight behind military reforms except the force of character of the reformer, and the army, like all other professions, opposes desperately reforms which affect its comfort or power. I wish I knew of anyone who could help you, but I must honestly say that I know no really capable military reformer.

I go to London to-morrow for the Cabinet, which decides the final step to be taken before hostilities ensue between us and the Boers. I wish I had a little more confidence in our military men, and Milner; but though we are right in now determining who is to be supreme in South Africa, I fear we shall have to pass through many days of grave anxiety before that object is accomplished. The Transvaal.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 52.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

DEAL CASTLE;
October 4th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Famine.

Your last telegram on the subject of the area of scarcity was so far satisfactory, as it clearly showed that, during the last few weeks, the area for which you were apprehensive has considerably contracted; and if we have, as I think we may fairly hope, good rain during October, there should be a very considerable diminution in your estimated expenditure. I

The Central Provinces: Mr. Fraser's appointment.

am glad you have sent so strong and knowledgeable an official as Fraser to the Central Provinces: I am quite sure that that Government wants bracing up. The Central Provinces, unlike the other great administrative districts, was formed upon no particular principle, and is composed of those Provinces which were annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1853, and portions of the country which neither Bombay nor the North-West Provinces required. Its physical features greatly increase the difficulties of administration, and the very large proportion of aboriginal tribes resident within it makes it peculiarly susceptible to such visitations as famine and disease. The Commission was not popular in the past, and I should imagine had more than its fair share of mediocre men posted to it. I make great allowance for the initial difficulties which Sir

Sir C. Lyall's administration.

Charles Lyall encountered when he took up his post there, and, although I think blame is due to the administration for their want of foresight in the last famine, I think the greater proportion of the blame is attributable to Woodburn rather than to Lyall. His District officers were indifferent, and several of them collapsed through over-exertion and anxiety. Still, when every allowance is made, the results of the operations against famine were so unsatisfactory, and the mortality so terrible, that I do not think it is possible to do otherwise than to note the shortcomings with censure. Lyall is peculiarly sensitive, and he wrote to me a very long vindication of himself before the Budget. I got Elgin to ascertain from Sir James Lyall, in whose impartiality and fairness I have absolute confidence, whether the opinion he was about to record in his report, concerning the administration of Sir Charles Lyall, precluded me from offering him an appointment in the India Office, and he answered him emphatically in the negative. Lyall is a Secretary rather than an Administrator: and in the first capacity he is excellent, and he has a knowledge and grip of many subjects that puts him intellectually very much above the average Anglo-Indian official.

Plague administration in Poona.

Sandhurst told me that you had written to him about the administration of plague in Poona. I have followed, as closely as the information the

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Bombay Government sent home would permit me, the course of events and procedure adopted there. Doctors are more difficult to deal with even than military men, and are more variable in their opinions. When plague first broke out, they were absolutely certain they could, by forcible measures, stamp it out; and this opinion was emphatically endorsed by the Hong-Kong doctors, who thought they had, by the very drastic measures taken there, succeeded for the time in extirpating the epidemic. After the authorities had had a year or more's experience of the plague, medical opinion veered round, and a policy was advocated of segregation by persuasion; and this much must be said for the procedure then adopted, that both in Poona and in Karachi plague seemed completely stamped out. In both towns it has suddenly burst out again with extreme violence. As far as I can learn, the scientific commission appointed have not yet arrived at a definite conclusion as to the various forms by which the plague can be or is transmitted. I am not therefore disposed to judge very severely the somewhat zigzag course which the Bombay Government have been compelled to take. The leading spirit in Poona is Dr. Reade, a very clear-headed and self-confident Scotch doctor. In the Madras Presidency, where there has been less recourse to force than any other part of India, the plague apparently makes but slight progress, and Havelock always writes to me in tones of triumph of the superior results achieved by his methods compared with those of Bombay. The vagaries of plague puzzle the best-informed and most scientific of medical experts. To give one illustration: I believe that, although there are six thousand prostitutes in Bombay of every colour and quality, there was scarcely a case of anyone of this class being attacked by plague. I am very sorry for Poona: at the same time I have got an idea that the people in the neighbourhood will look upon the terrible mortality there prevalent as a divine punishment for the murders which have been perpetrated in that city.

Ranjitsinhji's appeal.

The Bombay Government's excuse for not communicating our decision about Ranjitsinhji is comical: they contend that, owing to the demands from the India Office, their printing press was so monopolised, by printed matter which had to be sent home, that they had not time to print the communication which should have been sent to Ranjitsinhji. This is not the first time that the same absurd excuse has been put forward, and it only shows to what depths of effeteness that Government have arrived.

Bombay Governorship: Sir G. Goldie.

When I go to London, I will make more careful enquiries about Goldie. I told you what the Prime Minister's view of him was, and he does not as a rule express a very confident opinion one way or the other as to a man's fitness or incapacity for any particular post; but in this case he was so emphatic, as to the impossible condition which would be created if a man of his autocratic will was sent to one of the minor Presidencies, that I gave up

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the idea. However, as you press it on me, I will go more thoroughly into the past service and qualifications of the individual in question.

Colonel Ottley for Cooper's Hill.

The best candidate that we have for Cooper's Hill is Colonel Ottley, the late Director-General of Irrigation in the Punjab. From what I can hear he is in every way qualified for the post, so I have offered it to him. And I

Sir F. Law for Finance Member.

intend to take the same course as regards Law. After many exchanges of opinion with Godley, I think we have both arrived at the same conclusion that he is, under the circumstances, the best man that you could have.

Currency legislation.

I should be sorry if your currency legislation was delayed, or at least that part of it relating to the establishment of a separate Mint, but everything is working so favourably in the direction we want, and the exchange is so high, and the demand for money in India is so great, that I hope, quite independent of a Mint for gold, you will during the next few months largely increase your

Council Bills.

stock of sovereigns in the Treasury. This demand for Bills upon India puzzles me, and I have not yet been able to obtain, in my short visits to London, any satisfactory explanation either of the rise in exchange, or of the huge tenders for our Bills.

Military Member of Council.

It is pretty clear from your letters that the sooner we can effect a change as regards your Military Member the better; but I am afraid he holds his appointment for another 18 months. I cannot conceive a more ingenious method of defeating the objects of the Despatch than to compose in it an elaborate comparison between Lockhart's and Kitchener's campaigns. Kitchener, however, has one advantage over most soldiers: he is disparaged both by the Indian War Office as well as by our War Office at home.

Revision of the Leave Rules.

The revision of the leave rules seems to me about the most tiresome and controversial question that you will have to deal with. As I understand it, you are going to proceed on the method, not of curtailing the amount of leave which individuals can now obtain, but of taking measures that, where an official in one district goes away for a considerable period, if possible, his place should be taken by someone in the same locality. I quite agree with you that it is the most conspicuous blot upon our present system of administration, and we must not hesitate, if necessary, to face a little unpopularity, provided we can efface the more objectionable features of the present system.

Calcutta Municipal Bill agitation.

It is very satisfactory to know that the agitation in Calcutta, concerning the alterations in the Municipal Bill, is subsiding. From the number of letters which Apcar has written to Members of the Cabinet, I suspect that he has been got hold of and was at the bottom of the recent agitation. Resignations *en masse* of public posts seldom have any effect, except one detrimental to the individuals who have indulged in this theatrical performance. They may, as I have suggested in a previous letter, try and defend their position by insinuating that unsustainable charges of corruption have been brought against them. I have sent for the papers, and, if questions are put to me in Parliament, I will telegraph to you what I propose to say before I reply to them.

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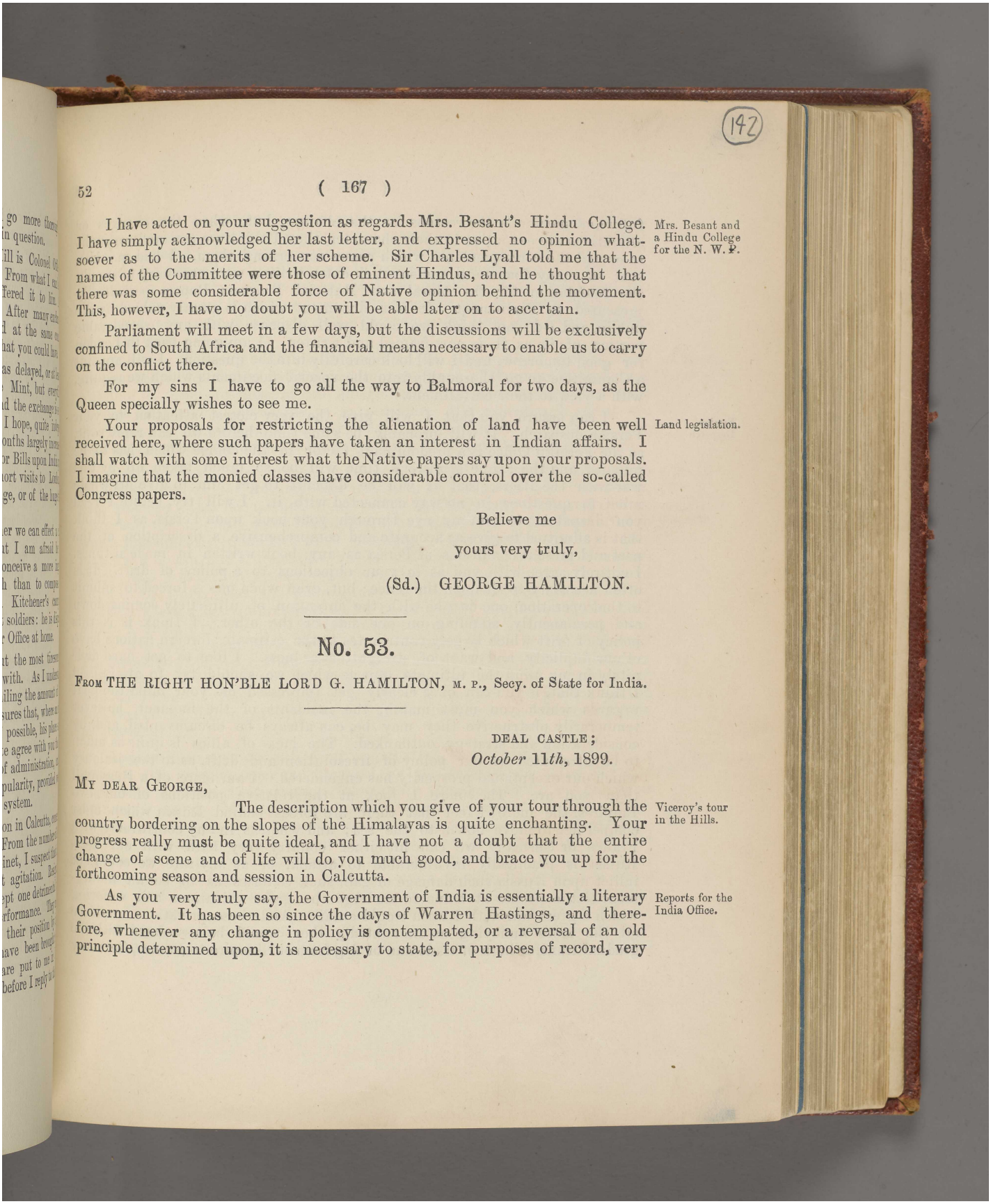

I have acted on your suggestion as regards Mrs. Besant's Hindu College. I have simply acknowledged her last letter, and expressed no opinion whatsoever as to the merits of her scheme. Sir Charles Lyall told me that the names of the Committee were those of eminent Hindus, and he thought that there was some considerable force of Native opinion behind the movement. This, however, I have no doubt you will be able later on to ascertain. Mrs. Besant and a Hindu College for the N. W. P.

Parliament will meet in a few days, but the discussions will be exclusively confined to South Africa and the financial means necessary to enable us to carry on the conflict there.

For my sins I have to go all the way to Balmoral for two days, as the Queen specially wishes to see me.

Your proposals for restricting the alienation of land have been well received here, where such papers have taken an interest in Indian affairs. I shall watch with some interest what the Native papers say upon your proposals. I imagine that the monied classes have considerable control over the so-called Congress papers. Land legislation.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 53.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

DEAL CASTLE;
October 11*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The description which you give of your tour through the country bordering on the slopes of the Himalayas is quite enchanting. Your progress really must be quite ideal, and I have not a doubt that the entire change of scene and of life will do you much good, and brace you up for the forthcoming season and session in Calcutta. Viceroy's tour in the Hills.

As you very truly say, the Government of India is essentially a literary Government. It has been so since the days of Warren Hastings, and therefore, whenever any change in policy is contemplated, or a reversal of an old principle determined upon, it is necessary to state, for purposes of record, very Reports for the India Office.

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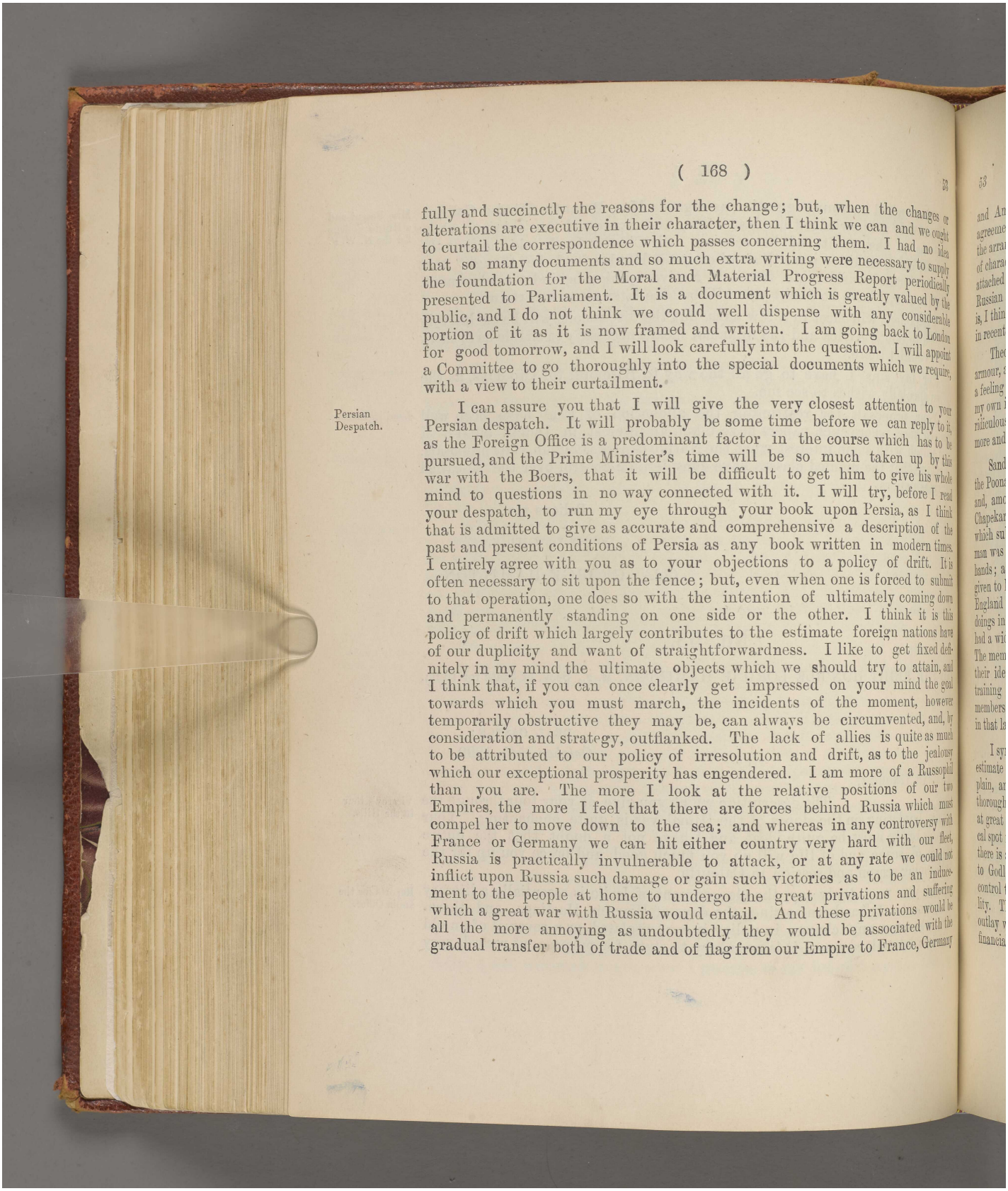

fully and succinctly the reasons for the change; but, when the changes or alterations are executive in their character, then I think we can and we ought to curtail the correspondence which passes concerning them. I had no idea that so many documents and so much extra writing were necessary to supply the foundation for the Moral and Material Progress Report periodically presented to Parliament. It is a document which is greatly valued by the public, and I do not think we could well dispense with any considerable portion of it as it is now framed and written. I am going back to London for good tomorrow, and I will look carefully into the question. I will appoint a Committee to go thoroughly into the special documents which we require, with a view to their curtailment.

Persian Despatch.

I can assure you that I will give the very closest attention to your Persian despatch. It will probably be some time before we can reply to it, as the Foreign Office is a predominant factor in the course which has to be pursued, and the Prime Minister's time will be so much taken up by this war with the Boers, that it will be difficult to get him to give his whole mind to questions in no way connected with it. I will try, before I read your despatch, to run my eye through your book upon Persia, as I think that is admitted to give as accurate and comprehensive a description of the past and present conditions of Persia as any book written in modern times. I entirely agree with you as to your objections to a policy of drift. It is often necessary to sit upon the fence; but, even when one is forced to submit to that operation, one does so with the intention of ultimately coming down and permanently standing on one side or the other. I think it is this policy of drift which largely contributes to the estimate foreign nations have of our duplicity and want of straightforwardness. I like to get fixed definitely in my mind the ultimate objects which we should try to attain, and I think that, if you can once clearly get impressed on your mind the goal towards which you must march, the incidents of the moment, however temporarily obstructive they may be, can always be circumvented, and, by consideration and strategy, outflanked. The lack of allies is quite as much to be attributed to our policy of irresolution and drift, as to the jealousy which our exceptional prosperity has engendered. I am more of a Russophil than you are. The more I look at the relative positions of our two Empires, the more I feel that there are forces behind Russia which must compel her to move down to the sea; and whereas in any controversy with France or Germany we can hit either country very hard with our fleet, Russia is practically invulnerable to attack, or at any rate we could not inflict upon Russia such damage or gain such victories as to be an inducement to the people at home to undergo the great privations and suffering which a great war with Russia would entail. And these privations would be all the more annoying as undoubtedly they would be associated with the gradual transfer both of trade and of flag from our Empire to France, Germany

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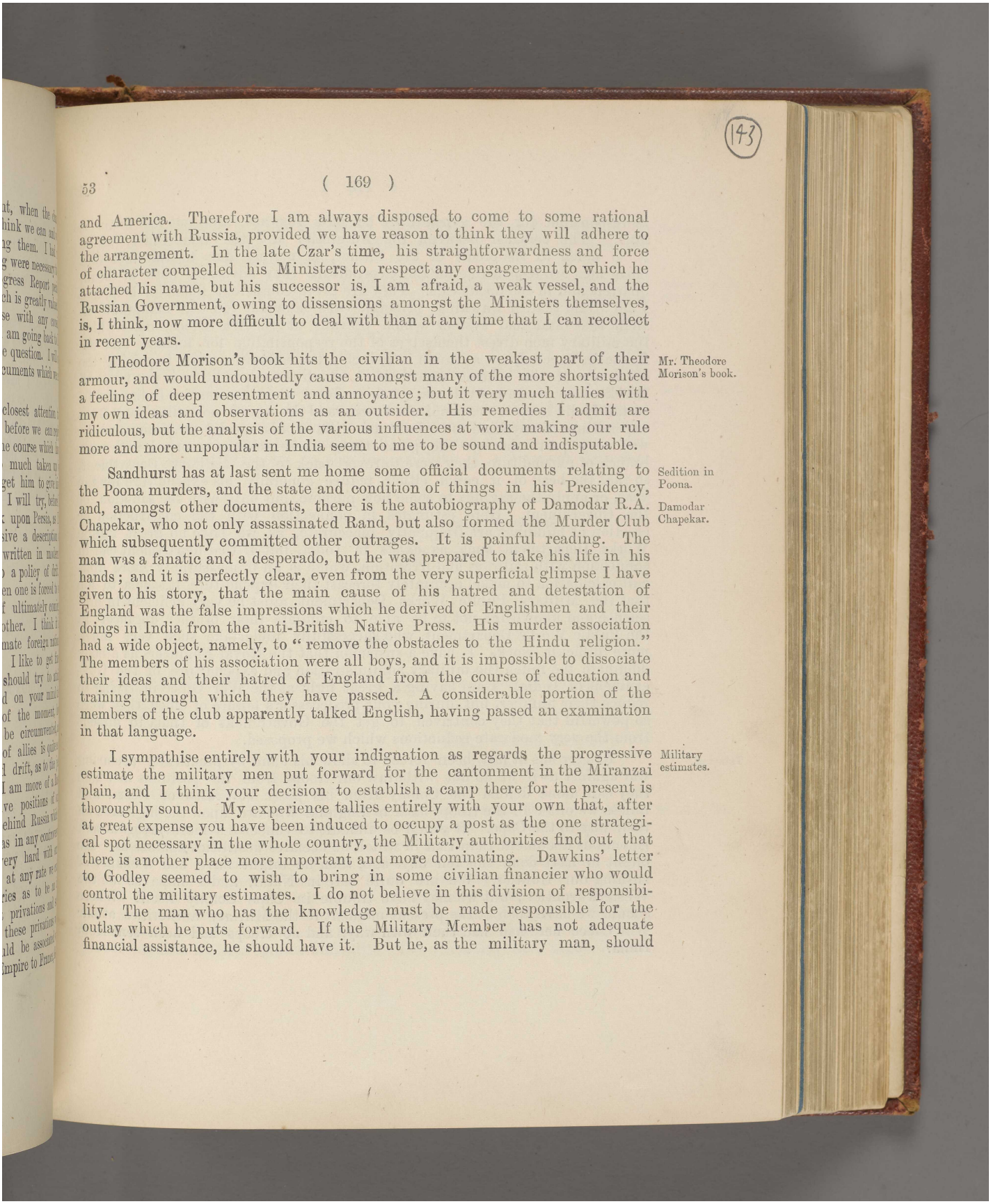

and America. Therefore I am always disposed to come to some rational agreement with Russia, provided we have reason to think they will adhere to the arrangement. In the late Czar's time, his straightforwardness and force of character compelled his Ministers to respect any engagement to which he attached his name, but his successor is, I am afraid, a weak vessel, and the Russian Government, owing to dissensions amongst the Ministers themselves, is, I think, now more difficult to deal with than at any time that I can recollect in recent years.

Mr. Theodore Morison's book.

Theodore Morison's book hits the civilian in the weakest part of their armour, and would undoubtedly cause amongst many of the more shortsighted a feeling of deep resentment and annoyance; but it very much tallies with my own ideas and observations as an outsider. His remedies I admit are ridiculous, but the analysis of the various influences at work making our rule more and more unpopular in India seem to me to be sound and indisputable.

Sedition in Poona.

Damodar Chapekar.

Sandhurst has at last sent me home some official documents relating to the Poona murders, and the state and condition of things in his Presidency, and, amongst other documents, there is the autobiography of Damodar R.A. Chapekar, who not only assassinated Rand, but also formed the Murder Club which subsequently committed other outrages. It is painful reading. The man was a fanatic and a desperado, but he was prepared to take his life in his hands; and it is perfectly clear, even from the very superficial glimpse I have given to his story, that the main cause of his hatred and detestation of England was the false impressions which he derived of Englishmen and their doings in India from the anti-British Native Press. His murder association had a wide object, namely, to "remove the obstacles to the Hindu religion." The members of his association were all boys, and it is impossible to dissociate their ideas and their hatred of England from the course of education and training through which they have passed. A considerable portion of the members of the club apparently talked English, having passed an examination in that language.

Military estimates.

I sympathise entirely with your indignation as regards the progressive estimate the military men put forward for the cantonment in the Miranzai plain, and I think your decision to establish a camp there for the present is thoroughly sound. My experience tallies entirely with your own that, after at great expense you have been induced to occupy a post as the one strategical spot necessary in the whole country, the Military authorities find out that there is another place more important and more dominating. Dawkins' letter to Godley seemed to wish to bring in some civilian financier who would control the military estimates. I do not believe in this division of responsibility. The man who has the knowledge must be made responsible for the outlay which he puts forward. If the Military Member has not adequate financial assistance, he should have it. But he, as the military man, should

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be responsible for the expenditure he puts forward, and not the financial man. The contrast between the Admiralty and the War Office, which is so much to the credit of the former, is mainly due to the fact that naval men are responsible for the expenditure they advocate, both at head-quarters and in the dockyards. They are given competent financial help, and I am afraid that, if Dawkins' principle was adopted, you will inaugurate in India that fatal dual system which prevails at the War Office, under which the military men divest themselves of the responsibility for finance, and the financiers succeed, not so much in reducing the estimates, as in impairing the efficiency of the scheme on behalf of which the expenditure is put forward. Brackenbury wrote me volumes on this subject when he was in India, and he certainly did keep the expenditure down, and he would not allow any fresh expenditure of any kind to be incurred without his special sanction; and he was very particular on the point that, where savings accrued under one branch of expenditure, they were to revert back to the Military Department, so that the head of it could either reduce generally his expenditure for the year, or apply the savings to some new purpose, but only with the sanction of the Government. Here estimates in connection with the construction or erection of buildings are frequently inaccurate, as we have no great Public Works Department such as exists in India, but if that department can in connection with railways and irrigation, which is an immeasurably more difficult calculation to make, accurately forecast their expenditure, it seems to me that the Military Public Works Department must be very deficient in prescience and knowledge not to be able to emulate their brother engineers in the Public Works Department, who successfully undertake such very much more difficult work. I have a suspicion that the Royal Engineers as a body dominate too much the military administration and expenditure of the Government of India. I am having a great fight at the War Office in trying to reduce their number, but, during your predecessor's tenure of office, they were so powerful that they contrived to get the Government of India to dissent from the very moderate reductions which we proposed.

Transvaal.

Kruger has at last been forced to show his hand by practically declaring war against us if we do not withdraw our troops from the positions in which they can alone defend the Colony from his *posse comitatus* of Boers, and unless we order all the troops back to England who are upon the high seas on their way to the Cape. It would be difficult to conceive a more arrogant and ridiculous document than that in which he declares hostilities against us. He ought to have done this ten days ago, then he might have had a chance of rushing our frontier. We are quite safe in Natal, and I hope so on the Western frontier; but we may have trouble in Cape Colony itself. Where should we have been at the present moment if the Military authorities at our War Office here had had their own way, and no troops had been sent from India.

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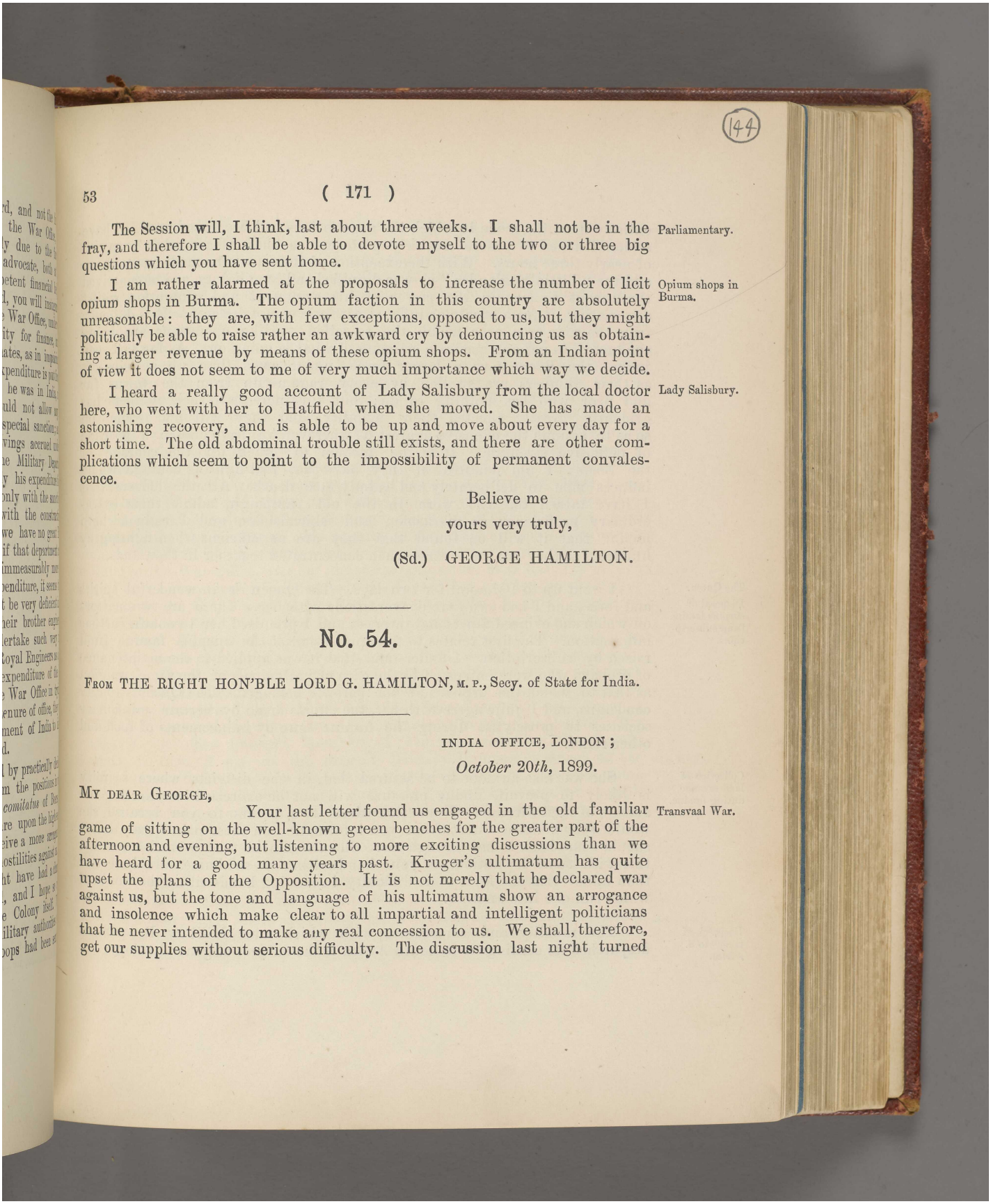

The Session will, I think, last about three weeks. I shall not be in the fray, and therefore I shall be able to devote myself to the two or three big questions which you have sent home. Parliamentary.

I am rather alarmed at the proposals to increase the number of licit opium shops in Burma. The opium faction in this country are absolutely unreasonable: they are, with few exceptions, opposed to us, but they might politically be able to raise rather an awkward cry by denouncing us as obtaining a larger revenue by means of these opium shops. From an Indian point of view it does not seem to me of very much importance which way we decide. Opium shops in Burma.

I heard a really good account of Lady Salisbury from the local doctor here, who went with her to Hatfield when she moved. She has made an astonishing recovery, and is able to be up and move about every day for a short time. The old abdominal trouble still exists, and there are other complications which seem to point to the impossibility of permanent convalescence. Lady Salisbury.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 54.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
October 20th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your last letter found us engaged in the old familiar game of sitting on the well-known green benches for the greater part of the afternoon and evening, but listening to more exciting discussions than we have heard for a good many years past. Kruger's ultimatum has quite upset the plans of the Opposition. It is not merely that he declared war against us, but the tone and language of his ultimatum show an arrogance and insolence which make clear to all impartial and intelligent politicians that he never intended to make any real concession to us. We shall, therefore, get our supplies without serious difficulty. The discussion last night turned Transvaal War.

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entirely upon the mode in which the negotiations had been conducted. I have seldom listened to a more masterly performance than Chamberlain's speech of nearly three hours. With the exception of the retorts he made on Stanhope and the "Little Englander," he was dignified and conciliatory, and he contrived throughout to sustain the power of his argument and contention whilst dissociating it from ornate or inflated patriotic commonplaces. It is difficult, from the wide area over which the so-called warlike operations are being conducted, to get any accurate estimate of what is going on. As far as I can judge, the Boers have a larger force under arms than we anticipated, as their numbers are swollen by every ragamuffin from the towns far and near who has nothing to do; but this increase to their numbers has evidently greatly affected their mobility, and they will not come on so as to assume the offensive against us wherever we have chosen a position of defensive strength. It is the fashion to crack up the courage of the Boers: I am doubtful if they have that real fighting courage which induces men to deliberately and calmly face death. All the officers that I have talked to, who were in the old campaign, admit their extraordinary proficiency as marksmen and skirmishers, and I cannot help hoping that it will be found that they are as efficient when fighting by hundreds as they are the reverse when concentrated together in thousands.

The Queen. Disposal of surplus famine fund subscriptions.

I went up to Balmoral for two days. The Queen is in wonderful spirits and force, and I had two long conversations with her. There are two matters on which she evinced a personal interest, and I promised her to obtain further information. The first relates to the application of the surplus famine fund raised by subscription. I understand that it was applied to the maintenance of orphans who were entrusted to the care of individuals of the same religion as that to which the orphans of the parents belonged. The Queen strongly condemns, and I quite agree with her, the efforts made by certain missionary societies to proselytise during the famine time by inducements of food and other relief.

Collection of land revenue during famine.

She was also anxious to be assured that, in the districts where scarcity is likely to prevail, undue pressure will not be exercised in collecting the arrears of land revenue. I mention these two points to you because she would sooner have direct from you information on these points than that it should come back to her through me. She also hinted to me—and I mention this with some hesitation, as your handwriting is so immeasurably better than mine—that she finds some difficulty in reading handwriting the words of which run one into another.

Despatch of troops to S. Africa.

The rapidity and smoothness with which your Military Department despatched its contingent to South Africa is the subject of general eulogy.

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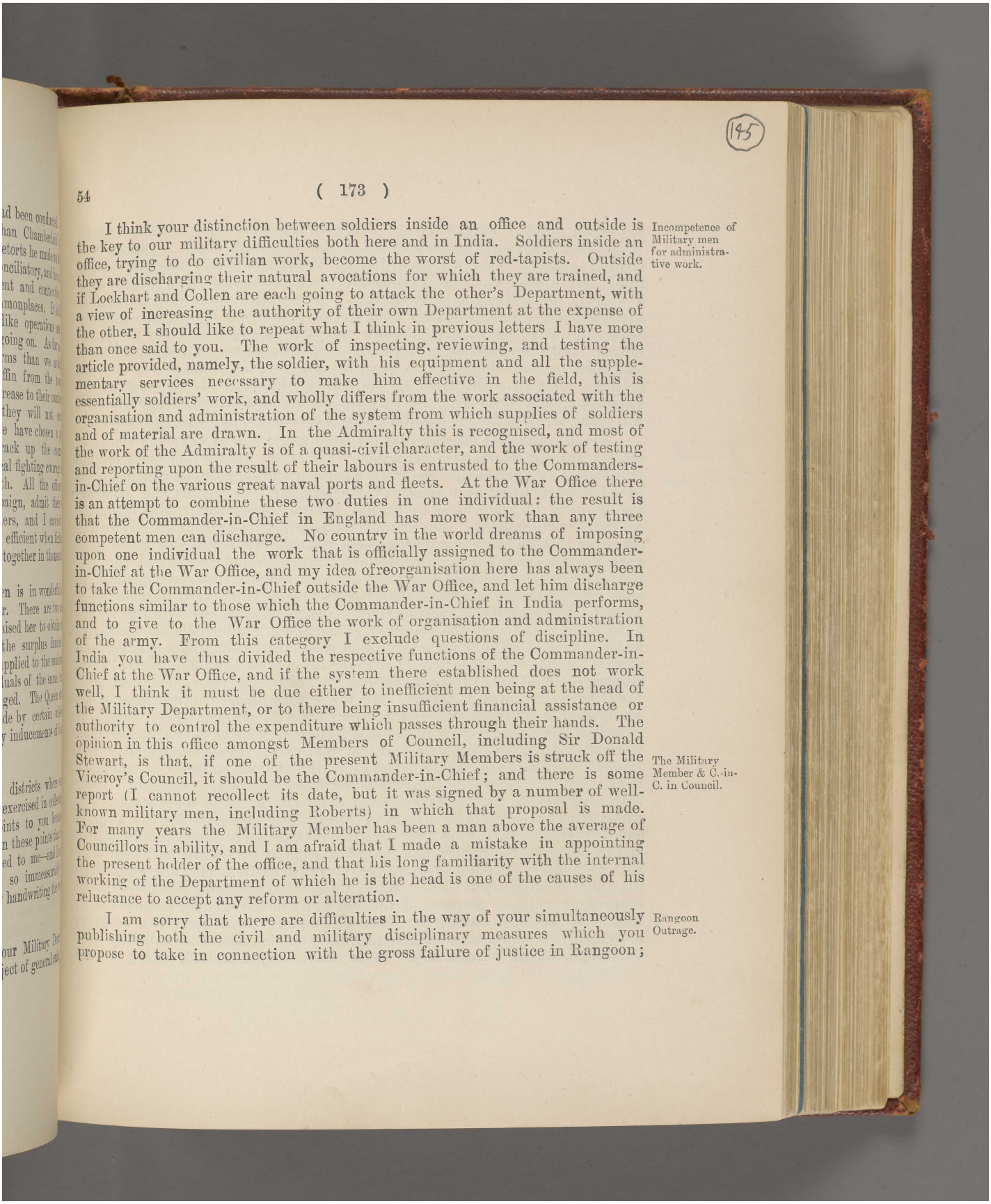

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I think your distinction between soldiers inside an office and outside is the key to our military difficulties both here and in India. Soldiers inside an office, trying to do civilian work, become the worst of red-tapists. Outside they are discharging their natural avocations for which they are trained, and if Lockhart and Collen are each going to attack the other's Department, with a view of increasing the authority of their own Department at the expense of the other, I should like to repeat what I think in previous letters I have more than once said to you. The work of inspecting, reviewing, and testing the article provided, namely, the soldier, with his equipment and all the supplementary services necessary to make him effective in the field, this is essentially soldiers' work, and wholly differs from the work associated with the organisation and administration of the system from which supplies of soldiers and of material are drawn. In the Admiralty this is recognised, and most of the work of the Admiralty is of a quasi-civil character, and the work of testing and reporting upon the result of their labours is entrusted to the Commanders-in-Chief on the various great naval ports and fleets. At the War Office there is an attempt to combine these two duties in one individual: the result is that the Commander-in-Chief in England has more work than any three competent men can discharge. No country in the world dreams of imposing upon one individual the work that is officially assigned to the Commander-in-Chief at the War Office, and my idea ofreorganisation here has always been to take the Commander-in-Chief outside the War Office, and let him discharge functions similar to those which the Commander-in-Chief in India performs, and to give to the War Office the work of organisation and administration of the army. From this category I exclude questions of discipline. In India you have thus divided the respective functions of the Commander-in-Chief at the War Office, and if the system there established does not work well, I think it must be due either to inefficient men being at the head of the Military Department, or to there being insufficient financial assistance or authority to control the expenditure which passes through their hands. The opinion in this office amongst Members of Council, including Sir Donald Stewart, is that, if one of the present Military Members is struck off the Viceroy's Council, it should be the Commander-in-Chief; and there is some report (I cannot recollect its date, but it was signed by a number of well-known military men, including Roberts) in which that proposal is made. For many years the Military Member has been a man above the average of Councillors in ability, and I am afraid that I made a mistake in appointing the present holder of the office, and that his long familiarity with the internal working of the Department of which he is the head is one of the causes of his reluctance to accept any reform or alteration.

Incompetence of Military men for administrative work.

The Military Member & C.-in-C. in Council.

I am sorry that there are difficulties in the way of your simultaneously publishing both the civil and military disciplinary measures which you propose to take in connection with the gross failure of justice in Rangoon;

Rangoon Outrage.

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but, from what I hear, it is very likely we may have some resistance at the War Office, when their assent is asked to the proposals which Lockhart will forward to them. They will go to Evelyn Wood, who is very crotchety, and I think, from what I can hear, that he has already been approached by Protheroe or some of the military men on the spot. In my telegram to you I therefore advised that you should publish what you propose to do, leaving the military authorities later on to make known the punishments which they propose to inflict. With the pressure of work that is now going on at the War Office, and their natural tendency to procrastinate, I do not think you can rely on getting a reply from them before the end of the year. If you act on my suggestion, and Lockhart will only let me know about what date his letter will reach the War Office, I will do what I can to accelerate the business.

Status of the Madras and Bombay Governorships.

I read with great interest your despatch proposing to alter the status of the Madras and Bombay Governorships; and I do not for a moment dispute that there is weight behind and convenience in the suggestions you make. I have little doubt that even efficient Governors, both at Madras and Bombay, are a cause of annoyance to certain central Departments, and that for administrative purposes the whole machine would work more effectively and smoothly if these two Governments were put on the footing of those local Governorships in the Bengal Presidency. But quite independent of administrative or Indian considerations, there are very weighty Imperial objections to excluding all public men other than Anglo-Indians from the Governorships of India. If you look at this question simply from an administrative point of view, I have little doubt that the selection of the ablest Anglo-Indian of the day as Viceroy would make the actual transaction of business in India quicker and more expeditious than it generally is under the control of an English or Parliamentary-bred official. The only civilian who of recent years held that post, Lord Lawrence, was a failure, and the extraordinary contrast between his administration and that of his successor, Lord Mayo, cut short though it unfortunately was, is strong in the recollection of all who took part in Indian work of that period. The very fact that you, with your Parliamentary and English training, are able to detect so many flaws and so many shortcomings in the system of administration which you found in India, is conclusive proof that, from time to time, it is essential that outside ideas and broader and wider experience should be utilised in filling high posts in India. I quite admit that the supply of this class of man seems to deteriorate in quality and to diminish in numbers, and that of recent years we have had men sent both to Madras and Bombay who were obviously unfit to adequately discharge the duties imposed upon them. When I said the Congress party would be opposed to such a proposal, I did not think of the extreme members of it, such as Wedderburn and his particular clique, but I look upon the Congress movement as an uprising of Indian Native opinion against, not British rule, but Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. It is universally admitted, owing to the

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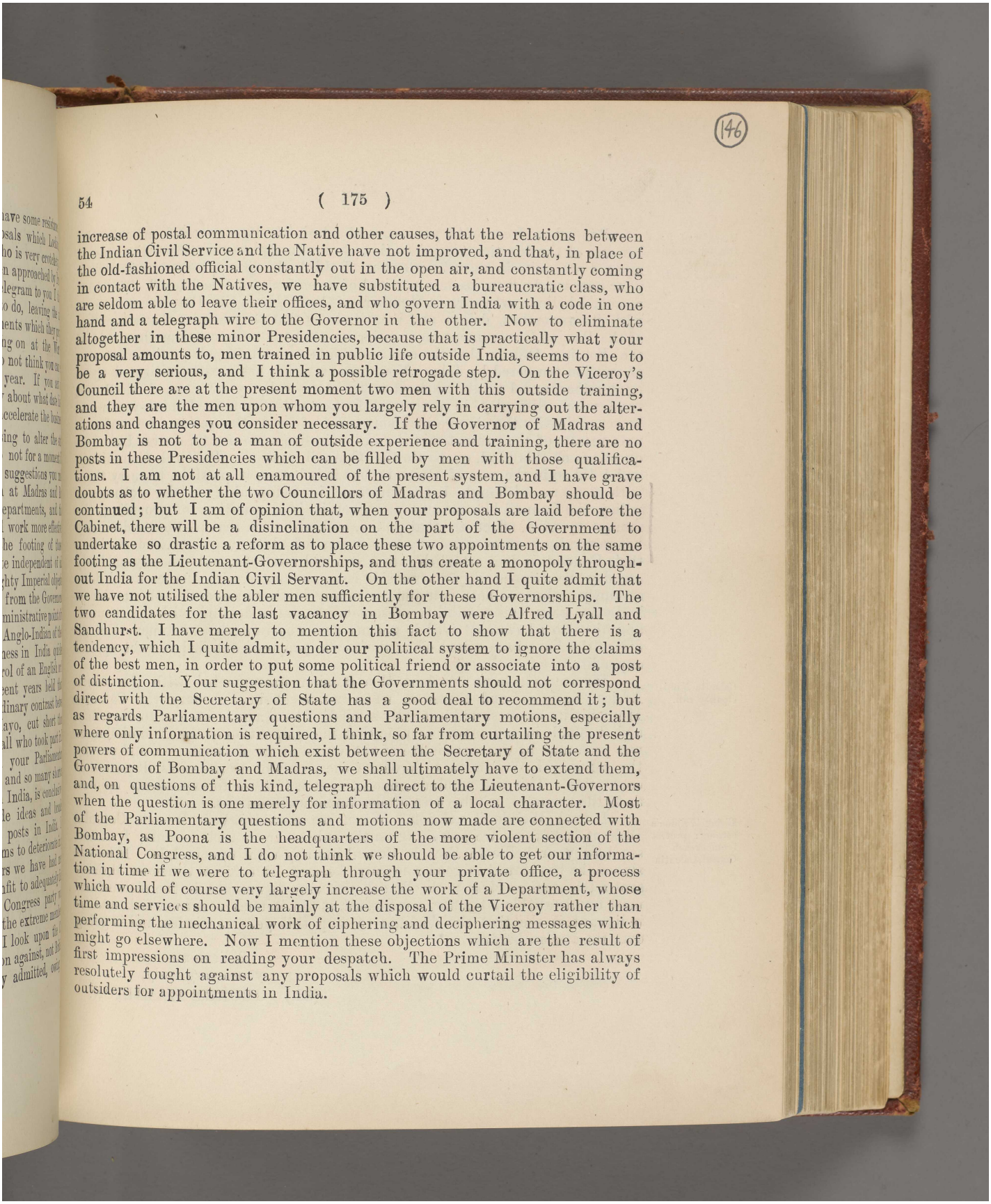

increase of postal communication and other causes, that the relations between the Indian Civil Service and the Native have not improved, and that, in place of the old-fashioned official constantly out in the open air, and constantly coming in contact with the Natives, we have substituted a bureaucratic class, who are seldom able to leave their offices, and who govern India with a code in one hand and a telegraph wire to the Governor in the other. Now to eliminate altogether in these minor Presidencies, because that is practically what your proposal amounts to, men trained in public life outside India, seems to me to be a very serious, and I think a possible retrogade step. On the Viceroy's Council there are at the present moment two men with this outside training, and they are the men upon whom you largely rely in carrying out the alterations and changes you consider necessary. If the Governor of Madras and Bombay is not to be a man of outside experience and training, there are no posts in these Presidencies which can be filled by men with those qualifications. I am not at all enamoured of the present system, and I have grave doubts as to whether the two Councillors of Madras and Bombay should be continued; but I am of opinion that, when your proposals are laid before the Cabinet, there will be a disinclination on the part of the Government to undertake so drastic a reform as to place these two appointments on the same footing as the Lieutenant-Governorships, and thus create a monopoly throughout India for the Indian Civil Servant. On the other hand I quite admit that we have not utilised the abler men sufficiently for these Governorships. The two candidates for the last vacancy in Bombay were Alfred Lyall and Sandhurst. I have merely to mention this fact to show that there is a tendency, which I quite admit, under our political system to ignore the claims of the best men, in order to put some political friend or associate into a post of distinction. Your suggestion that the Governments should not correspond direct with the Secretary of State has a good deal to recommend it; but as regards Parliamentary questions and Parliamentary motions, especially where only information is required, I think, so far from curtailing the present powers of communication which exist between the Secretary of State and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, we shall ultimately have to extend them, and, on questions of this kind, telegraph direct to the Lieutenant-Governors when the question is one merely for information of a local character. Most of the Parliamentary questions and motions now made are connected with Bombay, as Poona is the headquarters of the more violent section of the National Congress, and I do not think we should be able to get our information in time if we were to telegraph through your private office, a process which would of course very largely increase the work of a Department, whose time and services should be mainly at the disposal of the Viceroy rather than performing the mechanical work of ciphering and deciphering messages which might go elsewhere. Now I mention these objections which are the result of first impressions on reading your despatch. The Prime Minister has always resolutely fought against any proposals which would curtail the eligibility of outsiders for appointments in India.

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Transfer of frontier administration to Supreme Govt.

But when I come to your second administrative proposal, namely, the transfer of the frontier administration of the Punjab to the Imperial Government, I am quite in accord with you. I think the present system is, to use your own words, "an obsolete survival of an entirely vanished day." The chief reason, I believe, why certain Members of Council here like the present system, with its anomalies, delays and ineptitude, is that they believe that the policy of the Punjab Government on frontier questions is more cautious than that of the Foreign Office: that the one represents a go-ahead policy, the other, one of caution tempered by delay. Your recent action has greatly mitigated these impressions, and I think, when you can state fully your case, I shall not have much difficulty in carrying the Council with me. I think you must, however, justify the change by a statement of facts illustrating the unfortunate results of the present mixed and ineffective system. Of course I can, on questions of this kind, over-rule the Council and the Political Committee, and I did so in the case of Chitral; but it is better, if possible, to carry them with you, as, although I am supreme in being able to order a change of policy, the Council become supreme when it is a question of providing the money to give effect to that policy, and, although that particular difficulty has generally been overcome by Secretaries of State when thus over-riding their Council, it does establish rather strained relations, and one may suddenly one day be tripped up on some side issue connected with finance which may seriously embarrass both you and me in any further prosecution of our ideas. I always keep this possibility present before me in dealing with the Council, and hitherto I have contrived to get my own way in such a manner that no difficulties have been raised when the course proposed entailed certain special expenditure.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

We are to have no motions this Session unconnected with the South African business, and therefore when we meet in February the Calcutta Municipality business will be finally settled. I have a question put to me today, and I shall in my answer assume that the resignation of the Commissioners was prompted by general dislike of the action of the Government, and not by the refusal of Woodburn to produce the proofs of Mackenzie's allegation of corruption. This will preclude anyone from asking me to express my opinion as to the accuracy or otherwise of Mackenzie's allegations.

Bishop Welldon's sermon: protest from French Consul, Calcutta.

I read Welldon's sermon. When we consider how Roman Catholic Bishops and others are preaching on the subject from their pulpits, I cannot see how your bellicose French Consul has any right to complain. If he has sinned, he has sinned in good company, because Her Most Gracious Majesty sent a telegram *en clair* to the British Embassy expressing, in the plainest and most unmistakable language, her disgust at the Rennes court-martial, and so indignant is she that she declines to stop this year at Cimiez, and is going over the Italian border.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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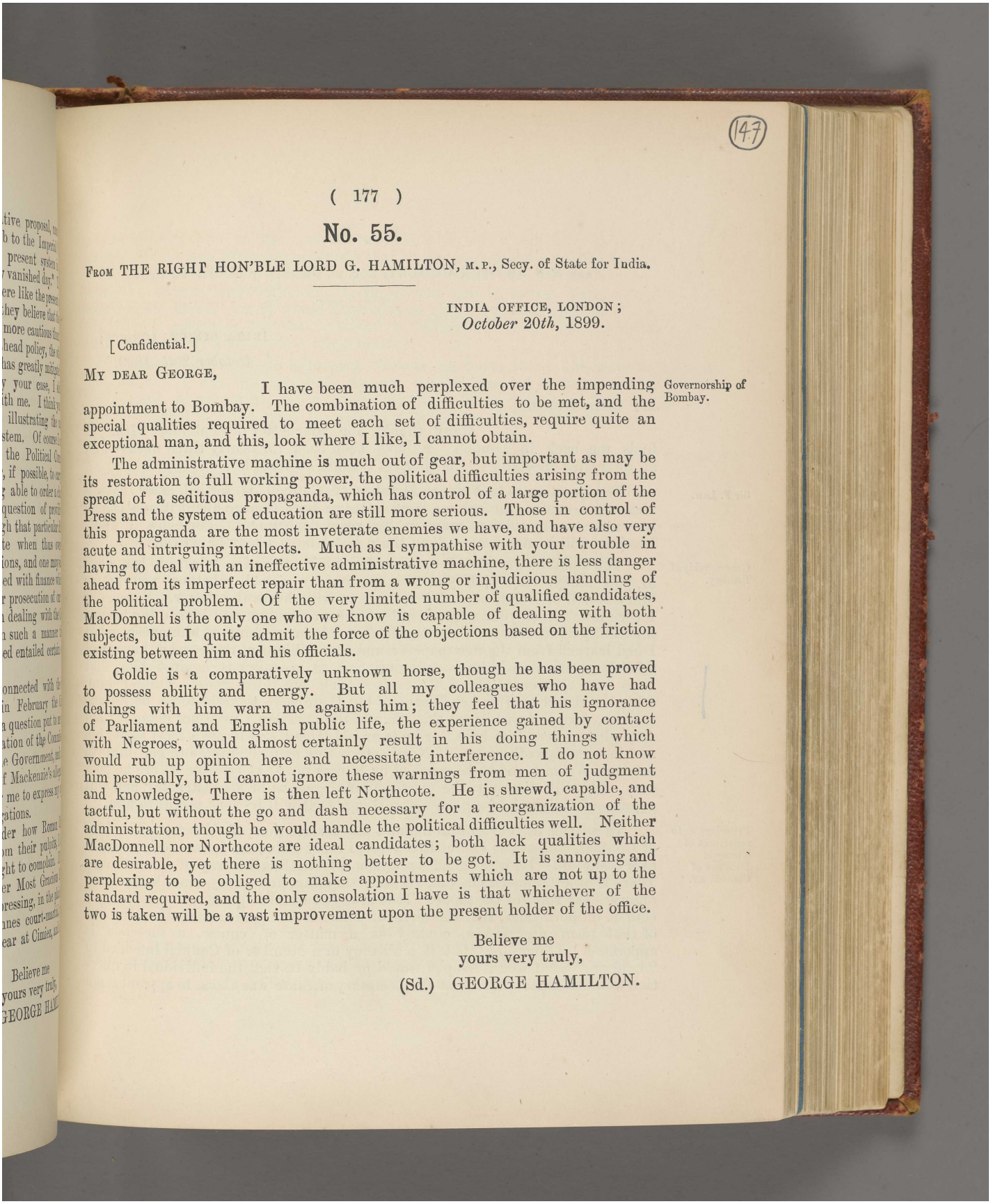

No. 55.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
October 20*th*, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have been much perplexed over the impending appointment to Bombay. The combination of difficulties to be met, and the special qualities required to meet each set of difficulties, require quite an exceptional man, and this, look where I like, I cannot obtain. Governorship of Bombay.

The administrative machine is much out of gear, but important as may be its restoration to full working power, the political difficulties arising from the spread of a seditious propaganda, which has control of a large portion of the Press and the system of education are still more serious. Those in control of this propaganda are the most inveterate enemies we have, and have also very acute and intriguing intellects. Much as I sympathise with your trouble in having to deal with an ineffective administrative machine, there is less danger ahead from its imperfect repair than from a wrong or injudicious handling of the political problem. Of the very limited number of qualified candidates, MacDonnell is the only one who we know is capable of dealing with both subjects, but I quite admit the force of the objections based on the friction existing between him and his officials.

Goldie is a comparatively unknown horse, though he has been proved to possess ability and energy. But all my colleagues who have had dealings with him warn me against him; they feel that his ignorance of Parliament and English public life, the experience gained by contact with Negroes, would almost certainly result in his doing things which would rub up opinion here and necessitate interference. I do not know him personally, but I cannot ignore these warnings from men of judgment and knowledge. There is then left Northcote. He is shrewd, capable, and tactful, but without the go and dash necessary for a reorganization of the administration, though he would handle the political difficulties well. Neither MacDonnell nor Northcote are ideal candidates; both lack qualities which are desirable, yet there is nothing better to be got. It is annoying and perplexing to be obliged to make appointments which are not up to the standard required, and the only consolation I have is that whichever of the two is taken will be a vast improvement upon the present holder of the office.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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No. 56.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
October 20th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Many thanks for your letter of September 27th. It finds me back in London. I have been back for nearly three weeks—and an interested spectator of the shortest Session on record.

Sir F. Law.

The question as to Finance Member of Council is settled, Law having virtually accepted: he wrote a good letter to Lord George about it, and I hope he will be a very efficient man in his own department. Somehow I don't fancy he will be much more than that; but I hope I may be wrong.

Governorship of Bombay.

The Bombay question is approaching a climax, and a telegram has gone to you today, in which you are practically asked whether you prefer MacDonnell or Northcote. I imagine you will choose the latter. Personally I very much liked your suggestion of Goldie, and supported him to the best of my ability; but I was obliged to add that I knew nothing of him except what I had learned from the newspapers: and the opinions of those who have had official experience of him is so strong and so unanimous against him that I do not wonder at Lord George's having put him aside. Failing him, I hankered rather after Lee-Warner; but there were thought to be objections to him, too, into which at this stage of the question I need not enter. I am very glad to keep him here, for he is an old friend, and to me a most agreeable and interesting colleague. If Northcote is the man, I propose to get him to see Lee-Warner, and to be coached by him as much as possible before he goes out. He will discount the *perfervidum ingenium* of his instructor, and will get a good insight into a good many things that will be very useful to him.

Procedure as to retirement of Viceroys, Members of Council, &c.

In answer to your question about the resignation of Viceroys, Members of Council, &c., at the end of five years, I reply—No; no formal resignation is ever sent in. It is a good specimen of the English way of doing things. There is an established custom, an understanding, and every one knows and observes the rules of the game. It is always assumed quite as a matter of course, on both sides, that the term of office is five years: and, when the end of that term approaches, equally as a matter of course, a successor is appointed. I imagine that if a Viceroy or a Member of Council intended to "hold on," what would happen would probably be that the individual in question would become aware that the Secretary of State was about to appoint some

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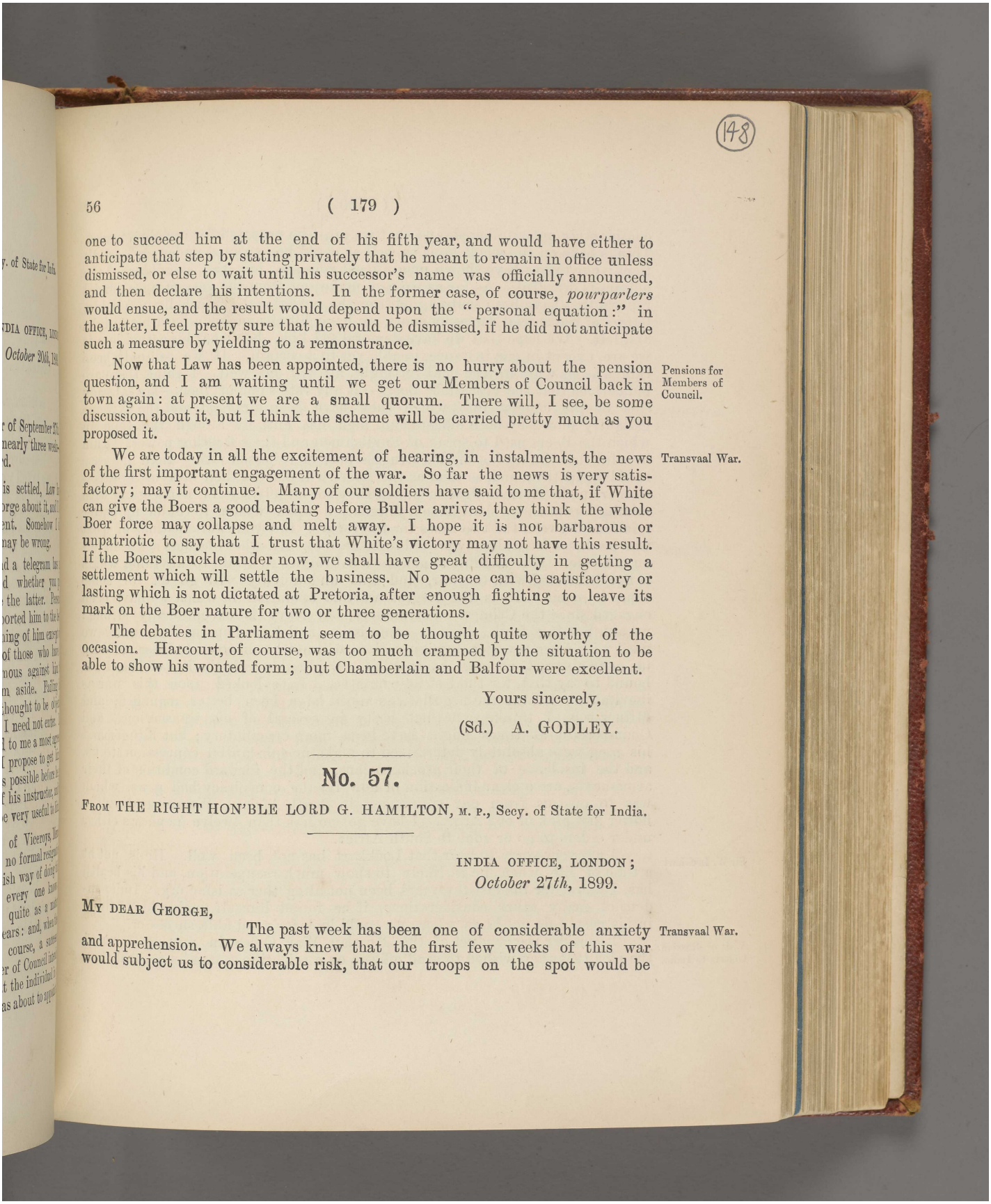

one to succeed him at the end of his fifth year, and would have either to anticipate that step by stating privately that he meant to remain in office unless dismissed, or else to wait until his successor's name was officially announced, and then declare his intentions. In the former case, of course, *pourparlers* would ensue, and the result would depend upon the "personal equation:" in the latter, I feel pretty sure that he would be dismissed, if he did not anticipate such a measure by yielding to a remonstrance.

Now that Law has been appointed, there is no hurry about the pension question, and I am waiting until we get our Members of Council back in town again: at present we are a small quorum. There will, I see, be some discussion about it, but I think the scheme will be carried pretty much as you proposed it. Pensions for Members of Council.

We are today in all the excitement of hearing, in instalments, the news of the first important engagement of the war. So far the news is very satisfactory; may it continue. Many of our soldiers have said to me that, if White can give the Boers a good beating before Buller arrives, they think the whole Boer force may collapse and melt away. I hope it is not barbarous or unpatriotic to say that I trust that White's victory may not have this result. If the Boers knuckle under now, we shall have great difficulty in getting a settlement which will settle the business. No peace can be satisfactory or lasting which is not dictated at Pretoria, after enough fighting to leave its mark on the Boer nature for two or three generations. Transvaal War.

The debates in Parliament seem to be thought quite worthy of the occasion. Harcourt, of course, was too much cramped by the situation to be able to show his wonted form; but Chamberlain and Balfour were excellent.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 57.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
October 27th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The past week has been one of considerable anxiety and apprehension. We always knew that the first few weeks of this war would subject us to considerable risk, that our troops on the spot would be Transvaal War.

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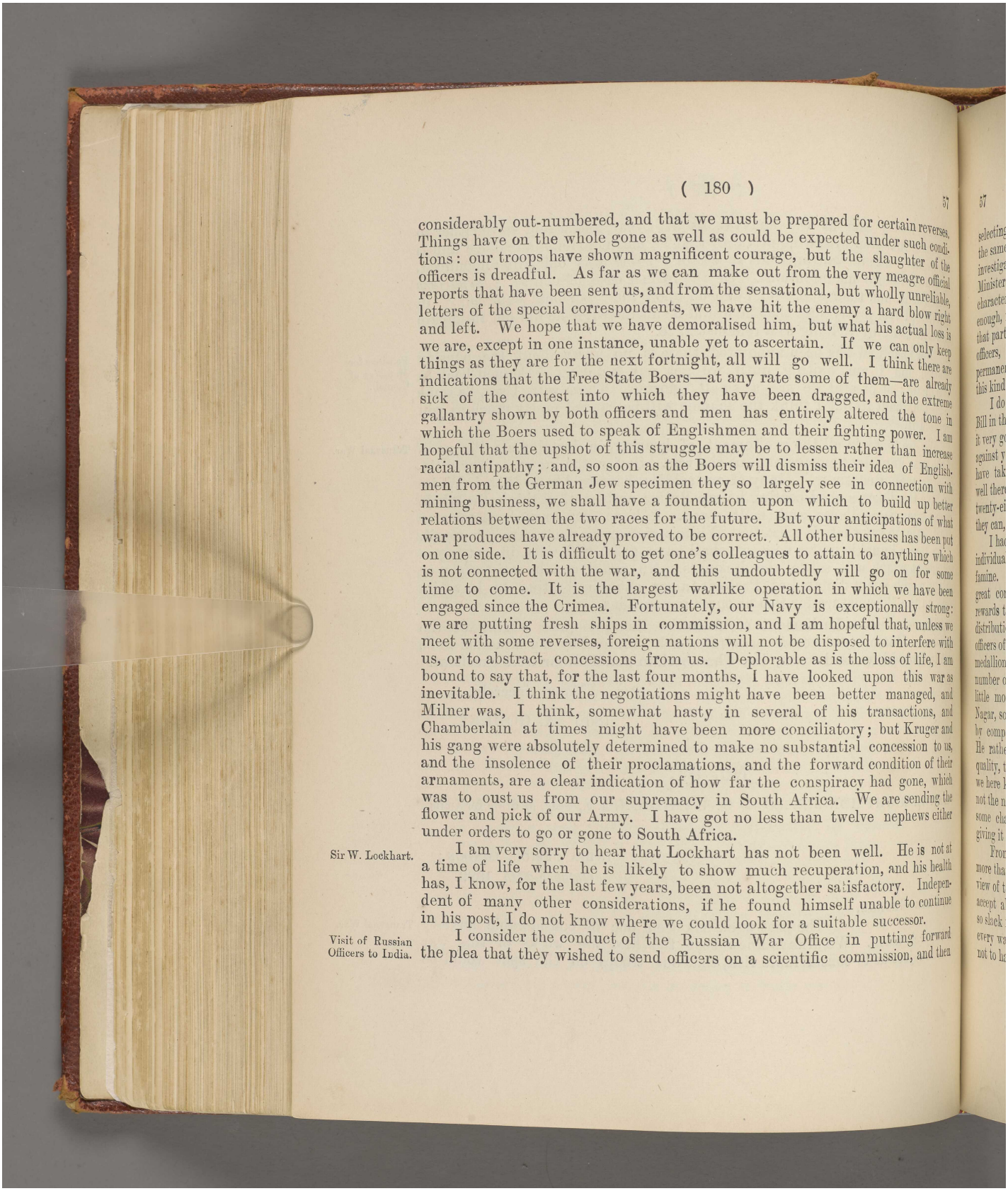

considerably out-numbered, and that we must be prepared for certain reverses. Things have on the whole gone as well as could be expected under such conditions: our troops have shown magnificent courage, but the slaughter of the officers is dreadful. As far as we can make out from the very meagre official reports that have been sent us, and from the sensational, but wholly unreliable, letters of the special correspondents, we have hit the enemy a hard blow right and left. We hope that we have demoralised him, but what his actual loss is we are, except in one instance, unable yet to ascertain. If we can only keep things as they are for the next fortnight, all will go well. I think there are indications that the Free State Boers—at any rate some of them—are already sick of the contest into which they have been dragged, and the extreme gallantry shown by both officers and men has entirely altered the tone in which the Boers used to speak of Englishmen and their fighting power. I am hopeful that the upshot of this struggle may be to lessen rather than increase racial antipathy; and, so soon as the Boers will dismiss their idea of Englishmen from the German Jew specimen they so largely see in connection with mining business, we shall have a foundation upon which to build up better relations between the two races for the future. But your anticipations of what war produces have already proved to be correct. All other business has been put on one side. It is difficult to get one's colleagues to attain to anything which is not connected with the war, and this undoubtedly will go on for some time to come. It is the largest warlike operation in which we have been engaged since the Crimea. Fortunately, our Navy is exceptionally strong: we are putting fresh ships in commission, and I am hopeful that, unless we meet with some reverses, foreign nations will not be disposed to interfere with us, or to abstract concessions from us. Deplorable as is the loss of life, I am bound to say that, for the last four months, I have looked upon this war as inevitable. I think the negotiations might have been better managed, and Milner was, I think, somewhat hasty in several of his transactions, and Chamberlain at times might have been more conciliatory; but Kruger and his gang were absolutely determined to make no substantial concession to us, and the insolence of their proclamations, and the forward condition of their armaments, are a clear indication of how far the conspiracy had gone, which was to oust us from our supremacy in South Africa. We are sending the flower and pick of our Army. I have got no less than twelve nephews either under orders to go or gone to South Africa.

Sir W. Lockhart.

I am very sorry to hear that Lockhart has not been well. He is not at a time of life when he is likely to show much recuperation, and his health has, I know, for the last few years, been not altogether satisfactory. Independent of many other considerations, if he found himself unable to continue in his post, I do not know where we could look for a suitable successor.

Visit of Russian Officers to India.

I consider the conduct of the Russian War Office in putting forward the plea that they wished to send officers on a scientific commission, and then

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selecting the head of their Intelligence Department and another officer of the same Department to go to India, and devote five months' attention to an investigation of our fortified frontier, an outrage; and I have told the Prime Minister that I hope he will bear this in mind when any request of a similar character is again made by the Russian Government. He, however, curiously enough, is not disposed to take that view of the transaction. I have had that part of your letter, describing the qualifications and intentions of these officers, sent up to the Political Department, so that there will be a permanent record to which to appeal in the event of any further requests of this kind being made.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

I do not think we shall hear anything more of the Calcutta Municipality Bill in this country. I read Woodburn's concluding speech, and I thought it very good. It would be impossible to get up any genuine sympathy here against your amended reconstitution of the Calcutta Municipality, for you have taken as your model the system in Bombay, which has worked very well there, and substituted it for one which in Calcutta had failed. The twenty-eight members who resigned will, I assume, quietly sneak back, if they can, to the discharge of their old duties.

Native titles.

I had no idea that Native titles were being distributed so largely to individuals who had rendered service in connection with the plague and famine. Some three years back I wrote to Elgin, telling him that there was a great contrast between the manner in which the Russian Government gave rewards to individuals who had done it service along their frontier, and our distribution of similar distinctions, and that, when a joint commission of political officers of both nationalities came together, the Russian escort was plastered with medallions and decorations, which were a great contrast to the small and limited number of distinctions which our men had; and I suggested to him to be a little more liberal in the Durbars which were about to be held in Hunza and Nagar, so that the mountaineers might not think they suffered in this respect by comparing their rewards with those given by the Russian Government. He rather combated my view, but he did increase, both in number and in quality, the marks of distinction which he had proposed to give. Of course we here know nothing, and can do nothing: in a question of this kind we have not the necessary knowledge; but, if it be necessary to get our sanction to some change in the present system, I think you may rely upon our readily giving it to you.

Rangoon Outrage.

From what I can hear of the disposition of the War Office, I think it is more than likely that they will maintain that we have taken an exaggerated view of the Rangoon outrage, and we may have difficulty in getting them to accept all your proposals for the punishment of the military officials who were so slack in bringing the culprits to justice. I will certainly support you in every way I can, and I think, with Lansdowne's knowledge of India, we ought not to have much trouble in getting their assent; but, if you had in any way

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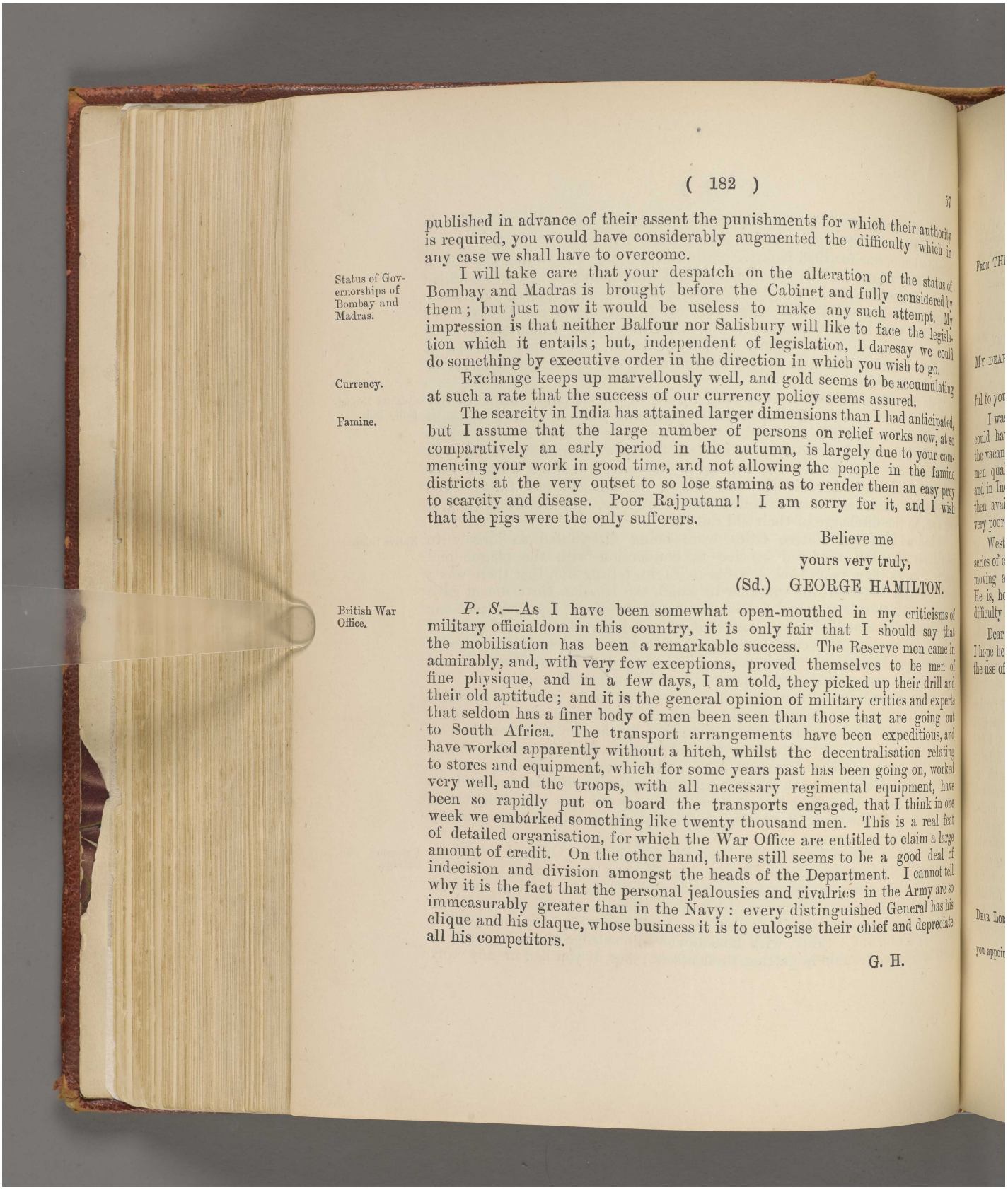

published in advance of their assent the punishments for which their authority is required, you would have considerably augmented the difficulty which in any case we shall have to overcome.

Status of Governorships of Bombay and Madras.

I will take care that your despatch on the alteration of the status of Bombay and Madras is brought before the Cabinet and fully considered by them; but just now it would be useless to make any such attempt. My impression is that neither Balfour nor Salisbury will like to face the legislation which it entails; but, independent of legislation, I daresay we could do something by executive order in the direction in which you wish to go.

Currency.

Exchange keeps up marvellously well, and gold seems to be accumulating at such a rate that the success of our currency policy seems assured.

Famine.

The scarcity in India has attained larger dimensions than I had anticipated, but I assume that the large number of persons on relief works now, at so comparatively an early period in the autumn, is largely due to your commencing your work in good time, and not allowing the people in the famine districts at the very outset to so lose stamina as to render them an easy prey to scarcity and disease. Poor Rajputana! I am sorry for it, and I wish that the pigs were the only sufferers.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

British War Office.

P. S.—As I have been somewhat open-mouthed in my criticisms of military officialdom in this country, it is only fair that I should say that the mobilisation has been a remarkable success. The Reserve men came in admirably, and, with very few exceptions, proved themselves to be men of fine physique, and in a few days, I am told, they picked up their drill and their old aptitude; and it is the general opinion of military critics and experts that seldom has a finer body of men been seen than those that are going out to South Africa. The transport arrangements have been expeditious, and have worked apparently without a hitch, whilst the decentralisation relating to stores and equipment, which for some years past has been going on, worked very well, and the troops, with all necessary regimental equipment, have been so rapidly put on board the transports engaged, that I think in one week we embarked something like twenty thousand men. This is a real feat of detailed organisation, for which the War Office are entitled to claim a large amount of credit. On the other hand, there still seems to be a good deal of indecision and division amongst the heads of the Department. I cannot tell why it is the fact that the personal jealousies and rivalries in the Army are so immeasurably greater than in the Navy: every distinguished General has his clique and his claque, whose business it is to eulogise their chief and depreciate all his competitors.

G. H.

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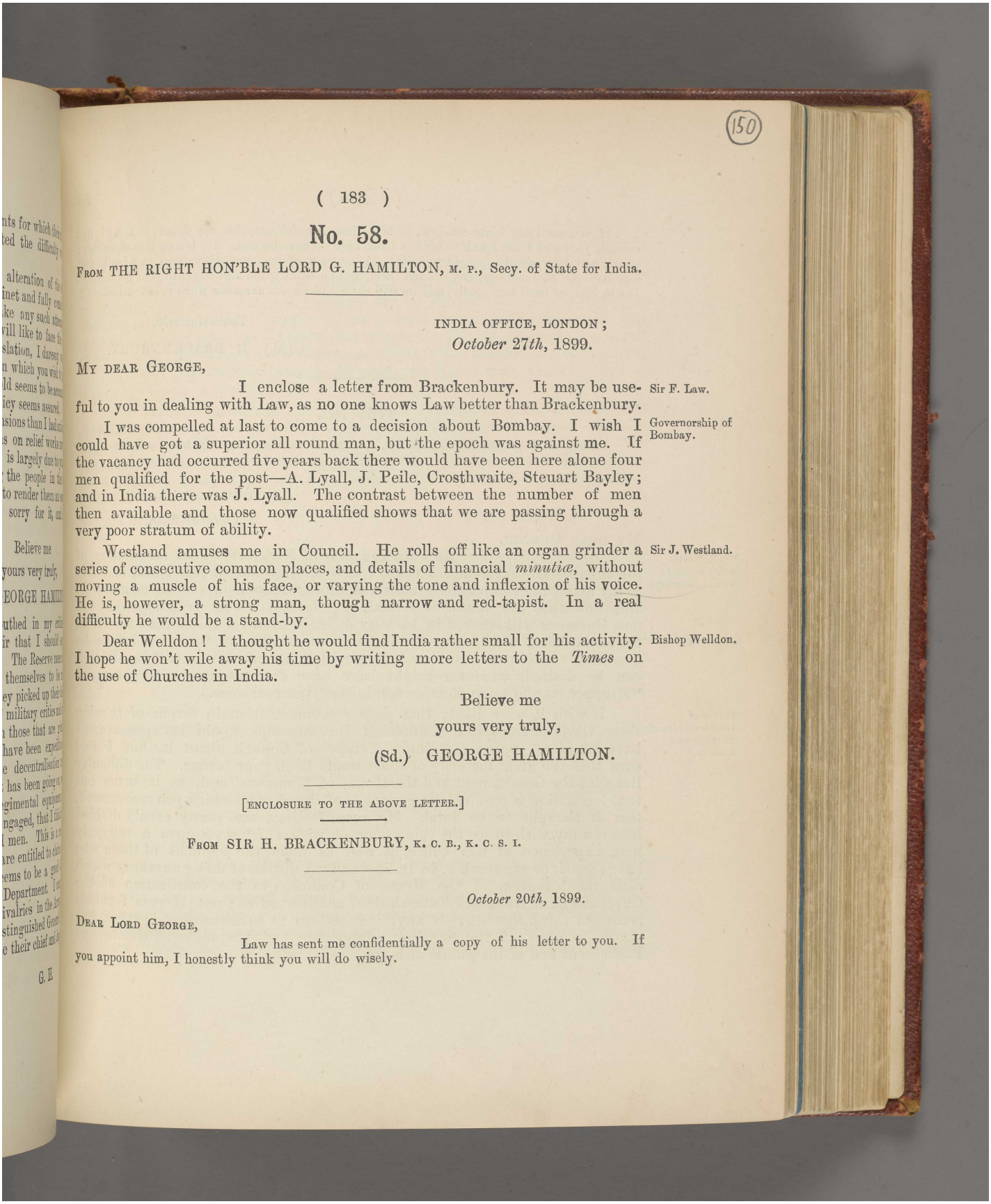

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No. 58.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
October 27th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I enclose a letter from Brackenbury. It may be useful to you in dealing with Law, as no one knows Law better than Brackenbury. — Sir F. Law.

I was compelled at last to come to a decision about Bombay. I wish I could have got a superior all round man, but the epoch was against me. If the vacancy had occurred five years back there would have been here alone four men qualified for the post—A. Lyall, J. Peile, Crosthwaite, Steuart Bayley; and in India there was J. Lyall. The contrast between the number of men then available and those now qualified shows that we are passing through a very poor stratum of ability. — Governorship of Bombay.

Westland amuses me in Council. He rolls off like an organ grinder a series of consecutive common places, and details of financial *minutiæ*, without moving a muscle of his face, or varying the tone and inflexion of his voice. He is, however, a strong man, though narrow and red-tapist. In a real difficulty he would be a stand-by. — Sir J. Westland.

Dear Welldon! I thought he would find India rather small for his activity. I hope he won't wile away his time by writing more letters to the *Times* on the use of Churches in India. — Bishop Welldon.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

FROM SIR H. BRACKENBURY, K. C. B., K. C. S. I.

October 20th, 1899.

DEAR LORD GEORGE,

Law has sent me confidentially a copy of his letter to you. If you appoint him, I honestly think you will do wisely.

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If you want any hints conveyed to him, however delicate, let me know. I will not commit you, and I can speak to him as I feel sure no one else can. He is a curious character: strong and determined—dogged to a fault in matters of business—chivalrous to a fault and sensitive on personal matters. Trust him, and he will expand and warm to your confidence. Doubt him, or treat him coldly, and he will shrink like a sea anemone when it is touched.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) H. BRACKENBURY.

No. 59.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B., Under Secretary of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

October 27th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Sir S. Northcote's appointment to Bombay.

As I write, I hear of Northcote's final acceptance of the Bombay Governorship. I think I have already said all that I had, or have, to say about the comparative merits of those whose names were mentioned: and, now that the matter is settled, it only remains for us to hope that the new Governor will succeed in his very difficult task. I think that we (*i.e.*, the India Office, not I) may be able to give him some useful hints before he goes out. I feel sure that his relations with you, and with us, will be all that can be desired, whatever might have been the advantages of getting a "stronger man" or one of more administrative experience.

Status of Governorships of Bombay and Madras.

I wish it were likely that your recommendation in favour of turning these Governorships into Lieutenant-Governorships would be approved. I have not as yet spoken to a single Member of Council about it, but I feel sure that the great majority of them would be in your favour. The difficulty lies with the Government and the House of Commons, and, as it turns out that legislation is required for every one of the changes which you recommend, this is thought to be fatal. My own feelings are pretty evenly divided between my wish to see the thing done—a wish which rests upon a tolerably long experience at this Office, as well as upon the opinions of those who have served, or are serving, in India—and my dislike of doing anything which calls the attention of the House of Commons to the constitution of the Government of India and its methods of administration; not (Heaven forbid!) because I think that there is anything serious to be ashamed of in them, but simply because of the dangerous ignorance and prejudices of Members of Parliament and of the public at large.

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Your Despatch about Persia is an admirable one, and so (if I may say so) is your Minute. You know that I do not altogether accept your conclusions, but I am as strongly in favour of exercising a little foresight, and as much opposed to a policy of "drift," as you or any one else can be. Persia.

Only look at our South African policy during the last 18 years as a specimen of our ordinary practice of *not* looking ahead! Fancy, if you can, any other nation allowing a hostile Government to pile up gradually a military power with the almost avowed purpose of becoming masters of South Africa, although (as Chamberlain tells us) 15 years ago 3,000 men were enough to bring the Boers to their knees! British policy in S. Africa.

I have been in the habit, for the last 7 or 8 years, of sending to Lansdowne and Elgin the annual copy of the Oxford University Gazette which contains an analysis of the result of the I. C. S. competition, and in the belief that you, too, may care to run your finger down the column and see how Oxford men, Balliol men, &c., &c., have come off, I continue the practice—as you see. Indian Civil Service Examination.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Oxford Magazine Supplement, October 25th, 1899.

No. 60.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

November 2nd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The second week's campaign in Natal has deepened rather than lightened our anxiety as to the issue of the fighting in that particular part of South Africa. The Boers have unquestionably put a considerably larger force in the field than was anticipated, and our Generals seem to have taken the aggressive somewhat needlessly, considering the odds against which they were fighting; and the result unquestionably has been Transvaal War.

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that the Boers have obtained certain strategical advantages which I am afraid will enable them to over-run the greater part of Natal. In war every consideration should be ruthlessly sacrificed to that of strategical expediency. I am afraid that, under pressure from the local authorities, we extended our line too widely in the first instance, in order to protect a larger area of territory. If we had concentrated all our force in the first instance, and fallen back behind the river Tugela, we should have occupied an almost impregnable position in Natal, until the reinforcements from England had had time to come up and assume the offensive. This is the first great war in which we have been engaged for the last forty years. It comes home to one: I have a midshipman boy with the naval brigade locked up in Ladysmith, and thirteen nephews in other parts of South Africa. However, we must not grumble while there are so many others who are similarly circumstanced. But this war, and the strain which it imposes upon our resources, forces one to consider how far we could have recourse to warlike operations in other contingencies, and with other nations, with any reasonable chance of success. We shall have sent to South Africa in the next six weeks something like eighty thousand men. This practically exhausts our immediate resources. By no possibility could we have afforded to send so large a force if we had not been fighting against an enemy who has no naval power whatever.

Policy in regard to Persia.

I read very carefully your Despatch and Memorandum upon Persia. I have no objection in principle to the methods you propose of trying to resuscitate and expand our commercial and political influence by the multiplication and increase of Consulates, and, under certain conditions, I should not object to the construction of a light railroad up to Seistan. I quite admit the paramountcy of our commercial interests in the Persian Gulf, and I fully share your view that the intrusion of outside influence within that area may be unpleasant and possibly ultimately hurtful to us. But your whole policy and ideas in connection with Persia are based on the assumption that, in certain eventualities, we should exercise force to maintain our position in that country. Now it is easy to have recourse to war, but is there any reasonable prospect whatever that, if we went to war, we should succeed in improving our position? In the first place I very much doubt if you could carry the country here with you. Just now a war fever is on, and all sections of the community are cordially supporting the Government, and I believe will continue to support them, even although we may have a reverse, or a succession of reverses, at the outset. Kruger's ultimatum has touched the most sensitive point of the English people, and this, combined with his maltreatment of the Uitlanders, has made the war popular so far with all classes of the community. But would a war to prevent the Russians occupying some particular place in Persia, or pushing their influence into a sphere which we considered legitimately appertained to us, so far appeal to

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public sentiment in this country that public opinion would submit for a long period of time to the heavy strain it would put upon their resources? I doubt it. I have felt for a very long time past that we must, so far as Russia is concerned, acknowledge the changed conditions that the extension of railroads has made in the relative fighting powers of Great Britain and of Russia. In the early part of the century, and until quite recently, our superiority by sea gave us powers of transport which enabled us to dominate not only all the seaport towns of Asia, but a very large tract of country within. But the steady advancement of Russian railroads not only neutralises this advantage, but in course of time will give them right up to the coast the same advantages over us which we until recently enjoyed over them. I have long felt that any tug of war on land between Russia and England must result to our disadvantage, and it is for that reason that I have always believed, so far as China, Persia, and Turkey are concerned, Russian influence must gradually become stronger than our own: in each of those countries the capital is more or less at the mercy of the Russian army, and nothing that we can do could prevent an occupation of that capital by the Russian army, if the Government of Russia devote their whole mind to that object. It would be a great advantage to us if we could come to some agreement with Russia as regards our respective spheres of influence; but they are cute enough to know that time is on their side, and the influences behind them are increasing much more rapidly than the influences which are behind us; and therefore, while I do not in any way wish to discourage any ideas or proposals for strengthening our commercial and political influence by an increase of establishments and officials, I think we must dismiss the idea as impracticable which contemplates, in certain eventualities in Persia, war with Russia. I do not believe that we can fight with Russia on land successfully except in the neighbourhood of our frontiers in India. I am quite certain, and this recent war has proved that conclusively, that our military establishments will not outside India in any way enable us to hold our own with Russia on land in any protracted war that may take place in Asia. So much as regards Persia itself.

Policy in regard to the Persian Gulf.

Now let me turn to the Persian Gulf. I agree that *de facto* our influence is paramount, and I have no objection to our working for the purpose of endeavouring to maintain that predominance. But sooner or later a railroad will be made to the Persian Gulf. I do not know what the particular line or route may be which its promoters may select. Can we stop it? What right have we to say that the cheapest and most expeditious form of transport shall not be allowed to benefit a country by connecting its interior with the sea? I am one of those who, whilst I believe that our Empire must slowly go on and expand, have looked with some alarm upon the undue development of the Imperialist idea of recent ~~ideas~~ (*sic*). Wherever we occupy territory in which British colonists can live and

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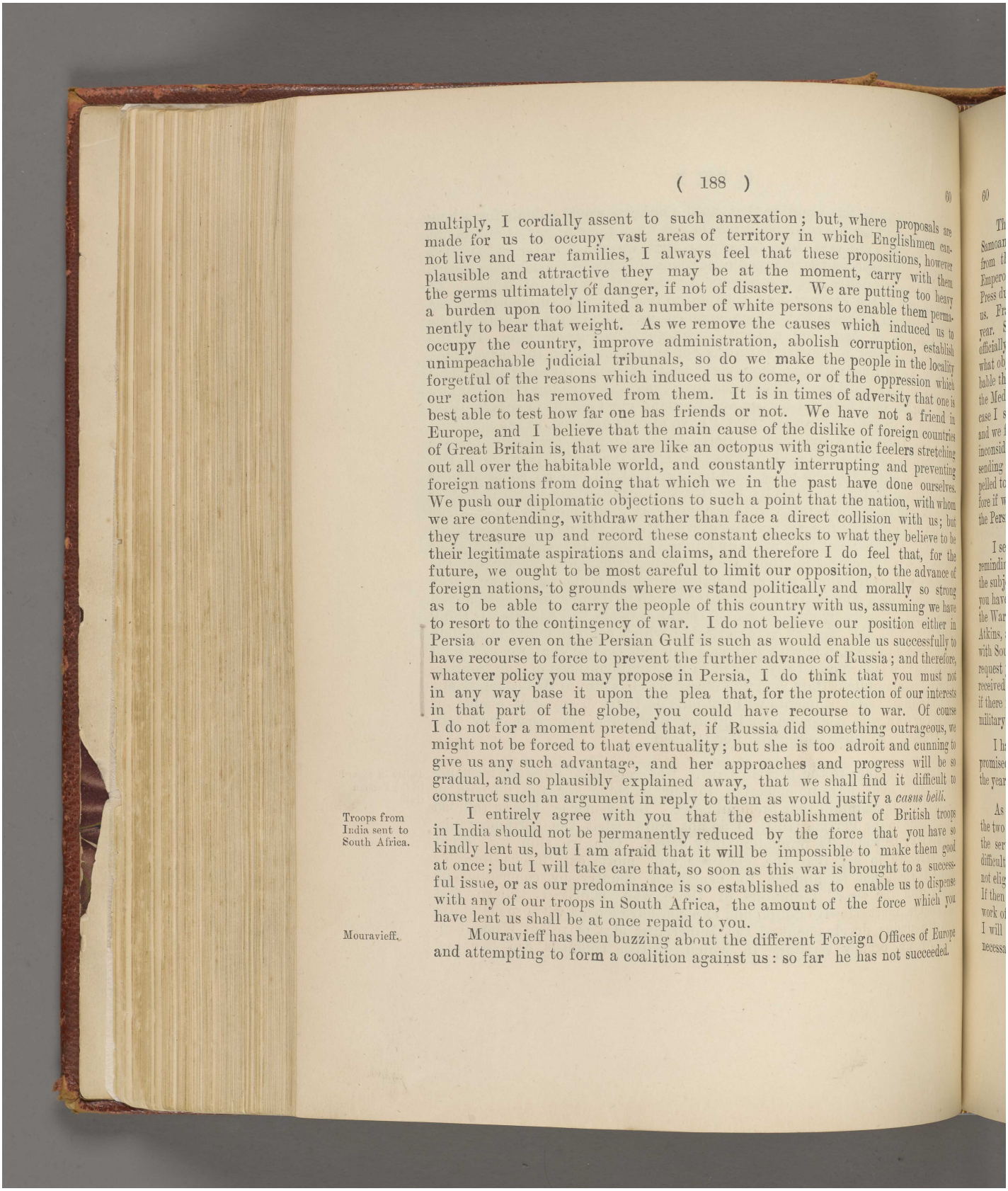

multiply, I cordially assent to such annexation; but, where proposals are made for us to occupy vast areas of territory in which Englishmen cannot live and rear families, I always feel that these propositions, however plausible and attractive they may be at the moment, carry with them the germs ultimately of danger, if not of disaster. We are putting too heavy a burden upon too limited a number of white persons to enable them permanently to bear that weight. As we remove the causes which induced us to occupy the country, improve administration, abolish corruption, establish unimpeachable judicial tribunals, so do we make the people in the locality forgetful of the reasons which induced us to come, or of the oppression which our action has removed from them. It is in times of adversity that one is best able to test how far one has friends or not. We have not a friend in Europe, and I believe that the main cause of the dislike of foreign countries of Great Britain is, that we are like an octopus with gigantic feelers stretching out all over the habitable world, and constantly interrupting and preventing foreign nations from doing that which we in the past have done ourselves. We push our diplomatic objections to such a point that the nation, with whom we are contending, withdraw rather than face a direct collision with us; but they treasure up and record these constant checks to what they believe to be their legitimate aspirations and claims, and therefore I do feel that, for the future, we ought to be most careful to limit our opposition, to the advance of foreign nations, to grounds where we stand politically and morally so strong as to be able to carry the people of this country with us, assuming we have to resort to the contingency of war. I do not believe our position either in Persia or even on the Persian Gulf is such as would enable us successfully to have recourse to force to prevent the further advance of Russia; and therefore, whatever policy you may propose in Persia, I do think that you must not in any way base it upon the plea that, for the protection of our interests in that part of the globe, you could have recourse to war. Of course I do not for a moment pretend that, if Russia did something outrageous, we might not be forced to that eventuality; but she is too adroit and cunning to give us any such advantage, and her approaches and progress will be so gradual, and so plausibly explained away, that we shall find it difficult to construct such an argument in reply to them as would justify a *casus belli*.

Troops from India sent to South Africa.

I entirely agree with you that the establishment of British troops in India should not be permanently reduced by the force that you have so kindly lent us, but I am afraid that it will be impossible to make them good at once; but I will take care that, so soon as this war is brought to a successful issue, or as our predominance is so established as to enable us to dispense with any of our troops in South Africa, the amount of the force which you have lent us shall be at once repaid to you.

Mouravieff.

Mouravieff has been buzzing about the different Foreign Offices of Europe and attempting to form a coalition against us: so far he has not succeeded.

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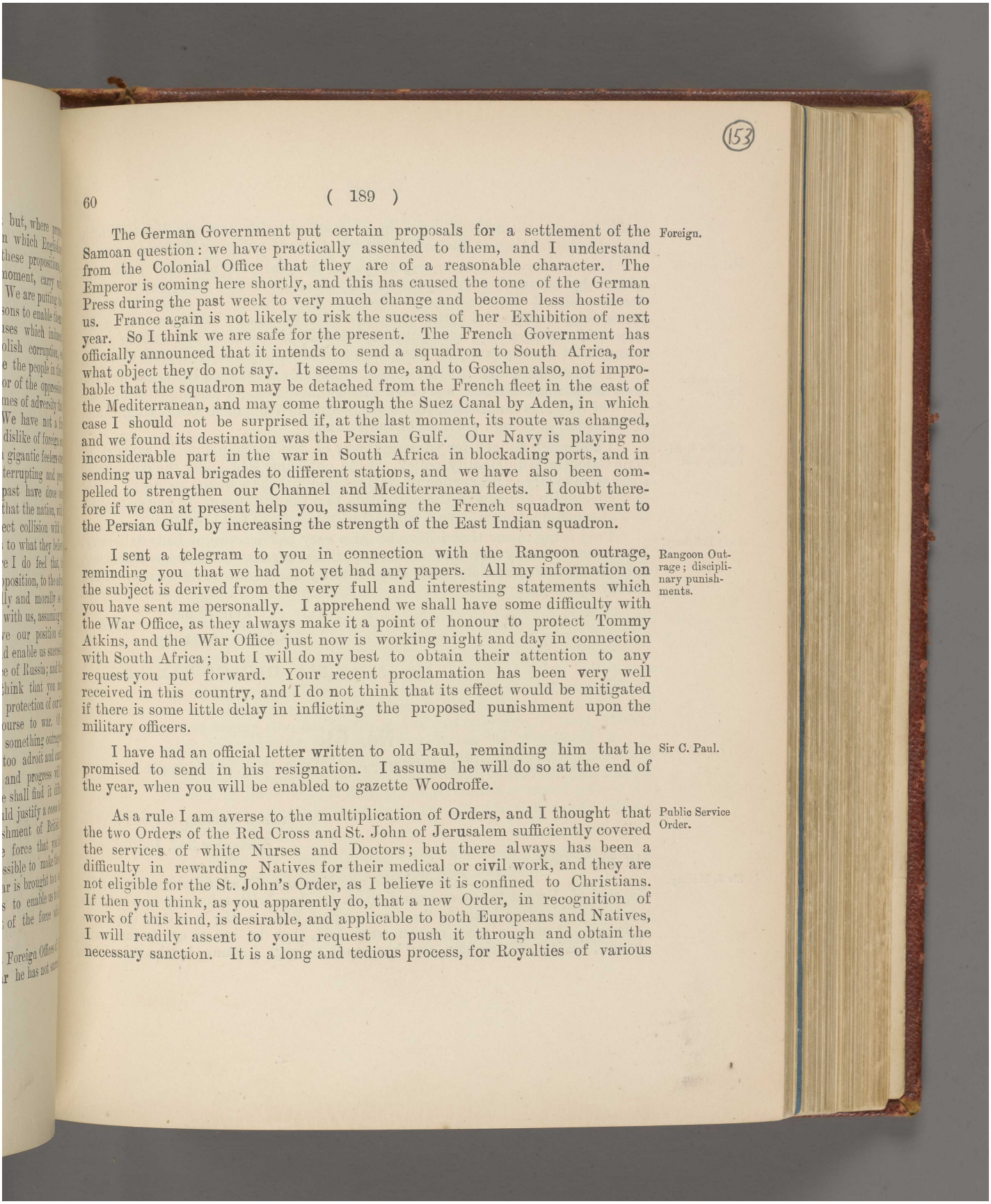

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Foreign.

The German Government put certain proposals for a settlement of the Samoan question: we have practically assented to them, and I understand from the Colonial Office that they are of a reasonable character. The Emperor is coming here shortly, and this has caused the tone of the German Press during the past week to very much change and become less hostile to us. France again is not likely to risk the success of her Exhibition of next year. So I think we are safe for the present. The French Government has officially announced that it intends to send a squadron to South Africa, for what object they do not say. It seems to me, and to Goschen also, not improbable that the squadron may be detached from the French fleet in the east of the Mediterranean, and may come through the Suez Canal by Aden, in which case I should not be surprised if, at the last moment, its route was changed, and we found its destination was the Persian Gulf. Our Navy is playing no inconsiderable part in the war in South Africa in blockading ports, and in sending up naval brigades to different stations, and we have also been compelled to strengthen our Channel and Mediterranean fleets. I doubt therefore if we can at present help you, assuming the French squadron went to the Persian Gulf, by increasing the strength of the East Indian squadron.

Rangoon Outrage; disciplinary punishments.

I sent a telegram to you in connection with the Rangoon outrage, reminding you that we had not yet had any papers. All my information on the subject is derived from the very full and interesting statements which you have sent me personally. I apprehend we shall have some difficulty with the War Office, as they always make it a point of honour to protect Tommy Atkins, and the War Office just now is working night and day in connection with South Africa; but I will do my best to obtain their attention to any request you put forward. Your recent proclamation has been very well received in this country, and I do not think that its effect would be mitigated if there is some little delay in inflicting the proposed punishment upon the military officers.

Sir C. Paul.

I have had an official letter written to old Paul, reminding him that he promised to send in his resignation. I assume he will do so at the end of the year, when you will be enabled to gazette Woodroffe.

Public Service Order.

As a rule I am averse to the multiplication of Orders, and I thought that the two Orders of the Red Cross and St. John of Jerusalem sufficiently covered the services of white Nurses and Doctors; but there always has been a difficulty in rewarding Natives for their medical or civil work, and they are not eligible for the St. John's Order, as I believe it is confined to Christians. If then you think, as you apparently do, that a new Order, in recognition of work of this kind, is desirable, and applicable to both Europeans and Natives, I will readily assent to your request to push it through and obtain the necessary sanction. It is a long and tedious process, for Royalties of various

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kinds interest themselves more in connection with the establishment of a fresh decoration than in the most vital questions of policy or of administration.

Native Police. I have always had an uneasy suspicion that the local police in India are tainted by corruption and consequently incompetence: they would not be Asiatic police if they were not so affected. But what is the remedy? Could you by higher pay get a better and more reliable class? Or is the evil to be attacked in another way, by appointing better Native officers, and making a few examples of incompetency by dismissal, and of corruption by degradation?

Crime in the Punjab. I was struck by the last annual report of the Punjab Government: the class of serious offence had very greatly increased. I attributed it to some wave of religious fanaticism, which seemed to have affected both Hindu and Mahomedan in certain portions of the Punjab.

Calcutta Municipality Bill. I am much obliged for your summary of the main points in support of your Calcutta Municipality policy. I did not know that under the old scheme there were so large a proportion of Natives amongst the selected members. That fact effectually disposes of the contention that the Europeans, by the manipulation of selection, would have a permanent majority in the Corporation.

Lady Salisbury. I am sorry to say that I have heard a very bad account of Lady Salisbury. I fear now it is only a question of weeks. Salisbury also has a son at Mafeking, and the burden of anxiety and responsibility is, I am sorry to say, telling visibly upon him.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 61.

From SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
November 3rd, 1899.

My dear Curzon,

Sir J. Mackay. Although the question as to Dawkins' successor is now disposed of, I want to say one word about Mackay, with reference to what you reported of him in a letter to the Secretary of State as the result of inquiries in India. It may be true, as you were told, that he has an eye to the main chance; he is a Scotchman, and has made a large fortune by the use of his

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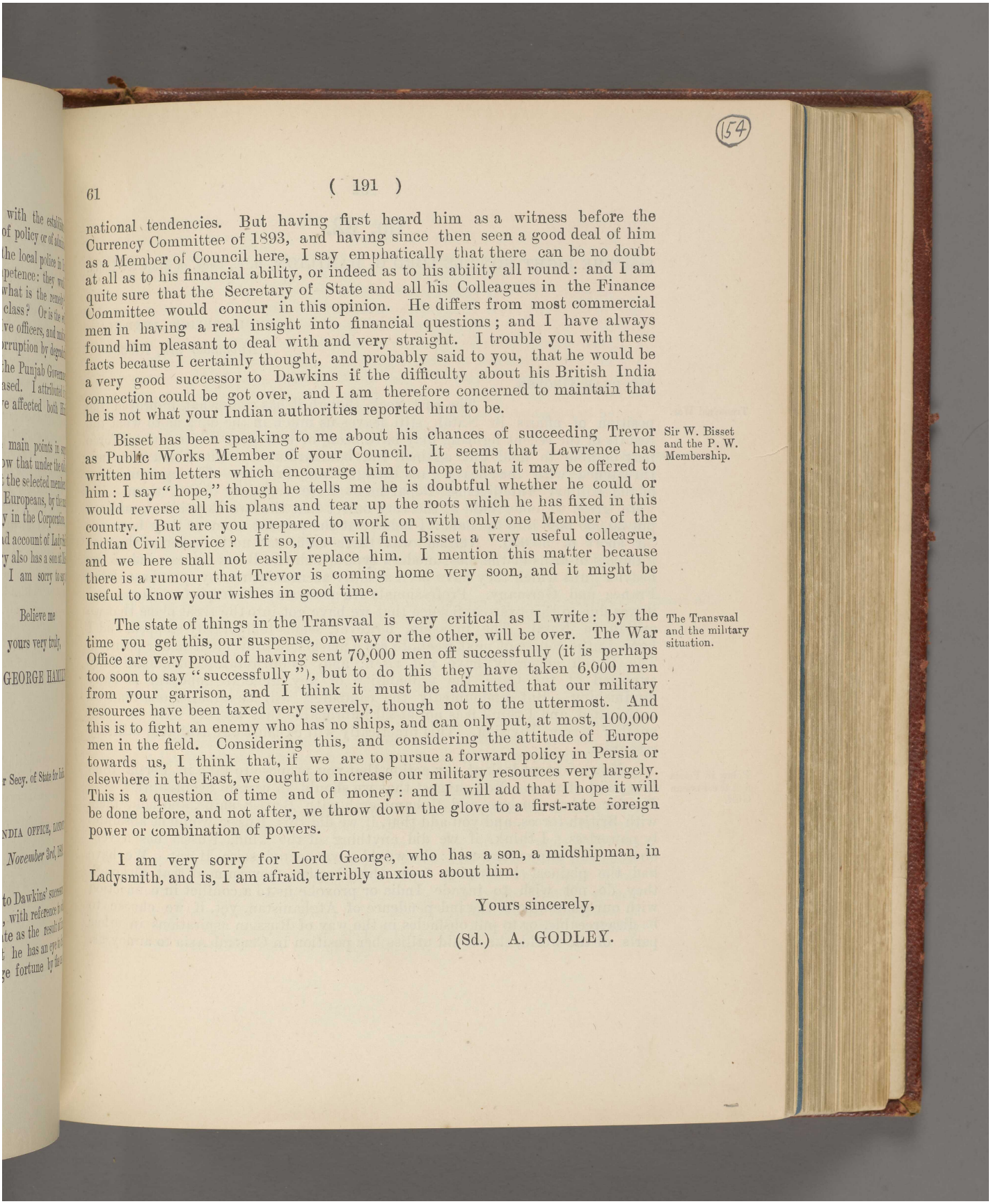

national tendencies. But having first heard him as a witness before the Currency Committee of 1893, and having since then seen a good deal of him as a Member of Council here, I say emphatically that there can be no doubt at all as to his financial ability, or indeed as to his ability all round: and I am quite sure that the Secretary of State and all his Colleagues in the Finance Committee would concur in this opinion. He differs from most commercial men in having a real insight into financial questions; and I have always found him pleasant to deal with and very straight. I trouble you with these facts because I certainly thought, and probably said to you, that he would be a very good successor to Dawkins if the difficulty about his British India connection could be got over, and I am therefore concerned to maintain that he is not what your Indian authorities reported him to be.

Sir W. Bisset and the P. W. Membership.

Bisset has been speaking to me about his chances of succeeding Trevor as Public Works Member of your Council. It seems that Lawrence has written him letters which encourage him to hope that it may be offered to him: I say "hope," though he tells me he is doubtful whether he could or would reverse all his plans and tear up the roots which he has fixed in this country. But are you prepared to work on with only one Member of the Indian Civil Service? If so, you will find Bisset a very useful colleague, and we here shall not easily replace him. I mention this matter because there is a rumour that Trevor is coming home very soon, and it might be useful to know your wishes in good time.

The Transvaal and the military situation.

The state of things in the Transvaal is very critical as I write: by the time you get this, our suspense, one way or the other, will be over. The War Office are very proud of having sent 70,000 men off successfully (it is perhaps too soon to say "successfully"), but to do this they have taken 6,000 men from your garrison, and I think it must be admitted that our military resources have been taxed very severely, though not to the uttermost. And this is to fight an enemy who has no ships, and can only put, at most, 100,000 men in the field. Considering this, and considering the attitude of Europe towards us, I think that, if we are to pursue a forward policy in Persia or elsewhere in the East, we ought to increase our military resources very largely. This is a question of time and of money: and I will add that I hope it will be done before, and not after, we throw down the glove to a first-rate foreign power or combination of powers.

I am very sorry for Lord George, who has a son, a midshipman, in Ladysmith, and is, I am afraid, terribly anxious about him.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

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No. 62.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
November 9th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Transvaal War.

The past week, though it has somewhat improved the position of affairs in Natal, still leaves us much in the dark as to what the results of the recent fighting may have been, or how long White and his force may be able to hold out against the bombardment with which they are threatened with the heavy guns brought from Pretoria. The eyes and ears of the Military Intelligence Department have certainly failed them. We were given to understand at the very outset that the two Republics could not put 30,000 men into the field: I believe at the present moment they have not far short of 50,000. Neither was there sufficient notice taken of the vast numbers of arms of the most modern type which the Boers possess, and of the heavier guns which they have been steadily accumulating by purchase from France and Germany. Professionals are always apt to despise amateurs, and it was due to this over-confidence that we have got into the tight place that we are in in Natal. The invasion, however, seems temporarily stopped, and I hope, in the course of next week, to see a marked improvement in our position. The Dutch generally have not risen, and, as our reinforcements are daily expected at the Cape, the probability of any general upheaval is daily diminishing. But undoubtedly the campaign will be a longer one than we anticipated, and I think it is not at all improbable that we may have to send another Army Division. This practically will exhaust our available military resources.

Policy in Persia and the Persian Gulf.

Now we must look at any action that you propose to take in Persia from this point of view. You suggest that we should, in certain eventualities, seize Bunder Abbas, Bushire, and Mohammerah with British ships, and hold them with British forces, and you add that, if we did this, Russia would be absolutely powerless. I think, if we did anything of the kind, Russia has a very obvious and unpleasant card: she would advance and seize Herat. We have had the plainest intimation from the Russian Government that, although they do not wish to invade India or provoke us to a conflict in connection with our guarantee of the independence of Afghanistan, yet, if we choose to be disagreeable, or to put obstacles in the way of Russian aspirations in other parts of the world, she would utilise her position in Central Asia to annoy us.

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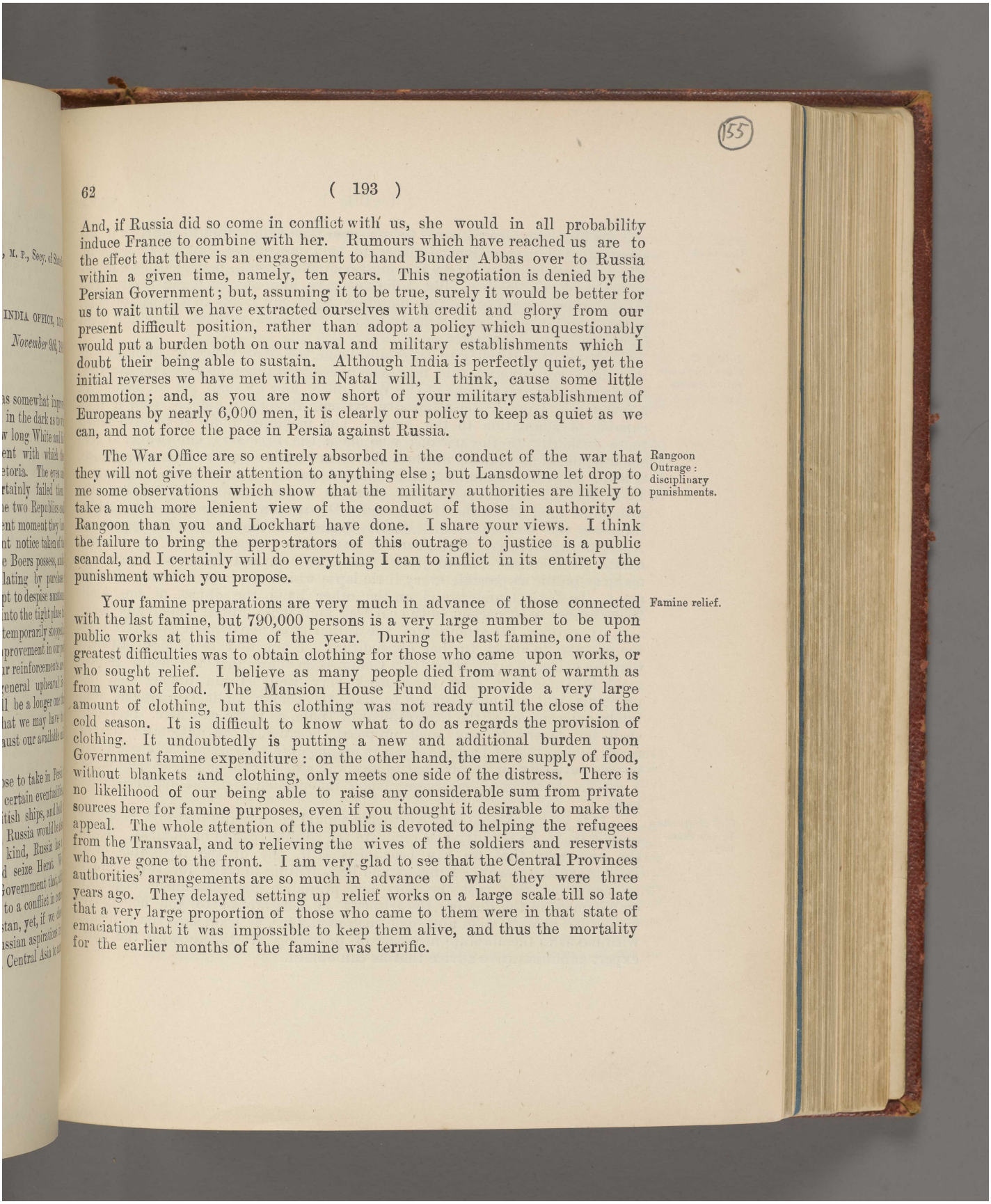

And, if Russia did so come in conflict with us, she would in all probability induce France to combine with her. Rumours which have reached us are to the effect that there is an engagement to hand Bunder Abbas over to Russia within a given time, namely, ten years. This negotiation is denied by the Persian Government; but, assuming it to be true, surely it would be better for us to wait until we have extracted ourselves with credit and glory from our present difficult position, rather than adopt a policy which unquestionably would put a burden both on our naval and military establishments which I doubt their being able to sustain. Although India is perfectly quiet, yet the initial reverses we have met with in Natal will, I think, cause some little commotion; and, as you are now short of your military establishment of Europeans by nearly 6,000 men, it is clearly our policy to keep as quiet as we can, and not force the pace in Persia against Russia.

Rangoon Outrage: disciplinary punishments.

The War Office are so entirely absorbed in the conduct of the war that they will not give their attention to anything else; but Lansdowne let drop to me some observations which show that the military authorities are likely to take a much more lenient view of the conduct of those in authority at Rangoon than you and Lockhart have done. I share your views. I think the failure to bring the perpetrators of this outrage to justice is a public scandal, and I certainly will do everything I can to inflict in its entirety the punishment which you propose.

Famine relief.

Your famine preparations are very much in advance of those connected with the last famine, but 790,000 persons is a very large number to be upon public works at this time of the year. During the last famine, one of the greatest difficulties was to obtain clothing for those who came upon works, or who sought relief. I believe as many people died from want of warmth as from want of food. The Mansion House Fund did provide a very large amount of clothing, but this clothing was not ready until the close of the cold season. It is difficult to know what to do as regards the provision of clothing. It undoubtedly is putting a new and additional burden upon Government famine expenditure: on the other hand, the mere supply of food, without blankets and clothing, only meets one side of the distress. There is no likelihood of our being able to raise any considerable sum from private sources here for famine purposes, even if you thought it desirable to make the appeal. The whole attention of the public is devoted to helping the refugees from the Transvaal, and to relieving the wives of the soldiers and reservists who have gone to the front. I am very glad to see that the Central Provinces authorities' arrangements are so much in advance of what they were three years ago. They delayed setting up relief works on a large scale till so late that a very large proportion of those who came to them were in that state of emaciation that it was impossible to keep them alive, and thus the mortality for the earlier months of the famine was terrific.

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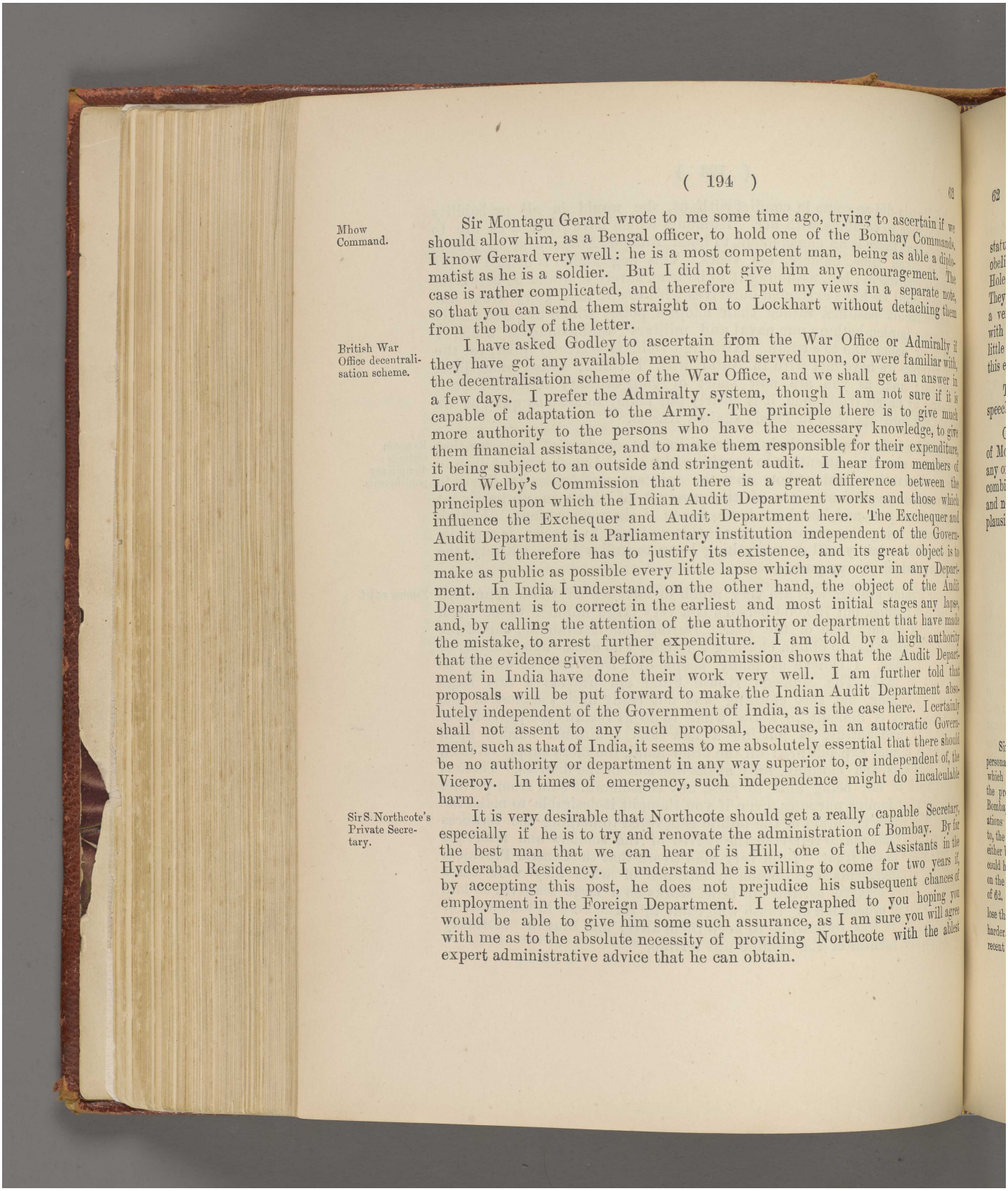

Mhow Command.

Sir Montagu Gerard wrote to me some time ago, trying to ascertain if we should allow him, as a Bengal officer, to hold one of the Bombay Commands. I know Gerard very well: he is a most competent man, being as able a diplomatist as he is a soldier. But I did not give him any encouragement. The case is rather complicated, and therefore I put my views in a separate note, so that you can send them straight on to Lockhart without detaching them from the body of the letter.

British War Office decentralisation scheme.

I have asked Godley to ascertain from the War Office or Admiralty if they have got any available men who had served upon, or were familiar with, the decentralisation scheme of the War Office, and we shall get an answer in a few days. I prefer the Admiralty system, though I am not sure if it is capable of adaptation to the Army. The principle there is to give much more authority to the persons who have the necessary knowledge, to give them financial assistance, and to make them responsible for their expenditure, it being subject to an outside and stringent audit. I hear from members of Lord Welby's Commission that there is a great difference between the principles upon which the Indian Audit Department works and those which influence the Exchequer and Audit Department here. The Exchequer and Audit Department is a Parliamentary institution independent of the Government. It therefore has to justify its existence, and its great object is to make as public as possible every little lapse which may occur in any Department. In India I understand, on the other hand, the object of the Audit Department is to correct in the earliest and most initial stages any lapse, and, by calling the attention of the authority or department that have made the mistake, to arrest further expenditure. I am told by a high authority that the evidence given before this Commission shows that the Audit Department in India have done their work very well. I am further told that proposals will be put forward to make the Indian Audit Department absolutely independent of the Government of India, as is the case here. I certainly shall not assent to any such proposal, because, in an autocratic Government, such as that of India, it seems to me absolutely essential that there should be no authority or department in any way superior to, or independent of, the Viceroy. In times of emergency, such independence might do incalculable harm.

Sir S. Northcote's Private Secretary.

It is very desirable that Northcote should get a really capable Secretary, especially if he is to try and renovate the administration of Bombay. By far the best man that we can hear of is Hill, one of the Assistants in the Hyderabad Residency. I understand he is willing to come for two years if by accepting this post, he does not prejudice his subsequent chances of employment in the Foreign Department. I telegraphed to you hoping you would be able to give him some such assurance, as I am sure you will agree with me as to the absolute necessity of providing Northcote with the ablest expert administrative advice that he can obtain.

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You sent home a short despatch, asking for leave to move Ashley Eden's statue from where it now is in order to put up in its place a replica of the obelisk which was erected to the memory of those who perished in the Black Hole. My Council are very averse to the idea of re-erecting this obelisk. They say that parading our disaster and the consequences which ensued has a very bad effect on the Native mind, and I am rather disposed to agree with them. Perhaps you will just think the matter over, and let me know a little more fully what your reasons were for desiring to recall attention to this episode in our earlier history in Bengal. Black Hole Memorial.

Today is Lord Mayor's Day, and I expect Salisbury will make a big speech in the Guildhall. Lord Salisbury.

Our Samoa arrangement with Germany has been completed, and, in spite of Mouravieff, so far as we can ascertain, there is no disposition at present for any of the great powers to interfere individually with us, or to form any combination for that purpose. But we must keep quiet for the time being, and not assume the aggressive in other parts of the world, so as to afford plausible reasons for such a movement against us. Foreign.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

MHOW COMMAND.

Sir Montagu Gerard has no doubt distinguished service, and I should be glad personally to facilitate his obtaining, towards the close of his career, a Command which would enable him to retire with *éclat* proportionate to his past services. But the proposal to break the regulations will, I think, inflict hardship upon one or two Bombay Officers, who would have legitimate cause of complaint if their just expectations were falsified by an infraction of existing rules. Assuming the rules are adhered to, the Mhow Command, which belongs to the Bombay Army, would presumably be filled either by General Hogge, C. B., or by Sir Richard Westmacott. Neither of these Officers could hold the Command for its full period. As General Hogge becomes Lieutenant-General on the 13th September, 1904, he would retire on that day as he then reaches the age of 62. If Sir Montagu Gerard held the Mhow Command for a year, General Hogge would lose that amount of time out of a possible $4\frac{5}{12}$ years. Sir R. Westmacott's case would be harder. He did admirable work, of which the Commander-in-Chief is well aware, during the recent frontier operations. He would have to vacate this Command on account of age on

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the 16th March, 1903. Gerard's appointment for a year would therefore deprive Westmacott of one year out of a possible $2\frac{23}{24}$. In the case of General Stedman, an exchange was made between the Madras and Bengal Armies, which equalised the conditions, but no exchange is here possible; and, although I am sorry for Gerard, yet it seems to me that, if we create a grievance by breaking the regulations, Westmacott might have a claim for compensation by getting a Command at the expense of Bengal. On the whole, therefore, I think it would be better not to break the regulations or to put the suggestion forward. The Council here are very sensitive in anything which they think is like a job, and which not only benefits an individual, but benefits him at the expense of another by the infraction of existing regulations. I could, of course, over-rule them in such a case, but I should not like to do it, as it would set up a precedent that would lead to endless trouble.

(Sd.) G. H.

9th November 1899.

No. 63.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
November 10th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Correspondence with the Amir.

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th October, inclosing the Amir's letter to you. As you say, it shows him at his worst as a correspondent, and you are no doubt right to answer him shortly and have done with him for the present.

Policy in regard to Persia.

Since I wrote to you last week, Lord George has shown me a copy of his letter to you about Persia, and on the general question of cutting our coat according to our cloth. I read it, as you may suppose, with sympathy and approval. It has long seemed to me that our statesmen, and especially our Imperialists (among whom I include myself), are apt not to distinguish clearly between what we should like to do and what we can do. It is also, I think, pretty plain that a good many territories, such as India and China, which have hitherto been quasi-islands—being accessible by sea and difficult of access by land—are ceasing, or will soon cease (whether we like it or not), to answer to this description, and that this must seriously modify our position and policy. I will confess to you that there are two powers, and two only, of whom I am afraid, *viz.*, the United States and Russia, for the simple reason that they have, or (in the case of Russia) must soon have, better military access to an important part of our dominions than we have ourselves. It is to be regretted that Canada and India are not islands, but we must recognize the fact, and must modify our diplomacy accordingly.

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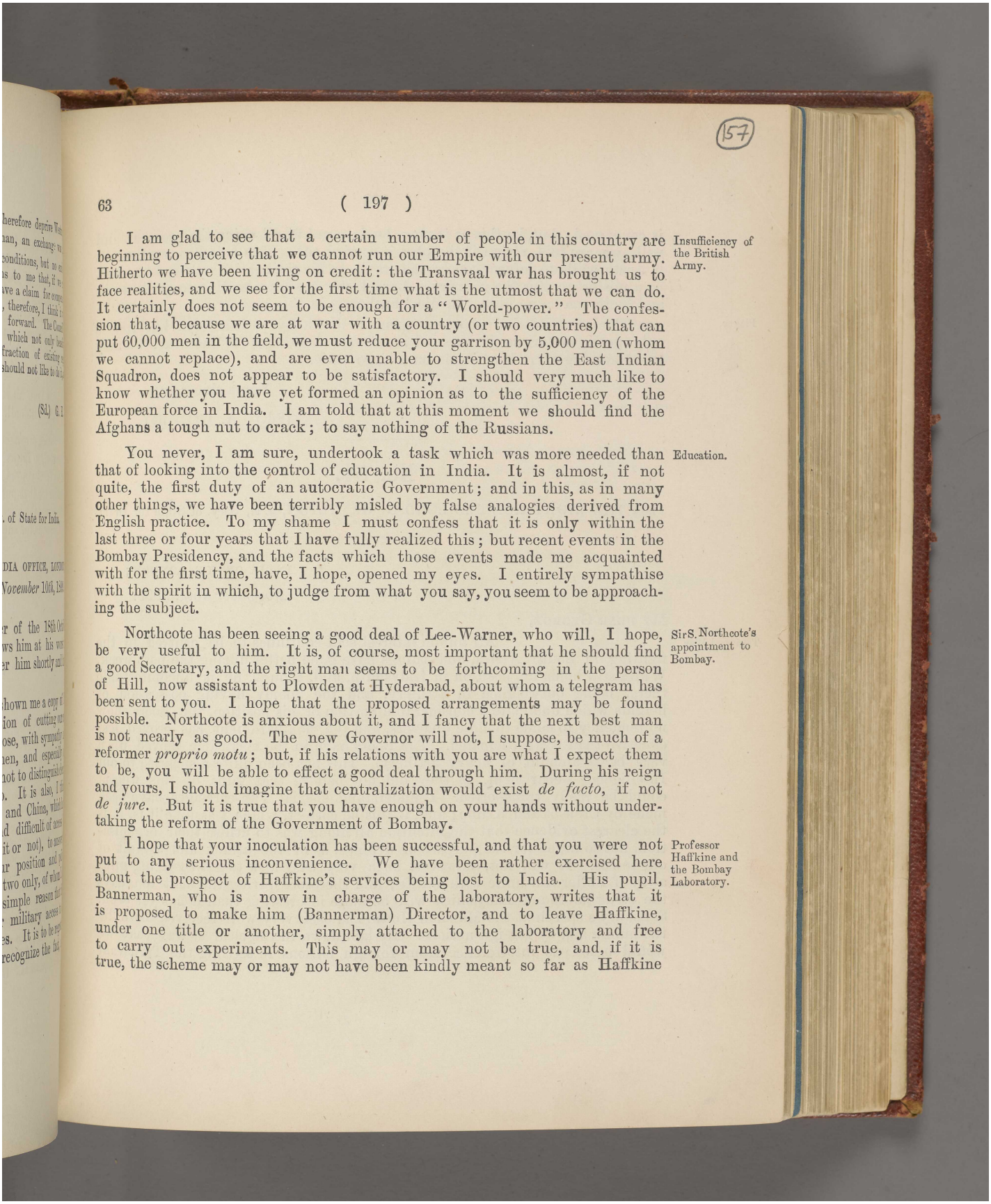

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Insufficiency of the British Army.

I am glad to see that a certain number of people in this country are beginning to perceive that we cannot run our Empire with our present army. Hitherto we have been living on credit: the Transvaal war has brought us to face realities, and we see for the first time what is the utmost that we can do. It certainly does not seem to be enough for a "World-power." The confession that, because we are at war with a country (or two countries) that can put 60,000 men in the field, we must reduce your garrison by 5,000 men (whom we cannot replace), and are even unable to strengthen the East Indian Squadron, does not appear to be satisfactory. I should very much like to know whether you have yet formed an opinion as to the sufficiency of the European force in India. I am told that at this moment we should find the Afghans a tough nut to crack; to say nothing of the Russians.

Education.

You never, I am sure, undertook a task which was more needed than that of looking into the control of education in India. It is almost, if not quite, the first duty of an autocratic Government; and in this, as in many other things, we have been terribly misled by false analogies derived from English practice. To my shame I must confess that it is only within the last three or four years that I have fully realized this; but recent events in the Bombay Presidency, and the facts which those events made me acquainted with for the first time, have, I hope, opened my eyes. I entirely sympathise with the spirit in which, to judge from what you say, you seem to be approaching the subject.

Sir S. Northcote's appointment to Bombay.

Northcote has been seeing a good deal of Lee-Warner, who will, I hope, be very useful to him. It is, of course, most important that he should find a good Secretary, and the right man seems to be forthcoming in the person of Hill, now assistant to Plowden at Hyderabad, about whom a telegram has been sent to you. I hope that the proposed arrangements may be found possible. Northcote is anxious about it, and I fancy that the next best man is not nearly as good. The new Governor will not, I suppose, be much of a reformer *proprio motu*; but, if his relations with you are what I expect them to be, you will be able to effect a good deal through him. During his reign and yours, I should imagine that centralization would exist *de facto*, if not *de jure*. But it is true that you have enough on your hands without undertaking the reform of the Government of Bombay.

Professor Haffkine and the Bombay Laboratory.

I hope that your inoculation has been successful, and that you were not put to any serious inconvenience. We have been rather exercised here about the prospect of Haffkine's services being lost to India. His pupil, Bannerman, who is now in charge of the laboratory, writes that it is proposed to make him (Bannerman) Director, and to leave Haffkine, under one title or another, simply attached to the laboratory and free to carry out experiments. This may or may not be true, and, if it is true, the scheme may or may not have been kindly meant so far as Haffkine

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is concerned: but, be this as it may, he does not at all enjoy the prospect, and will, we are told, resign if the plan is carried out. This being so, we thought it worth while to inform you by telegraph, as his resignation would, I suppose, be a misfortune for the country. Lord Lister has been writing to us about it, and there can be no higher medical authority in this country.

Plague. The latest Bombay plague returns are decidedly satisfactory: but this is only good as far as it goes. I am always trembling for Calcutta: we may see something there like Poona on a large scale.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 64.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

November 15*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Transvaal War. All public interest still continues to be centred in the fighting in South Africa, and things have gone better during the past week. White still holds his position in Ladysmith, and, though he is uncomfortable there, being outweighed in artillery, and the enemy having possession of heights which dominate a considerable portion of his position, the Boers show no tendency to come to close quarters, and the bombardment has proved less effective than was anticipated. The Boers have in the meantime moved up a very large amount of heavy artillery. This has been quite a surprise to our Intelligence Department, as they did not believe that guns of this weight could be easily transported. I understand special gun-carriages have been made by Creusot and Krupp; and, if this be correct, which I assume it is, it is the clearest evidence that the intention all along was to utilise their organisation, not so much for the purpose of defence, as of the attack and assault of our towns. It will not, however, be a very easy task to get these big guns away if Buller can unite with White; and therefore during the next ten days the struggle round Ladysmith will be more interesting than it has yet been. Salisbury's speech at the Mansion House has been very well received both by the public and by foreign nations. He laid down in the clearest way that we would brook no interference from foreign nations in settling the Transvaal

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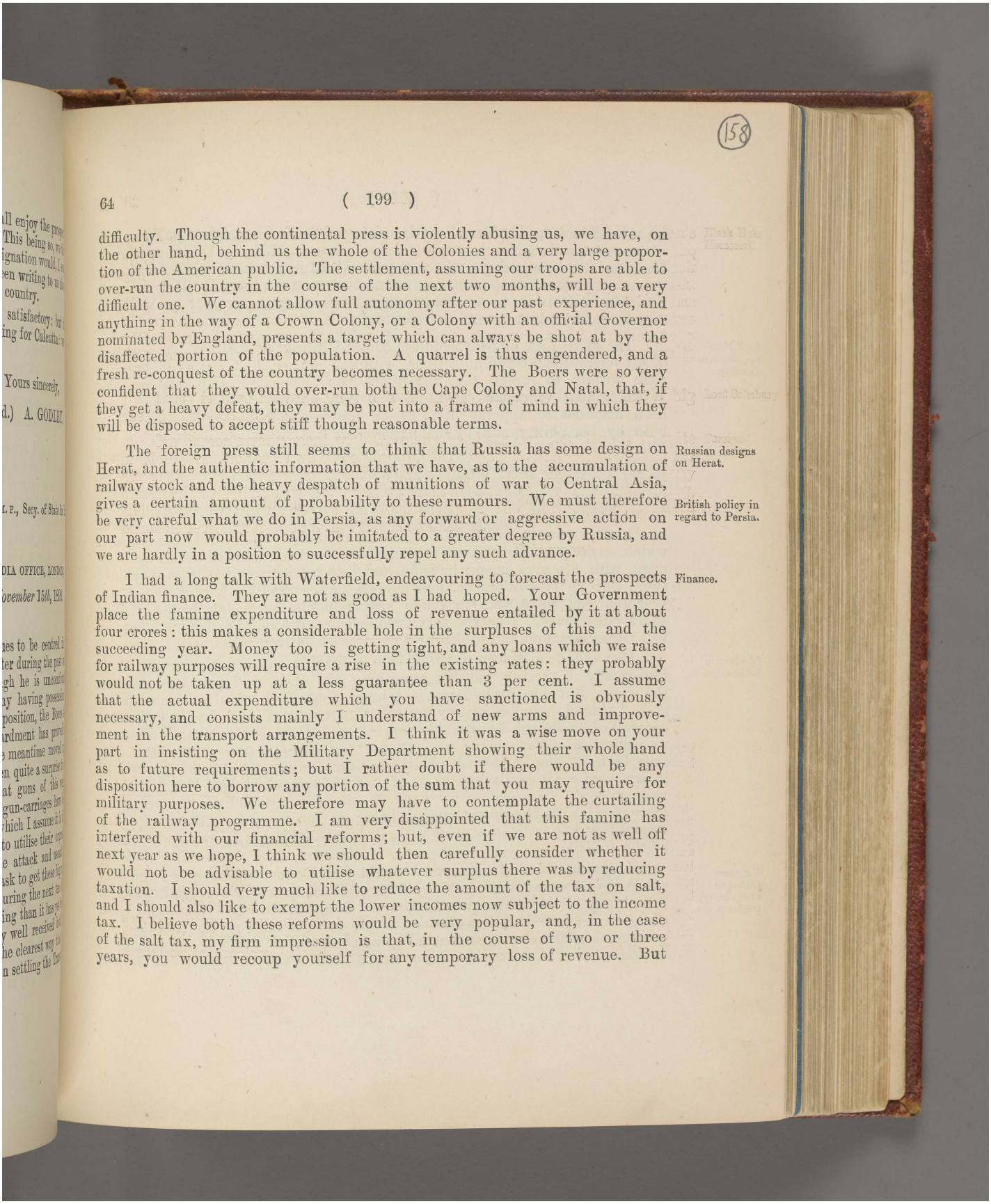

difficulty. Though the continental press is violently abusing us, we have, on the other hand, behind us the whole of the Colonies and a very large proportion of the American public. The settlement, assuming our troops are able to over-run the country in the course of the next two months, will be a very difficult one. We cannot allow full autonomy after our past experience, and anything in the way of a Crown Colony, or a Colony with an official Governor nominated by England, presents a target which can always be shot at by the disaffected portion of the population. A quarrel is thus engendered, and a fresh re-conquest of the country becomes necessary. The Boers were so very confident that they would over-run both the Cape Colony and Natal, that, if they get a heavy defeat, they may be put into a frame of mind in which they will be disposed to accept stiff though reasonable terms.

Russian designs on Herat.

The foreign press still seems to think that Russia has some design on Herat, and the authentic information that we have, as to the accumulation of railway stock and the heavy despatch of munitions of war to Central Asia, gives a certain amount of probability to these rumours. We must therefore be very careful what we do in Persia, as any forward or aggressive action on our part now would probably be imitated to a greater degree by Russia, and we are hardly in a position to successfully repel any such advance.

British policy in regard to Persia.

Finance.

I had a long talk with Waterfield, endeavouring to forecast the prospects of Indian finance. They are not as good as I had hoped. Your Government place the famine expenditure and loss of revenue entailed by it at about four crores: this makes a considerable hole in the surpluses of this and the succeeding year. Money too is getting tight, and any loans which we raise for railway purposes will require a rise in the existing rates: they probably would not be taken up at a less guarantee than 3 per cent. I assume that the actual expenditure which you have sanctioned is obviously necessary, and consists mainly I understand of new arms and improvement in the transport arrangements. I think it was a wise move on your part in insisting on the Military Department showing their whole hand as to future requirements; but I rather doubt if there would be any disposition here to borrow any portion of the sum that you may require for military purposes. We therefore may have to contemplate the curtailing of the railway programme. I am very disappointed that this famine has interfered with our financial reforms; but, even if we are not as well off next year as we hope, I think we should then carefully consider whether it would not be advisable to utilise whatever surplus there was by reducing taxation. I should very much like to reduce the amount of the tax on salt, and I should also like to exempt the lower incomes now subject to the income tax. I believe both these reforms would be very popular, and, in the case of the salt tax, my firm impression is that, in the course of two or three years, you would recoup yourself for any temporary loss of revenue. But

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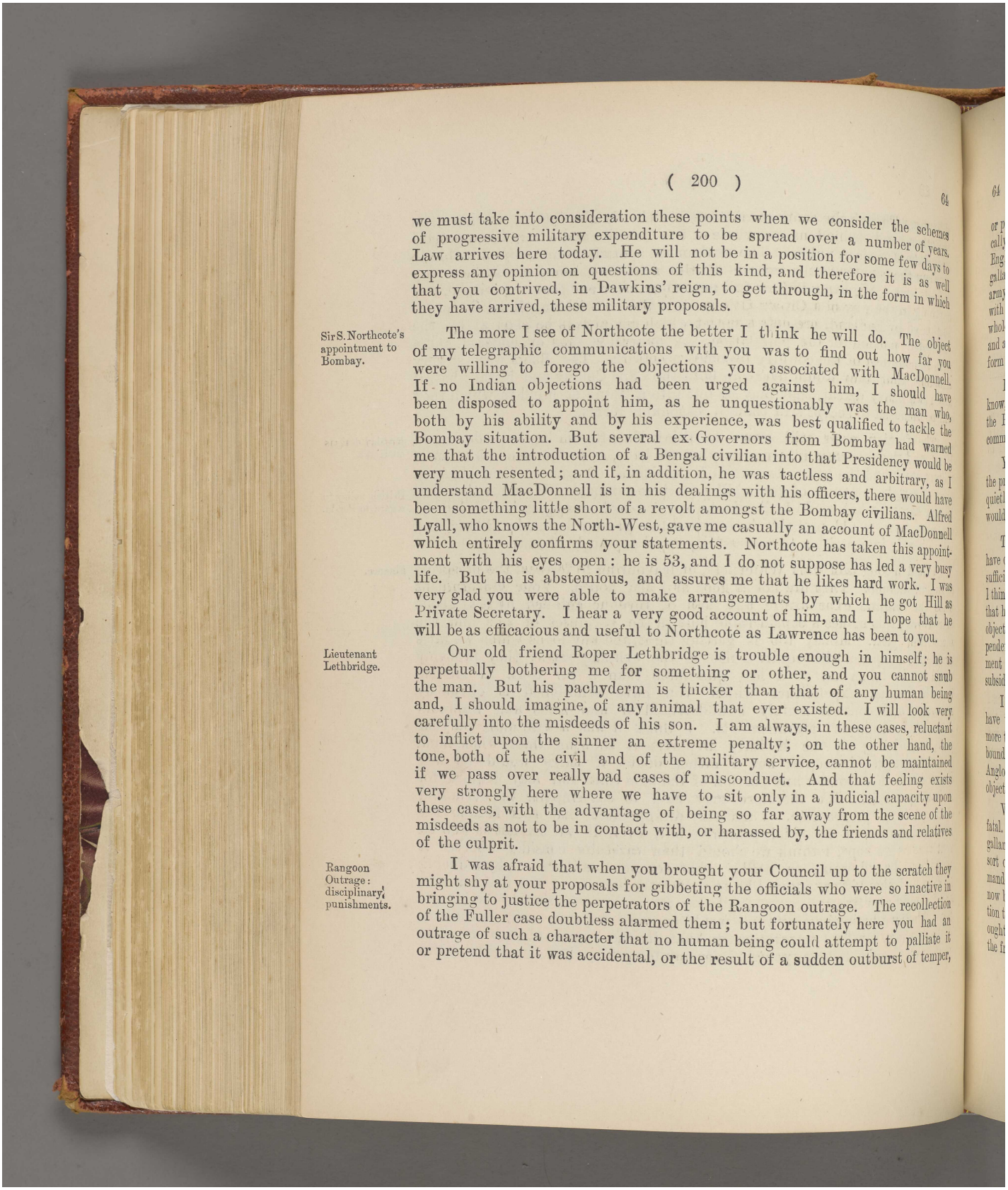

we must take into consideration these points when we consider the schemes of progressive military expenditure to be spread over a number of years. Law arrives here today. He will not be in a position for some few days to express any opinion on questions of this kind, and therefore it is as well that you contrived, in Dawkins' reign, to get through, in the form in which they have arrived, these military proposals.

Sir S. Northcote's appointment to Bombay.

The more I see of Northcote the better I think he will do. The object of my telegraphic communications with you was to find out how far you were willing to forego the objections you associated with MacDonnell. If no Indian objections had been urged against him, I should have been disposed to appoint him, as he unquestionably was the man who, both by his ability and by his experience, was best qualified to tackle the Bombay situation. But several ex-Governors from Bombay had warned me that the introduction of a Bengal civilian into that Presidency would be very much resented; and if, in addition, he was tactless and arbitrary, as I understand MacDonnell is in his dealings with his officers, there would have been something little short of a revolt amongst the Bombay civilians. Alfred Lyall, who knows the North-West, gave me casually an account of MacDonnell which entirely confirms your statements. Northcote has taken this appointment with his eyes open: he is 53, and I do not suppose has led a very busy life. But he is abstemious, and assures me that he likes hard work. I was very glad you were able to make arrangements by which he got Hill as Private Secretary. I hear a very good account of him, and I hope that he will be as efficacious and useful to Northcote as Lawrence has been to you.

Lieutenant Lethbridge.

Our old friend Roper Lethbridge is trouble enough in himself; he is perpetually bothering me for something or other, and you cannot snub the man. But his pachyderm is thicker than that of any human being and, I should imagine, of any animal that ever existed. I will look very carefully into the misdeeds of his son. I am always, in these cases, reluctant to inflict upon the sinner an extreme penalty; on the other hand, the tone, both of the civil and of the military service, cannot be maintained if we pass over really bad cases of misconduct. And that feeling exists very strongly here where we have to sit only in a judicial capacity upon these cases, with the advantage of being so far away from the scene of the misdeeds as not to be in contact with, or harassed by, the friends and relatives of the culprit.

Rangoon Outrage: disciplinary punishments.

I was afraid that when you brought your Council up to the scratch they might shy at your proposals for gibbeting the officials who were so inactive in bringing to justice the perpetrators of the Rangoon outrage. The recollection of the Fuller case doubtless alarmed them; but fortunately here you had an outrage of such a character that no human being could attempt to palliate it or pretend that it was accidental, or the result of a sudden outburst of temper,

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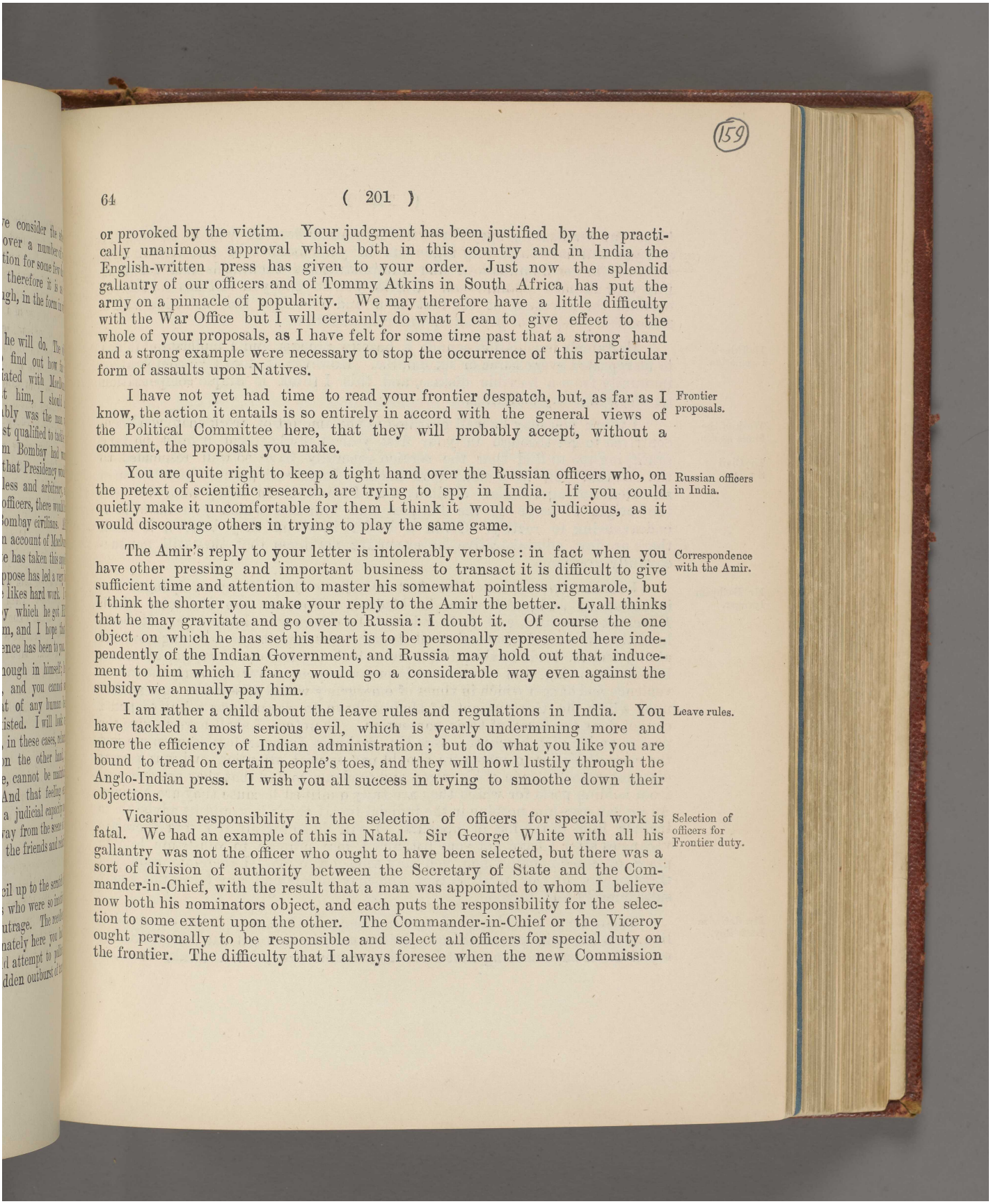

or provoked by the victim. Your judgment has been justified by the practically unanimous approval which both in this country and in India the English-written press has given to your order. Just now the splendid gallantry of our officers and of Tommy Atkins in South Africa has put the army on a pinnacle of popularity. We may therefore have a little difficulty with the War Office but I will certainly do what I can to give effect to the whole of your proposals, as I have felt for some time past that a strong hand and a strong example were necessary to stop the occurrence of this particular form of assaults upon Natives.

Frontier proposals.

I have not yet had time to read your frontier despatch, but, as far as I know, the action it entails is so entirely in accord with the general views of the Political Committee here, that they will probably accept, without a comment, the proposals you make.

Russian officers in India.

You are quite right to keep a tight hand over the Russian officers who, on the pretext of scientific research, are trying to spy in India. If you could quietly make it uncomfortable for them I think it would be judicious, as it would discourage others in trying to play the same game.

Correspondence with the Amir.

The Amir's reply to your letter is intolerably verbose: in fact when you have other pressing and important business to transact it is difficult to give sufficient time and attention to master his somewhat pointless rigmarole, but I think the shorter you make your reply to the Amir the better. Lyall thinks that he may gravitate and go over to Russia: I doubt it. Of course the one object on which he has set his heart is to be personally represented here independently of the Indian Government, and Russia may hold out that inducement to him which I fancy would go a considerable way even against the subsidy we annually pay him.

Leave rules.

I am rather a child about the leave rules and regulations in India. You have tackled a most serious evil, which is yearly undermining more and more the efficiency of Indian administration; but do what you like you are bound to tread on certain people's toes, and they will howl lustily through the Anglo-Indian press. I wish you all success in trying to smoothe down their objections.

Selection of officers for Frontier duty.

Vicarious responsibility in the selection of officers for special work is fatal. We had an example of this in Natal. Sir George White with all his gallantry was not the officer who ought to have been selected, but there was a sort of division of authority between the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief, with the result that a man was appointed to whom I believe now both his nominators object, and each puts the responsibility for the selection to some extent upon the other. The Commander-in-Chief or the Viceroy ought personally to be responsible and select all officers for special duty on the frontier. The difficulty that I always foresee when the new Commission

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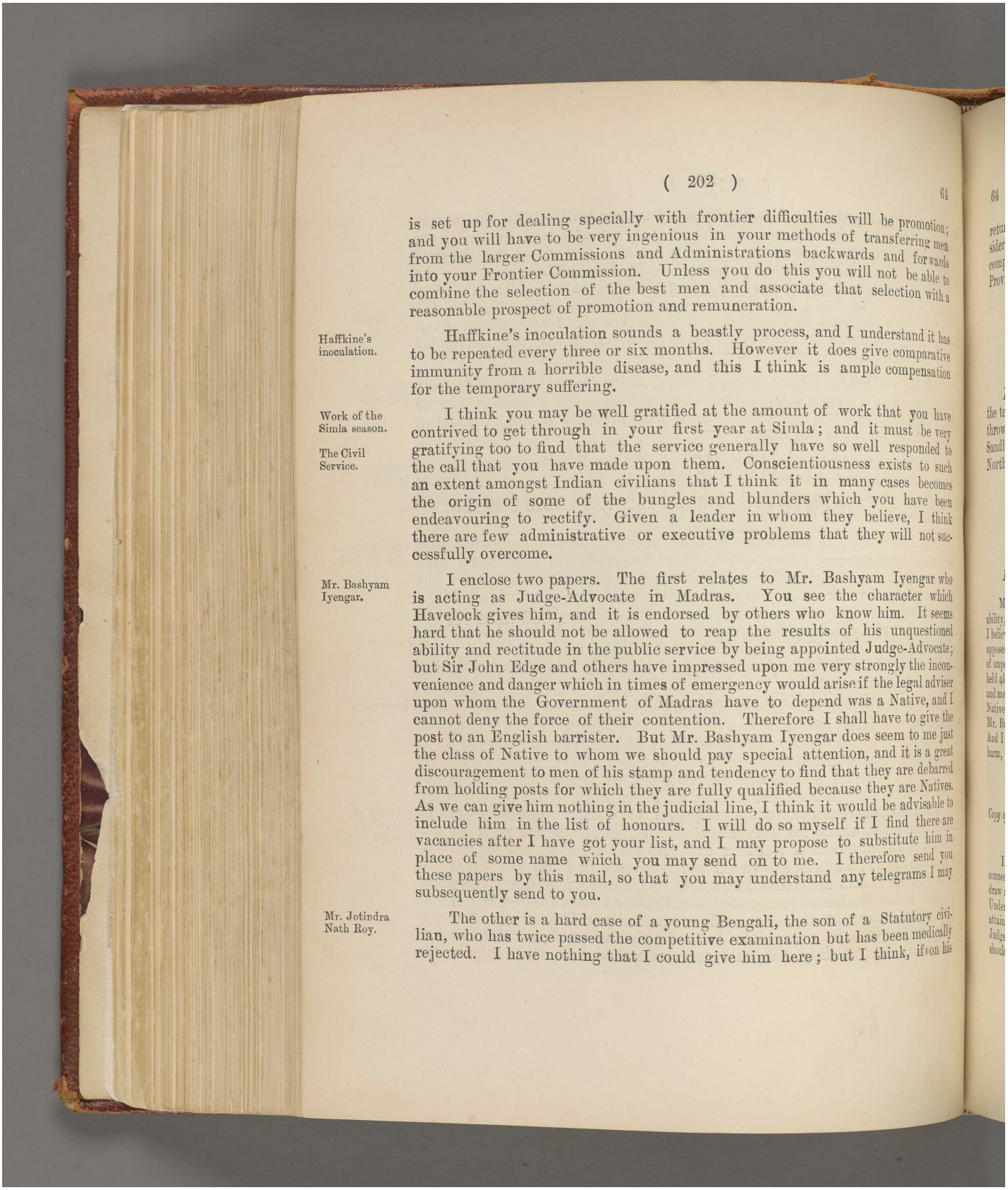

is set up for dealing specially with frontier difficulties will be promotion; and you will have to be very ingenious in your methods of transferring men from the larger Commissions and Administrations backwards and forwards into your Frontier Commission. Unless you do this you will not be able to combine the selection of the best men and associate that selection with a reasonable prospect of promotion and remuneration.

Haffkine's inoculation.

Haffkine's inoculation sounds a beastly process, and I understand it has to be repeated every three or six months. However it does give comparative immunity from a horrible disease, and this I think is ample compensation for the temporary suffering.

Work of the Simla season.

The Civil Service.

I think you may be well gratified at the amount of work that you have contrived to get through in your first year at Simla; and it must be very gratifying too to find that the service generally have so well responded to the call that you have made upon them. Conscientiousness exists to such an extent amongst Indian civilians that I think it in many cases becomes the origin of some of the bungles and blunders which you have been endeavouring to rectify. Given a leader in whom they believe, I think there are few administrative or executive problems that they will not successfully overcome.

Mr. Bashyam Iyengar.

I enclose two papers. The first relates to Mr. Bashyam Iyengar who is acting as Judge-Advocate in Madras. You see the character which Havelock gives him, and it is endorsed by others who know him. It seems hard that he should not be allowed to reap the results of his unquestioned ability and rectitude in the public service by being appointed Judge-Advocate; but Sir John Edge and others have impressed upon me very strongly the inconvenience and danger which in times of emergency would arise if the legal adviser upon whom the Government of Madras have to depend was a Native, and I cannot deny the force of their contention. Therefore I shall have to give the post to an English barrister. But Mr. Bashyam Iyengar does seem to me just the class of Native to whom we should pay special attention, and it is a great discouragement to men of his stamp and tendency to find that they are debarred from holding posts for which they are fully qualified because they are Natives. As we can give him nothing in the judicial line, I think it would be advisable to include him in the list of honours. I will do so myself if I find there are vacancies after I have got your list, and I may propose to substitute him in place of some name which you may send on to me. I therefore send you these papers by this mail, so that you may understand any telegrams I may subsequently send to you.

Mr. Jotindra Nath Roy.

The other is a hard case of a young Bengali, the son of a Statutory civilian, who has twice passed the competitive examination but has been medically rejected. I have nothing that I could give him here; but I think, if on his

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return to India he is then medically fit, it is a case which deserves your consideration, inasmuch as he certainly has a priority of claim over other Indian competitors for an appointment in your gift, or one appertaining to the Provincial services.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

P.S.—You seem to be having a wonderful reception in Bombay: from the telegrams you are almost smothered in the weight of flowers that are thrown at you. I hope you will be able to have a full discussion with Sandhurst on the Natu case, so as to arrive at a decision either before Northcote arrives, or one to which he can give effect after his arrival. Tour.

G. H.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Extract from private letter from Sir Arthur Havelock, dated the 29th August 1899.

Mr. Bashyam Iyengar is a man eminent among the Natives of Madras by his exceptional ability, by his distinguished legal attainments, and by his high personal character and influence. I believe him to be thoroughly loyal. His views on Indian politics are sound. He is strongly opposed to any further extension of popular representation and government; and, at the cost of unpopularity among a large and influential section of his own people, he has consistently held aloof from the movements of the Congress, and has always shown disapproval of the aims and methods of that body. If you should think it desirable to encourage the aspirations of the Native community by appointing one of them to high office, I can conscientiously say that Mr. Bashyam Iyengar would be a man suitable and worthy to receive such a mark of honour. And I think the office of Advocate-General is one of those which might, without risk of harm, be held by a Native of the country.

Copy of letter from Mr. Bashyam Iyengar, Mylapore, to H. A. Sim, Esq., Private Secretary to the Governor of Madras, dated 25th August 1899.

I am sending you by today's post my reply to your letter of the 23rd instant. In connection with my claims to the permanent appointment of Advocate-General, I wish to draw attention to the new age rules regarding the appointment of High Court Judges. Under those rules, as you are aware, a Judge who is appointed hereafter has to retire on his attaining the age of 60 and, *a fortiori*, one who is 60 will be ineligible for being appointed a Judge. In my own case, my position at the bar for several years past has been such that I should not have cared to exchange it for a seat on the Bench until I attain the age of 60,

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which will be in about four years more, when also possibly a vacancy may be expected. A seat on the Bench will *then* be welcome to me, but under the new rules that is now out of the question; and even if there should be any opportunity meanwhile and I am not considered ineligible by age, by reason of my being only a few years on this side of sixty, I certainly should not think of giving up my practice for the honour of sitting on the Bench for two or three years at the end of which I should be bound to retire, while, as I hope, I shall be in full possession of bodily health and mental vigour.

If I deserve any recognition for any official preferment, and the Secretary of State overlooks my claims on the present occasion, it is certain that there will be no other occasion, when I can aspire to or be eligible for any such preferment.

I write this to you as it is possible that the effect of the new age rule in my case may not be present to His Excellency's mind and His Excellency may be under the impression that I am not as old as 56.

(Sd.) V. BASHYAM IYENGAR.

Note regarding Mr. Jotindra Nath Roy.

Mr. Jotindra Nath Roy of Dacca, son of Mr. Kedar Nath Roy, a Statutory Civilian serving in Bengal, passed the Competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1898, but was rejected by the Civil Service Commissioners, on account of the report of the Medical Board on his health. A memorial against this decision submitted to the Secretary of State in Council could not be considered at the India Office, as, under the Statutory regulations, the decision of the Civil Service Commissioners upon the physical fitness of the candidates is final. The candidate accepted the decision, but being still qualified in respect of age, competed again in 1899, again passed, and again was rejected by the Medical Board. A fresh memorial from the father of the candidate has been received, asking that he may be admitted to the Indian Civil Service, subject to a medical examination after a certain period, or failing this that he may be granted a suitable appointment in India.

The only answer the Secretary of State in Council can return is that it is not in his power, under the Statutory rules, to admit the candidate to the Civil Service, and that there are no appointments in India in his gift to which the candidate can be nominated.

The case, however, seems to be one which deserves consideration. It is understood that the candidate's physical disqualification is weakness of the lungs, which very possibly might disappear in a warm climate. If he returned to India, and the opinion of the doctors there was not unfavourable, the difficulty could be met by his appointment to the Provincial Service, should the Viceroy be pleased to offer him a nomination.

No. 65.

Lord Salisbury to Viceroy.

Telegram, 21st November 1899, 5-55 p. m. (Recd. 22nd, 7 a. m.)

I am deeply touched and grateful for the sympathy which you and Lady Curzon have shown me in my sorrow.

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No. 66.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
November 23rd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Our attention and interest are still centred on the military position in Natal, and, although we have received very large reinforcements both there and in the Cape, they have hardly yet begun to operate. In Natal the strategical position does not seem at all satisfactory. The Boers are showing a mobility, of which they are making a tactical use, that no one expected them to develop. I expect there is more than one spectacled German working out the plan which seems to animate them. Whatever happens, even assuming we get through the next fortnight without any military reverses, it is clear that the campaign will be a longer one than we anticipated. The difficulty of obtaining information, and the hostility of the great mass of the rural inhabitants, will make our advance at a great distance from our base one of considerable peril. We have called up another half of an Army Corps, and we may have to mobilise the whole of the Corps. We are therefore getting more deeply involved than before in this imbroglio, and I am sure we must exercise all our ingenuity and wits to keep things quiet elsewhere. It is largely for that reason that I telegraphed asking you to send home your proposed reply to the Amir. I have read again carefully his last letter: it is in places very impertinent, and apparently designedly so. I can hardly imagine that he wants to break off all relations with us as a preliminary step to trying to strike a bargain with Russia; but, assuming that he was so disposed, a curt reply might give him the excuse he wanted. There is a curious analogy between his position and that of President Kruger: both have their respective States armed to the teeth, both desire to throw off every symptom of the suzerainty of Great Britain. This is the least cheerful part of the year, and, what with Lady Salisbury's death, Lord Salisbury's illness, and this South African trouble, one's disposition is to take perhaps an unduly desponding survey of affairs. But still I think all my colleagues feel, as I certainly do, that this war makes self-evident that our Empire is in excess of our armaments, or even of our power to defend it in all parts of the world. I doubt if we can develop much further our system of voluntary enlistment: it may be we shall come to some form of compulsion, but that is a very slow process. Holding strongly this view, I dislike participating in or supporting a policy which is sure to break in your

Transvaal War.

Relations with the Amir.

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Policy in regard to Persia and the Persian Gulf.

hand when it comes to be really tested. You say that you are confident we can keep Russia out of the Persian Gulf, and that we ought to do so, and that it will be cowardly if we do not. Well, I own I do not see how in the long run we can keep her out of the Persian Gulf. Our present policy, that of monopoly in this region, is based upon conditions which existed many years ago, but which are steadily changing to our disadvantage. Every year Russia is getting stronger, and we relatively weaker in Persia, and this process must go on. It is quite true that Russia, in the North Pacific, after she obtained Port Arthur, has converted it into a fortified naval arsenal, and I daresay she will do the same if she can ever get a hold of any portion of the Persian Gulf. But we could not have prevented Russia from taking Port Arthur, and so in the same way I do not see how ultimately we can prevent Russia from getting to the Persian Gulf. It may be a good many years before she will make the effort, but in the meantime the Persian Government will be breaking up more and more, and it is in the power of Russia at any moment to accelerate that end. If any break-up of that Government takes place, our present policy pre-supposes that we shall be able to keep and retain all the ports inside the Persian Gulf. I have asked Goschen to let me have a report from a naval point of view as to how far these ports could be permanently held by ships without other military assistance. It is the fashion to say that, with a navy so strong as ours, we can hold any number of posts along the sea coast where our ships can obtain a good all-round fire; but this idea assumes that, in time of war, we should be able to permanently spare from general effective service the ships required for this duty, and permanently locate them in the immediate neighbourhood of the places where they were required. This, I am quite confident, the Admiralty would decline to do. Nothing has been more clearly demonstrated of late, both in practice and in writing, than that it is impossible for a naval power such as Great Britain, which has to protect its commerce all over the world, and its shores at home, against a combination of hostile forces, to carry out this duty, and at the same time do garrison work in out-of-the-way stations such as the Persian Gulf. This locking-up of a force at a critical moment might just influence the decisive battle which would have to be fought if our naval supremacy was threatened. Well then, if we dismiss the navy as an instrument which cannot be permanently relied upon for the protection of these ports, we must organise some land military force to hold them, and that force would, I assume, have to be provided from Imperial sources, at any rate from Imperial funds: India, however willing she was, could not effectively contribute to this purpose, for she has already more than she can do to defend her existing frontier. I do not say that we ought to break away or depart from the policy which we have for so many years endeavoured to maintain in Persia, but I do say that we ought to look carefully into the consequences of adhering to that policy when the time arrives when Russia makes a real

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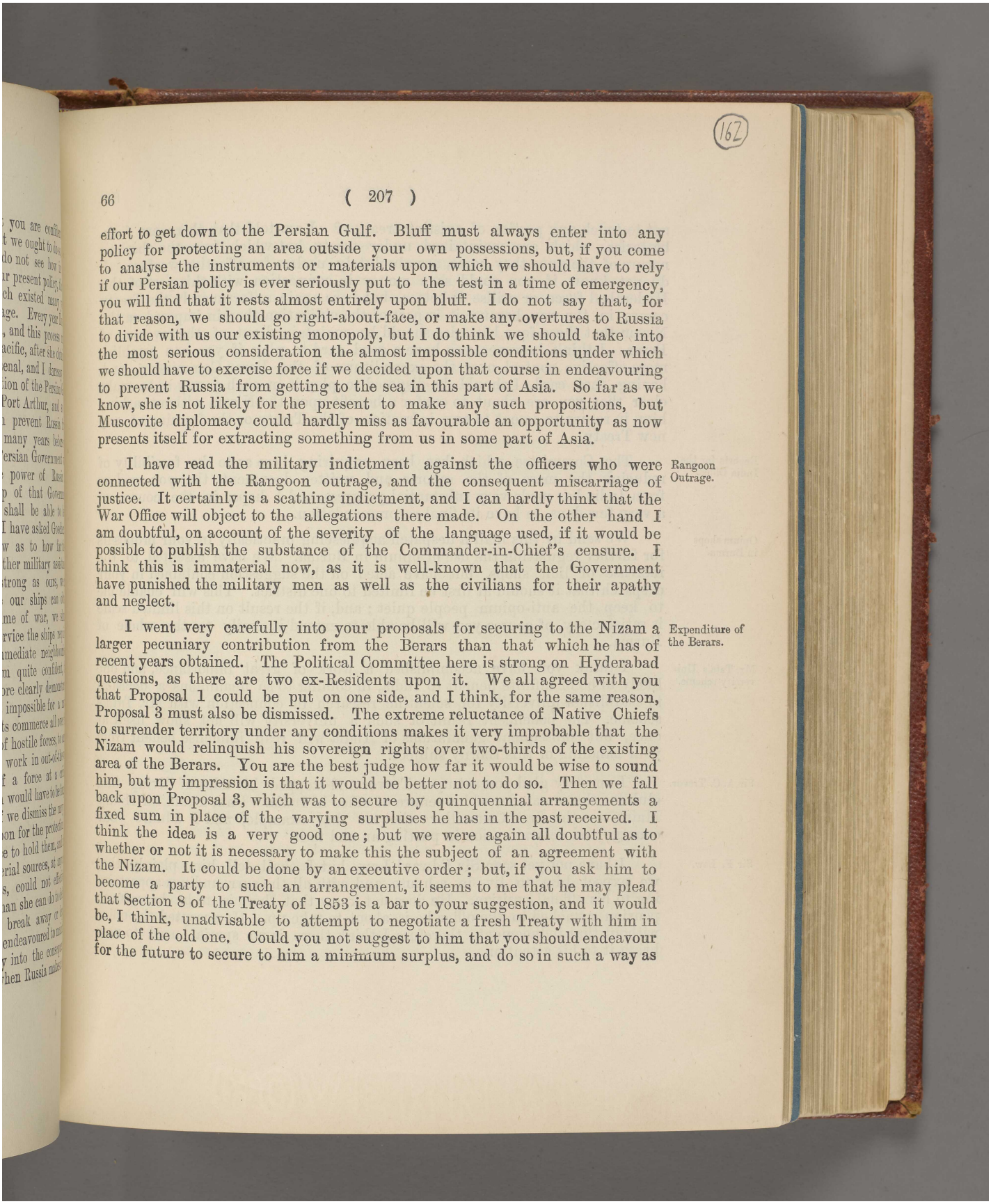

effort to get down to the Persian Gulf. Bluff must always enter into any policy for protecting an area outside your own possessions, but, if you come to analyse the instruments or materials upon which we should have to rely if our Persian policy is ever seriously put to the test in a time of emergency, you will find that it rests almost entirely upon bluff. I do not say that, for that reason, we should go right-about-face, or make any overtures to Russia to divide with us our existing monopoly, but I do think we should take into the most serious consideration the almost impossible conditions under which we should have to exercise force if we decided upon that course in endeavouring to prevent Russia from getting to the sea in this part of Asia. So far as we know, she is not likely for the present to make any such propositions, but Muscovite diplomacy could hardly miss as favourable an opportunity as now presents itself for extracting something from us in some part of Asia.

Rangoon Outrage.

I have read the military indictment against the officers who were connected with the Rangoon outrage, and the consequent miscarriage of justice. It certainly is a scathing indictment, and I can hardly think that the War Office will object to the allegations there made. On the other hand I am doubtful, on account of the severity of the language used, if it would be possible to publish the substance of the Commander-in-Chief's censure. I think this is immaterial now, as it is well-known that the Government have punished the military men as well as the civilians for their apathy and neglect.

Expenditure of the Berars.

I went very carefully into your proposals for securing to the Nizam a larger pecuniary contribution from the Berars than that which he has of recent years obtained. The Political Committee here is strong on Hyderabad questions, as there are two ex-Residents upon it. We all agreed with you that Proposal 1 could be put on one side, and I think, for the same reason, Proposal 3 must also be dismissed. The extreme reluctance of Native Chiefs to surrender territory under any conditions makes it very improbable that the Nizam would relinquish his sovereign rights over two-thirds of the existing area of the Berars. You are the best judge how far it would be wise to sound him, but my impression is that it would be better not to do so. Then we fall back upon Proposal 3, which was to secure by quinquennial arrangements a fixed sum in place of the varying surpluses he has in the past received. I think the idea is a very good one; but we were again all doubtful as to whether or not it is necessary to make this the subject of an agreement with the Nizam. It could be done by an executive order; but, if you ask him to become a party to such an arrangement, it seems to me that he may plead that Section 8 of the Treaty of 1853 is a bar to your suggestion, and it would be, I think, unadvisable to attempt to negotiate a fresh Treaty with him in place of the old one. Could you not suggest to him that you should endeavour for the future to secure to him a minimum surplus, and do so in such a way as

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not to touch any portion of existing treaties? I am told that there are four batteries, which are maintained under treaty, but which, from the obsolete nature of the guns they horse, are absolutely useless for effective warfare. I do not know if you could save money in connection with this part of the Hyderabad force, or utilise it better; but here again unfortunately the Treaty comes in the way, because it is part of the obligation therein imposed on the Nizam that these four batteries should be maintained out of the revenues of Berar. I think, however, you have a good card to play if you can establish more effective control over the expenditure of the Berar Commission, and, having that card, I should be disposed to play it in such a way as to make clear that you are about to confer a benefit upon the Nizam without asking him in return to assent to any infraction of the Treaty or the framing of any new Treaty.

Reports for the India Office.

The Committee which has been enquiring here as to the feasibility of reducing the mass of the reports and written documents that you send us from India has made very substantial progress, and I hope, in the course of a very few days, to have its final recommendation.

Opium shops in Burma.

We send by this mail a despatch acquiescing practically in your proposals for further regulating the use of opium in Burma. We have assented to the increase of licit shops, but have acted on the suggestion contained in your despatch that it should at first be limited to one district. This will enable me to keep the anti-opium people quiet; and, if the result on this limited scale is satisfactory, of course you will be able to extend it easily to the whole of Burma.

Mr. Tata's University scheme.

I think you have accomplished a work of great importance, and one likely to be of infinite benefit to India, in coming to so unanimous a decision to establish a university for scientific research in connection with Mr. Tata's scheme. The beneficent result of such a university will not show itself at once, but subsequent generations of India will reap immense benefit from your handling of this thorny subject.

Sir A. C. Trevor.

I am very glad you sat upon Trevor and stopped his idea of living in a club for the remainder of his tenure of office in India. I am afraid Sir Henry Maine was the first Councillor who set that example, and I admire your courage and determination in putting an end to it.

Sir F. Law.

I have not yet seen Sir Edward Law, but I shall tell him plainly that we expect him to live in a house, and with all the surroundings appertaining to his official position. He does not know that there is to be hereafter a pension attached to the office he is about to take up. He accepted the office without that inducement: therefore I think there is no special need to now bring it to his attention.

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I will gladly help you in every way I can to retain Major Forsyth's services as the medical adviser to Lady Curzon and family. In a case of this sort I can over-rule the Council if it does not involve expenditure. I do not say that they would object, but I must just look into the case, and see that it is put forward in such a way as if possible to allow me to make use of my ultimate power, if I cannot otherwise carry the Council with me. Mjor Forsyth.

I am very sorry to learn that Lord Salisbury is seriously ill with the influenza. From the state of his health just previous to Lady Salisbury's death, and the physical and mental depression under which he is suffering, I shall await with some anxiety reports of his health for the next few days. Lord Salisbury.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 67.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
November 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Since I wrote to you last, your telegram has come giving the draft of the more important part of your proposed reply to the Amir. Our experts here, however, think that His Highness' letter is so impudent, and shows such a dangerous frame of mind, that Lord George (as you know) has decided that Her Majesty's Government ought to see the whole of your reply, and that it should go—like your previous reply—with their sanction. I hope that, when it leaves their hands, it will still be, as it is now, a short document, and that it will be so worded as to bring the correspondence to an end for the present. It is obvious that we cannot afford to quarrel with the Amir at present, and it will be something to gain a little time before answering him. It is lucky that his subjects are Afghans and not Dutch Boers; for, of the latter, a population of about 250,000 seem to be able to provide a force which is very nearly a match for the available strength of the British Army; while the Afghans, I believe, number over 4 millions. There was a very interesting letter in the *Times* yesterday, November 23rd, signed by "A German Officer," which, though perhaps coloured by the nationality of the writer and containing some exaggerations, was nevertheless, on the whole, Draft reply to the Amir. Transvaal War.

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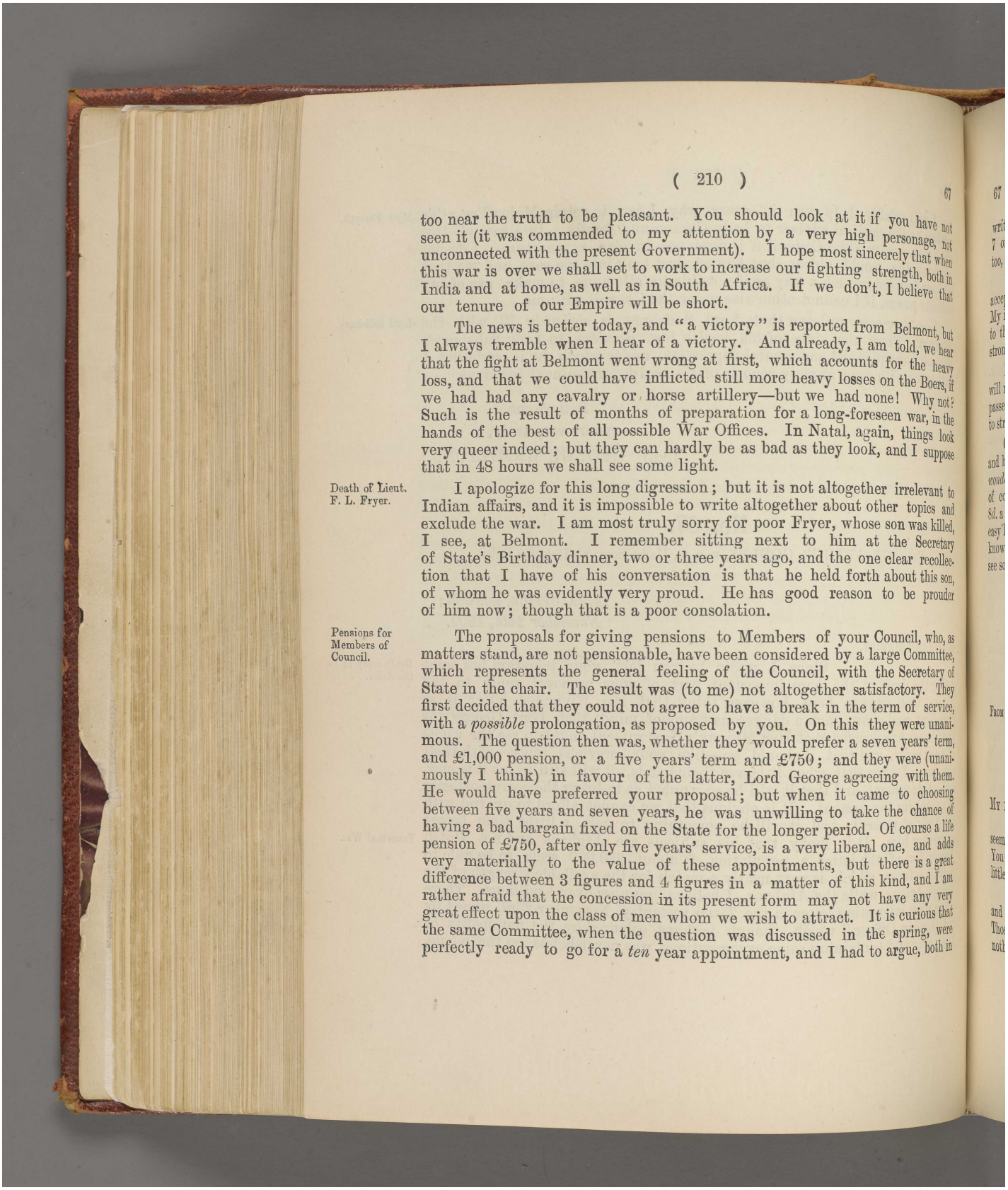

too near the truth to be pleasant. You should look at it if you have not seen it (it was commended to my attention by a very high personage, not unconnected with the present Government). I hope most sincerely that when this war is over we shall set to work to increase our fighting strength, both in India and at home, as well as in South Africa. If we don't, I believe that our tenure of our Empire will be short.

The news is better today, and "a victory" is reported from Belmont, but I always tremble when I hear of a victory. And already, I am told, we hear that the fight at Belmont went wrong at first, which accounts for the heavy loss, and that we could have inflicted still more heavy losses on the Boers, if we had had any cavalry or horse artillery—but we had none! Why not? Such is the result of months of preparation for a long-foreseen war, in the hands of the best of all possible War Offices. In Natal, again, things look very queer indeed; but they can hardly be as bad as they look, and I suppose that in 48 hours we shall see some light.

Death of Lieut. F. L. Fryer.

I apologize for this long digression; but it is not altogether irrelevant to Indian affairs, and it is impossible to write altogether about other topics and exclude the war. I am most truly sorry for poor Fryer, whose son was killed, I see, at Belmont. I remember sitting next to him at the Secretary of State's Birthday dinner, two or three years ago, and the one clear recollection that I have of his conversation is that he held forth about this son, of whom he was evidently very proud. He has good reason to be prouder of him now; though that is a poor consolation.

Pensions for Members of Council.

The proposals for giving pensions to Members of your Council, who, as matters stand, are not pensionable, have been considered by a large Committee, which represents the general feeling of the Council, with the Secretary of State in the chair. The result was (to me) not altogether satisfactory. They first decided that they could not agree to have a break in the term of service, with a *possible* prolongation, as proposed by you. On this they were unanimous. The question then was, whether they would prefer a seven years' term, and £1,000 pension, or a five years' term and £750; and they were (unanimously I think) in favour of the latter, Lord George agreeing with them. He would have preferred your proposal; but when it came to choosing between five years and seven years, he was unwilling to take the chance of having a bad bargain fixed on the State for the longer period. Of course a life pension of £750, after only five years' service, is a very liberal one, and adds very materially to the value of these appointments, but there is a great difference between 3 figures and 4 figures in a matter of this kind, and I am rather afraid that the concession in its present form may not have any very great effect upon the class of men whom we wish to attract. It is curious that the same Committee, when the question was discussed in the spring, were perfectly ready to go for a *ten* year appointment, and I had to argue, both in

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writing and by word of mouth, against such a long term. And now the same 7 or 8 men unanimously declare 7 years to be dangerously long! Quite right too, you will say; but the change of front was remarkable.

Position of Sir T. Raleigh and Sir F. Law.

The question has still to be decided whether Raleigh and Law, who have accepted office on the old terms, should have the benefit of this new concession. My impression is that Council will not give it to them; further, I am inclined to think that they ought not to have it. What do you say? If you have any strong opinion, it might be worth while for you to send a private telegram.

Japan & Russia.

I suppose that the differences between the Japanese and the Russians will not lead to war, after all. The Japanese must know that every day that passes diminishes their chance of success; and I suspect that, if they meant to strike, they would have struck before now.

The Yangtse Valley.

Glass, the (Civil) Engineer who lately left the Public Works Department, and has been prospecting for a Syndicate in the Yangtse Valley, gives me a *wonderful* account of the mineral wealth that he saw there. Thirty miles square of coal-field, yielding anthracite of the very best quality, which now sells for 8*d.* a ton at the pit's mouth; enormous quantities of iron close by; and a very easy line for a railway which would bring all this down to the sea. One doesn't know how much to believe; but if half what he told me is true, we shall see some startling developments as soon as the communications are made.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 68.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 1*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Viceroy's tour.

Your tour, with its extraordinarily varied experience, seems to work you harder than when you are installed at Calcutta or Simla. You know your strength and powers of work, but I should have thought a little relaxation before returning to Calcutta would be advisable.

Famine operations.

The famine operations seem to be going on well. The recent experience and the necessity of starting relief works in time are now bearing good fruit. Those who have previously visited large relief works have always told me that nothing impressed them more with the power of authority in India than

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seeing one white man superintending so many tens of thousands. I suppose there must be a considerable amount of imposture: this is inevitable when working relief upon such a scale. The west of India, I have always been told, both in its natural features, as well as in its society, is one of the most attractive parts of our Empire. I wish that we had not been in such a hurry elsewhere, and had left more of the old feudal customs. Western ideas have been pushed too fast in India, and any advance made in that direction, however unpleasant may be its consequences, cannot be reversed.

South Africa.

Affairs in South Africa look somewhat more promising. Buller is quietly, but rapidly, organising relief on a large scale for Ladysmith. We now know that the besieged have suffered very little from the bombardment; and, as Buller knows the absolute necessity of securing as quickly as possible a big victory when he does strike, he will strike very hard. Methuen seems to have got the best of the Boers in a series of hard-fought actions; but he is an extraordinarily bad telegraphist, and has given us all, after the receipt of each of his telegrams, many bad quarters of an hour. I am sorry to say there is a complete concurrence amongst all those who have recently gone out to South Africa, and who have not been there for many years, in the view that the task before us is a much more serious one than they had anticipated. The propaganda against us has, to a large extent, been educational and religious, and these two influences, when added to racial antipathy, constitute a very formidable combination. We are mobilising another division, so that we shall soon have upwards of 100,000 men in South Africa.

Russian designs.

I sat next Scott, our St. Petersburg Ambassador, last night at dinner. He does not think that, for the moment, Russia will make any serious move in Persia; but he is apprehensive about Afghanistan, particularly if anything occurred to the Amir. As you know, the Germans have obtained a concession for making a railroad to Bussorah, and this must, I think, accelerate the action of the Russians. Scott told me that he is quite certain Mouravieff had no authority from the Emperor in his recent efforts to form, by intrigue, a European combination against us; and he thought that, in the course of the next two or three months, Mouravieff's position might, in consequence, be endangered.

The Emperor of Germany.

The Emperor of Germany's visit here has been a remarkable success, and he has gone away delighted both with his social and political reception. Thoroughly friendly relations have, I understand, been re-established between him and the various members of the Royal Family, and he is also most pleased with the interviews that he had with Chamberlain and Balfour, Salisbury being unable to meet him. Both Chamberlain and Balfour are readier to come to a conclusion, and are more apt to express themselves unreservedly than our Chief. I have not seen Chamberlain since

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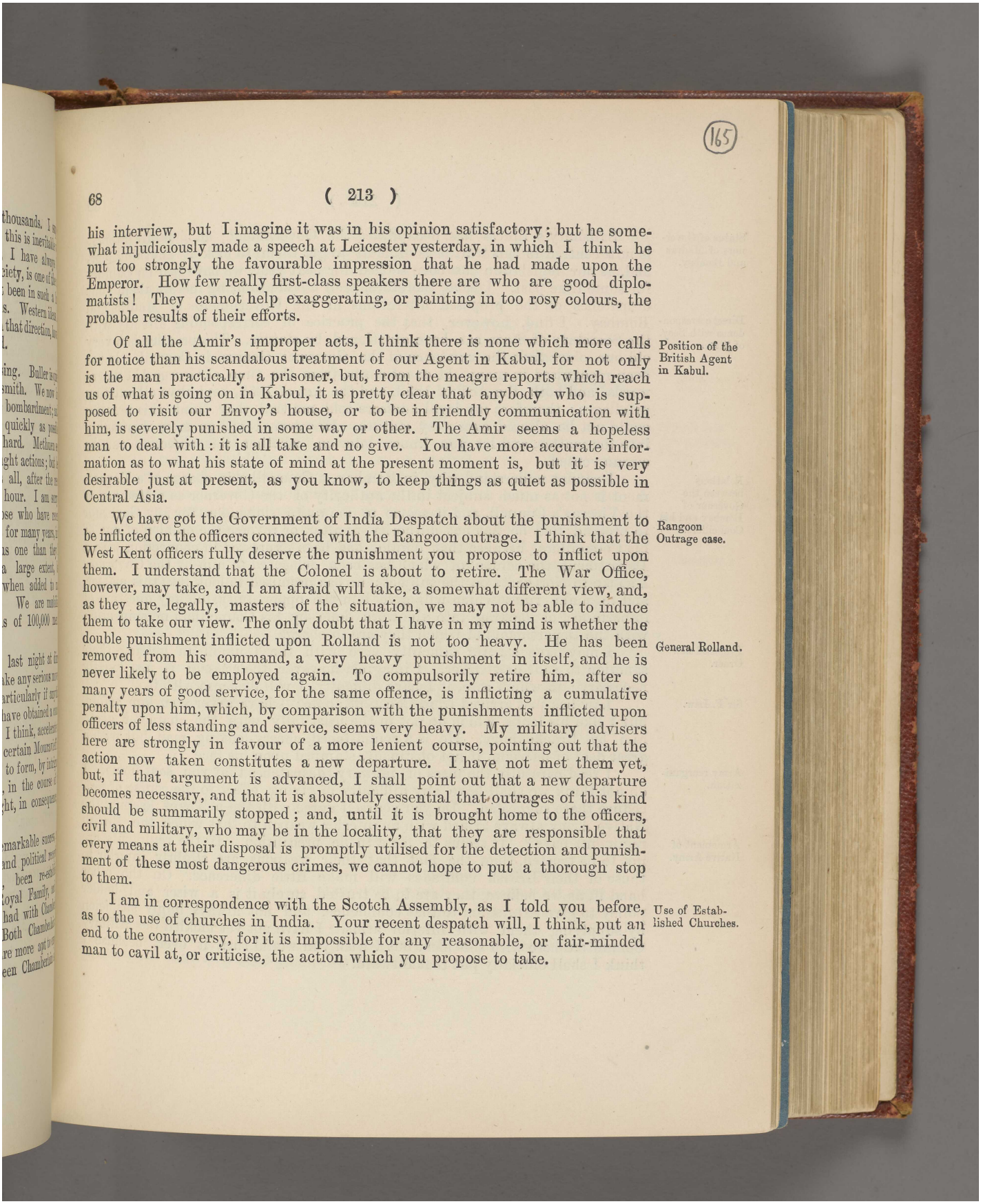

his interview, but I imagine it was in his opinion satisfactory; but he somewhat injudiciously made a speech at Leicester yesterday, in which I think he put too strongly the favourable impression that he had made upon the Emperor. How few really first-class speakers there are who are good diplomatists! They cannot help exaggerating, or painting in too rosy colours, the probable results of their efforts.

Position of the British Agent in Kabul.

Of all the Amir's improper acts, I think there is none which more calls for notice than his scandalous treatment of our Agent in Kabul, for not only is the man practically a prisoner, but, from the meagre reports which reach us of what is going on in Kabul, it is pretty clear that anybody who is supposed to visit our Envoy's house, or to be in friendly communication with him, is severely punished in some way or other. The Amir seems a hopeless man to deal with: it is all take and no give. You have more accurate information as to what his state of mind at the present moment is, but it is very desirable just at present, as you know, to keep things as quiet as possible in Central Asia.

Rangoon Outrage case.

We have got the Government of India Despatch about the punishment to be inflicted on the officers connected with the Rangoon outrage. I think that the West Kent officers fully deserve the punishment you propose to inflict upon them. I understand that the Colonel is about to retire. The War Office, however, may take, and I am afraid will take, a somewhat different view, and, as they are, legally, masters of the situation, we may not be able to induce them to take our view. The only doubt that I have in my mind is whether the double punishment inflicted upon Rolland is not too heavy. He has been removed from his command, a very heavy punishment in itself, and he is never likely to be employed again. To compulsorily retire him, after so many years of good service, for the same offence, is inflicting a cumulative penalty upon him, which, by comparison with the punishments inflicted upon officers of less standing and service, seems very heavy. My military advisers here are strongly in favour of a more lenient course, pointing out that the action now taken constitutes a new departure. I have not met them yet, but, if that argument is advanced, I shall point out that a new departure becomes necessary, and that it is absolutely essential that outrages of this kind should be summarily stopped; and, until it is brought home to the officers, civil and military, who may be in the locality, that they are responsible that every means at their disposal is promptly utilised for the detection and punishment of these most dangerous crimes, we cannot hope to put a thorough stop to them.

General Rolland.

Use of Established Churches.

I am in correspondence with the Scotch Assembly, as I told you before, as to the use of churches in India. Your recent despatch will, I think, put an end to the controversy, for it is impossible for any reasonable, or fair-minded man to cavil at, or criticise, the action which you propose to take.

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Status of Governors of Madras and Bombay.

Salisbury's illness has decapitated the Government; and, as all interest is now centred in this war, it is difficult to get them to look at anything else, and, as our legislation has been settled for next year, we have had no Cabinet for some time past. I have, therefore, been unable to bring before them your despatches on the proposed alterations in the Governments of Madras and Bombay. I find, however, that the practice of corresponding directly with the Secretary of State has been sanctioned by statute. The practice is a very old one, older than the existence of the Governor General in Council. It has been recognised in many old enactments, from the time of George III downwards, and both the Act of 1833, and the Act of 1858, kept alive all existing privileges: therefore my legal advisers told me that they think this practice could not be altered except by statute. However, I will go more thoroughly into the matter, and let you know, later on, whether this objection can be circumvented.

Direct correspondence with Secy. of State.

Relations between the Governor of Bombay and his Councillors.

I cannot understand why, in Bombay, a Councillor in charge of a Department is not as much subject to the authority of the Governor as a Member of the Viceroy's Council, and it seems to me quite ridiculous for any Governor to pretend that he has not authority to alter or reverse the opinion of one of his Councillors, because that opinion has been expressed in connection with a Department, the control of which has been delegated to him by the Governor. I spoke to Northcote on the subject: he has promised to look into this matter, and to make rules which will give him the opportunity, on any question of importance, of looking into the work done by his Councillors in connection with the Departments of which they are in charge.

Proposed new Order.

I may have a little difficulty here with the Council in getting their sanction to your new Order. I imagine, however, their assent is not legally necessary; in which case, if I have difficulty, I will dispense with it.

Sir F. Law.

Law has just arrived from Constantinople: I have never seen him before, but I like his looks, which do not in the least tally with the character given him by Brackenbury. He is a round-faced, cheery-looking, man, but with a great deal of decision, if not obstinacy, stamped upon his face.

Army reorganization.

I read carefully the mass of military despatches that you sent home. I do not think we shall have any difficulty in giving effect to the course of procedure there suggested. Do you yourself agree with the policy of keeping the Native Army always armed with an inferior weapon to that which the British regiments have? It seems to me a futile precaution. If the regiments are not to be trusted, then the fact that their weapons are slightly inferior to those of their British comrades will make little difference. On the other hand if, as we believe, they are to be trusted, surely it is a wiser and bolder policy to give expression to that confidence, and not always imply suspicion by supplying them with inferior arms. I have not yet tackled the Military Committee here with this idea, but I wish you would turn it over, because I think I shall officially put that forward.

Armament of Native Army.

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Lord Salisbury, I am glad to hear, is slowly picking up strength. Poor Lady Salisbury! For some months before her death she had not been fully in possession of all her faculties, and, therefore, I fancy her death in certain circumstances will be a relief both to him and his family.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

P. S.—I asked Godley to make enquiries, both at the Treasury and the War Office, to see if he could get you the expert financial advice you wish to have in order to establish a better system of control over military expenditure. We could get no assistance from the War Office. They had no one to recommend, and their advice did not quite fall in with my own ideas. I therefore suggested to Godley to write to Brackenbury, who, intellectually, is the ablest military officer we have, and who does understand military administration. He has written a very sensible minute which Godley will forward to you by this mail. The ideas in it coincide with my experience. I think the best method of obtaining good results, and a firm control over expenditure, is to put the responsibility on the people who spend the money, giving them financial assistance. But the practice of setting an accountant, who knows nothing about military matters, to watch a military man, who does understand them, has not answered here. In the Admiralty I reorganised the whole service on the reverse principle, and the contrast between the efficiency of the Navy now and what it was fifteen years ago is startling, and I think is largely due to the alterations which I thus effected.

Control over military expenditure.

Memorandum by Sir H. Brackenbury. [Enclosure.]

No. 69.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 1st, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

I have written rather fully to Dawkins about various matters, and shall only send you a few lines today.

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Army decentralization.

Lord George committed to me the duty of attending to that part of one of your letters to him in which you asked for his advice and help in the composition of your proposed Committee on Army decentralization. I am afraid that I have arrived at rather negative results. The first person whom I consulted was Knox, but he was so strongly in favour of centralization that he was useless as an adviser, nor could he suggest any names. But he was able to say from experience that professional accountants were of no use at all on Committees of this kind: and I have got other opinions to the same effect. A man of that kind would require an enormous fee if he were asked to go out to India for some months, and I feel pretty sure that he would not be worth the money, nor indeed worth a fraction of it. But I then, with Lord George's approval, consulted Brackenbury who has written me an interesting letter and memorandum, of which I inclose copies. I also inclose a copy of Lord George's letter to me, in reply to mine inclosing Brackenbury's letter and memorandum. My own humble opinion—it really is humble, for I have no knowledge on these subjects, only impressions—is entirely in accord with that of Sir H. Brackenbury. I will add that every one to whom I have talked about it agrees cordially in what Brackenbury expresses about the complications and absurdities of your system of check and audit. Would it not be highly desirable to reform your method of *recruiting* that department? At present I am informed that Native clerks are nominated and jobbed in anyhow: and the result is that the clerks who are already in office do their best to create work and to multiply references, &c., in order to be able to demand an increased staff and so provide for their sons and nephews. This I suggest for your consideration, in case you may like to put the question specially before your Committee.

Memorandum by General Brackenbury.

[Enclosure.]

Viceroy's visit to Bombay.

I congratulate you on your visit to Bombay, which seems to have done good all round. Sandhurst was evidently much pleased with all that had passed up to the time at which he wrote.

South Africa.

At last we seem in South Africa to be getting out of the mess into which our early blunders and want of foresight had plunged us. Even now we have no cavalry, or artillery, at the front to speak of! In spite of the War Office having requisitioned all the bus-horses, and called upon all masters of hounds to produce all their registered horses. I was staying last Sunday with a man who had been suddenly required to give up to Government 14 horses: he was patriotic enough to do it cheerfully, but he remarked, with reason, that it was not very convenient at the beginning of the season.

Risks of a war with Russia about Persia.

There is an expression which I used in my last letter, or last but one, which I hope you will not misunderstand. I said I was "afraid" of the United States, and of Russia, and of no other power. This is true, but all that I mean to imply is that if I went into a war with either of those nations I

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should not feel *confident* of success, as I should in all other cases. But I should feel *hopeful*, and I should be perfectly ready to take the risk for an adequate cause, provided that I had the country behind me. But this (if I am not greatly mistaken) would not be the case if we went to war with Russia to keep her out of Persia, or to assert our own supremacy in any part of the Shah's dominions.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

FROM LIEUT.-GENL. SIR H. BRACKENBURY, K. C. B., K. C. S. I.

WAR OFFICE, LONDON;
November 28th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

DEAR SIR ARTHUR GODLEY,

I send you a hastily written confidential memorandum. I need scarcely tell you I am overburdened with work just at this moment. I have, as you know, a good deal of experience of Military administration and finance both in India and England, and I must say I think India has little to learn from England, except in the two points I have specified. In those two points she has much to learn.

As regards War Office financial experts, they would only make things worse. If they had been listened to, even the modest measures of decentralisation brought about by Mr. Brodrick's Committee would have been vetoed.

There is a gigantic financial staff inside the War Office: yet with his small financial staff the Military Member of Council in India had a far closer grip of military finance than the Secretary of State for War, or the Parliamentary Financial Secretary can ever have here.

Take my own case. I am responsible for supplying the army with all warlike stores and clothing. This involves administering votes 8 and 9, between 3 and 4 millions sterling, and I have to direct the Ordnance Factories with an output of over 3 millions. Yet I have absolutely no financial adviser. No financial mistake is ever prevented; it may be found out after it has been made—months after—or it may never be found out.

For months I have been working to alter this system, to get the Finance branches which deal with my accounts put inside my office instead of outside it, to advise me and prevent my going wrong, instead of tripping me up long after I have gone wrong and I have at last succeeded. Work will be done once, instead of twice over as hitherto.

For Heaven's sake, don't let Lord Curzon imagine there is anything to be learnt by India from War Office Finance.

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) H. BRACKENBURY.

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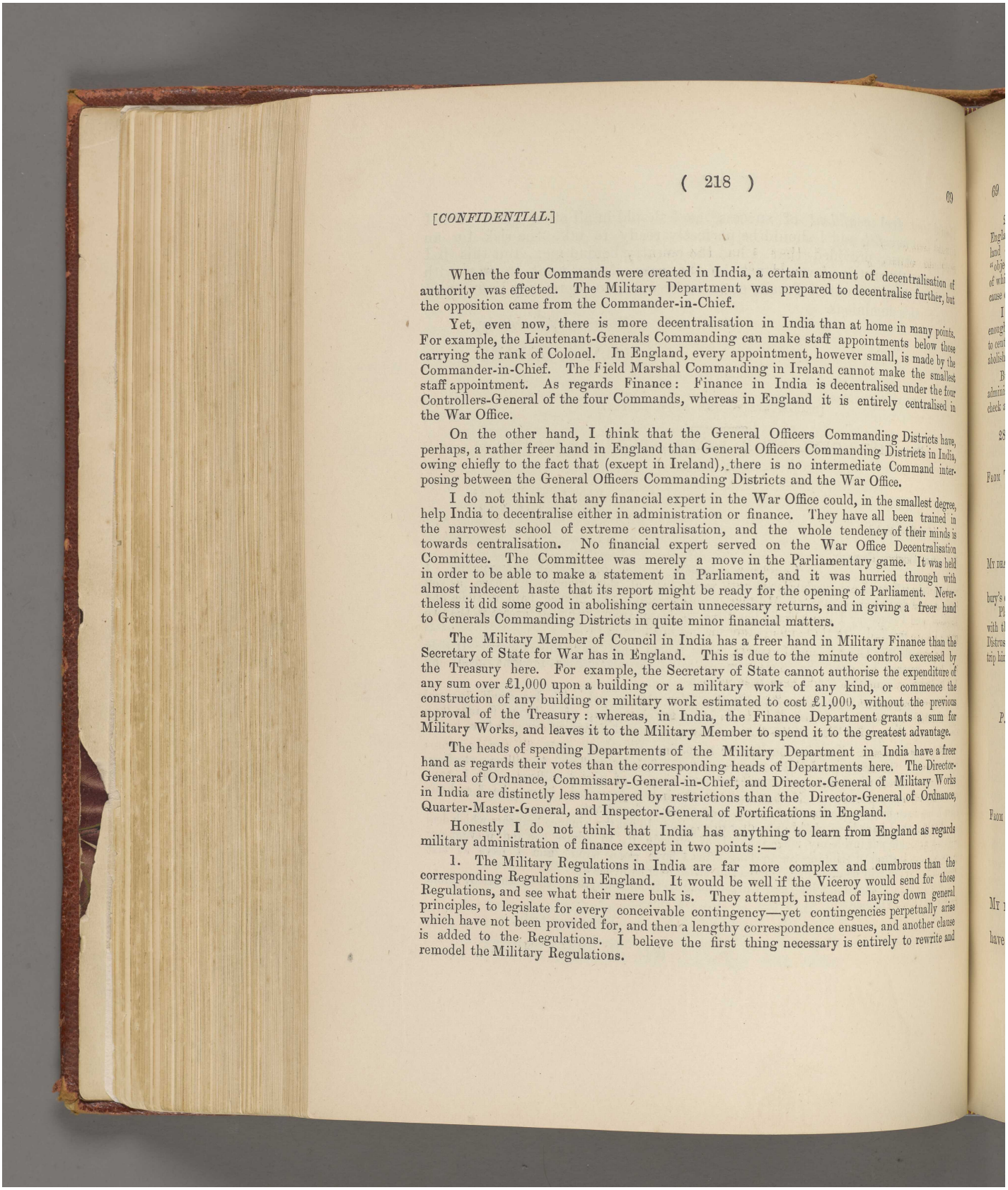

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

When the four Commands were created in India, a certain amount of decentralisation of authority was effected. The Military Department was prepared to decentralise further, but the opposition came from the Commander-in-Chief.

Yet, even now, there is more decentralisation in India than at home in many points. For example, the Lieutenant-Generals Commanding can make staff appointments below those carrying the rank of Colonel. In England, every appointment, however small, is made by the Commander-in-Chief. The Field Marshal Commanding in Ireland cannot make the smallest staff appointment. As regards Finance: Finance in India is decentralised under the four Controllers-General of the four Commands, whereas in England it is entirely centralised in the War Office.

On the other hand, I think that the General Officers Commanding Districts have, perhaps, a rather freer hand in England than General Officers Commanding Districts in India, owing chiefly to the fact that (except in Ireland), there is no intermediate Command interposing between the General Officers Commanding Districts and the War Office.

I do not think that any financial expert in the War Office could, in the smallest degree, help India to decentralise either in administration or finance. They have all been trained in the narrowest school of extreme centralisation, and the whole tendency of their minds is towards centralisation. No financial expert served on the War Office Decentralisation Committee. The Committee was merely a move in the Parliamentary game. It was held in order to be able to make a statement in Parliament, and it was hurried through with almost indecent haste that its report might be ready for the opening of Parliament. Nevertheless it did some good in abolishing certain unnecessary returns, and in giving a freer hand to Generals Commanding Districts in quite minor financial matters.

The Military Member of Council in India has a freer hand in Military Finance than the Secretary of State for War has in England. This is due to the minute control exercised by the Treasury here. For example, the Secretary of State cannot authorise the expenditure of any sum over £1,000 upon a building or a military work of any kind, or commence the construction of any building or military work estimated to cost £1,000, without the previous approval of the Treasury: whereas, in India, the Finance Department grants a sum for Military Works, and leaves it to the Military Member to spend it to the greatest advantage.

The heads of spending Departments of the Military Department in India have a freer hand as regards their votes than the corresponding heads of Departments here. The Director-General of Ordnance, Commissary-General-in-Chief, and Director-General of Military Works in India are distinctly less hampered by restrictions than the Director-General of Ordnance, Quarter-Master-General, and Inspector-General of Fortifications in England.

Honestly I do not think that India has anything to learn from England as regards military administration of finance except in two points:—

1. The Military Regulations in India are far more complex and cumbrous than the corresponding Regulations in England. It would be well if the Viceroy would send for those Regulations, and see what their mere bulk is. They attempt, instead of laying down general principles, to legislate for every conceivable contingency—yet contingencies perpetually arise which have not been provided for, and then a lengthy correspondence ensues, and another clause is added to the Regulations. I believe the first thing necessary is entirely to rewrite and remodel the Military Regulations.

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2. The check and audit of accounts in India is far more minute and vexatious than in England. In India every single bill and voucher is minutely checked and audited. In England only a small percentage is checked and audited. The army of Babus lives by raising "objections"—a very large percentage of which ought never to have been raised, and very few of which bear any fruit. And every objection raised, which cannot be maintained, is a just cause of irritation and annoyance to the man against whose account objection has been taken.

I think a Committee like Mr. Brodrick's Committee might usefully sit in India with enough General Officers Commanding Districts upon it to neutralise the Simla tendency to centralisation. Burnett would be useful—Bindon Blood would be invaluable. It might abolish useless returns and give General Officers Commanding Districts a freer hand.

But my firm conviction is that the most important work to be done in regard to Military administration in India is to remodel the regulations, and cut down the absurd system of check and audit.

(Sd.) H. B.

28-11-99.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 1st, 1899.

MY DEAR SIR ARTHUR,

My experience, so far as it goes, coincides with Sir Henry Brackenbury's conclusions.

Place responsibility upon the man who administers and has the knowledge, and aid him with the necessary financial help. This is the Admiralty system, both in dockyards and afloat. Distrusting those who have the knowledge, and setting accountants not to help him but to trip him up, has been the policy of the War Office.

Believe me, &c.,

(Sd.) G. HAMILTON.

P. S.—I have more than once written to Curzon in this sense.

No. 70.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 7th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

In the week that has passed since your last letter, things have continued to improve in South Africa. Methuen's advance continues, Transvaal War.

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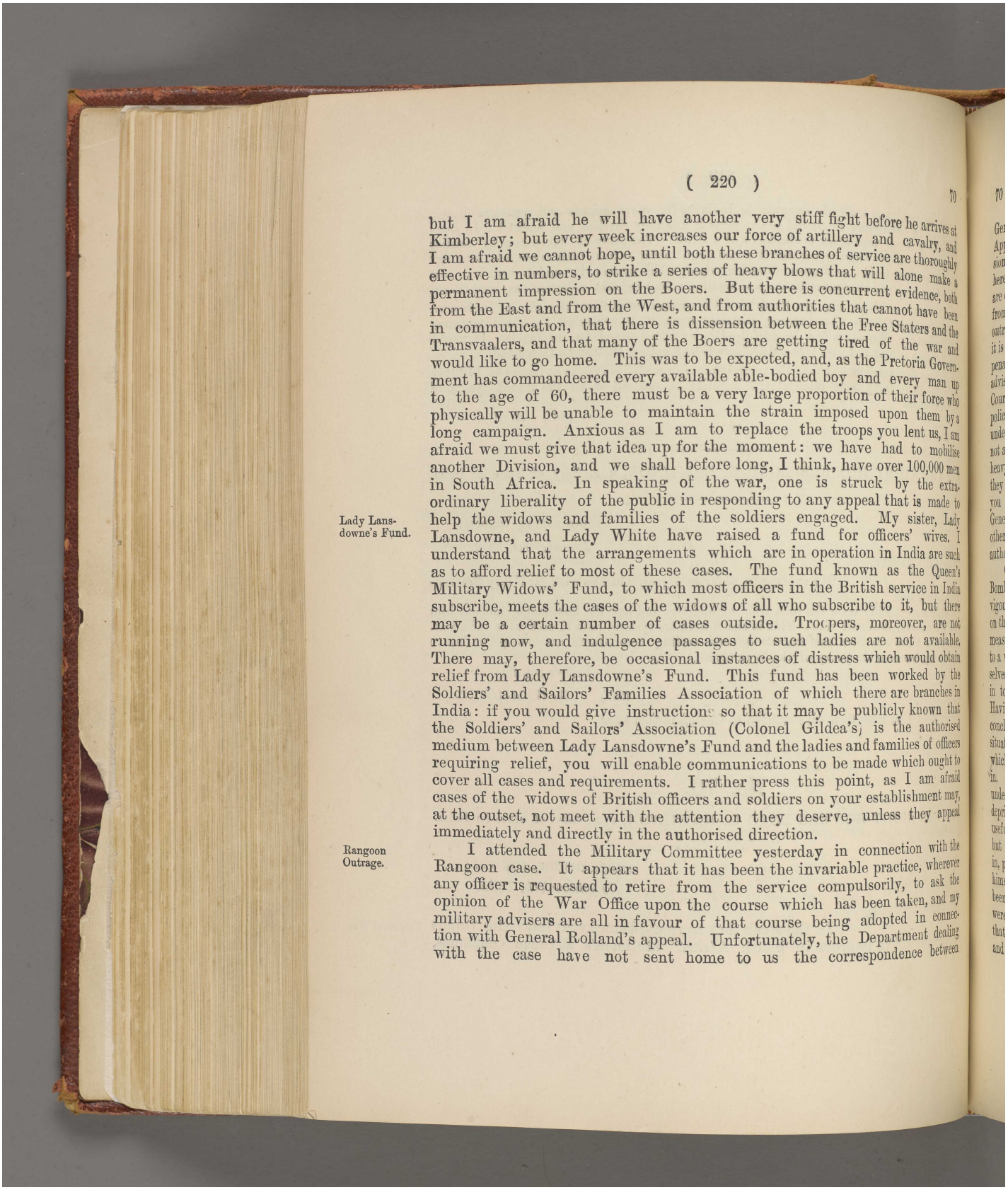

but I am afraid he will have another very stiff fight before he arrives at Kimberley; but every week increases our force of artillery and cavalry, and I am afraid we cannot hope, until both these branches of service are thoroughly effective in numbers, to strike a series of heavy blows that will alone make a permanent impression on the Boers. But there is concurrent evidence, both from the East and from the West, and from authorities that cannot have been in communication, that there is dissension between the Free Staters and the Transvaalers, and that many of the Boers are getting tired of the war and would like to go home. This was to be expected, and, as the Pretoria Government has commandeered every available able-bodied boy and every man up to the age of 60, there must be a very large proportion of their force who physically will be unable to maintain the strain imposed upon them by a long campaign. Anxious as I am to replace the troops you lent us, I am afraid we must give that idea up for the moment: we have had to mobilise another Division, and we shall before long, I think, have over 100,000 men in South Africa. In speaking of the war, one is struck by the extraordinary liberality of the public in responding to any appeal that is made to help the widows and families of the soldiers engaged. My sister, Lady Lansdowne, and Lady White have raised a fund for officers' wives. I understand that the arrangements which are in operation in India are such as to afford relief to most of these cases. The fund known as the Queen's Military Widows' Fund, to which most officers in the British service in India subscribe, meets the cases of the widows of all who subscribe to it, but there may be a certain number of cases outside. Troopers, moreover, are not running now, and indulgence passages to such ladies are not available. There may, therefore, be occasional instances of distress which would obtain relief from Lady Lansdowne's Fund. This fund has been worked by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association of which there are branches in India: if you would give instructions so that it may be publicly known that the Soldiers' and Sailors' Association (Colonel Gildea's) is the authorised medium between Lady Lansdowne's Fund and the ladies and families of officers requiring relief, you will enable communications to be made which ought to cover all cases and requirements. I rather press this point, as I am afraid cases of the widows of British officers and soldiers on your establishment may, at the outset, not meet with the attention they deserve, unless they appeal immediately and directly in the authorised direction.

Lady Lansdowne's Fund.

I attended the Military Committee yesterday in connection with the Rangoon case. It appears that it has been the invariable practice, wherever any officer is requested to retire from the service compulsorily, to ask the opinion of the War Office upon the course which has been taken, and my military advisers are all in favour of that course being adopted in connection with General Rolland's appeal. Unfortunately, the Department dealing with the case have not sent home to us the correspondence between

Rangoon Outrage.

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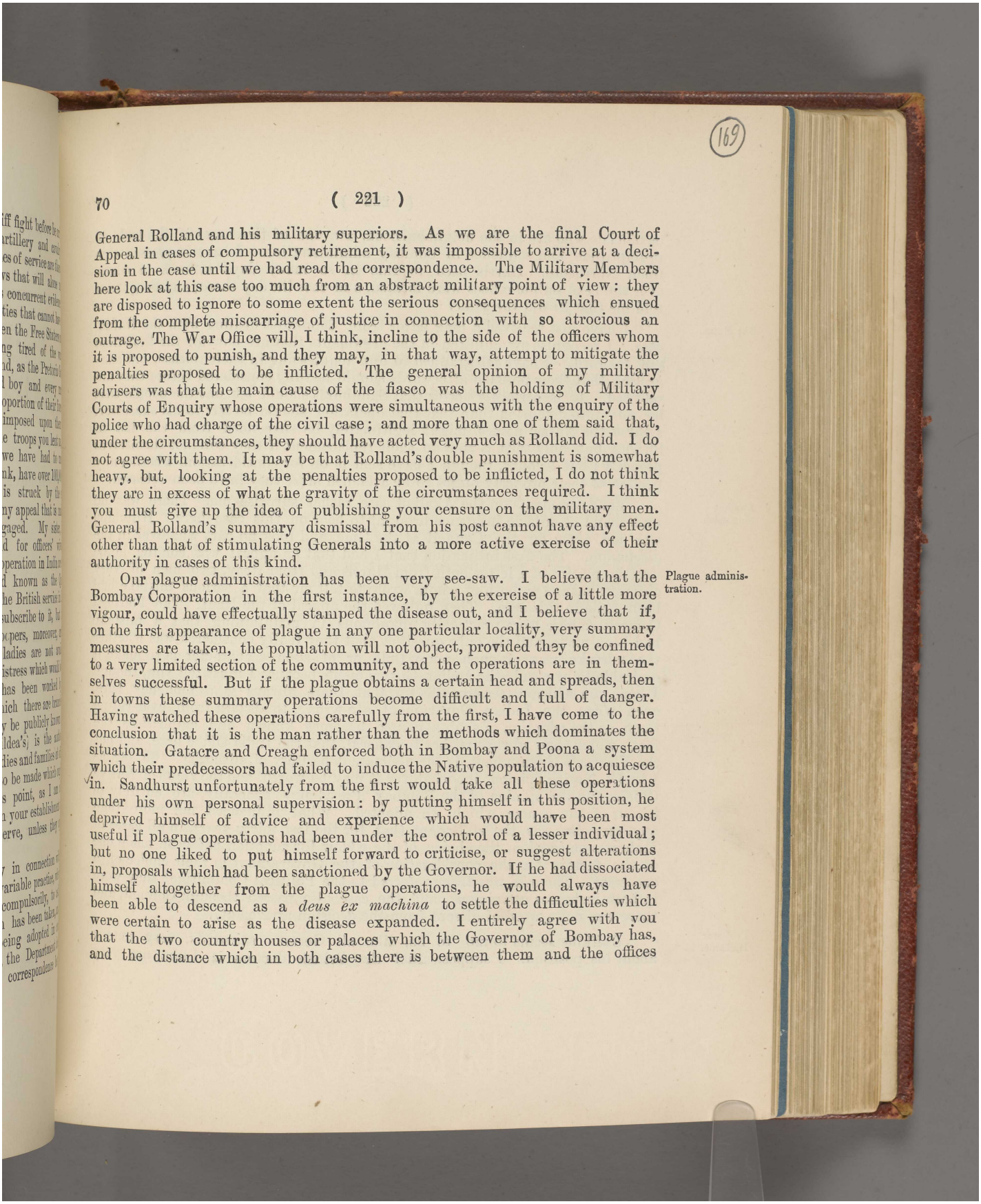

General Rolland and his military superiors. As we are the final Court of Appeal in cases of compulsory retirement, it was impossible to arrive at a decision in the case until we had read the correspondence. The Military Members here look at this case too much from an abstract military point of view: they are disposed to ignore to some extent the serious consequences which ensued from the complete miscarriage of justice in connection with so atrocious an outrage. The War Office will, I think, incline to the side of the officers whom it is proposed to punish, and they may, in that way, attempt to mitigate the penalties proposed to be inflicted. The general opinion of my military advisers was that the main cause of the fiasco was the holding of Military Courts of Enquiry whose operations were simultaneous with the enquiry of the police who had charge of the civil case; and more than one of them said that, under the circumstances, they should have acted very much as Rolland did. I do not agree with them. It may be that Rolland's double punishment is somewhat heavy, but, looking at the penalties proposed to be inflicted, I do not think they are in excess of what the gravity of the circumstances required. I think you must give up the idea of publishing your censure on the military men. General Rolland's summary dismissal from his post cannot have any effect other than that of stimulating Generals into a more active exercise of their authority in cases of this kind.

Plague administration.

Our plague administration has been very see-saw. I believe that the Bombay Corporation in the first instance, by the exercise of a little more vigour, could have effectually stamped the disease out, and I believe that if, on the first appearance of plague in any one particular locality, very summary measures are taken, the population will not object, provided they be confined to a very limited section of the community, and the operations are in themselves successful. But if the plague obtains a certain head and spreads, then in towns these summary operations become difficult and full of danger. Having watched these operations carefully from the first, I have come to the conclusion that it is the man rather than the methods which dominates the situation. Gatacre and Creagh enforced both in Bombay and Poona a system which their predecessors had failed to induce the Native population to acquiesce in. Sandhurst unfortunately from the first would take all these operations under his own personal supervision: by putting himself in this position, he deprived himself of advice and experience which would have been most useful if plague operations had been under the control of a lesser individual; but no one liked to put himself forward to criticise, or suggest alterations in, proposals which had been sanctioned by the Governor. If he had dissociated himself altogether from the plague operations, he would always have been able to descend as a *deus ex machina* to settle the difficulties which were certain to arise as the disease expanded. I entirely agree with you that the two country houses or palaces which the Governor of Bombay has, and the distance which in both cases there is between them and the offices

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or officials who are in the neighbourhood, are one of the causes of the lack of promptitude and sequence in Bombay administration. I have impressed this upon Northcote. Harris used to ride in so many days a week to wherever the head public offices were located, and pass the day there; and Fergusson told me that he did the same.

The Natus.

I have just received a long letter from Sandhurst dealing with the Natus' case. I recognise my children in the arguments that are now for the first time put forward. I have telegraphed to him acquiescing in their release, but suggesting that their position afterwards should be fully considered before they are released. It is certainly better that Sandhurst should let out the people that he put into detention than that that operation should be left to his successor. I think the Natus' names might legitimately be suspended from the list of Sirdars, but only with a view to their replacement if they conduct themselves properly; but I doubt, though I have sent it on for consideration, whether any portion of their property ought to be attached after they have been released.

Akalkot Succession.

Your comments on the Akalkot case rather surprise me. There was no underhand or outside influence brought to bear on this case here. Hutchins was not even on the Council at the time, and took no part whatever in the discussion. The first intimation that I had that an appeal was coming home was the receipt of a letter both from Harris and from Reay, two men of very different character, both of whom wrote to tell me that a serious mistake had been made in this case. Then followed the appeal of the Rani. The Political Committee here were practically unanimous in maintaining that a mistake had been made, and the only question that they really considered was whether the mistake was of such magnitude or of such a character as to make it desirable to over-rule the Indian Government, because I must tell you, though I hope you will not treasure this up, that there always is a tendency here, even when the Indian Government are wrong, to abstain from over-ruling them, as the adoption of such a course becomes known and emphasises the fact, which one always wishes to conceal, that the India Office here, and not the Viceroy's Government, is the ultimate depository of authority. So far as I know, Native opinion, for whatever it may be worth, and the views of Native Chiefs, and the opinion of the Bombay Presidency generally, are entirely in favour of the course which we adopted. What influenced me more than anything else was the statement that, for the last thirty years, in all cases of Mahratta succession, the choice of the widow for adoption had been made one of the factors for the consideration of the Government in their choice of a successor. The case was twice referred to the Political Committee: they were in both instances unanimous, and the case also passed through Council, and there was not a word of dissent from the decision arrived at.

Professor Haffkine.

Haffkine seems to me to be, like all German scientists, very touchy about his position. I suppose that the British doctors in India are very

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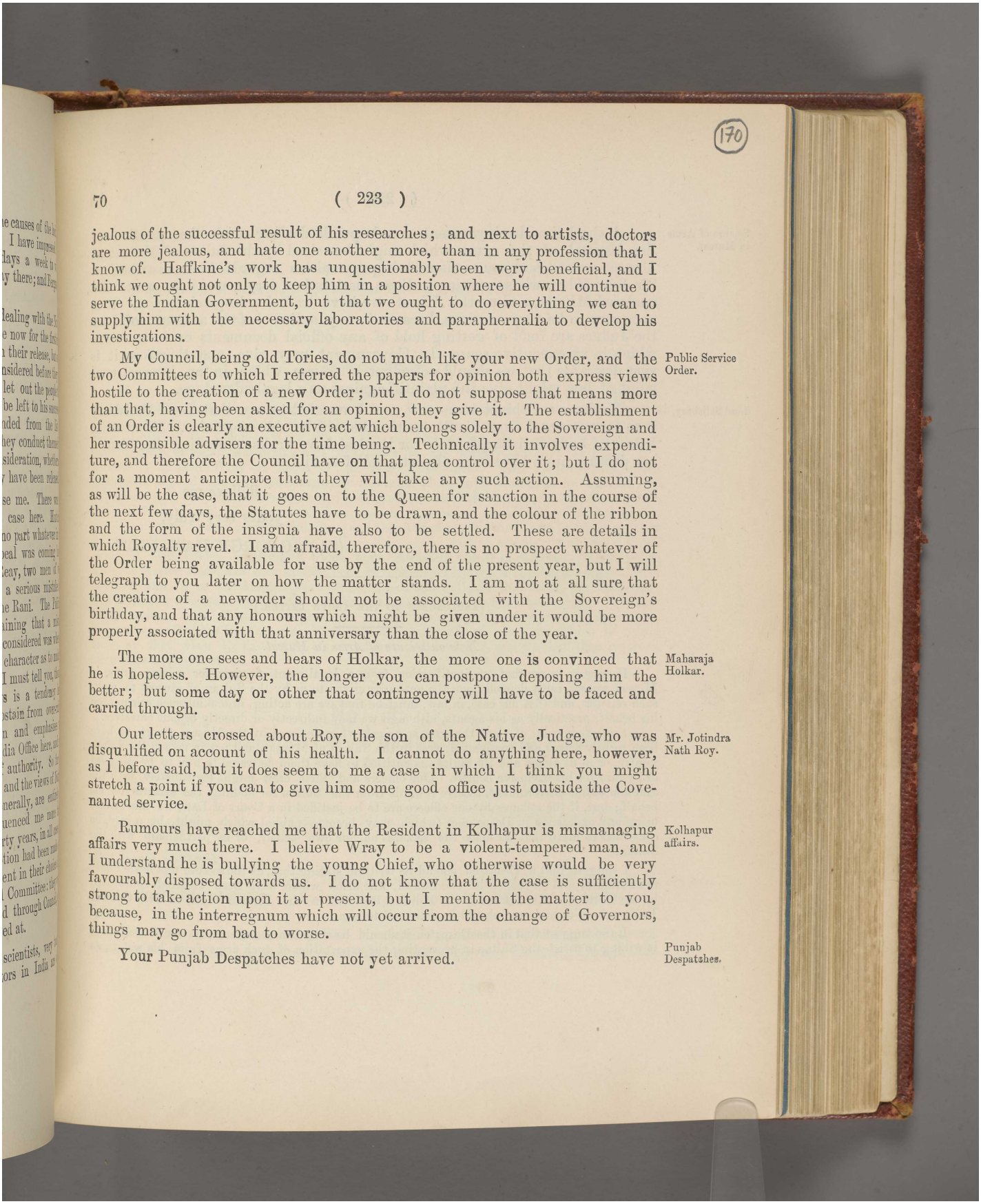

(170)

jealous of the successful result of his researches; and next to artists, doctors are more jealous, and hate one another more, than in any profession that I know of. Haffkine's work has unquestionably been very beneficial, and I think we ought not only to keep him in a position where he will continue to serve the Indian Government, but that we ought to do everything we can to supply him with the necessary laboratories and paraphernalia to develop his investigations.

Public Service Order.

My Council, being old Tories, do not much like your new Order, and the two Committees to which I referred the papers for opinion both express views hostile to the creation of a new Order; but I do not suppose that means more than that, having been asked for an opinion, they give it. The establishment of an Order is clearly an executive act which belongs solely to the Sovereign and her responsible advisers for the time being. Technically it involves expenditure, and therefore the Council have on that plea control over it; but I do not for a moment anticipate that they will take any such action. Assuming, as will be the case, that it goes on to the Queen for sanction in the course of the next few days, the Statutes have to be drawn, and the colour of the ribbon and the form of the insignia have also to be settled. These are details in which Royalty revel. I am afraid, therefore, there is no prospect whatever of the Order being available for use by the end of the present year, but I will telegraph to you later on how the matter stands. I am not at all sure that the creation of a neworder should not be associated with the Sovereign's birthday, and that any honours which might be given under it would be more properly associated with that anniversary than the close of the year.

Maharaja Holkar.

The more one sees and hears of Holkar, the more one is convinced that he is hopeless. However, the longer you can postpone deposing him the better; but some day or other that contingency will have to be faced and carried through.

Mr. Jotindra Nath Roy.

Our letters crossed about Roy, the son of the Native Judge, who was disqualified on account of his health. I cannot do anything here, however, as I before said, but it does seem to me a case in which I think you might stretch a point if you can to give him some good office just outside the Covenanted service.

Kolhapur affairs.

Rumours have reached me that the Resident in Kolhapur is mismanaging affairs very much there. I believe Wray to be a violent-tempered man, and I understand he is bullying the young Chief, who otherwise would be very favourably disposed towards us. I do not know that the case is sufficiently strong to take action upon it at present, but I mention the matter to you, because, in the interregnum which will occur from the change of Governors, things may go from bad to worse.

Punjab Despatches.

Your Punjab Despatches have not yet arrived.

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Seizure of Arms in Muscat.

A short time back you sent us a despatch dealing with the question of the disposal of the arms which might be seized by the Sultan of Muscat in Muscat waters, and you made certain proposals as regards their distribution. Sir John Edge, whose opinion in these matters is a very sound one, wrote the enclosed Minute, and on this Minute we have drafted a despatch to you. It is necessary to be very cautious, because in any action before a Court of Law the Judges are fond of getting hold of any official documents or instructions which in an executive sense the Government may give, and therefore it is very desirable that we should not adopt a course which in an international point of law might give the plaintiff against us a legal advantage.

Lord Salisbury.

We have a Cabinet tomorrow, and I am glad to say that Lord Salisbury is so far recovered from his illness that he will be able to preside. From what I hear of Lady Salisbury's state for the last few weeks preceding her death, her decease must have been almost a relief to him.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Note on seizure of Arms in Muscat.

It appears to me that our justification, from a legal point of view, for seizing arms in Muscat waters, must depend upon the authority given to us by the Sultan of Muscat to make such seizures, and that our case, in law, must be that we are acting, in making such seizures, on his behalf, practically as his agents, although we may indirectly or directly benefit ourselves.

From that point of view, the arms so seized, when declared by the Muscat Court to have been rightly seized and confiscated, vest in the Sultan of Muscat, and not in us and the Sultan jointly, or in us alone, and the Sultan is entitled to have them delivered to him to be disposed of by him for his exclusive benefit. Our officers and their crew might legitimately, with the sanction of our Government, receive rewards from the Sultan for making the seizures on his behalf; but, if the seizures by our officers are to be justified in a Court of Law, we must avoid using any expression in Despatches (which may become public) which might, by a jury, be construed to mean that we made the seizures on our own behalf, or in partnership with the Sultan.

I suggest that a Despatch should be written, stating that, as the seizure was made under the authority and on behalf of the Sultan, the arms which have been declared confiscated by his Court (see Mr. Barnes to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, of 7th October 1899) belong to him, and should be delivered to him.

I also suggest that in the Despatch it should be stated to the effect that our Government is willing to assist the Sultan in preventing the exportation of such arms from his waters, as

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some of them find their way into the hands of the turbulent frontier tribes of India to be used against us.

This I suggest in order that our case may look well in the eyes of a jury.

The position might be explained to the Viceroy in a *private* letter.

28th November 1899.

Kolhapur Affairs.

The attention of the Secretary of State has been called to the condition of affairs in Kolhapur more than once in the past two years. The circumstances attending Mr. Candy's removal from that Agency, and the complaints of certain non-official European residents as to their treatment by Colonel Wray, the Agent, will be within His Lordship's recollection. More recently attention was drawn by a newspaper to the employment by the State of a servant of Colonel Wray as Head of the Store Department. Such appointments, in the absence of special reasons, are contrary to the spirit of the rules of conduct for Agents. In September last, *The Times* newspaper reported that an attempt had been made to poison Colonel Wray. Since then two prosecutions, instigated, it would seem, by the Political Agent, have been brought to an unsuccessful close, and the evidence raises doubts as to whether they should have been undertaken. The Indian Press makes various complaints against Colonel Wray of high-handed proceedings, which have attracted notice in London. His relations with the Native State, and with society, both European and Native, at Kolhapur, are evidently strained, and, since the Maharaja is a well-disposed and well-educated Chief, the representation of British interests at his State must be a matter of political importance. Yet we have heard nothing from Bombay about these proceedings and prosecutions, and it may be well to enquire whether the Government of India are enquiring into the matter. There is reason to think that, when Parliament meets, questions will be asked, and we shall then require a knowledge of the facts.

No. 71.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 7th, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Many thanks for your kindly sympathy with us in our anxiety about our son in Ladysmith, and my many nephews elsewhere in South Africa. Transvaal War.

We were very anxious about a month ago, as White had so blundered that Ladysmith could and should have been taken by the Boers. Things are

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now much better, and we hope to hear of the relief of Ladysmith in a few days. If my small Middy comes out unscathed, it will be a great experience to him, and help in his subsequent career.

I am afraid our Generals in Natal made every mistake they could. They divided their forces, they neglected to blow up the railway from Pretoria, they made Ladysmith, which was untenable, their headquarters, and they allowed four regiments of cavalry, whose services outside would have been invaluable, to be shut up there, and they never thought of having guns of position, or size, brought into the place for siege purposes. Fortunately Lambton, by his own divination, came up in time, and Tommy Atkins, by his splendid courage, has so far counteracted his General's blunders. White never ought to have been sent out, but the Generals asked for him. I warned Lansdowne that he was not a reliable, or even able man, though a gallant and high-minded gentleman.

Sir F. Law. I am very much pleased with Law. He is a man of individuality and ability, diffident yet strong, and if you can manage him, which I think you will be able to do, you will have in him a determined and experienced coadjutor.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 72.

From SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 8th, 1899.

My dear Curzon,

I have, I believe, only two things to say, and propose to say them in so few words that it is only force of habit and respect for your office which makes me take this large sheet of paper.

Sir F. Law. First, as I have more than once expressed a more or less unfavourable opinion about Law—founded, of course, entirely on the opinions of other people—I hasten to say that, after two interviews during this last week, I am much more inclined than I was to take a sanguine view of his appointment. It would, of course, be ridiculous to make much of one's impressions, gained from perhaps an hour's conversation; but he certainly struck me as a man who

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thoroughly knew his business, and, further, as a man with whom I myself should be perfectly ready to work in double harness; though I fancied I noticed a certain austerity and sharpness of manner which might easily account for some of the things one has heard about him. It is a great thing that you know him and that he knows you: and I feel pretty confident that your preference for him—which at the time I confess I rather regretted—will be justified.

Pensions for Members of Council.

We are rather in a mess, by-the-bye, about the Council pensions. They have been proposed and defended on the ground that they would enlarge the field of choice, and would help us to get better candidates. Raleigh and Law we have got, for better or worse: how then can we defend a proposal to give them pensions? I have put out one or two feelers, and am tolerably sure that our Council here will not agree to give pensions to these two individuals. This being so, what had we better do? I suppose the first thing is to proceed as slowly as possible, and I am taking steps accordingly.

Akalkot Succession.

The other matter about which I intended to write to you is not a great one. But I am anxious to remove the impression which you said (in a letter to the Secretary of State) you had formed as to the *causa causans* of our Despatch on the Akalkot case. Since I saw your letter, I have sent for the file, and have read the Notes and Minutes that were written on the matter; and I can assure you that they show clearly that at least five Members of Council—the whole Political Committee—took the view that was expressed in our Despatch more or less strongly: all were evidently very unwilling to over-rule the Government of India; and one or two went so far as to give more weight to the latter influence than to the former. But the two persons whom you named (Lee-Warner and Hutchins) had very little part in the matter—Hutchins next to none.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 73.

From THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 14*th*, 1899.

My dear George,

Many thanks for your last letter.

I am just going off into the country for three or four days: therefore I write my letter before I go.

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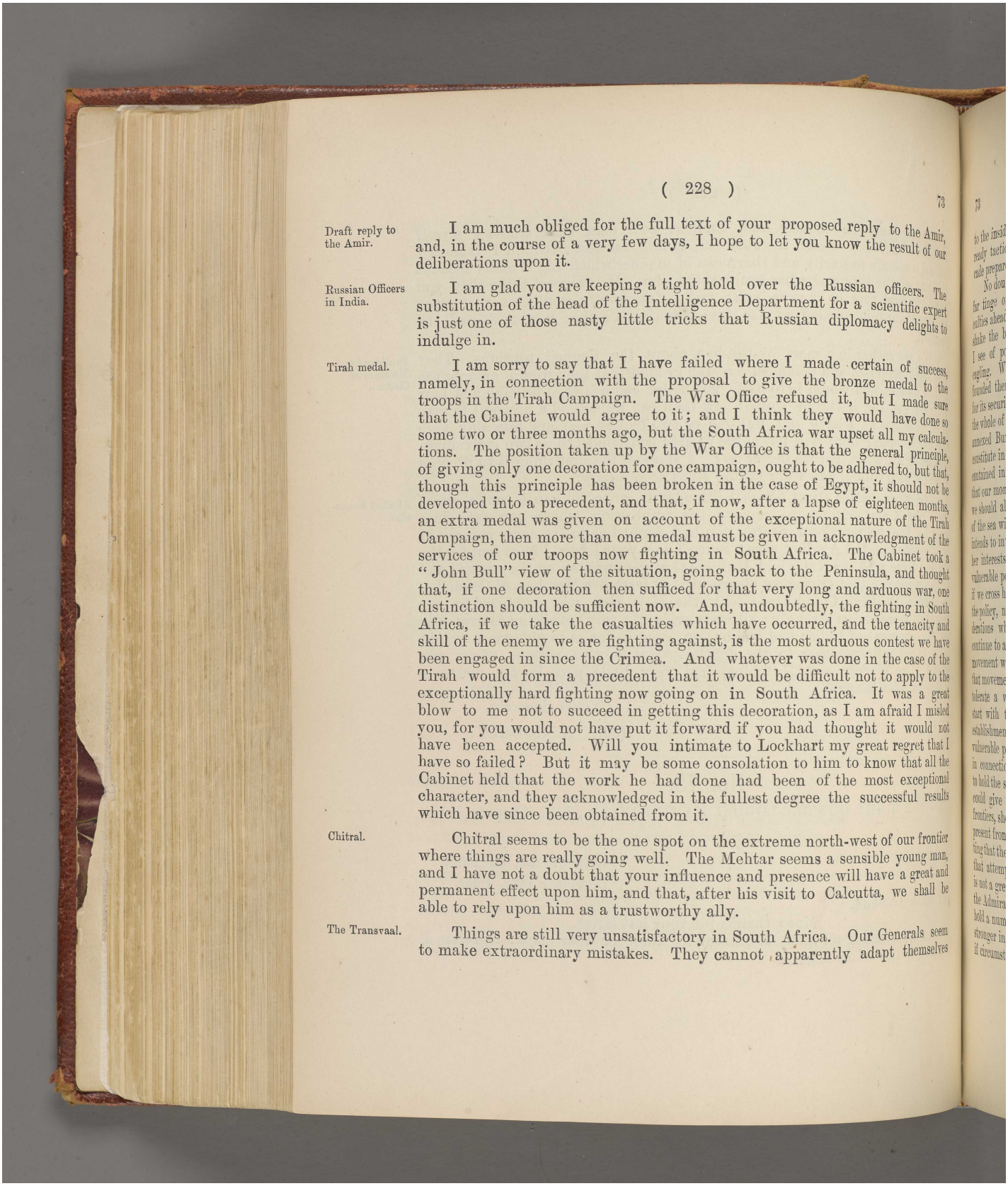

Draft reply to the Amir.

I am much obliged for the full text of your proposed reply to the Amir, and, in the course of a very few days, I hope to let you know the result of our deliberations upon it.

Russian Officers in India.

I am glad you are keeping a tight hold over the Russian officers. The substitution of the head of the Intelligence Department for a scientific expert is just one of those nasty little tricks that Russian diplomacy delights to indulge in.

Tirah medal.

I am sorry to say that I have failed where I made certain of success, namely, in connection with the proposal to give the bronze medal to the troops in the Tirah Campaign. The War Office refused it, but I made sure that the Cabinet would agree to it; and I think they would have done so some two or three months ago, but the South Africa war upset all my calculations. The position taken up by the War Office is that the general principle, of giving only one decoration for one campaign, ought to be adhered to, but that, though this principle has been broken in the case of Egypt, it should not be developed into a precedent, and that, if now, after a lapse of eighteen months, an extra medal was given on account of the exceptional nature of the Tirah Campaign, then more than one medal must be given in acknowledgment of the services of our troops now fighting in South Africa. The Cabinet took a "John Bull" view of the situation, going back to the Peninsula, and thought that, if one decoration then sufficed for that very long and arduous war, one distinction should be sufficient now. And, undoubtedly, the fighting in South Africa, if we take the casualties which have occurred, and the tenacity and skill of the enemy we are fighting against, is the most arduous contest we have been engaged in since the Crimea. And whatever was done in the case of the Tirah would form a precedent that it would be difficult not to apply to the exceptionally hard fighting now going on in South Africa. It was a great blow to me not to succeed in getting this decoration, as I am afraid I misled you, for you would not have put it forward if you had thought it would not have been accepted. Will you intimate to Lockhart my great regret that I have so failed? But it may be some consolation to him to know that all the Cabinet held that the work he had done had been of the most exceptional character, and they acknowledged in the fullest degree the successful results which have since been obtained from it.

Chitral.

Chitral seems to be the one spot on the extreme north-west of our frontier where things are really going well. The Mehtar seems a sensible young man, and I have not a doubt that your influence and presence will have a great and permanent effect upon him, and that, after his visit to Calcutta, we shall be able to rely upon him as a trustworthy ally.

The Transvaal.

Things are still very unsatisfactory in South Africa. Our Generals seem to make extraordinary mistakes. They cannot apparently adapt themselves

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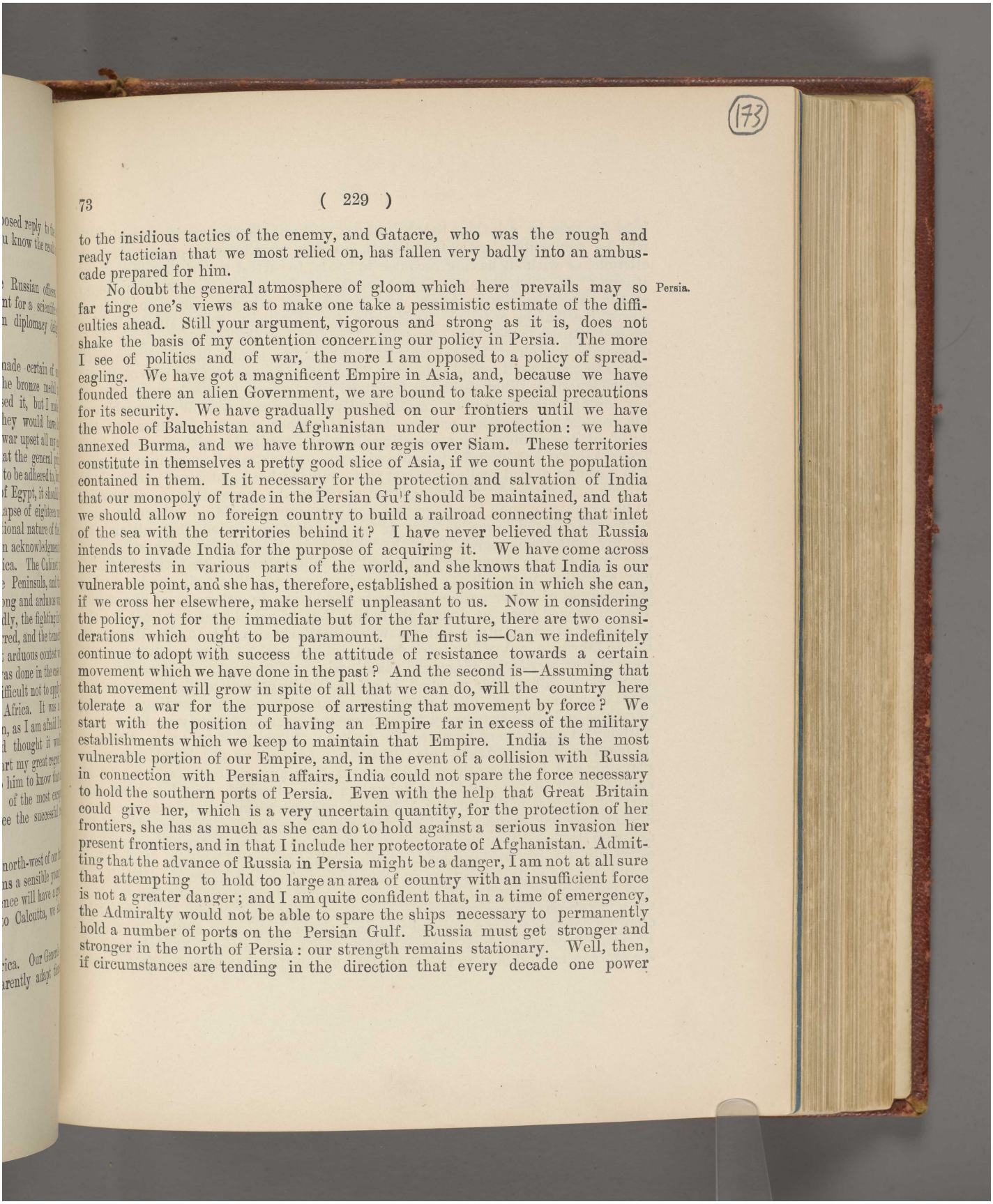

to the insidious tactics of the enemy, and Gatacre, who was the rough and ready tactician that we most relied on, has fallen very badly into an ambuscade prepared for him.

No doubt the general atmosphere of gloom which here prevails may so far tinge one's views as to make one take a pessimistic estimate of the difficulties ahead. Still your argument, vigorous and strong as it is, does not shake the basis of my contention concerning our policy in Persia. The more I see of politics and of war, the more I am opposed to a policy of spread-eagling. We have got a magnificent Empire in Asia, and, because we have founded there an alien Government, we are bound to take special precautions for its security. We have gradually pushed on our frontiers until we have the whole of Baluchistan and Afghanistan under our protection: we have annexed Burma, and we have thrown our ægis over Siam. These territories constitute in themselves a pretty good slice of Asia, if we count the population contained in them. Is it necessary for the protection and salvation of India that our monopoly of trade in the Persian Gulf should be maintained, and that we should allow no foreign country to build a railroad connecting that inlet of the sea with the territories behind it? I have never believed that Russia intends to invade India for the purpose of acquiring it. We have come across her interests in various parts of the world, and she knows that India is our vulnerable point, and she has, therefore, established a position in which she can, if we cross her elsewhere, make herself unpleasant to us. Now in considering the policy, not for the immediate but for the far future, there are two considerations which ought to be paramount. The first is—Can we indefinitely continue to adopt with success the attitude of resistance towards a certain movement which we have done in the past? And the second is—Assuming that that movement will grow in spite of all that we can do, will the country here tolerate a war for the purpose of arresting that movement by force? We start with the position of having an Empire far in excess of the military establishments which we keep to maintain that Empire. India is the most vulnerable portion of our Empire, and, in the event of a collision with Russia in connection with Persian affairs, India could not spare the force necessary to hold the southern ports of Persia. Even with the help that Great Britain could give her, which is a very uncertain quantity, for the protection of her frontiers, she has as much as she can do to hold against a serious invasion her present frontiers, and in that I include her protectorate of Afghanistan. Admitting that the advance of Russia in Persia might be a danger, I am not at all sure that attempting to hold too large an area of country with an insufficient force is not a greater danger; and I am quite confident that, in a time of emergency, the Admiralty would not be able to spare the ships necessary to permanently hold a number of ports on the Persian Gulf. Russia must get stronger and stronger in the north of Persia: our strength remains stationary. Well, then, if circumstances are tending in the direction that every decade one power

Persia.

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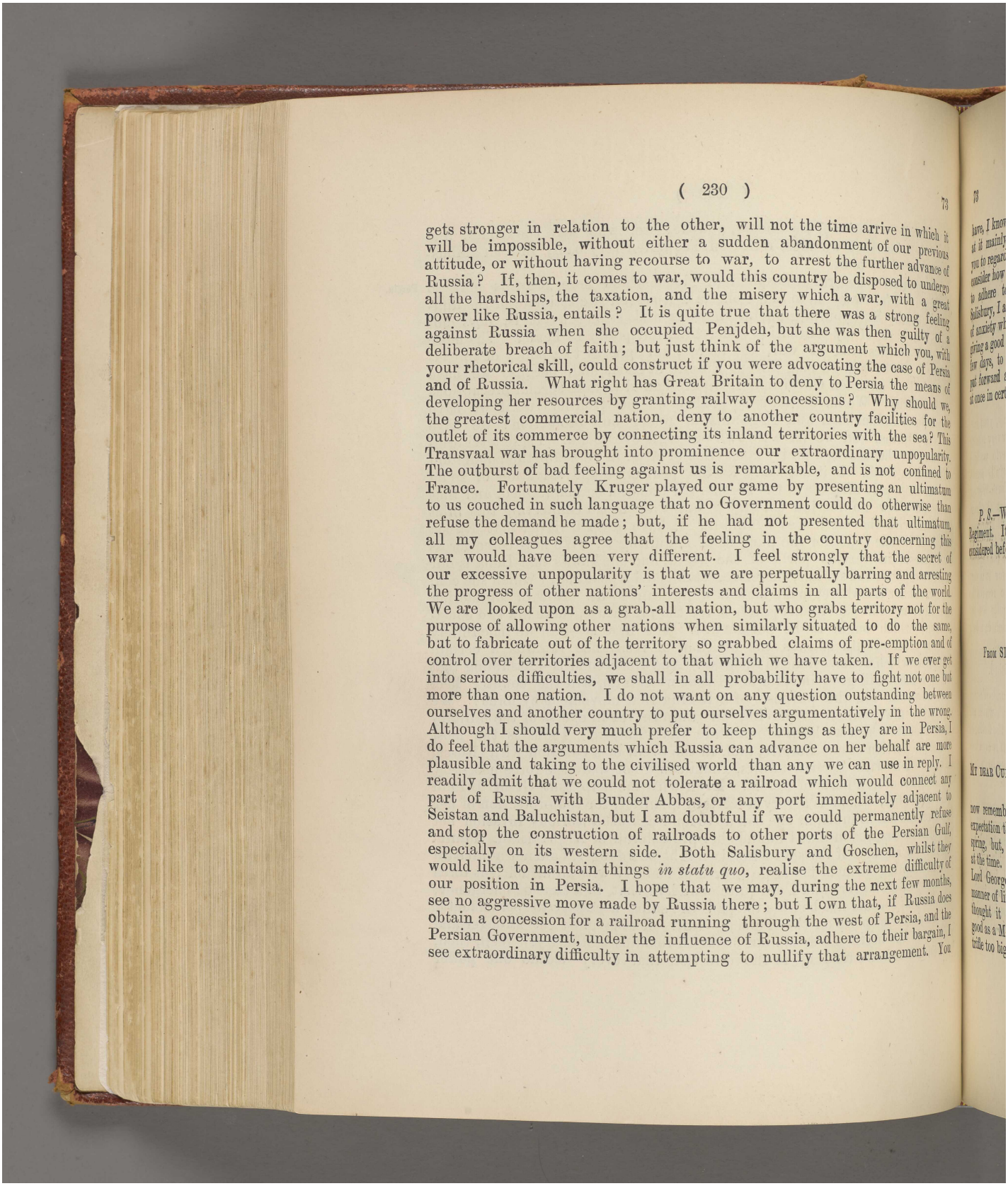

gets stronger in relation to the other, will not the time arrive in which it will be impossible, without either a sudden abandonment of our previous attitude, or without having recourse to war, to arrest the further advance of Russia? If, then, it comes to war, would this country be disposed to undergo all the hardships, the taxation, and the misery which a war, with a great power like Russia, entails? It is quite true that there was a strong feeling against Russia when she occupied Penjdeh, but she was then guilty of a deliberate breach of faith; but just think of the argument which you, with your rhetorical skill, could construct if you were advocating the case of Persia and of Russia. What right has Great Britain to deny to Persia the means of developing her resources by granting railway concessions? Why should we, the greatest commercial nation, deny to another country facilities for the outlet of its commerce by connecting its inland territories with the sea? This Transvaal war has brought into prominence our extraordinary unpopularity. The outburst of bad feeling against us is remarkable, and is not confined to France. Fortunately Kruger played our game by presenting an ultimatum to us couched in such language that no Government could do otherwise than refuse the demand he made; but, if he had not presented that ultimatum, all my colleagues agree that the feeling in the country concerning this war would have been very different. I feel strongly that the secret of our excessive unpopularity is that we are perpetually barring and arresting the progress of other nations' interests and claims in all parts of the world. We are looked upon as a grab-all nation, but who grabs territory not for the purpose of allowing other nations when similarly situated to do the same, but to fabricate out of the territory so grabbed claims of pre-emption and of control over territories adjacent to that which we have taken. If we ever get into serious difficulties, we shall in all probability have to fight not one but more than one nation. I do not want on any question outstanding between ourselves and another country to put ourselves argumentatively in the wrong. Although I should very much prefer to keep things as they are in Persia, I do feel that the arguments which Russia can advance on her behalf are more plausible and taking to the civilised world than any we can use in reply. I readily admit that we could not tolerate a railroad which would connect any part of Russia with Bunder Abbas, or any port immediately adjacent to Seistan and Baluchistan, but I am doubtful if we could permanently refuse and stop the construction of railroads to other ports of the Persian Gulf, especially on its western side. Both Salisbury and Goschen, whilst they would like to maintain things *in statu quo*, realise the extreme difficulty of our position in Persia. I hope that we may, during the next few months, see no aggressive move made by Russia there; but I own that, if Russia does obtain a concession for a railroad running through the west of Persia, and the Persian Government, under the influence of Russia, adhere to their bargain, I see extraordinary difficulty in attempting to nullify that arrangement. You

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have, I know, given long and close study to this question. You have looked at it mainly, if not entirely, from an Indian point of view: I rather want you to regard it from the alternative and British point of view, and to fully consider how far it would be possible, if we do get into difficulties elsewhere, to adhere to the vigorous and pugnacious line of action you advocate. Salisbury, I am glad to say, is surprisingly well, considering the combination of anxiety which has recently fallen upon him. He told me that he had been giving a good deal of thought to Persian matters, so I hope, in the course of a few days, to be able to talk the matter over with him. In the meantime I put forward a proposal to the Foreign Office that we should appoint agents at once in certain ports in the Persian Gulf where we are not represented.

Believe me

yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

P. S.—We are still considering your proposals about the Eurasian Regiment. It raises a good many subsidiary questions which have to be considered before we can reply to the proposition itself. Eurasian Regiment.

No. 74.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

December 15th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd. I cannot now remember exactly what the authority was that Bisset gave me for his expectation that the Public Works Membership might be offered to him next spring, but, whatever it was, I have no doubt I reported it to you correctly at the time. Since I wrote to you on the subject, I have seen your letter to Lord George in which you speak of your representations to Trevor about his manner of life; and, as his answer seemed to contain a hint of retirement, I thought it rather confirmed what Bisset had said. I think Bisset would be good as a Member of Council; he is very efficient in his present place, but a trifle too big for his boots. Sir W. Bisset and the Public Works Membership.

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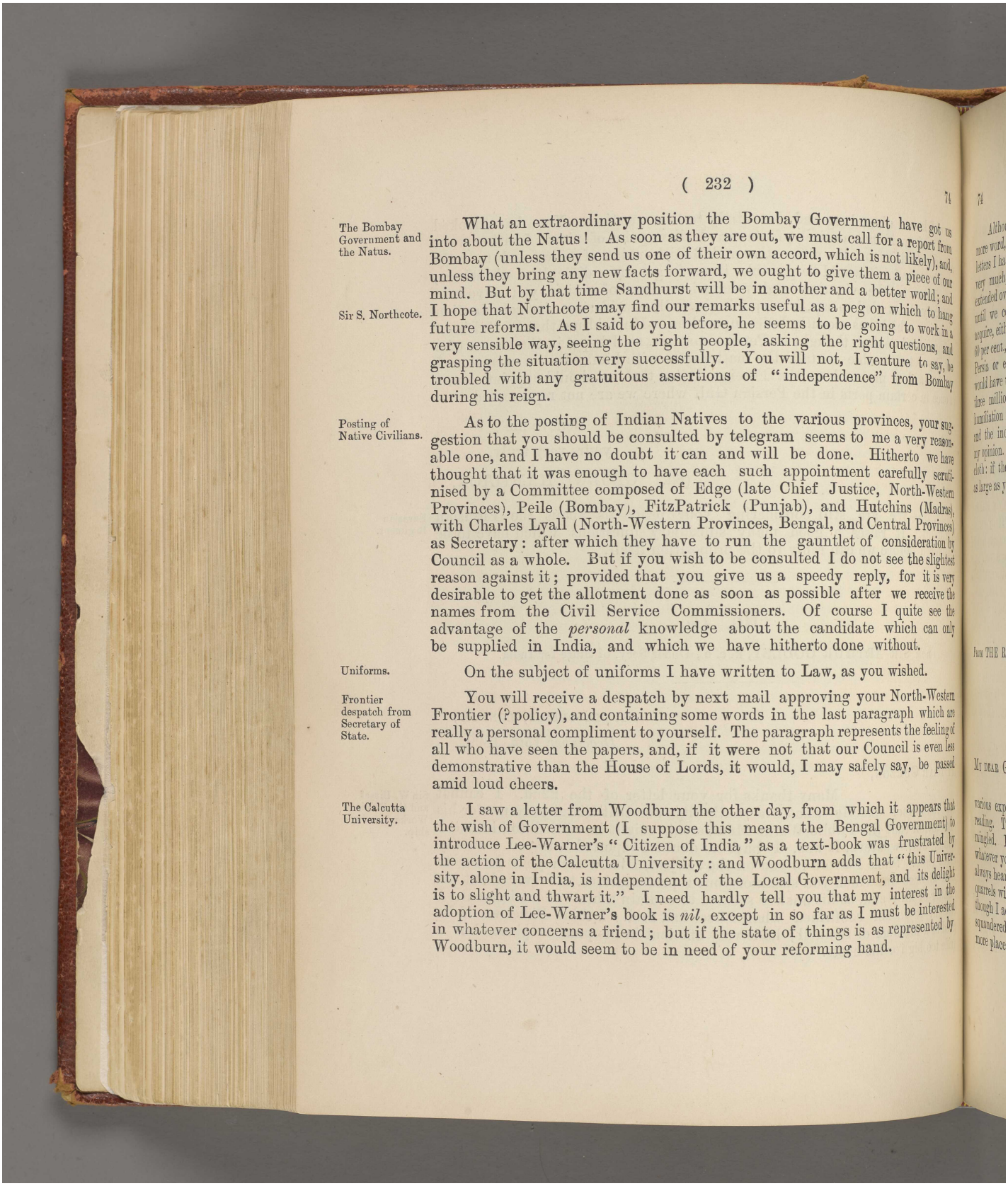

The Bombay Government and the Natus.

What an extraordinary position the Bombay Government have got us into about the Natus! As soon as they are out, we must call for a report from Bombay (unless they send us one of their own accord, which is not likely), and, unless they bring any new facts forward, we ought to give them a piece of our mind. But by that time Sandhurst will be in another and a better world; and

Sir S. Northcote.

I hope that Northcote may find our remarks useful as a peg on which to hang future reforms. As I said to you before, he seems to be going to work in a very sensible way, seeing the right people, asking the right questions, and grasping the situation very successfully. You will not, I venture to say, be troubled with any gratuitous assertions of "independence" from Bombay during his reign.

Posting of Native Civilians.

As to the posting of Indian Natives to the various provinces, your suggestion that you should be consulted by telegram seems to me a very reasonable one, and I have no doubt it can and will be done. Hitherto we have thought that it was enough to have each such appointment carefully scrutinised by a Committee composed of Edge (late Chief Justice, North-Western Provinces), Peile (Bombay), FitzPatrick (Punjab), and Hutchins (Madras), with Charles Lyall (North-Western Provinces, Bengal, and Central Provinces) as Secretary: after which they have to run the gauntlet of consideration by Council as a whole. But if you wish to be consulted I do not see the slightest reason against it; provided that you give us a speedy reply, for it is very desirable to get the allotment done as soon as possible after we receive the names from the Civil Service Commissioners. Of course I quite see the advantage of the *personal* knowledge about the candidate which can only be supplied in India, and which we have hitherto done without.

Uniforms.

On the subject of uniforms I have written to Law, as you wished.

Frontier despatch from Secretary of State.

You will receive a despatch by next mail approving your North-Western Frontier (? policy), and containing some words in the last paragraph which are really a personal compliment to yourself. The paragraph represents the feeling of all who have seen the papers, and, if it were not that our Council is even less demonstrative than the House of Lords, it would, I may safely say, be passed amid loud cheers.

The Calcutta University.

I saw a letter from Woodburn the other day, from which it appears that the wish of Government (I suppose this means the Bengal Government) to introduce Lee-Warner's "Citizen of India" as a text-book was frustrated by the action of the Calcutta University: and Woodburn adds that "this University, alone in India, is independent of the Local Government, and its delight is to slight and thwart it." I need hardly tell you that my interest in the adoption of Lee-Warner's book is *nil*, except in so far as I must be interested in whatever concerns a friend; but if the state of things is as represented by Woodburn, it would seem to be in need of your reforming hand.

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Although you do not mention the subject of Persia, I wish to say one more word, because I am not sure whether in one or two rather hastily written letters I have made my view quite clear. It is simply this:—I should like very much, perhaps I might say as much as you, to see British influence extended over South Persia, and to exclude the Russians. But, unless and until we completely reform our military system and our War Office, and acquire, either by conscription or by raising our Army estimates some 50 or 60 per cent., the means of putting down a really large and formidable army in Persia or elsewhere, I do not think that we ought to provoke a war which would have to be fought out on land with a Power which can put two or three millions of men in the field. I believe that, if we try this, we have humiliation in store for us: I thought so before this Transvaal war began, and the incidents of that war have done nothing, so far, to make me change my opinion. All that I am anxious to do is to cut my coat according to my cloth: if the British tax-payer will give me cloth enough, my coat shall be as large as you please. Persia.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 75.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

December 21*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The graphic account you give in your letter, of your various experiences at the Courts of Bhopal and Gwalior, was very pleasant reading. The picturesque and the comic must be at times very much intermingled. Fortunately you have control of a very dignified countenance: whatever you may feel will not find expression in your physiognomy. I have always heard that the Begum was a delightful little old lady, and, if she quarrels with her daughter, I should assume that the latter was in the wrong, though I admit it must be annoying to have one's prospective patrimony squandered in providing church accommodation for a sect who have already more places of worship than they can fill. Sindhia has evidently made a Viceroy's Tour.

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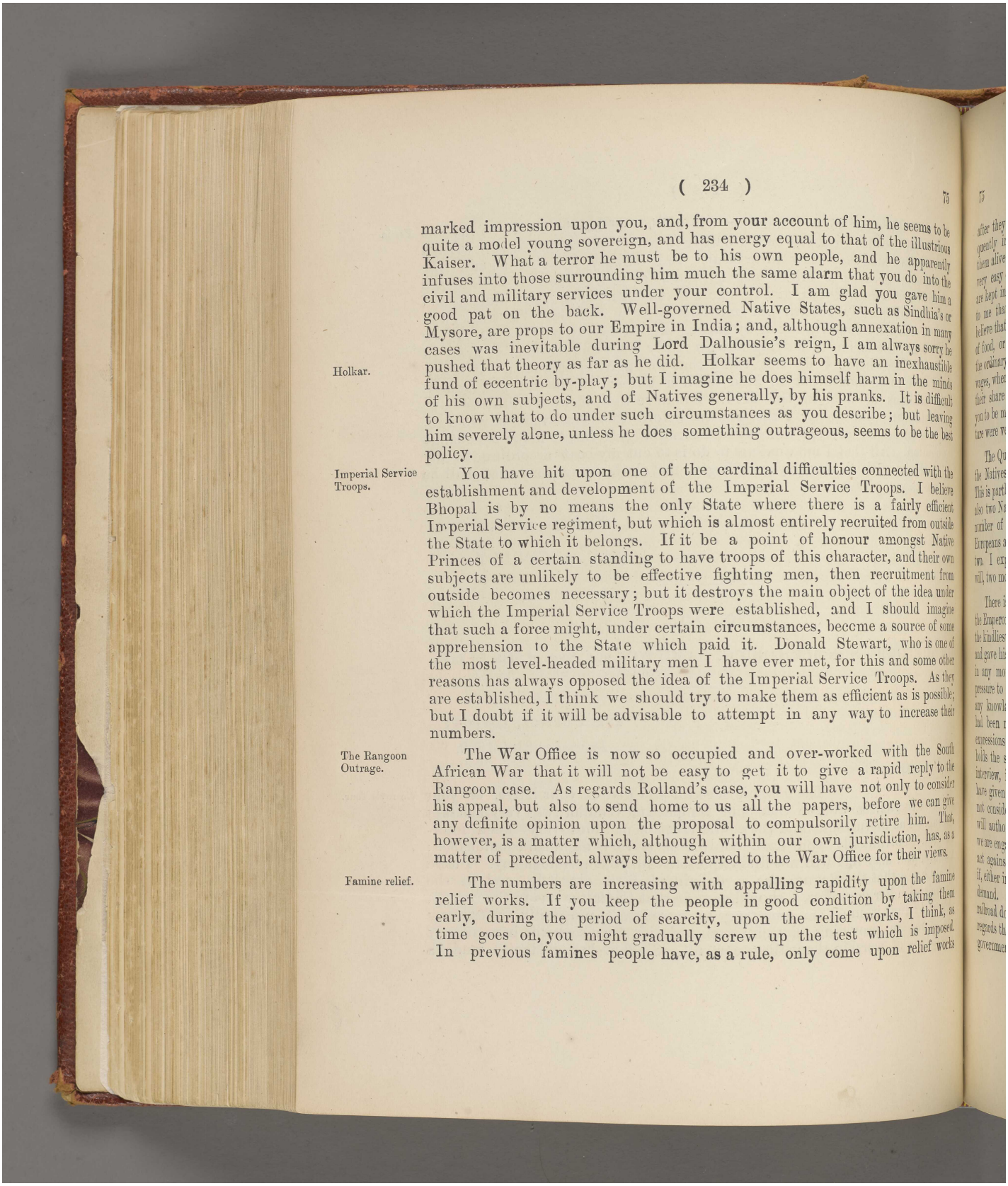

marked impression upon you, and, from your account of him, he seems to be quite a model young sovereign, and has energy equal to that of the illustrious Kaiser. What a terror he must be to his own people, and he apparently infuses into those surrounding him much the same alarm that you do into the civil and military services under your control. I am glad you gave him a good pat on the back. Well-governed Native States, such as Sindhia's or Mysore, are props to our Empire in India; and, although annexation in many cases was inevitable during Lord Dalhousie's reign, I am always sorry he pushed that theory as far as he did.

Holkar.

Holkar seems to have an inexhaustible fund of eccentric by-play; but I imagine he does himself harm in the minds of his own subjects, and of Natives generally, by his pranks. It is difficult to know what to do under such circumstances as you describe; but leaving him severely alone, unless he does something outrageous, seems to be the best policy.

Imperial Service Troops.

You have hit upon one of the cardinal difficulties connected with the establishment and development of the Imperial Service Troops. I believe Bhopal is by no means the only State where there is a fairly efficient Imperial Service regiment, but which is almost entirely recruited from outside the State to which it belongs. If it be a point of honour amongst Native Princes of a certain standing to have troops of this character, and their own subjects are unlikely to be effective fighting men, then recruitment from outside becomes necessary; but it destroys the main object of the idea under which the Imperial Service Troops were established, and I should imagine that such a force might, under certain circumstances, become a source of some apprehension to the State which paid it. Donald Stewart, who is one of the most level-headed military men I have ever met, for this and some other reasons has always opposed the idea of the Imperial Service Troops. As they are established, I think we should try to make them as efficient as is possible; but I doubt if it will be advisable to attempt in any way to increase their numbers.

The Rangoon Outrage.

The War Office is now so occupied and over-worked with the South African War that it will not be easy to get it to give a rapid reply to the Rangoon case. As regards Rolland's case, you will have not only to consider his appeal, but also to send home to us all the papers, before we can give any definite opinion upon the proposal to compulsorily retire him. That, however, is a matter which, although within our own jurisdiction, has, as a matter of precedent, always been referred to the War Office for their views.

Famine relief.

The numbers are increasing with appalling rapidity upon the famine relief works. If you keep the people in good condition by taking them early, during the period of scarcity, upon the relief works, I think, as time goes on, you might gradually screw up the test which is imposed. In previous famines people have, as a rule, only come upon relief works

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after they had suffered considerable privations, and they were not unfrequently in that state of emaciation requiring exceptional care to keep them alive. Under these conditions the test which was imposed became a very easy one. If, however, during the earlier stages of scarcity, the people are kept in good condition, and come in great numbers to the works, it seems to me that you might, later on, screw up to a certain extent the test. I believe that a family can obtain, under famine relief works, a larger amount of food, or the equivalent to buy food, than they can get when employed at the ordinary market wage, as in normal times it is only adults who earn wages, whereas under famine relief works children, as well as adults, obtain their share of sustenance. Your finance is now good, and this will enable you to be more liberal than you conveniently could be if income and expenditure were very closely balanced.

Natives in the New Year's Honours List.

The Queen, as you know by telegraph, objected to the proportions which the Natives bore to the Europeans in the Honour Lists for the New Year. This is partly my fault for adding two European names here. There were also two Native names associated with the Knighthoods, so that the aggregate number of Natives for honours stood in much the same relation to the Europeans as it has done in preceding years, namely at the ratio of one to two. I explained this to the Queen, and if you can give me, as I think you will, two more names for C. I. E., she will probably be quite mollified.

The Tsar's assurances.

There is a most interesting report of a conversation which Scott had with the Emperor of Russia a few days back. The Emperor expressed himself in the kindliest way towards this country. He deplored our reverses and losses, and gave his solemn assurance that he will not countenance, or take part in any movement to extract advantages from us during the exceptional pressure to which we are, for the time being, subject. He also repudiated any knowledge of Mouravieff's proceedings in Europe, which he stated had been most grossly exaggerated. I believe him to be genuine in his expressions of friendliness to this country, and Lord Salisbury strongly holds the same ideas. The next paper that I read, after the account of this interview, is one stating that the Russians have sent a Consul to Seistan, and have given him power to build there a house. I suppose the Emperor would not consider an action of this kind inimical to our interests, and that he will authorise Russia's quietly pushing on her interests in Persia, whilst we are engaged in this South African war, provided she commits no overt act against us. But after that conversation it seems to me very doubtful if, either in Afghanistan, or elsewhere, Russia can advance any new or special demand. She may mature her railway concession with the view of pushing a railroad down to the Gulf. You think me no doubt pessimistic in my views as regards the future; but I do think we, owing to having established an alien government in India, are unduly sensitive as to the effect of the advance of

Russia in Central Asia.

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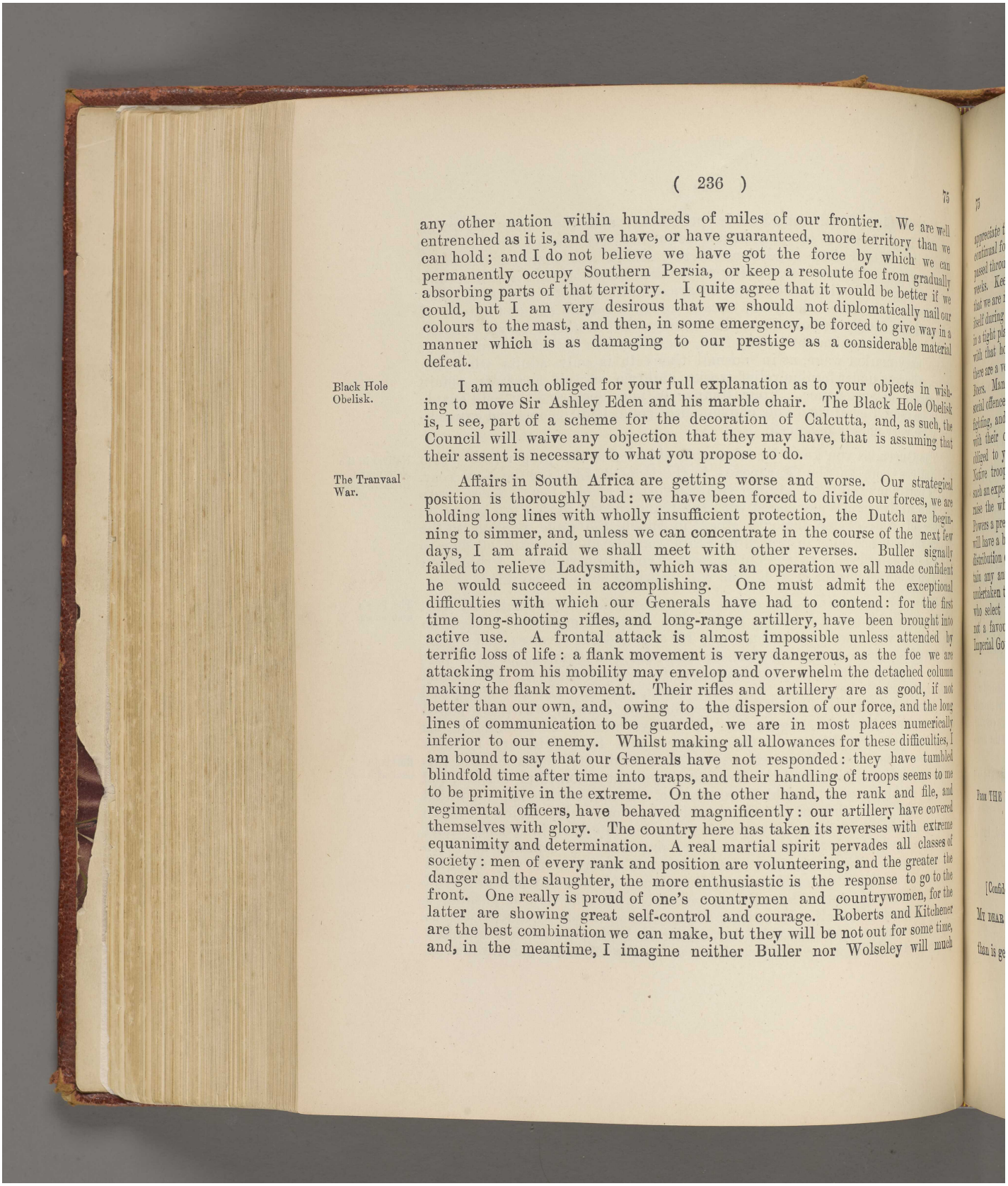

any other nation within hundreds of miles of our frontier. We are well entrenched as it is, and we have, or have guaranteed, more territory than we can hold; and I do not believe we have got the force by which we can permanently occupy Southern Persia, or keep a resolute foe from gradually absorbing parts of that territory. I quite agree that it would be better if we could, but I am very desirous that we should not diplomatically nail our colours to the mast, and then, in some emergency, be forced to give way in a manner which is as damaging to our prestige as a considerable material defeat.

Black Hole Obelisk.

I am much obliged for your full explanation as to your objects in wishing to move Sir Ashley Eden and his marble chair. The Black Hole Obelisk is, I see, part of a scheme for the decoration of Calcutta, and, as such, the Council will waive any objection that they may have, that is assuming that their assent is necessary to what you propose to do.

The Tranvaal War.

Affairs in South Africa are getting worse and worse. Our strategical position is thoroughly bad: we have been forced to divide our forces, we are holding long lines with wholly insufficient protection, the Dutch are beginning to simmer, and, unless we can concentrate in the course of the next few days, I am afraid we shall meet with other reverses. Buller signally failed to relieve Ladysmith, which was an operation we all made confident he would succeed in accomplishing. One must admit the exceptional difficulties with which our Generals have had to contend: for the first time long-shooting rifles, and long-range artillery, have been brought into active use. A frontal attack is almost impossible unless attended by terrific loss of life: a flank movement is very dangerous, as the foe we are attacking from his mobility may envelop and overwhelm the detached column making the flank movement. Their rifles and artillery are as good, if not better than our own, and, owing to the dispersion of our force, and the long lines of communication to be guarded, we are in most places numerically inferior to our enemy. Whilst making all allowances for these difficulties, I am bound to say that our Generals have not responded: they have tumbled blindfold time after time into traps, and their handling of troops seems to me to be primitive in the extreme. On the other hand, the rank and file, and regimental officers, have behaved magnificently: our artillery have covered themselves with glory. The country here has taken its reverses with extreme equanimity and determination. A real martial spirit pervades all classes of society: men of every rank and position are volunteering, and the greater the danger and the slaughter, the more enthusiastic is the response to go to the front. One really is proud of one's countrymen and countrywomen, for the latter are showing great self-control and courage. Roberts and Kitchener are the best combination we can make, but they will be not out for some time, and, in the meantime, I imagine neither Buller nor Wolseley will much

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appreciate their practical supersession. The weather here has been one continual fog for the last fortnight, and I do not think that I have ever passed through a period of such gloom and depression as that of the last three weeks. Keep up one's spirits as one may, one cannot disguise from oneself that we are now in a critical position, and that position is likely to worsen itself during the next few weeks. We have in our past history often been in a tight place, and we have emerged successfully; and I buoy myself up with that hope. One of the unpleasant features of the present war is that there are a very large number of foreign officers and mercenaries with the Boers. Many of these are men of great ability and skill, who for some social offence were turned out of their national services, or are men who like fighting, and have contrived to get leave, or to break off their connection with their own services in order to help the Boers. We were all very much obliged to you for your consideration in making the offer to help us with Native troops; but everybody who knows South Africa concurs in saying that such an experiment would be dangerous in the extreme. It would probably raise the whole Dutch population against us, and might give some European Powers a pretext for remonstrance, or intervention. I am afraid these reverses will have a bad moral effect in India; but you are so strong there, and the distribution of force is so well arranged, that I do not think we need entertain any anxiety on that account. The 2,000 horses, which you have kindly undertaken to get, will be of great assistance; but please impress upon those who select them that, as we are in a real emergency in South Africa, this is not a favourable opportunity for the different regiments to sell to the Imperial Government their worn-out old crocks.

Offer of Native troops from India for South Africa.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 76.

From THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December [? 21*st*] 1899.

[Confidential.]

My dear George,

Things in my judgment are far worse in South Africa than is generally supposed. The task before us was a new and very difficult

The Transvaal War.

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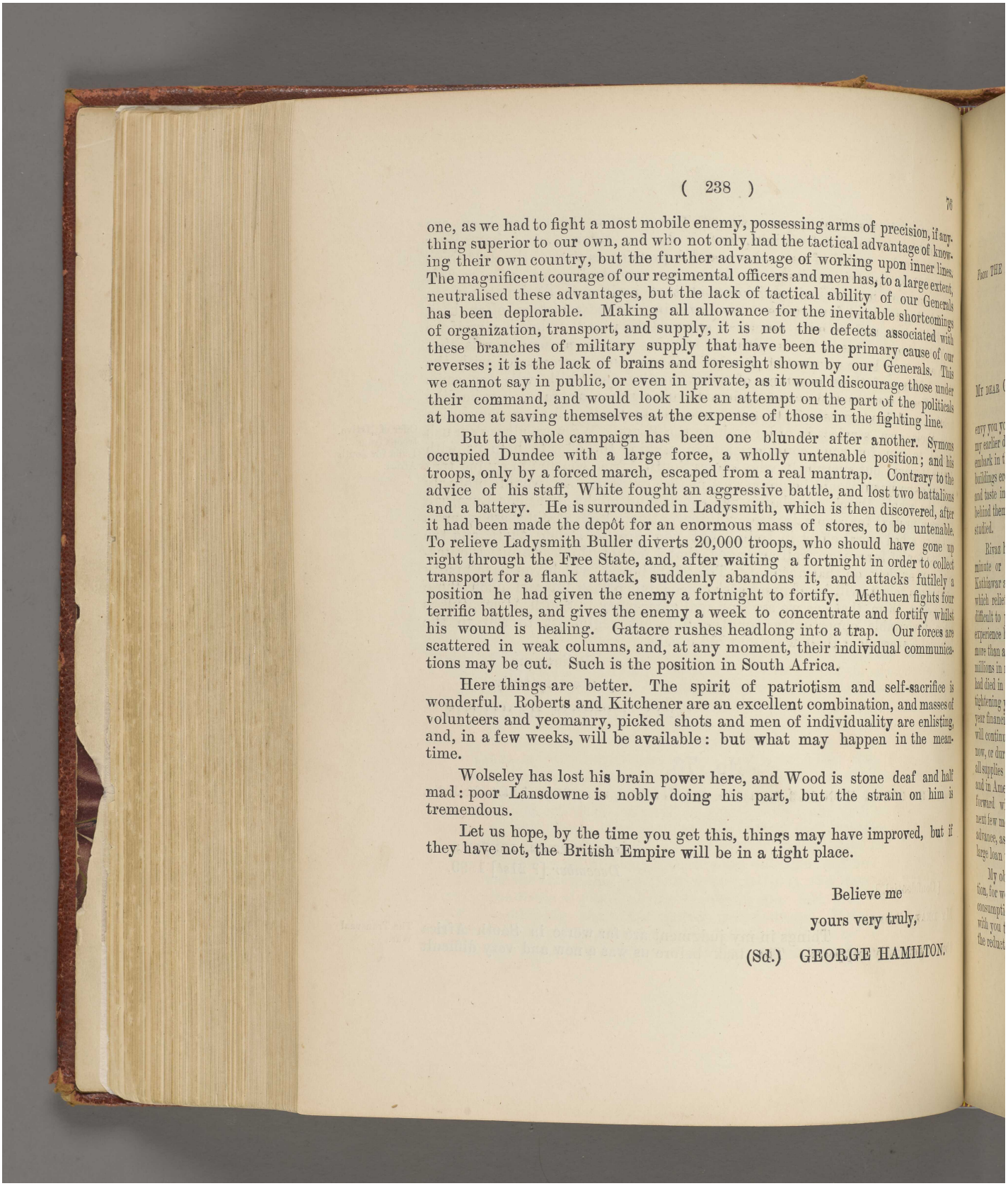

one, as we had to fight a most mobile enemy, possessing arms of precision, if anything superior to our own, and who not only had the tactical advantage of knowing their own country, but the further advantage of working upon inner lines. The magnificent courage of our regimental officers and men has, to a large extent, neutralised these advantages, but the lack of tactical ability of our Generals has been deplorable. Making all allowance for the inevitable shortcomings of organization, transport, and supply, it is not the defects associated with these branches of military supply that have been the primary cause of our reverses; it is the lack of brains and foresight shown by our Generals. This we cannot say in public, or even in private, as it would discourage those under their command, and would look like an attempt on the part of the politicals at home at saving themselves at the expense of those in the fighting line.

But the whole campaign has been one blunder after another. Symons occupied Dundee with a large force, a wholly untenable position; and his troops, only by a forced march, escaped from a real mantrap. Contrary to the advice of his staff, White fought an aggressive battle, and lost two battalions and a battery. He is surrounded in Ladysmith, which is then discovered, after it had been made the depôt for an enormous mass of stores, to be untenable. To relieve Ladysmith Buller diverts 20,000 troops, who should have gone up right through the Free State, and, after waiting a fortnight in order to collect transport for a flank attack, suddenly abandons it, and attacks futilely a position he had given the enemy a fortnight to fortify. Methuen fights four terrific battles, and gives the enemy a week to concentrate and fortify whilst his wound is healing. Gatacre rushes headlong into a trap. Our forces are scattered in weak columns, and, at any moment, their individual communications may be cut. Such is the position in South Africa.

Here things are better. The spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice is wonderful. Roberts and Kitchener are an excellent combination, and masses of volunteers and yeomanry, picked shots and men of individuality are enlisting, and, in a few weeks, will be available: but what may happen in the meantime.

Wolseley has lost his brain power here, and Wood is stone deaf and half mad: poor Lansdowne is nobly doing his part, but the strain on him is tremendous.

Let us hope, by the time you get this, things may have improved, but if they have not, the British Empire will be in a tight place.

Believe me
yours very truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

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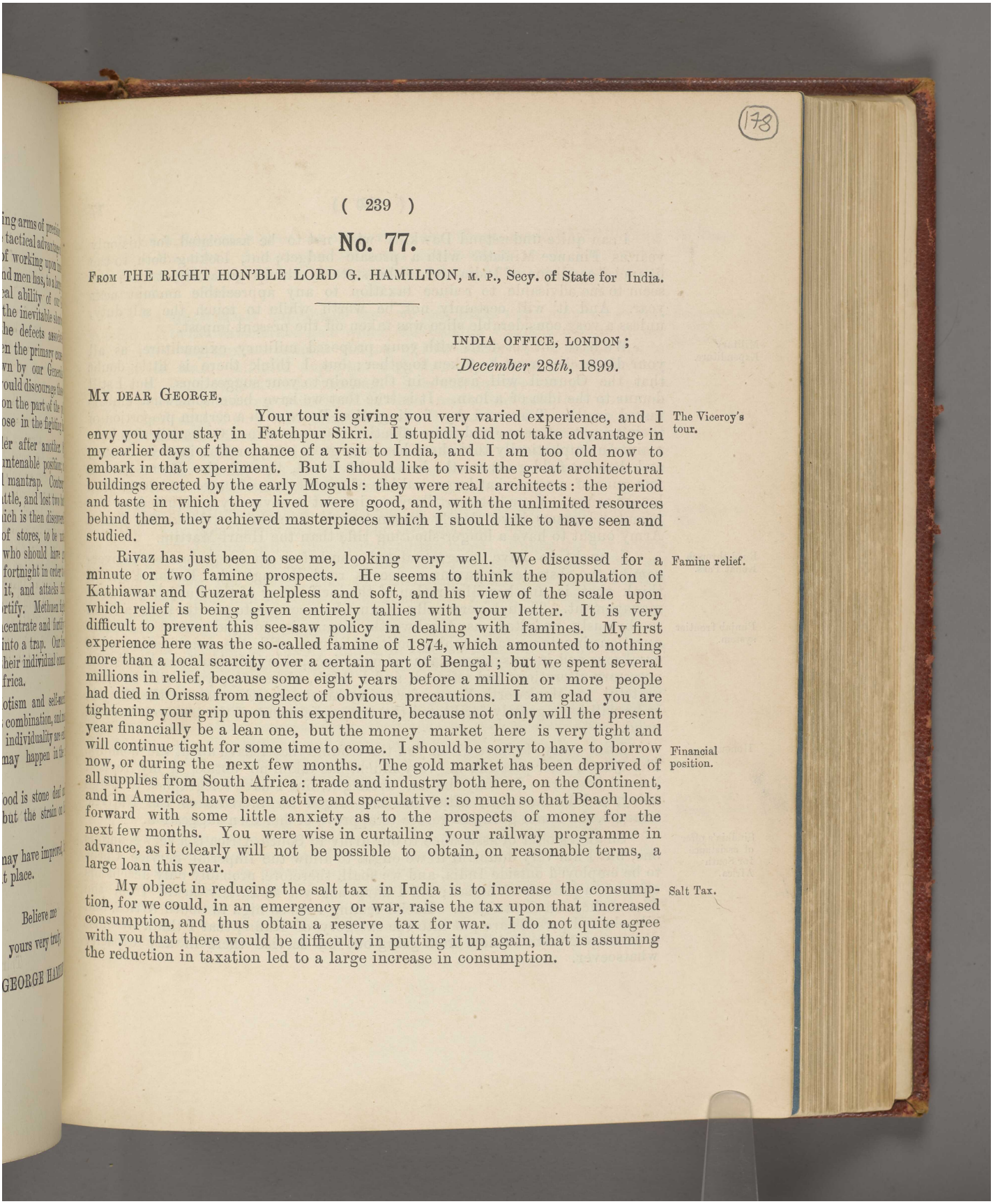

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No. 77.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 28th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Viceroy's tour.

Your tour is giving you very varied experience, and I envy you your stay in Fatehpur Sikri. I stupidly did not take advantage in my earlier days of the chance of a visit to India, and I am too old now to embark in that experiment. But I should like to visit the great architectural buildings erected by the early Moguls: they were real architects: the period and taste in which they lived were good, and, with the unlimited resources behind them, they achieved masterpieces which I should like to have seen and studied.

Famine relief.

Rivaz has just been to see me, looking very well. We discussed for a minute or two famine prospects. He seems to think the population of Kathiawar and Guzerat helpless and soft, and his view of the scale upon which relief is being given entirely tallies with your letter. It is very difficult to prevent this see-saw policy in dealing with famines. My first experience here was the so-called famine of 1874, which amounted to nothing more than a local scarcity over a certain part of Bengal; but we spent several millions in relief, because some eight years before a million or more people had died in Orissa from neglect of obvious precautions. I am glad you are tightening your grip upon this expenditure, because not only will the present year financially be a lean one, but the money market here is very tight and will continue tight for some time to come. I should be sorry to have to borrow now, or during the next few months. The gold market has been deprived of all supplies from South Africa: trade and industry both here, on the Continent, and in America, have been active and speculative: so much so that Beach looks forward with some little anxiety as to the prospects of money for the next few months. You were wise in curtailing your railway programme in advance, as it clearly will not be possible to obtain, on reasonable terms, a large loan this year.

Financial position.

Salt Tax.

My object in reducing the salt tax in India is to increase the consumption, for we could, in an emergency or war, raise the tax upon that increased consumption, and thus obtain a reserve tax for war. I do not quite agree with you that there would be difficulty in putting it up again, that is assuming the reduction in taxation led to a large increase in consumption.

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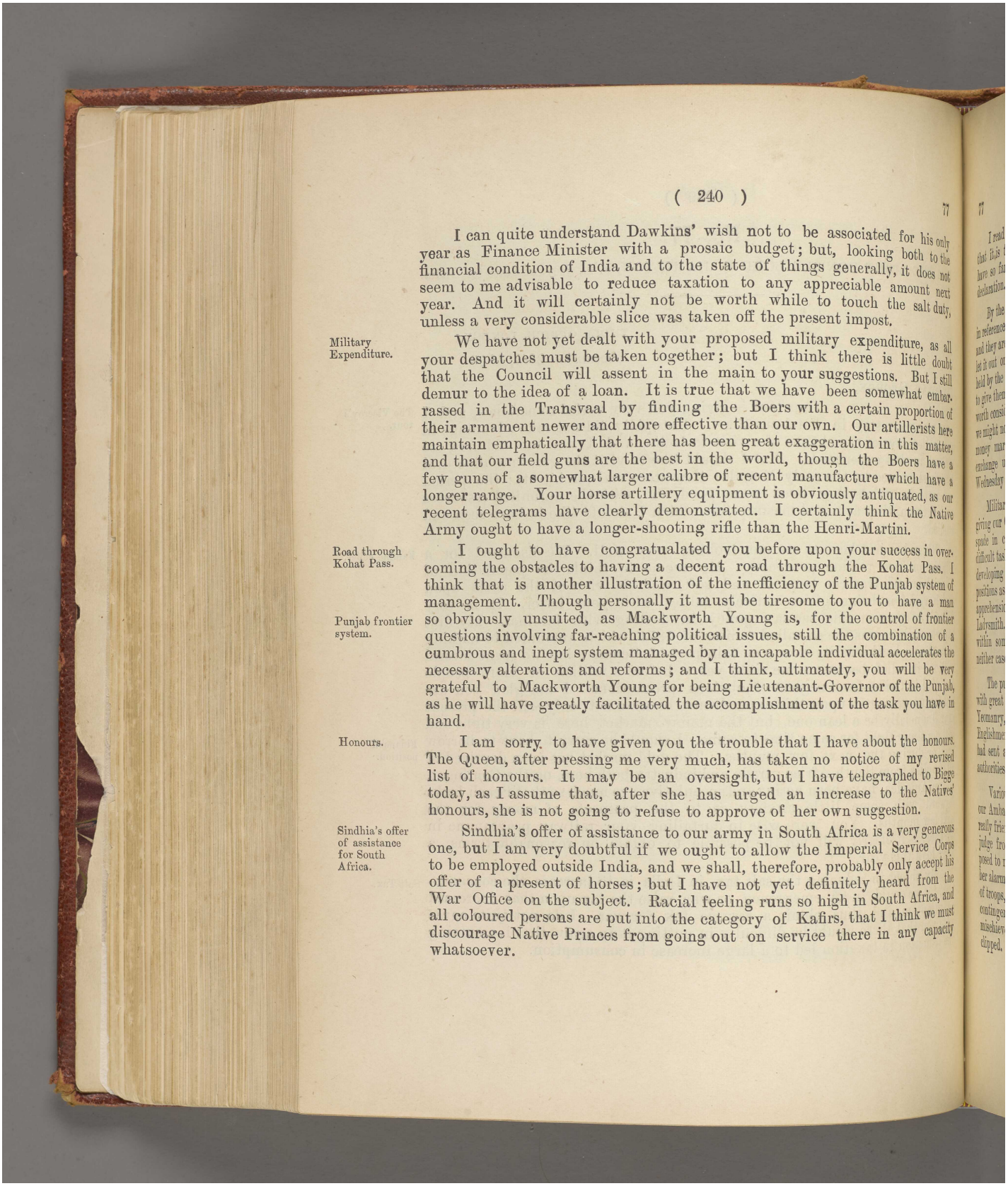

I can quite understand Dawkins' wish not to be associated for his only year as Finance Minister with a prosaic budget; but, looking both to the financial condition of India and to the state of things generally, it does not seem to me advisable to reduce taxation to any appreciable amount next year. And it will certainly not be worth while to touch the salt duty, unless a very considerable slice was taken off the present impost.

Military Expenditure.

We have not yet dealt with your proposed military expenditure, as all your despatches must be taken together; but I think there is little doubt that the Council will assent in the main to your suggestions. But I still demur to the idea of a loan. It is true that we have been somewhat embarrassed in the Transvaal by finding the Boers with a certain proportion of their armament newer and more effective than our own. Our artillerists here maintain emphatically that there has been great exaggeration in this matter, and that our field guns are the best in the world, though the Boers have a few guns of a somewhat larger calibre of recent manufacture which have a longer range. Your horse artillery equipment is obviously antiquated, as our recent telegrams have clearly demonstrated. I certainly think the Native Army ought to have a longer-shooting rifle than the Henri-Martini.

Road through Kohat Pass.

I ought to have congratualated you before upon your success in overcoming the obstacles to having a decent road through the Kohat Pass. I think that is another illustration of the inefficiency of the Punjab system of management. Though personally it must be tiresome to you to have a man so obviously unsuited, as Mackworth Young is, for the control of frontier questions involving far-reaching political issues, still the combination of a cumbrous and inept system managed by an incapable individual accelerates the necessary alterations and reforms; and I think, ultimately, you will be very grateful to Mackworth Young for being Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, as he will have greatly facilitated the accomplishment of the task you have in hand.

Punjab frontier system.

Honours.

I am sorry to have given you the trouble that I have about the honours. The Queen, after pressing me very much, has taken no notice of my revised list of honours. It may be an oversight, but I have telegraphed to Bigge today, as I assume that, after she has urged an increase to the Natives' honours, she is not going to refuse to approve of her own suggestion.

Sindhia's offer of assistance for South Africa.

Sindhia's offer of assistance to our army in South Africa is a very generous one, but I am very doubtful if we ought to allow the Imperial Service Corps to be employed outside India, and we shall, therefore, probably only accept his offer of a present of horses; but I have not yet definitely heard from the War Office on the subject. Racial feeling runs so high in South Africa, and all coloured persons are put into the category of Kafirs, that I think we must discourage Native Princes from going out on service there in any capacity whatsoever.

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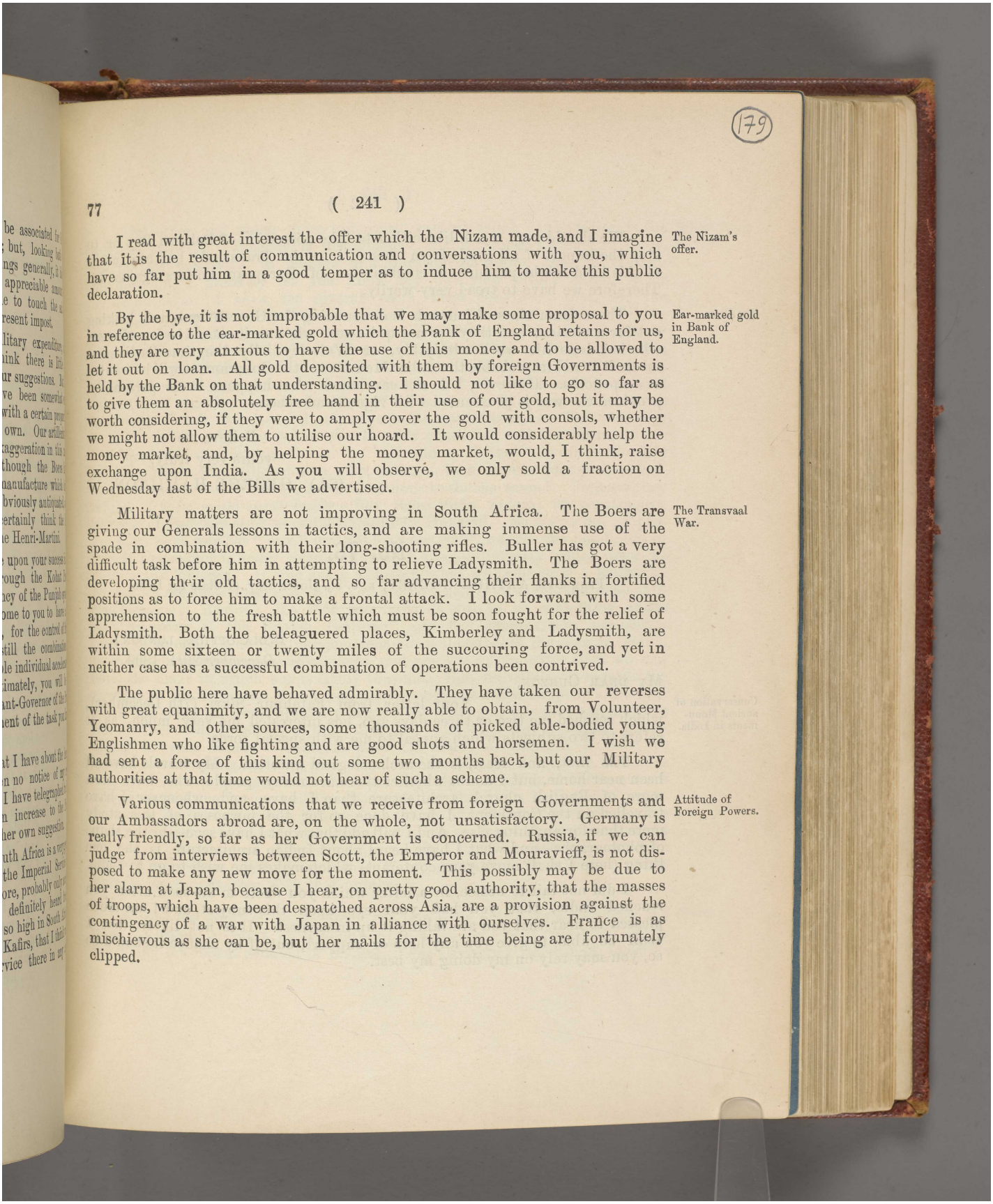

The Nizam's offer.

I read with great interest the offer which the Nizam made, and I imagine that it is the result of communication and conversations with you, which have so far put him in a good temper as to induce him to make this public declaration.

Ear-marked gold in Bank of England.

By the bye, it is not improbable that we may make some proposal to you in reference to the ear-marked gold which the Bank of England retains for us, and they are very anxious to have the use of this money and to be allowed to let it out on loan. All gold deposited with them by foreign Governments is held by the Bank on that understanding. I should not like to go so far as to give them an absolutely free hand in their use of our gold, but it may be worth considering, if they were to amply cover the gold with consols, whether we might not allow them to utilise our hoard. It would considerably help the money market, and, by helping the money market, would, I think, raise exchange upon India. As you will observe, we only sold a fraction on Wednesday last of the Bills we advertised.

The Transvaal War.

Military matters are not improving in South Africa. The Boers are giving our Generals lessons in tactics, and are making immense use of the spade in combination with their long-shooting rifles. Buller has got a very difficult task before him in attempting to relieve Ladysmith. The Boers are developing their old tactics, and so far advancing their flanks in fortified positions as to force him to make a frontal attack. I look forward with some apprehension to the fresh battle which must be soon fought for the relief of Ladysmith. Both the beleaguered places, Kimberley and Ladysmith, are within some sixteen or twenty miles of the succouring force, and yet in neither case has a successful combination of operations been contrived.

The public here have behaved admirably. They have taken our reverses with great equanimity, and we are now really able to obtain, from Volunteer, Yeomanry, and other sources, some thousands of picked able-bodied young Englishmen who like fighting and are good shots and horsemen. I wish we had sent a force of this kind out some two months back, but our Military authorities at that time would not hear of such a scheme.

Attitude of Foreign Powers.

Various communications that we receive from foreign Governments and our Ambassadors abroad are, on the whole, not unsatisfactory. Germany is really friendly, so far as her Government is concerned. Russia, if we can judge from interviews between Scott, the Emperor and Mouravieff, is not disposed to make any new move for the moment. This possibly may be due to her alarm at Japan, because I hear, on pretty good authority, that the masses of troops, which have been despatched across Asia, are a provision against the contingency of a war with Japan in alliance with ourselves. France is as mischievous as she can be, but her nails for the time being are fortunately clipped.

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We should very much like either to take possession of Delagoa Bay or to stop the import of all goods from thence into the Transvaal; but any move of this kind might produce a combination of European Powers against us. Therefore we have to tread very warily.

The Press.

The meaner class of journals is denouncing the Government, and looking out for a victim; and they are not quite sure whether it should be Lansdowne, who has done his work admirably, or Wolseley. By the time Parliament meets it is not improbable that other Members of the Government will be wanted as scapegoats. However, I do not care much what happens to us personally, provided the war is prosecuted with vigour and success.

Believe me
yours very truly,
(Sd.) GEORGE HAMILTON.

No. 78.

FROM SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 29th, 1899.

MY DEAR CURZON,

Conservation of ancient Monuments in India.

Your letter from Fatehpur Sikri (7th December), which reached me two or three days ago, has interested me very much, as it refers to two subjects which appeal to me with special force.

The first, and least, is the archæological question. My travels have all been near home, but I doubt whether there are many people who have seen more of English church architecture than I have, and, whenever I have travelled on the Continent, I have done so for the purposes of this study more than for anything else. And I will add that what I have seen—in the shape of photographs—and what I have heard about Indian architecture is the one thing (here I shall move your contempt) which makes me wish to go to India.

I did not fail to notice, in a letter which you wrote to me soon after you reached India, that you had your eye upon this subject, and I am much pleased to hear that you are taking it up in earnest. It is not likely that I shall be able to give you any help or support, but, if by chance it should be so, you may rely on my doing my best.

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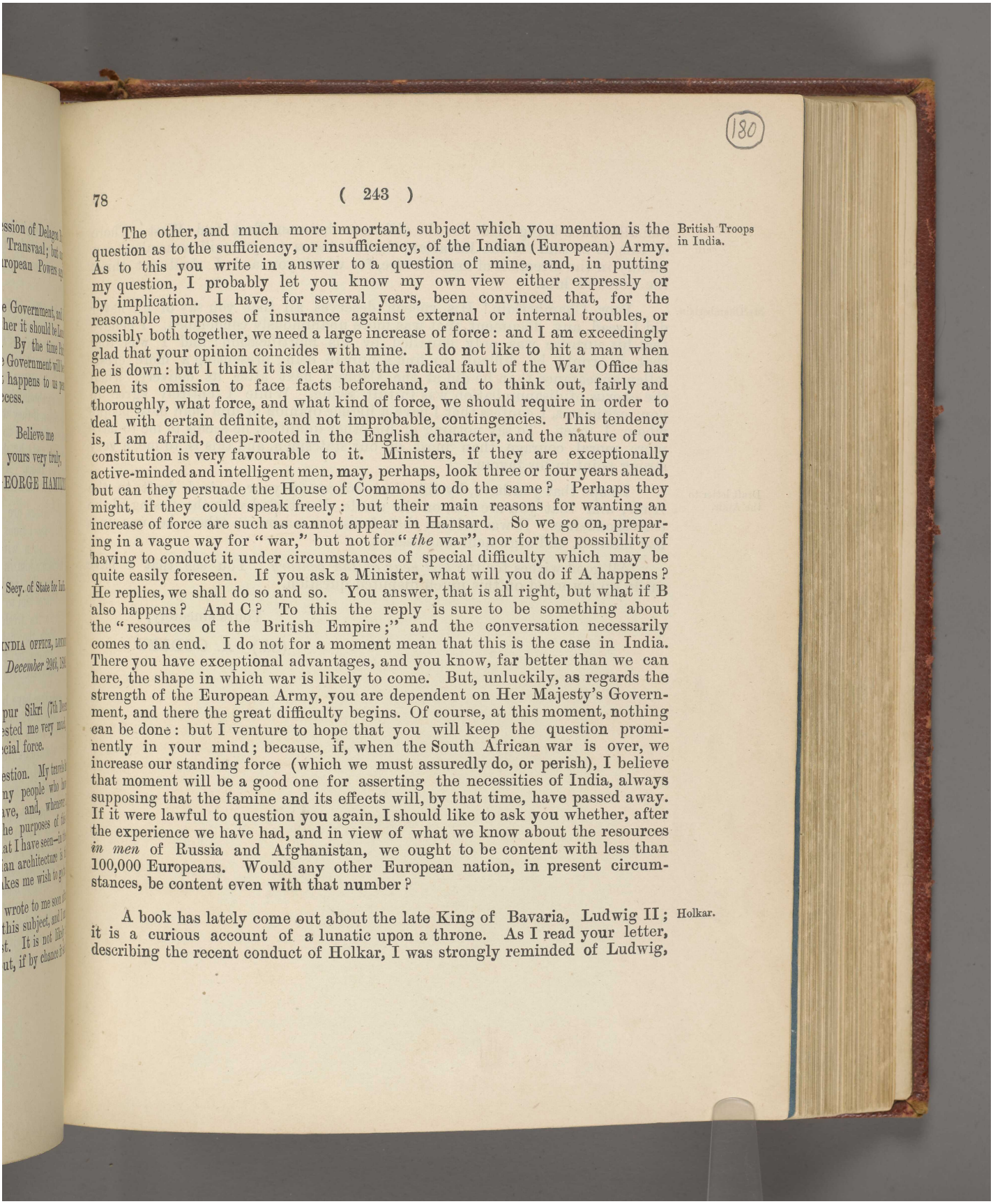

British Troops in India.

The other, and much more important, subject which you mention is the question as to the sufficiency, or insufficiency, of the Indian (European) Army. As to this you write in answer to a question of mine, and, in putting my question, I probably let you know my own view either expressly or by implication. I have, for several years, been convinced that, for the reasonable purposes of insurance against external or internal troubles, or possibly both together, we need a large increase of force: and I am exceedingly glad that your opinion coincides with mine. I do not like to hit a man when he is down: but I think it is clear that the radical fault of the War Office has been its omission to face facts beforehand, and to think out, fairly and thoroughly, what force, and what kind of force, we should require in order to deal with certain definite, and not improbable, contingencies. This tendency is, I am afraid, deep-rooted in the English character, and the nature of our constitution is very favourable to it. Ministers, if they are exceptionally active-minded and intelligent men, may, perhaps, look three or four years ahead, but can they persuade the House of Commons to do the same? Perhaps they might, if they could speak freely: but their main reasons for wanting an increase of force are such as cannot appear in Hansard. So we go on, preparing in a vague way for "war," but not for "*the* war", nor for the possibility of having to conduct it under circumstances of special difficulty which may be quite easily foreseen. If you ask a Minister, what will you do if A happens? He replies, we shall do so and so. You answer, that is all right, but what if B also happens? And C? To this the reply is sure to be something about the "resources of the British Empire;" and the conversation necessarily comes to an end. I do not for a moment mean that this is the case in India. There you have exceptional advantages, and you know, far better than we can here, the shape in which war is likely to come. But, unluckily, as regards the strength of the European Army, you are dependent on Her Majesty's Government, and there the great difficulty begins. Of course, at this moment, nothing can be done: but I venture to hope that you will keep the question prominently in your mind; because, if, when the South African war is over, we increase our standing force (which we must assuredly do, or perish), I believe that moment will be a good one for asserting the necessities of India, always supposing that the famine and its effects will, by that time, have passed away. If it were lawful to question you again, I should like to ask you whether, after the experience we have had, and in view of what we know about the resources *in men* of Russia and Afghanistan, we ought to be content with less than 100,000 Europeans. Would any other European nation, in present circumstances, be content even with that number?

Holkar.

A book has lately come out about the late King of Bavaria, Ludwig II; it is a curious account of a lunatic upon a throne. As I read your letter, describing the recent conduct of Holkar, I was strongly reminded of Ludwig,

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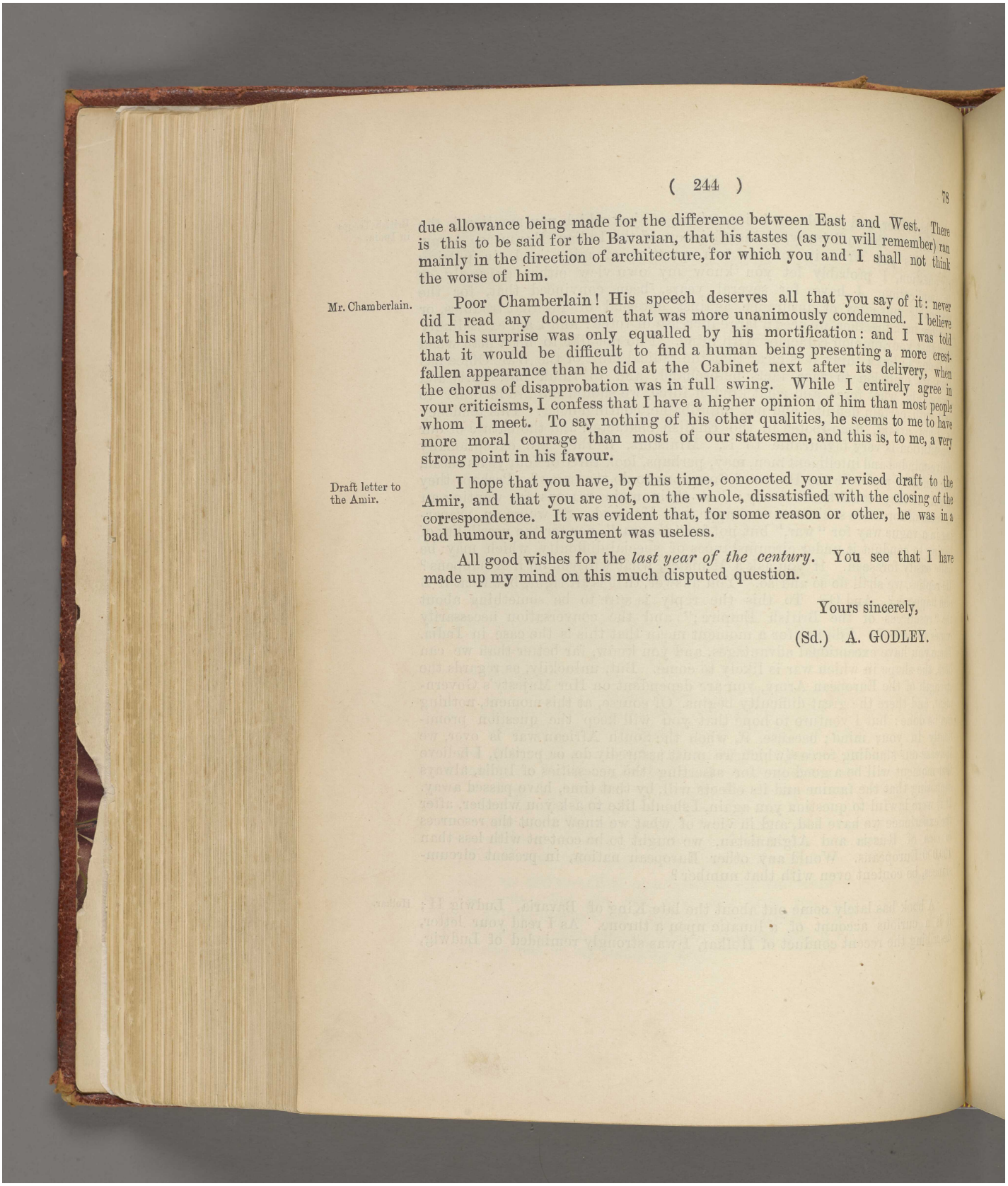

due allowance being made for the difference between East and West. There is this to be said for the Bavarian, that his tastes (as you will remember) ran mainly in the direction of architecture, for which you and I shall not think the worse of him.

Mr. Chamberlain.

Poor Chamberlain! His speech deserves all that you say of it: never did I read any document that was more unanimously condemned. I believe that his surprise was only equalled by his mortification: and I was told that it would be difficult to find a human being presenting a more crest-fallen appearance than he did at the Cabinet next after its delivery, when the chorus of disapprobation was in full swing. While I entirely agree in your criticisms, I confess that I have a higher opinion of him than most people whom I meet. To say nothing of his other qualities, he seems to me to have more moral courage than most of our statesmen, and this is, to me, a very strong point in his favour.

Draft letter to the Amir.

I hope that you have, by this time, concocted your revised draft to the Amir, and that you are not, on the whole, dissatisfied with the closing of the correspondence. It was evident that, for some reason or other, he was in a bad humour, and argument was useless.

All good wishes for the *last year of the century*. You see that I have made up my mind on this much disputed question.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

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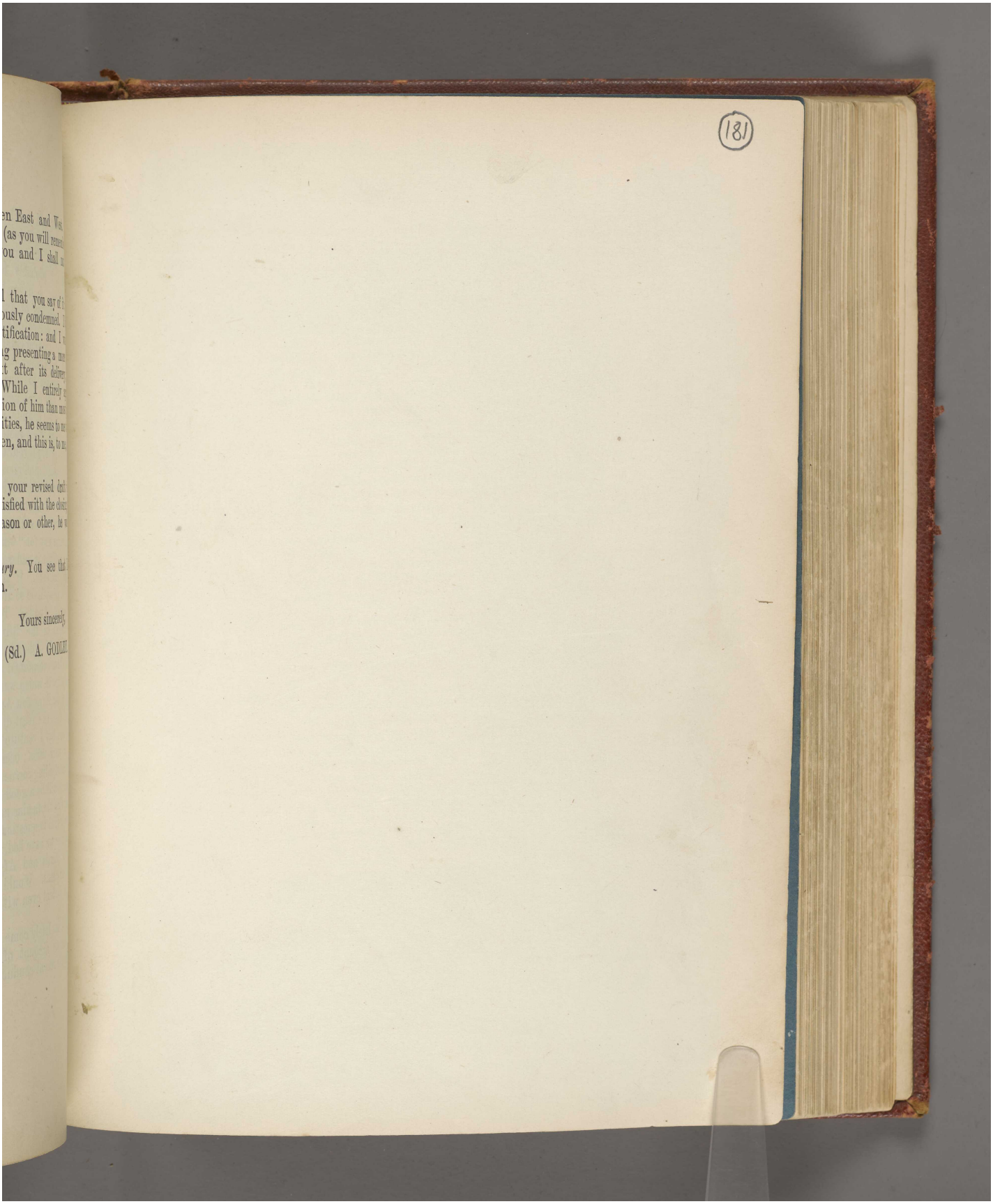

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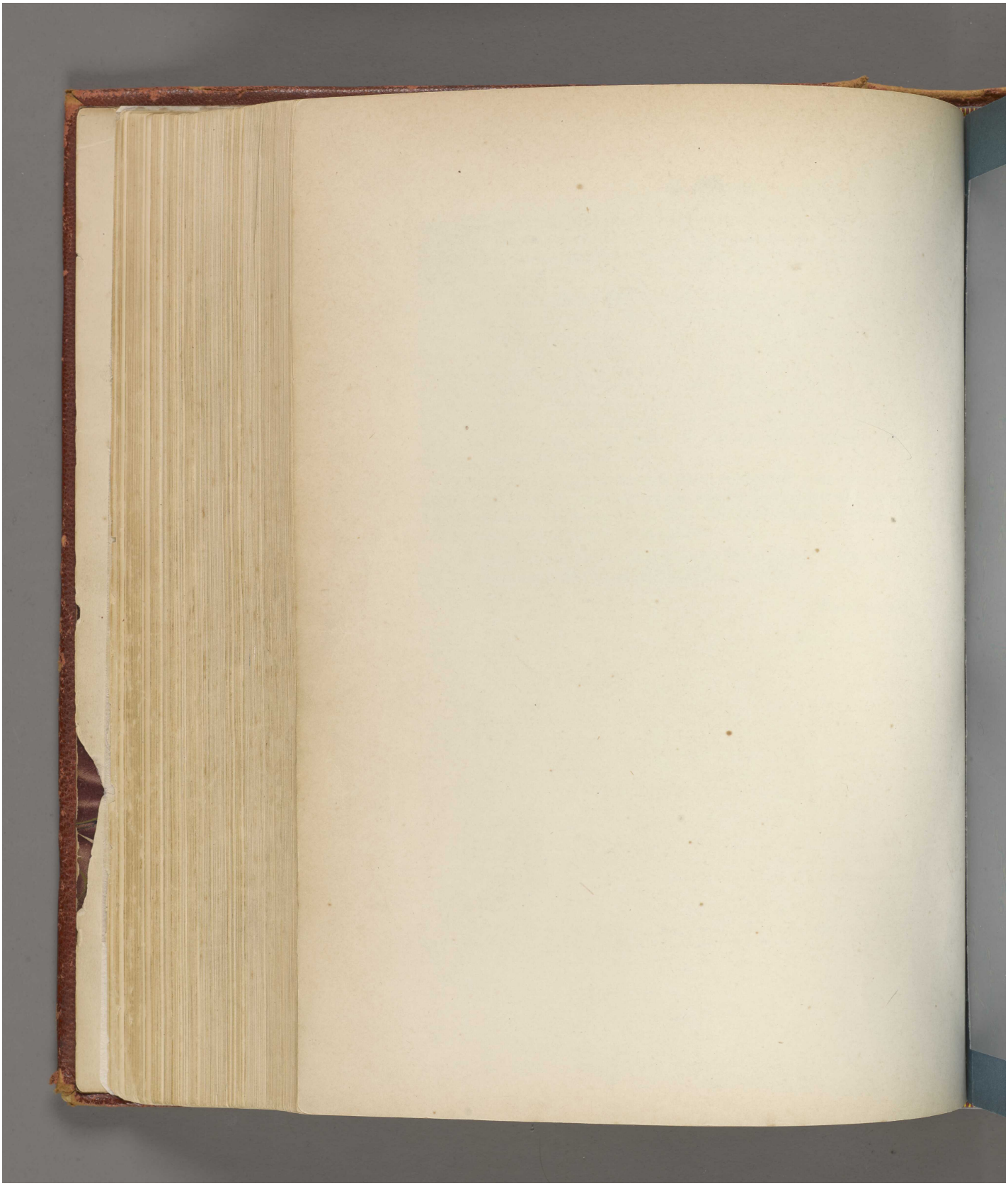

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Early in 1858 Lord Canning promulgated his famous Proclamation about the annexation of the Province of Oudh. This provoked Lord Ellenborough a former Governor-General, and now President of the Board of Control, to indite a Secret Despatch to Lord Canning, in which he condemned in bitter terms the action he had taken, and denounced the proposed annexation. Worse than this, he caused this Despatch to be published in England three weeks before it could reach Lord Canning's hands, and before even it had been submitted for the information of the Queen. Her Majesty was justly indignant, and in a letter to Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, she observed that in her judgment "it is a great pity that Lord Ellenborough, with his knowledge, experience, energy and ability, should be so entirely unable to submit to general rules of conduct. The Queen has been for some time alarmed at his writing letters of his own to all the most important Indian Chiefs and Kings, explaining his policy. All this renders the position of a Governor-General almost untenable, and that of the Government at Home very hazardous." In another letter to Lord Derby the Queen wrote :—"Lord Ellenborough must be taken to have acted hastily in at once condemning Lord Canning without hearing the Governor-General on the other side. It is always dangerous to keep up a private correspondence with inferior officers, allowing them to criticise their superiors, but it is subversive of all good government to act at once on the opinion given by inferiors." These views were shared by Lord Ellenborough's colleagues, by Parliament, and by the public at large, and he had to confess his indiscretion and resign office.

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being used as transports, and carry, permanently, eleven large life-boats, besides cutter, gig, and steam launch, also in addition eight collapsible life-boats. They are of course lighted by electricity throughout, and the cabin fittings, decoration of the saloons, etc., are most elaborate, costly, and in the best possible taste. The main deck is set apart entirely for troops, and is so fitted that at the shortest possible notice it can be converted to that purpose. When not so used, this space is occupied by cargo, of which these vessels can carry a very large quantity, and even when so loaded can make the very considerable speed of 15 knots, and, when trooping, are able to attain 16 knots per hour. The *Assaye* first of the three, has been doing good work in conveying troops between Southampton and Cape Town.

Rubber Planting in Southern India.

Mr. James Maunder writes from San Juan Evang-lista, Vera Cruz, Mexico, on the 15th December, to *Indian Gardening and Planting*, to suggest that the planters of Mysore, Mercara, Coorg and other coffee Districts should plant rubber in place of coffee. The variety planted in Mexico is *Castelloa Elastica* Mr. Maunder says:—"Great success is being made here, and with the most careless, indifferent, expensive labour I have ever seen. The estate I am on pays the Mexican labourer 2s. 7½*d.* per day. I would rather have a Canara coolie than any two of those here at the same price. Now, if rubber planting pays here under these conditions, why would it not be a money-making business in Mysore and the low Districts of the southern parts of Madras and of Travancore; I have shot bison in the Budra valley in the Wastara Taluq of Mysore, where the growth of the jungle looks just like it does here. There is the Busree Murrah, both white and red, that gave a good deal of milk just like the milk of the Castiloa here, and we have the identical "Busree Murrah" here. I think the botanical name is *Ficus Indicus*. A friend of mine here, who spent many years in South India, says he too is certain that rubber planting would, with the good

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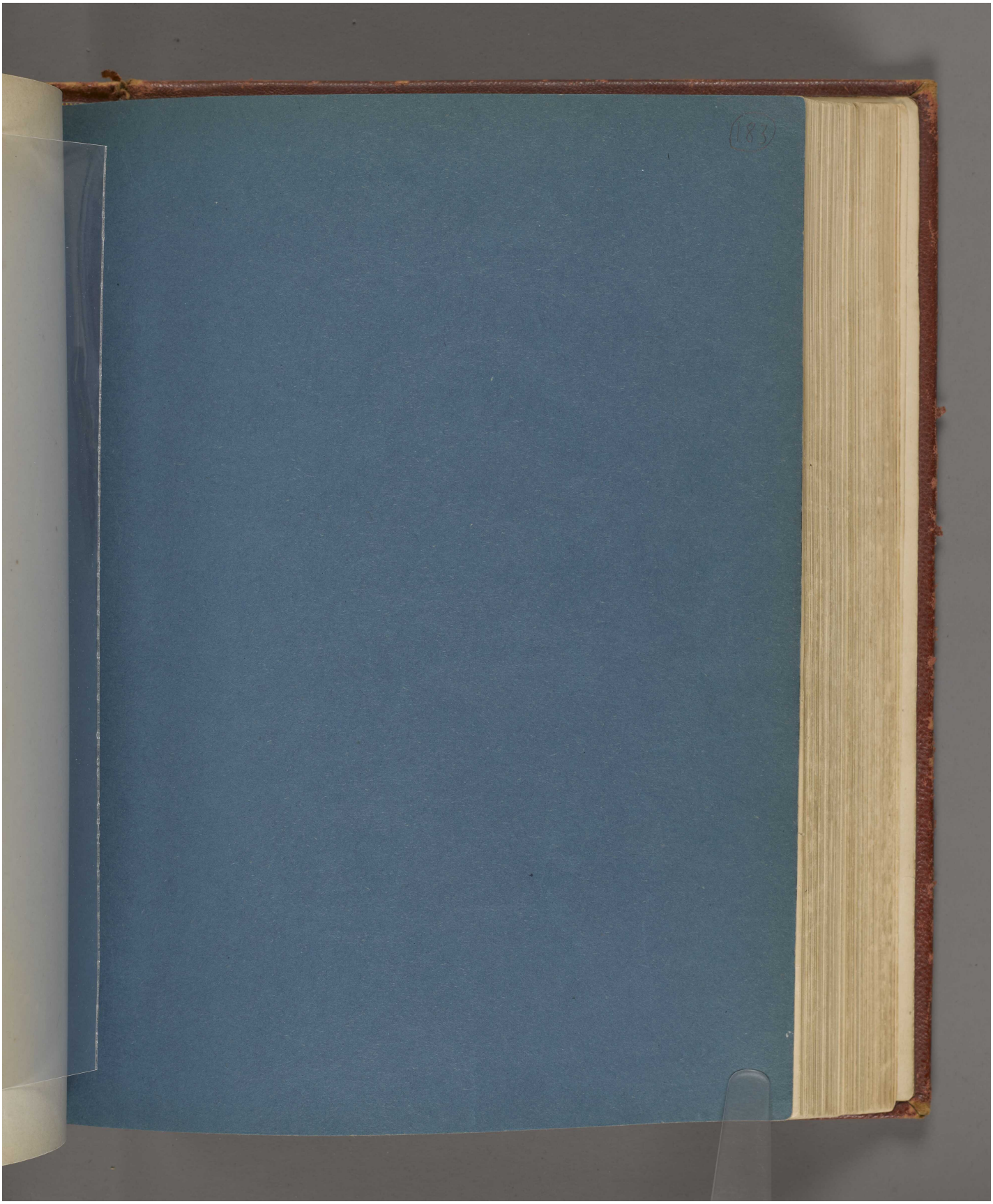

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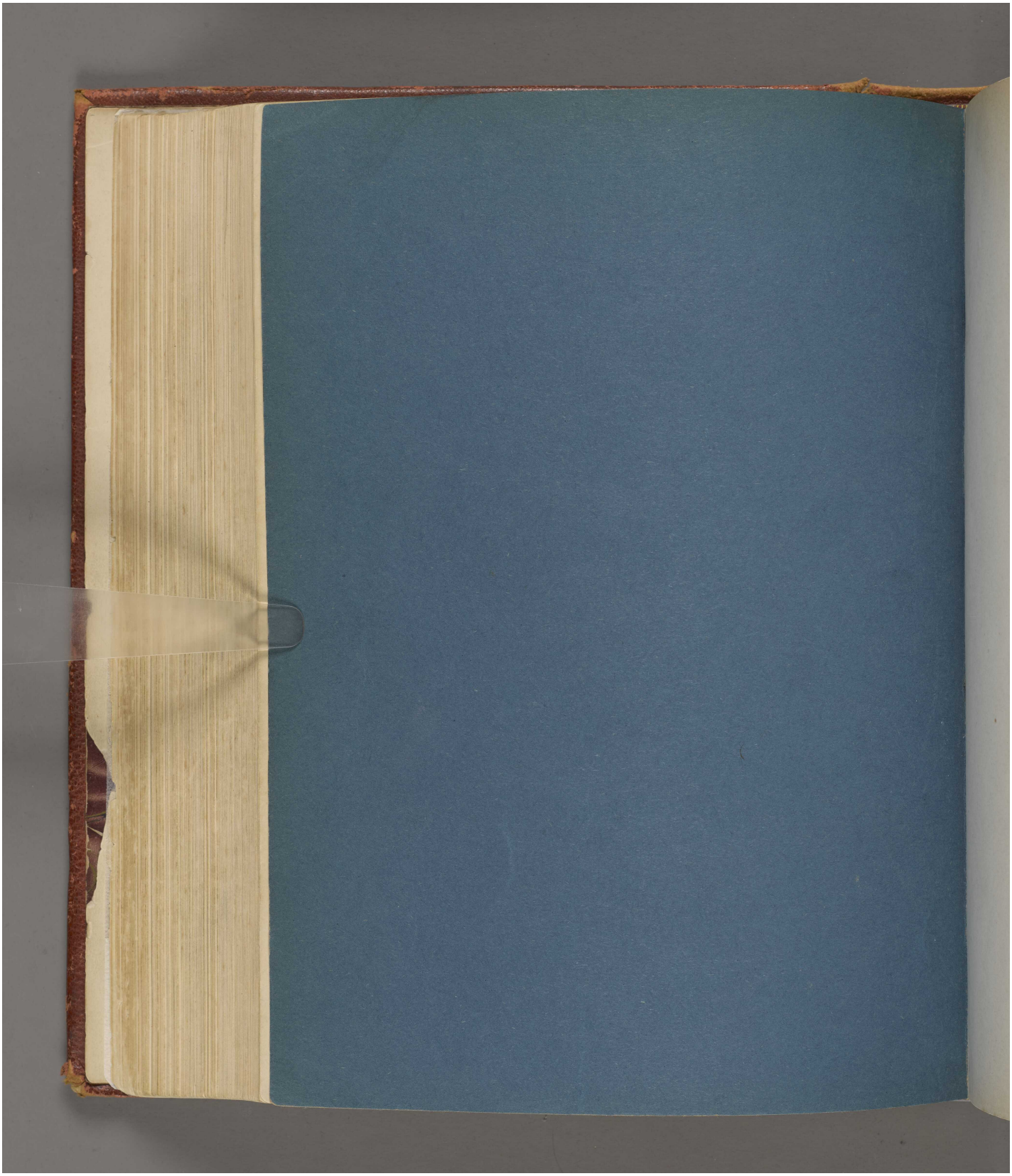

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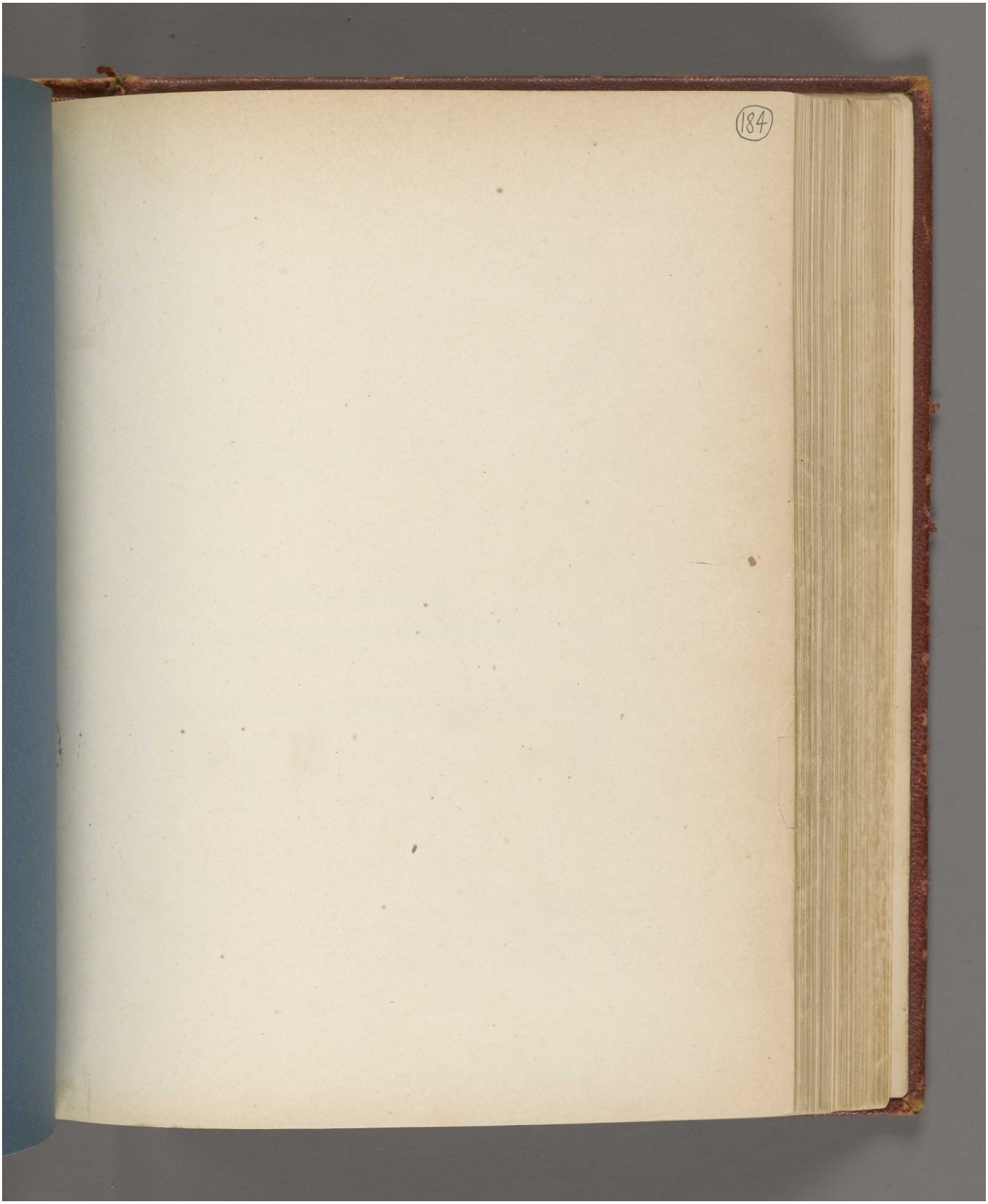

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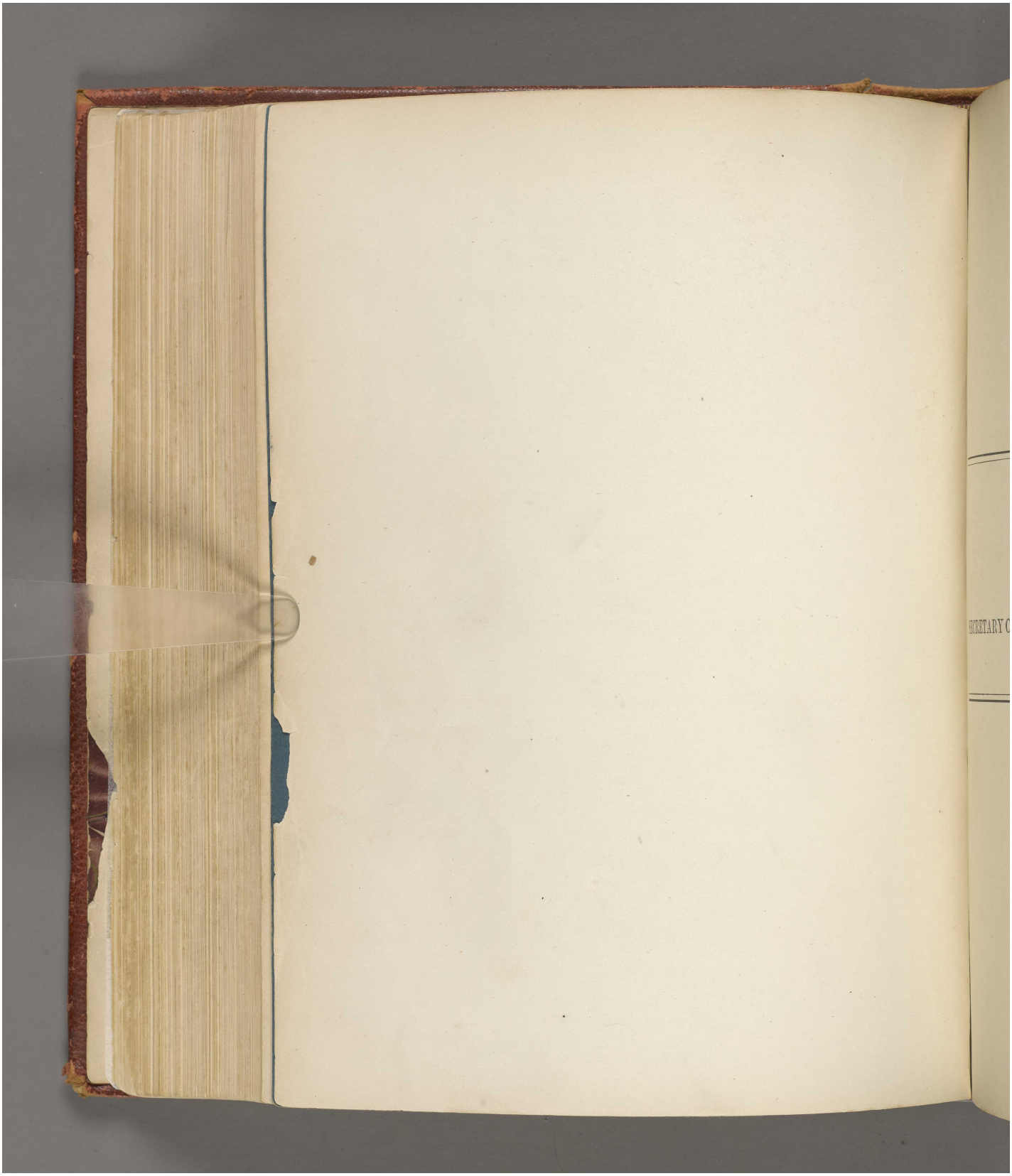

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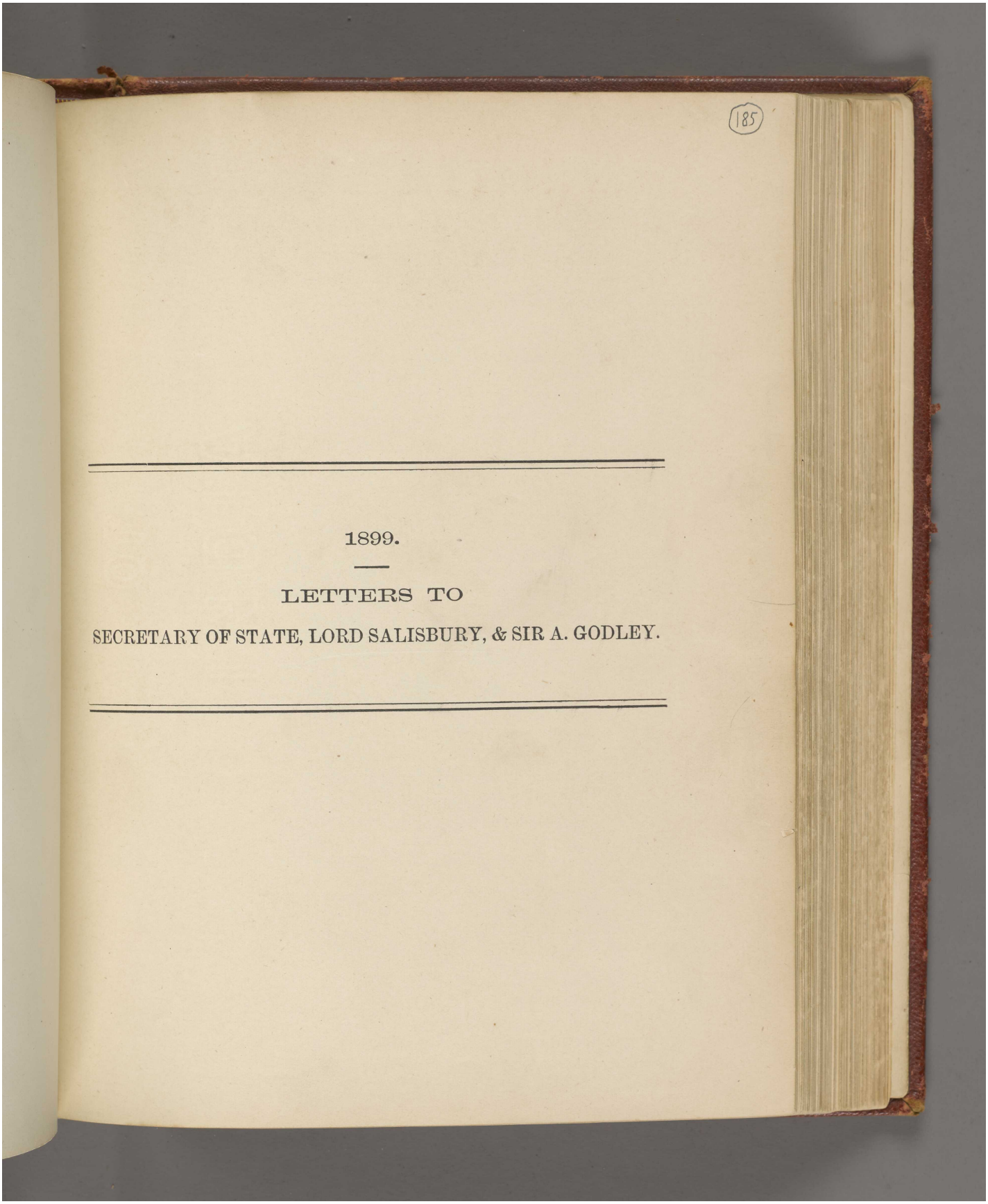

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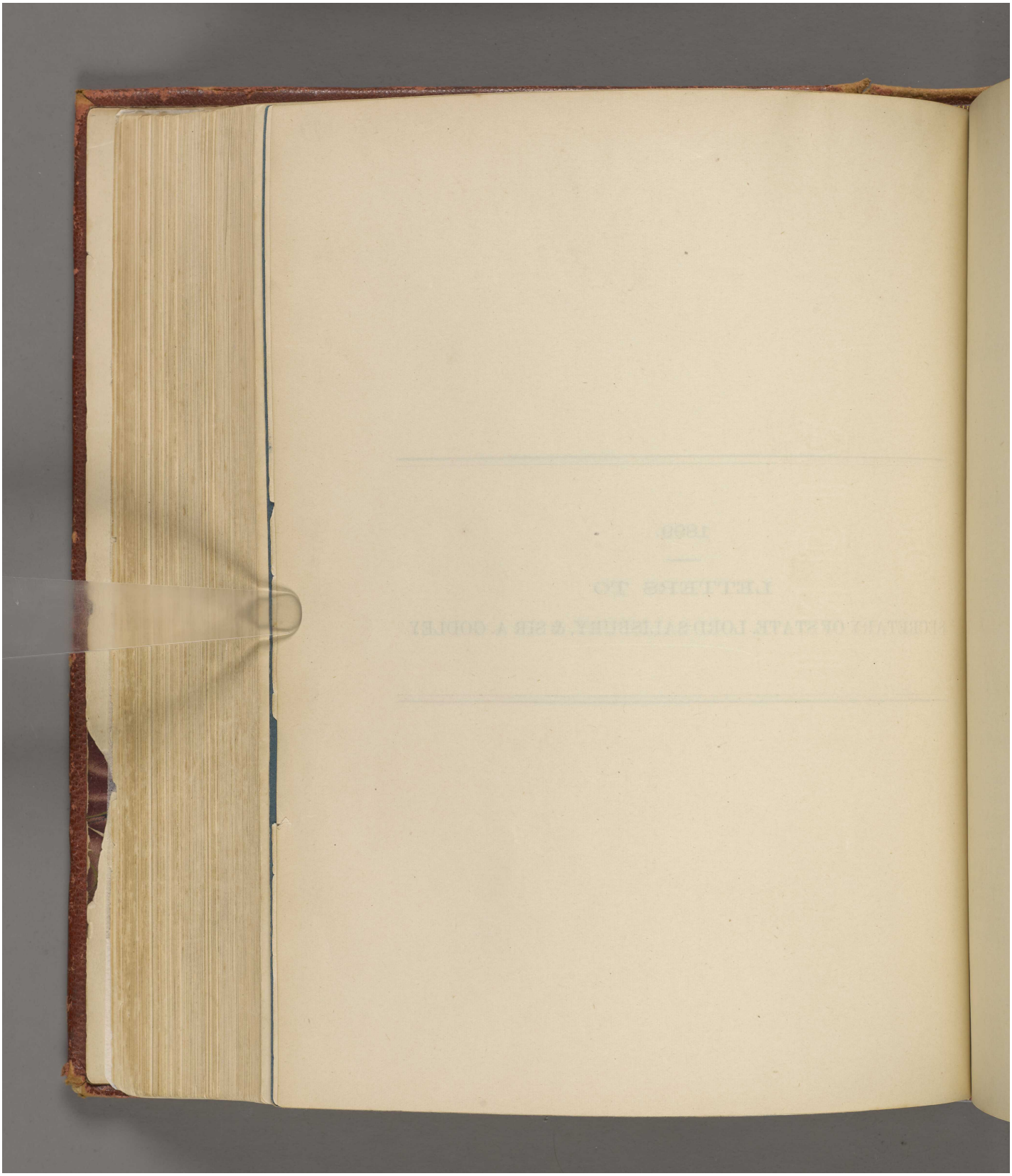

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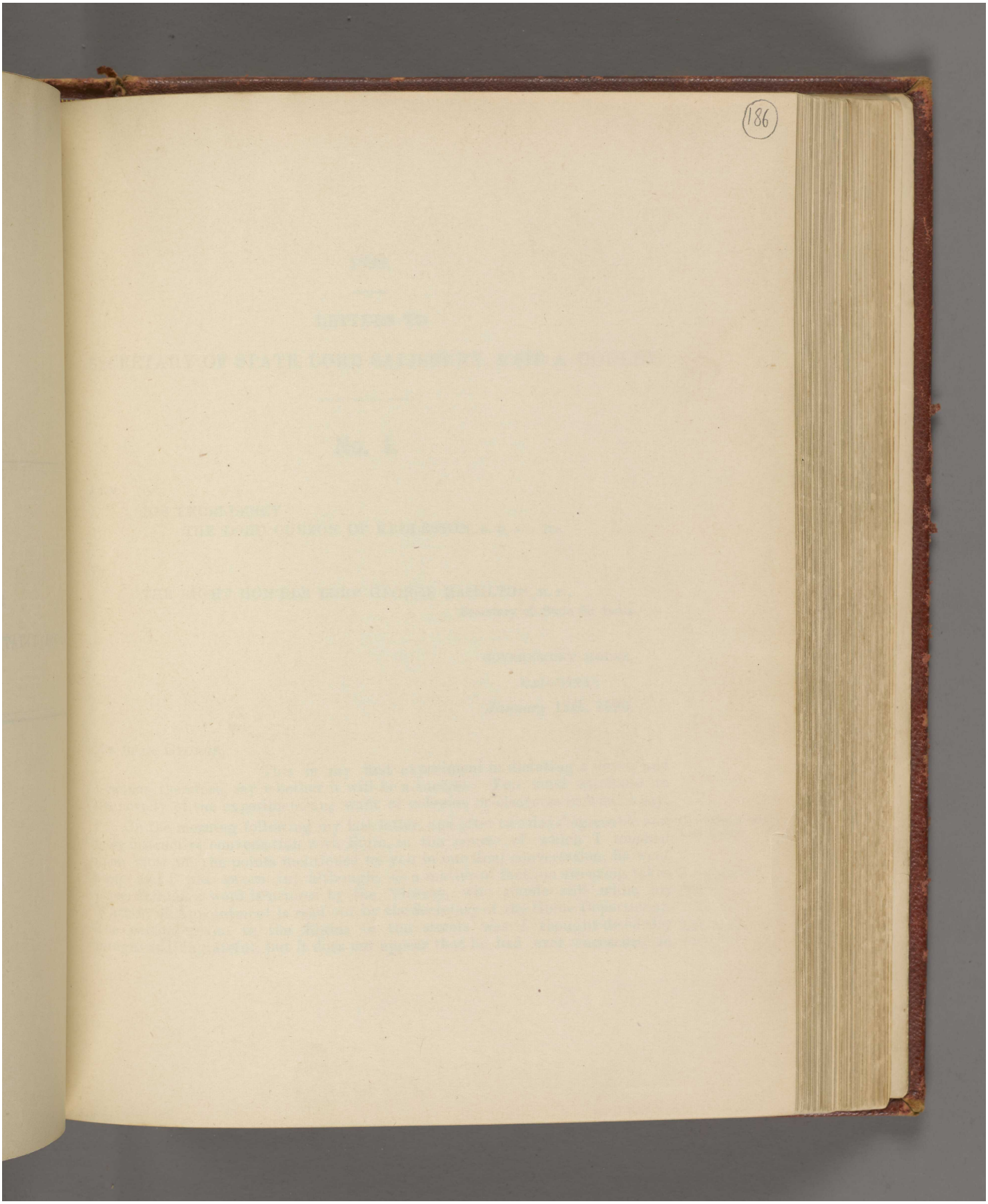

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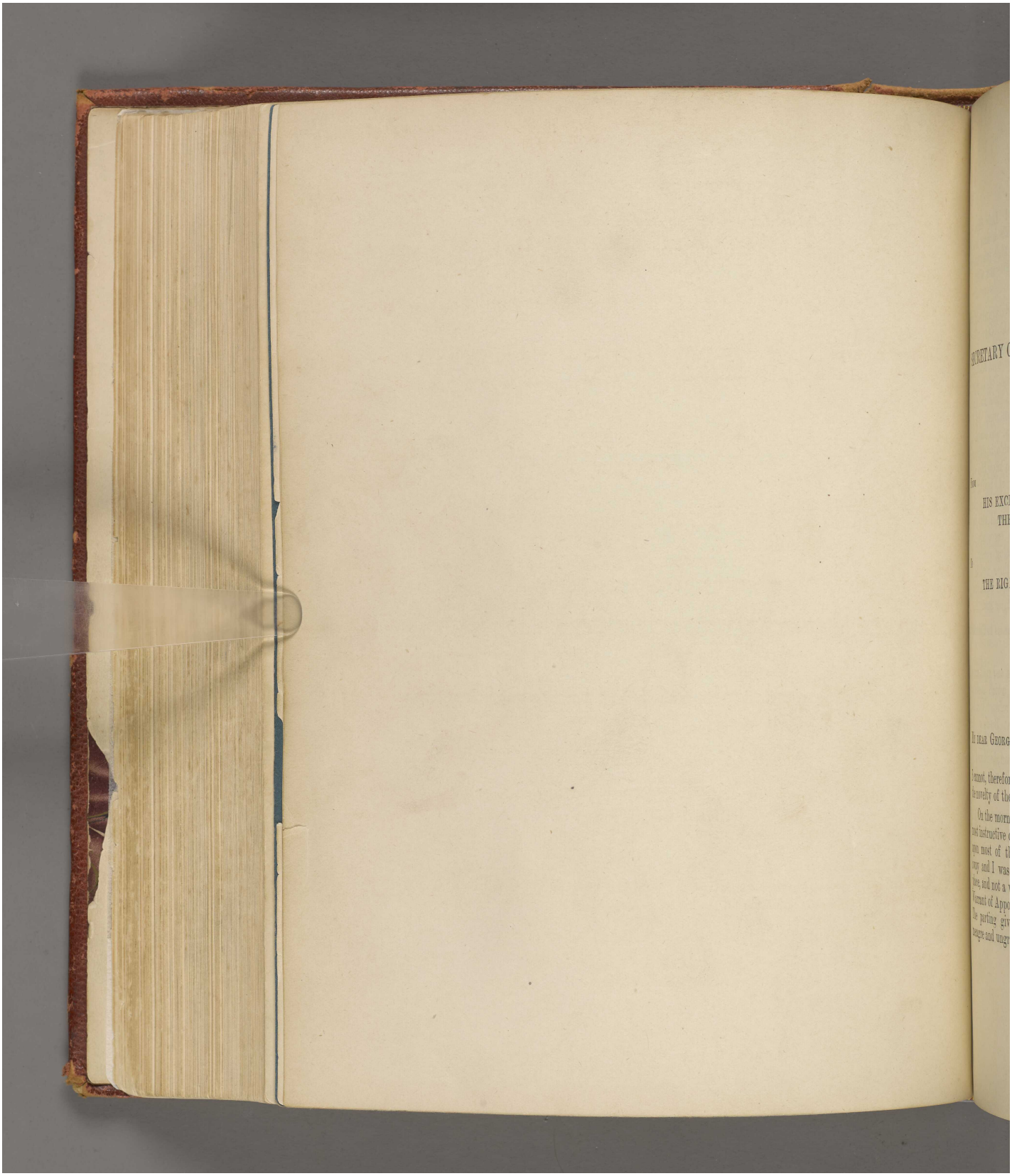

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1899.

LETTERS TO

SECRETARY OF STATE, LORD SALISBURY, & SIR A. GODLEY.

No. 1.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I. &c.

TO

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
January 12*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

This is my first experiment in dictating a letter, and I cannot, therefore, say whether it will be a success. You must attribute to the novelty of the experiment any want of cohesion or clearness in what I say.

Conversation with Lord Elgin.

On the morning following my last letter, and after two days' agreeable and most instructive conversation with Elgin, in the course of which I touched upon most of the points mentioned by you in our final conversation, he went away and I was sworn in, although, as a matter of fact, no swearing takes place, and not a word is uttered by the Viceroy, who stands still while his Warrant of Appointment is read out by the Secretary of the Home Department.

Assumption of office.

The parting given to the Elgins in the streets was I thought decidedly meagre and ungrateful, but it does not appear that he had ever succeeded in

Lord Elgin's departure.

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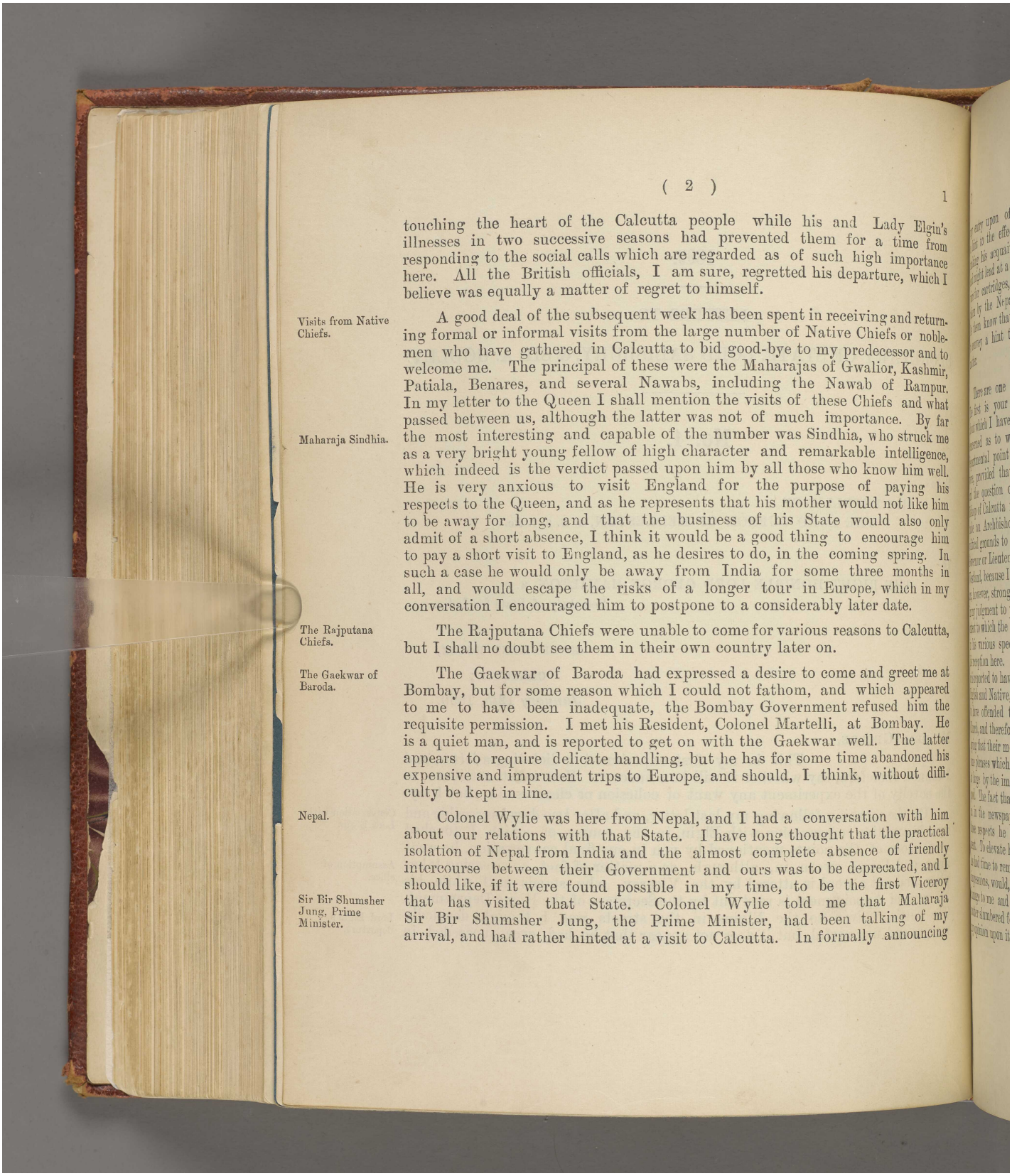

touching the heart of the Calcutta people while his and Lady Elgin's illnesses in two successive seasons had prevented them for a time from responding to the social calls which are regarded as of such high importance here. All the British officials, I am sure, regretted his departure, which I believe was equally a matter of regret to himself.

Visits from Native Chiefs.

A good deal of the subsequent week has been spent in receiving and returning formal or informal visits from the large number of Native Chiefs or noblemen who have gathered in Calcutta to bid good-bye to my predecessor and to welcome me. The principal of these were the Maharajas of Gwalior, Kashmir, Patiala, Benares, and several Nawabs, including the Nawab of Rampur. In my letter to the Queen I shall mention the visits of these Chiefs and what passed between us, although the latter was not of much importance. By far

Maharaja Sindhia.

the most interesting and capable of the number was Sindhia, who struck me as a very bright young fellow of high character and remarkable intelligence, which indeed is the verdict passed upon him by all those who know him well. He is very anxious to visit England for the purpose of paying his respects to the Queen, and as he represents that his mother would not like him to be away for long, and that the business of his State would also only admit of a short absence, I think it would be a good thing to encourage him to pay a short visit to England, as he desires to do, in the coming spring. In such a case he would only be away from India for some three months in all, and would escape the risks of a longer tour in Europe, which in my conversation I encouraged him to postpone to a considerably later date.

The Rajputana Chiefs.

The Rajputana Chiefs were unable to come for various reasons to Calcutta, but I shall no doubt see them in their own country later on.

The Gaekwar of Baroda.

The Gaekwar of Baroda had expressed a desire to come and greet me at Bombay, but for some reason which I could not fathom, and which appeared to me to have been inadequate, the Bombay Government refused him the requisite permission. I met his Resident, Colonel Martelli, at Bombay. He is a quiet man, and is reported to get on with the Gaekwar well. The latter appears to require delicate handling, but he has for some time abandoned his expensive and imprudent trips to Europe, and should, I think, without difficulty be kept in line.

Nepal.

Colonel Wylie was here from Nepal, and I had a conversation with him about our relations with that State. I have long thought that the practical isolation of Nepal from India and the almost complete absence of friendly intercourse between their Government and ours was to be deprecated, and I should like, if it were found possible in my time, to be the first Viceroy that has visited that State. Colonel Wylie told me that Maharaja

Sir Bir Shumsher Jung, Prime Minister.

Sir Bir Shumsher Jung, the Prime Minister, had been talking of my arrival, and had rather hinted at a visit to Calcutta. In formally announcing

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my entry upon office to the Maharaja, I have, therefore, introduced a hint to the effect that I hope an opportunity may be presented of making his acquaintance later on. This may tempt him to come here, and might lead at a later date to an invitation to Nepal. Touching the brass wire for cartridges, there does not seem to be any harm in the action so far taken by the Nepalese Government, but we have told Colonel Wylie to let them know that we are familiar with what is going on, and perhaps to convey a hint that they might previously have taken his advice in the matter.

Order for brass wire for cartridges.

There are one or two personal questions to which I will next allude. The first is your suggestion regarding the Archbishopric of Calcutta, about which I have sent you a telegram. I consulted the Departments concerned as to whether there were any practical objections from the departmental point of view. They did not seem to think that there were, provided that the powers of the Metropolitan remained unaltered, and the question of precedence was settled. Touching the latter, the Bishop of Calcutta ranks at present after the Chief Justice. If he were made an Archbishop he might go above him, but he ought not, I think, on political grounds to precede the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, or indeed any Governor or Lieutenant-Governor in his own Province. I did not consult Westland, because I imagine that no question of increased pay is raised. There are, however, strong reasons on general grounds why it would be inexpedient in my judgment to proceed with the matter at present. I am surprised at the extent to which the well-meaning, but rather incautious, utterances of Welldon in his various speeches and addresses at home appear to have prejudiced his reception here. From many quarters I gather that the things he has said, or is reported to have said, have caused great offence, and the papers, both English and Native, have contained many disparaging criticisms. He is alleged to have offended the natives by avowing that it was the mission of the Church, and therefore his own, to convert them; the Army generally by saying that their morals are in need of reform; the Roman Catholics by some phrases which I have not heard quoted *verbatim;* and English society at large by the impression that he is coming out to teach them all how to be good. The fact that he is a great friend of mine has been much commented on in the newspapers, and the assumption is an easy one that in those respects he utters not merely his own views, but those of the Government. To elevate him to be an Archbishop at such a moment, and before he has had time to remove, as I have no doubt he will do, these unfavourable impressions, would, I think, be gravely misunderstood, and might do serious damage to me and my administration. I would rather, therefore, that the matter slumbered for at least a year, and that you would allow me to give you my opinion upon it at a later date.

Proposal to confer the title of Archbishop on the Bishop of Calcutta.

Dr. Welldon's public utterances.

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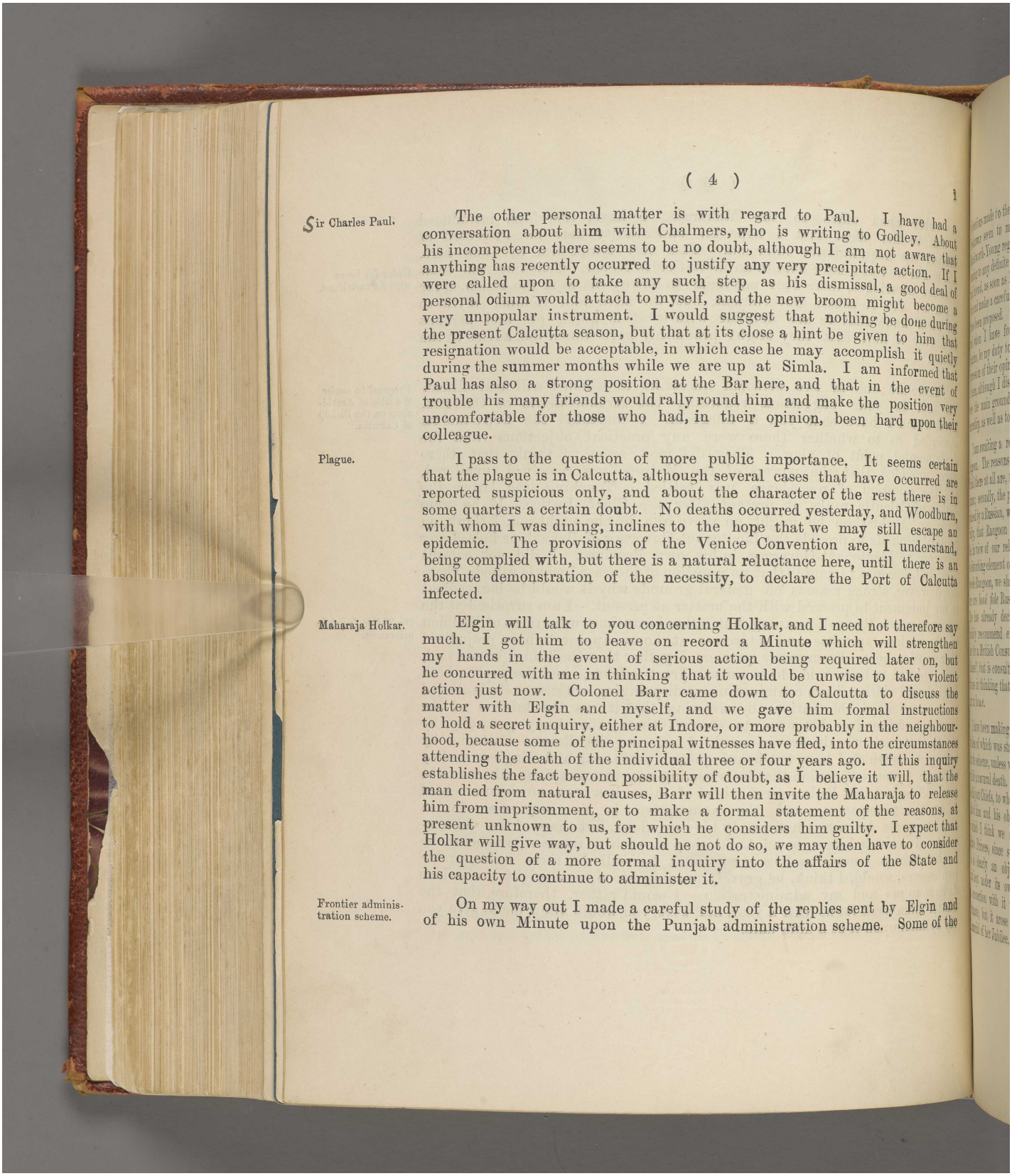

Sir Charles Paul.

The other personal matter is with regard to Paul. I have had a conversation about him with Chalmers, who is writing to Godley. About his incompetence there seems to be no doubt, although I am not aware that anything has recently occurred to justify any very precipitate action. If I were called upon to take any such step as his dismissal, a good deal of personal odium would attach to myself, and the new broom might become a very unpopular instrument. I would suggest that nothing be done during the present Calcutta season, but that at its close a hint be given to him that resignation would be acceptable, in which case he may accomplish it quietly during the summer months while we are up at Simla. I am informed that Paul has also a strong position at the Bar here, and that in the event of trouble his many friends would rally round him and make the position very uncomfortable for those who had, in their opinion, been hard upon their colleague.

Plague.

I pass to the question of more public importance. It seems certain that the plague is in Calcutta, although several cases that have occurred are reported suspicious only, and about the character of the rest there is in some quarters a certain doubt. No deaths occurred yesterday, and Woodburn, with whom I was dining, inclines to the hope that we may still escape an epidemic. The provisions of the Venice Convention are, I understand, being complied with, but there is a natural reluctance here, until there is an absolute demonstration of the necessity, to declare the Port of Calcutta infected.

Maharaja Holkar.

Elgin will talk to you concerning Holkar, and I need not therefore say much. I got him to leave on record a Minute which will strengthen my hands in the event of serious action being required later on, but he concurred with me in thinking that it would be unwise to take violent action just now. Colonel Barr came down to Calcutta to discuss the matter with Elgin and myself, and we gave him formal instructions to hold a secret inquiry, either at Indore, or more probably in the neighbourhood, because some of the principal witnesses have fled, into the circumstances attending the death of the individual three or four years ago. If this inquiry establishes the fact beyond possibility of doubt, as I believe it will, that the man died from natural causes, Barr will then invite the Maharaja to release him from imprisonment, or to make a formal statement of the reasons, at present unknown to us, for which he considers him guilty. I expect that Holkar will give way, but should he not do so, we may then have to consider the question of a more formal inquiry into the affairs of the State and his capacity to continue to administer it.

Frontier administration scheme.

On my way out I made a careful study of the replies sent by Elgin and of his own Minute upon the Punjab administration scheme. Some of the

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objections made to the proposed re-arrangement of the Commissionership of Peshawar seem to me to be powerful, and it is clear that both Elgin and Mackworth-Young regard it as likely to be unworkable in practice. Before coming to any definite opinion upon this point I have sent for all the papers, and intend, as soon as I can find a spare hour or two, to go fully into the question and make a careful study of the rival schemes which have at different times been proposed. The Council have not yet been consulted in the matter, and when I have formed some views upon the matter myself, it will, I imagine, be my duty to refer the papers to them and to ask them for an expression of their opinion. I have not as yet mentioned the matter to any of them, although I discussed it with Elgin with a view to finding out what were the main grounds of his objection to the scheme of a Frontier Commissionership, as well as to the compromise which had been proposed.

Russian Vice-Consulate at Rangoon.

I am awaiting a reply from you about the Russian Vice-Consulate at Rangoon. The reasons why we so strongly object to any Russian Consul or official there at all are, first, that there are no Russian mercantile interests in Burma; secondly, the proposed German candidate would probably be very soon replaced by a Russian, who would of course only be placed there as a spy; thirdly, that Rangoon has a large Chinese population, and that it is undesirable, in view of our relations with Russia in China, that we should admit the disturbing element of a Russian representative; and, fourthly, that if we concede Rangoon, we shall have no case for holding out about Bombay, where there are *boná fide* Russian mercantile concerns. If, however, the Foreign Office has already decided the case in principle against us, we shall probably recommend either Tashkend, Samarkand, or Bokhara, as the place for a British Consul in reply. Lockhart has not any strong views about it himself, but is consulting the Intelligence Department here, and he concurs with me in thinking that it would be well to consult the Intelligence Department at home.

Health Institute for India.

I have been making careful enquiries into the proposed Health Institute, the idea of which was started by the Maharana of Dholpur, and I gather that the scheme, unless vigorously propped up by the Government of India, will die a natural death. Dholpur was not the man to start such an idea, and the Rajput Chiefs, to whom he appealed for financial backing, are suspicious both of him and his object in starting the scheme. The case is not one in which I think we should be justified in putting any pressure upon Native Princes, since such an Institute, if required, as I believe it to be, is clearly an object that should be undertaken by Government and kept under its own control. The mention of the Queen's name in connection with it was, though quite unofficial, perhaps not altogether fortunate, but it arose from the desire to make the Institute a Native Memorial of her Jubilee. Unless advised in the contrary direction I shall

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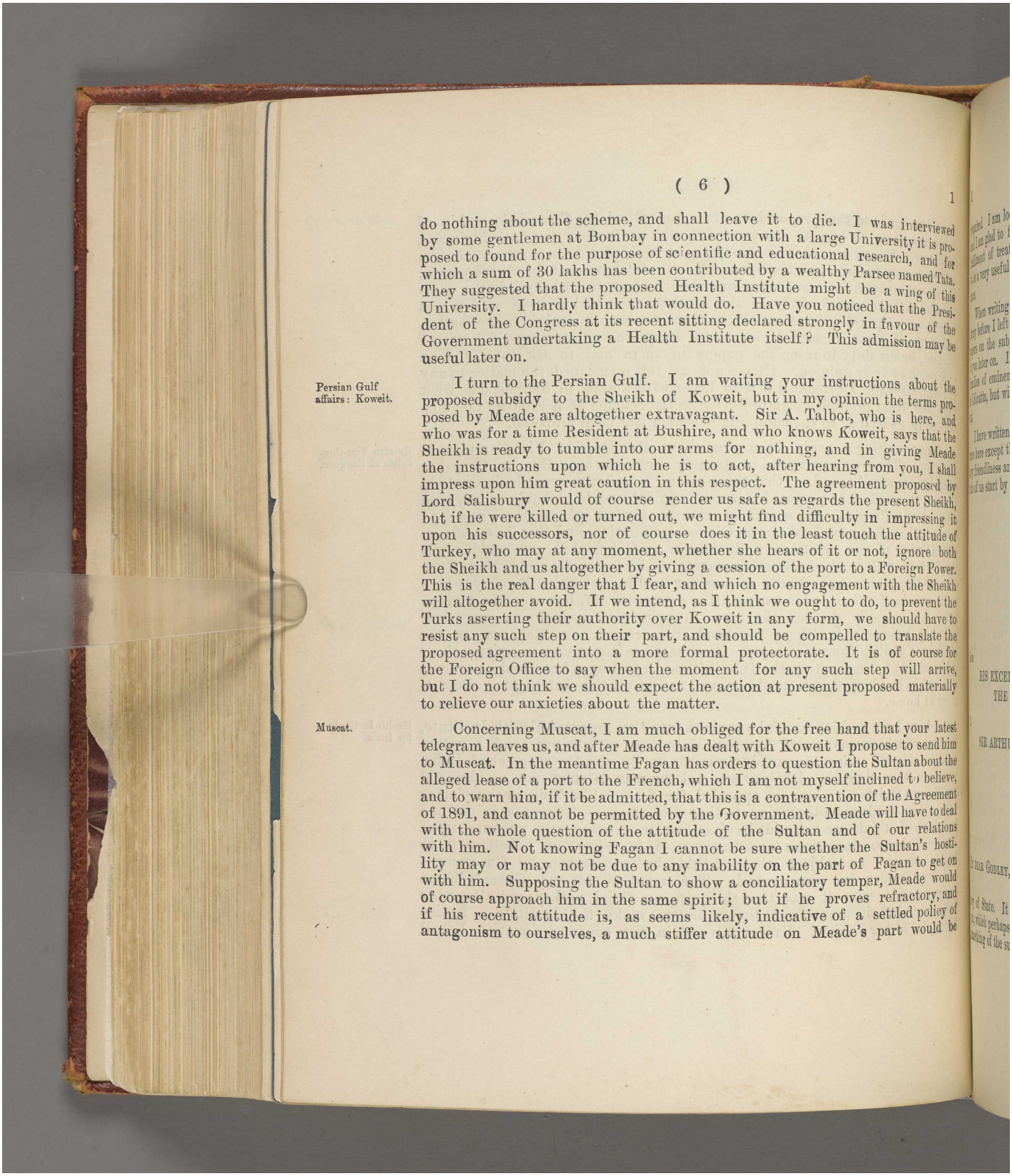

do nothing about the scheme, and shall leave it to die. I was interviewed by some gentlemen at Bombay in connection with a large University it is proposed to found for the purpose of scientific and educational research, and for which a sum of 30 lakhs has been contributed by a wealthy Parsee named Tata. They suggested that the proposed Health Institute might be a wing of this University. I hardly think that would do. Have you noticed that the President of the Congress at its recent sitting declared strongly in favour of the Government undertaking a Health Institute itself? This admission may be useful later on.

Persian Gulf affairs: Koweit.

I turn to the Persian Gulf. I am waiting your instructions about the proposed subsidy to the Sheikh of Koweit, but in my opinion the terms proposed by Meade are altogether extravagant. Sir A. Talbot, who is here, and who was for a time Resident at Bushire, and who knows Koweit, says that the Sheikh is ready to tumble into our arms for nothing, and in giving Meade the instructions upon which he is to act, after hearing from you, I shall impress upon him great caution in this respect. The agreement proposed by Lord Salisbury would of course render us safe as regards the present Sheikh, but if he were killed or turned out, we might find difficulty in impressing it upon his successors, nor of course does it in the least touch the attitude of Turkey, who may at any moment, whether she hears of it or not, ignore both the Sheikh and us altogether by giving a cession of the port to a Foreign Power. This is the real danger that I fear, and which no engagement with the Sheikh will altogether avoid. If we intend, as I think we ought to do, to prevent the Turks asserting their authority over Koweit in any form, we should have to resist any such step on their part, and should be compelled to translate the proposed agreement into a more formal protectorate. It is of course for the Foreign Office to say when the moment for any such step will arrive, but I do not think we should expect the action at present proposed materially to relieve our anxieties about the matter.

Muscat.

Concerning Muscat, I am much obliged for the free hand that your latest telegram leaves us, and after Meade has dealt with Koweit I propose to send him to Muscat. In the meantime Fagan has orders to question the Sultan about the alleged lease of a port to the French, which I am not myself inclined to believe, and to warn him, if it be admitted, that this is a contravention of the Agreement of 1891, and cannot be permitted by the Government. Meade will have to deal with the whole question of the attitude of the Sultan and of our relations with him. Not knowing Fagan I cannot be sure whether the Sultan's hostility may or may not be due to any inability on the part of Fagan to get on with him. Supposing the Sultan to show a conciliatory temper, Meade would of course approach him in the same spirit; but if he proves refractory, and if his recent attitude is, as seems likely, indicative of a settled policy of antagonism to ourselves, a much stiffer attitude on Meade's part would be

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required. I am looking into the question of our annual subsidy to the Sultan, and I am glad to find that it is dependent upon his good behaviour and fulfilment of treaty engagements. The threat to diminish this may turn out to be a very useful weapon, and would probably bring him to his knees at once.

When writing to me about the employment of Native officers in the British Army before I left England, you said that your Secretary would send me some papers on the subject. These I have got, and hope to submit some proposals to you later on. I have an idea of a manner in which chosen members of the families of eminent Native Princes or Chiefs might be employed for a while in Calcutta, but will say no more about it until I have had time to work it out. Commissions for Natives in the British Army.

I have written on one or two other matters to Godley, and will add nothing more here except that the reception we receive everywhere is one of extraordinary friendliness and even enthusiasm, that the climate is superb, and that we both of us start by enjoying the life and the work.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 1a.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

TO

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
January 12*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I have just finished my first letter (dictated) to Secretary of State. It is rather a long one. I must, nevertheless, add a line to you, which perhaps you will show to him, to thank you for yours and to say something of the subjects mentioned by you.

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Evidence before Currency Committee.

On the way out I carefully studied the evidence given before the Currency Committee. Edgar Vincent's struck me as the ablest, though I suspect that he postulates rather too close a parallelism between Egypt (and Turkey) and India. The tea people seemed to me to make a very poor show.

Currency Report.

The decision that you forecast will, I expect, be generally acceptable here. I was talking last night both to Turner and Allan Arthur, the present and recent Presidents of the Chamber of Commerce, and it will, I think, be agreeable to them and to the majority of their body. Everybody here knows that the Mints will not be re-opened, and that Westland's scheme is dead.

Remission of taxation.

There is no fear about a remission of taxation in Westland's Budget. The Secretary of State's telegram put that right; and Sir J. Westland concurs in its inadvisability both with a view to the coming report of the Committee and because he thinks it fairer to give Dawkins a free hand.

Mr. Chalmers' retirement and successor.

Chalmers is waiting to hear Beach's decision about his salary. I imagine that the Chancellor will give way, and that I shall lose Chalmers. I have talked over with him a possible successor in this country. Sir Griffith Evans is too old, and is said to be played out. The best man, says Chalmers, would be Jenkins, a Judge of the High Court. But he would be a great loss to the Bench. I might mention that Kershaw, the new Chief Justice at Bombay, whom I met, is in very weak health, and has to be carried every day in a chair upstairs into his Court. It is unlikely, under these conditions, that he can fill the place very long. You may also care to hear that there was a good deal of disappointment in Bombay that B. Scott did not get the vacant Judgeship, which I think was given to one Russell. Sandhurst thought Scott much the better man. He was at Balliol with me, and is a man of considerable character and ability. I may mention that in conversation with me he incidentally let out that what he would now like would be the Advocate-Generalship of Bombay.

Judicial appointments in Bombay.

Sugar Duties.

I have opened the question of countervailing duties with Westland, who is preparing papers for me. I agree with you in being an advocate of that policy both in England and in India. Here, fortunately, Parliamentary considerations require less deference. I should like to see the experiment made in India, because I believe it to be sound fiscal policy, and because it might lead the way to a change of attitude at home. I must first get the case made out; and if it is a good one, and is acceptable (as I believe it would be) to the Indian taxpayer, the responsibility is not one that I should at all deprecate.

The Government of India Departmental system of work.

I am engaged in studying the system under which papers are kept and filed here, and the office work of writing, minuting, &c., is carried on. It seems to me at first sight cumbrous and faulty to a degree. The amount of

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writing is extravagant, and persons are allowed to write whose opinions are not worth putting on paper. Important letters (which the Viceroy is bound to read) are abstracted at almost equal length, with superfluous comments by clerks. The files appear to me to be kept in a fashion much more clumsy than in our offices at Home.

I must take my fences slowly and not rush at any reforms; but before I leave for Simla, I hope to have formulated some improvements. In the meantime I should like to have a file of papers on any subject that you like copied out and sent me from the India Office, showing how the papers are kept, to whom they go, who writes on them, who initials them, how the connection of subject is maintained, and so on.

I am getting similar forms from the Foreign Office and Colonial Office at home, and may derive some help from them.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 2.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
January 19*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am glad to think that my letter by this mail will be a less formidable document than that which I inflicted upon you last week.

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Nawab Kurshid Jah.

There are one or two matters of internal interest to which I will first allude. Kurshid Jah, the premier Noble of Hyderabad, has been here on a sort of roving mission to pay his respects to me and to find out what my attitude is likely to be towards the Nizam. He brought an abundance of friendly messages from the latter; and when in conversation I touched lightly upon the difficulties which have arisen in connection with the finances of the State, he declared that he had been deputed by the Nizam to assure me of his anxiety to accept any advice that I might give him, and of his ready acceptance of the proposition that his personal allowance should bear a fixed proportion to the income of the State. I am afraid that these promises are likely to be more flowery than real, but I shall bear them in mind for future use. What the old gentleman is really anxious for is to be appointed Chief Minister to the Nizam himself, a position for which he has been more than once passed over, and for which both his age and aptitudes render him, I believe, quite unfitted.

Bishopric of Lahore: Dr. Whitehead.

I was glad to receive your instructions authorising me to offer the Bishopric of Lahore to Whitehead. I knew him well at Oxford nearly 20 years ago as a man of high character and great personal charm. Knowing that he had previously refused the Bishopric of Lucknow, I couched my letter in the terms most likely to secure his acceptance, which arrived after very little delay. He would rather like to go home in the spring to visit his widowed mother and for the purposes of his consecration; but in the event of the Archbishop of Canterbury being so much engaged in advance as to be unable to fix a day, he thinks the consecration in India might not be impossible, as it has once before been done.

Koweit.

I pass to Foreign affairs. Meade will be now just starting for Koweit, and I am fairly hopeful as to the results of his mission. I expect that the Sheikh is sufficiently strong to hold his own, while his position, if backed up by us, as will soon be known to be the case, will become much stronger. Still there is the fear that Turkey may try to anticipate us by some *coup de main*; and therefore, as we do not want to be involved in immediate hostilities, I left Meade some latitude.

French coaling station at Jisseh.

The information I have just wired to you about the French coaling station near Muscat shows that the situation is developing rapidly, and that Meade, when he goes there, may have to act very firmly. I think that this may

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afford a good opportunity for reading the Sultan a sharp lesson and teaching him his proper place. French intrigue in Muscat is full of dangerous possibilities, and I should never be surprised at an attempt on their part to get hold of the Sultan's possessions on the coast of Mekran. Muscat is, however, only one of the after-waves of Fashoda, and I hope that the Home Government will justify us in as firm an attitude as has been adopted at Shanghai.

French intrigue in Muscat.

Please bear in mind the Kashgar Consulate and Macartney's position whenever an opportunity occurs of asking something fresh from the Chinese. Macartney's position, when last I saw him two years ago, seemed to be fairly favourable in spite of the lack of official status, but it is clear that since then Petrovski has adopted a much more hostile attitude, and is utilising his want of Consular rank to belittle and disparage him in the eyes of the Chinese. As I remember the case at the Foreign Office, we have very strong grounds under treaty for claiming a Consulate, and I hope Lord Salisbury may be willing to include it in his next batch of demands upon China.

Kashgar Consulate & Mr. Macartney's position.

Upon my appointment in August last I wrote a private and friendly letter to the Amir of Afghanistan, telling him of the fact and talking in general terms of our personal friendship. This I handed for delivery to Pyne, who was returning to Kabul, as long ago as August last. I was very much surprised at having received no answer from the Amir before I left England, but found on arrival that Pyne, who has apparently quarrelled with the Amir, or is in some dread of him, was still at Peshawar. Upon telegraphing to him I ascertained that he had never forwarded the letter, a proceeding on his part which I shall not readily forgive. I at once wrote to the Amir, still in a private capacity, and before assuming the Viceroyalty here, to acquaint him with what had passed, and repeating what I had before written. This letter has been crossed by a formal but pleasant letter of congratulation and compliment from him. Incidentally I propose to humour him on one small point. I find that the Government of India had decided to dock the allowances which we give to his Agent here, of Rs. 500 for the journey between Simla and Calcutta each way. The Amir had written enquiring the reason, and a rather feeble draft had been prepared in reply, saying that the expenses of railway travelling were less than they were, and that we had reduced the travelling allowances of our own officials. As this is the last sort of argument to appeal to him, and as he is intensely exasperated by these petty

Letter to the Amir.

Sir S. Pyne.

Letter from the Amir.

Travelling allowances of his Agent between Simla and Calcutta.

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acts of irritation, as he conceives them to be, I have written to tell him that out of personal respect for himself we will continue the old allowance; but I have invited his attention to the great disparity between the liberal treatment which we give to his Agent in India and the treatment which he accords to our Agent in Kabul, and have told him that I shall address him again on this subject at a later date. It was not worth while, in my opinion, to annoy the Amir for a matter of £60 a year, but it will be worth while to do something a little later to redress a scandal which has been recognised as such ever since Lansdowne's time.

Russian Vice-Consulate at Rangoon.

Concerning the Russian Vice-Consulate at Rangoon, I stated last week the objections which we entertain to any such appointment at all, and I hope they may be favourably considered at home. The Russians have themselves fortunately provided us with a precedent for refusal, for in a Despatch from Morier to Lord Salisbury, dated the 2nd October 1889, I find that they refused, without specifying any reasons, the nomination of a British Vice-Consul at Baku.

Vice-Consulates in Central Asia.

In the event, however, of the application being conceded, I have been considering the claims of the various counter Consulates in Central Asia. The Foreign Department had been inclined to put forward Tashkend; but having been in the country I prefer Samarkand as being nearer to Bokhara, where there is a good deal of Indian trade, and nearer to the Afghan frontier, and as the spot where any military movement, either from Trans-Caspia or Turkestan, would be certain to be known. I spoke to Lockhart in this sense, and he was

[Enclosure.]

disposed to agree with me. At my suggestion he wrote to Wolfe-Murray, whose letter, which I enclose, endorses our preference. Of course, if we place a man at Samarkand, we should claim for him a Consular district which should include both Bokhara and Tashkend. But, as I have said, I hope that the occasion may not arise.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Printed copy of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel J. Wolfe-Murray, R. A., to H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, dated 13th January 1899, regarding the proposed appointment of a Russian Vice-Consul at Rangoon.

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No. 2a.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

TO

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
January 26th, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Many thanks for your letter by last mail (January 6th). I have little to add to what I have just dictated to the Secretary of State. I have written to Sandhurst to keep me fully acquainted with his proceedings and intentions with regard to the Natus.

Pending Indian questions.

All the papers at Home and here congratulate me on taking the helm at a comparatively easy and untroubled time. They do not know, what I find upon examination, that almost every one of the bigger questions which occupied the attention of my predecessor has been left over for me to solve. I do not complain of this. In some cases, as you know, I wished and pleaded for it. In other cases it is accidental. But in either case the labour and responsibility thrown upon me will be great; and I shall soon be out of port and riding on the high seas.

Sir G. Robertson.

Sir G. Robertson went, much against his will, to the charge of Ayub Khan. It is not unlikely that if he fails to get the bigger post to which he thinks himself entitled, he will leave. I am at present having a little difference with Westland over his pay. Robertson has, I think, been a little hardly treated in the matter, and I very much dislike the phenomenon of an able man with a legitimate grievance.

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Deputation from the Bengal Native Chamber of Commerce.

In reply to a deputation from the Bengal Native Chamber of Commerce, I told them what the papers call some home truths about the lack of commercial and industrial enterprise of the Bengalis. I said it civilly, but I think it wanted saying. The curious thing is that the Native papers, without exception, welcome the lash, and declare that it was most properly and becomingly applied.

It is three weeks since I assumed office, to-morrow. Within that time we have had Levée, Drawing-Room, State Ball, State Evening Party, three big dinners of 60, and four or more of 20—30. So we have not been idle.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 3.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
January 26th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have received your short letter of the 3rd January, for which please accept my thanks.

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Dholpur Health Institute.

I have carried the question of the Dholpur Jubilee Health Institute a stage further towards its ultimate doom since I last wrote to you. Finding, on a careful examination of the papers, that the Punjab Chiefs will not look at it, that Mysore refuses to take any part, that Kashmir has only given a reluctant promise with the object of pleasing the Government of India, and that Hyderabad has expressed much annoyance at being touted for a subscription, I have written to Martindale instructing him to acquaint the Maharaja of Dholpur that the expectations of a general movement in support of the scheme not having been realised, and too long a space of time having elapsed since the Jubilee to connect any such scheme with that event now, the project had better be abandoned.

Sir F. Fryer's visit to Calcutta.

Sir Frederic Fryer is now on a visit to me, having come over from Burma for the inside of a week at my invitation. I was desirous of making his acquaintance, and felt, too, that the number of questions which had been raised during Elgin's recent visit, but had necessarily been left unsolved by him, would be more likely to be settled by conversations between the Lieutenant-Governor and the various heads of Departments here, as well as myself, than they would be had they been handed over to the prolonged process of correspondence which seems to be inseparable from the discharge of any business here. I shall have a word more to say upon the latter point in a moment. My expectations as regards Fryer's visit have been realised; and I think we have succeeded in settling three somewhat difficult questions which appear to have been a source of a good deal of feeling, if not of irritation, there. These are, the appointment of a Chief Court at Rangoon; the renewal of the teak-cutting contracts with the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation; and the continued enjoyment by the Rangoon Municipality of the rents of the Town Lands. On all these points the Government of Burma was somewhat at issue with us, but a little discussion has brought us into line. Fryer is a pleasant man, but does not impress me as having much character or force.

Settlement of Burmese questions.

Sir F. Fryer.

The Prime Minister of Nepal.

I have heard from the Maharaja Prime Minister of Nepal that he is coming to pay me a visit next month. He is very sensitive about the reception he will meet with, but all, I think, has been satisfactorily arranged, although his visit will cost us Rs. 12,000. I shall find out when he is here what are the chances of a prospective invitation to Nepal.

Correspondence with the Amir.

[Enclosure.]

I am in the full tide of a friendly correspondence with the Amir of Afghanistan; and I send you a copy of a very characteristic letter which I have just received from him in reply to a private letter from myself written on the day before I assumed my present post. You will be amused by his references to Pyne, and interested by the skilful manner in which he fences

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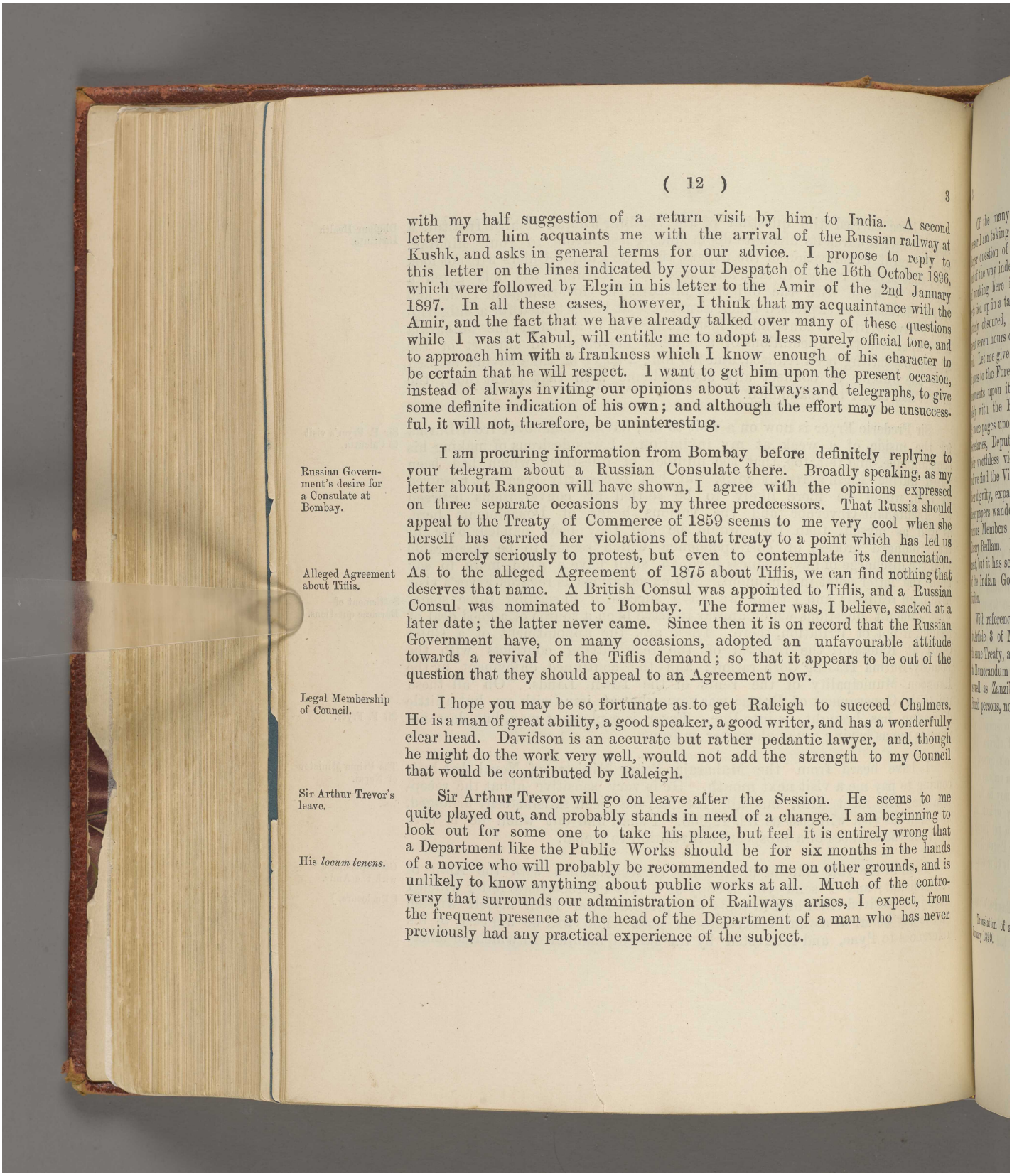

with my half suggestion of a return visit by him to India. A second letter from him acquaints me with the arrival of the Russian railway at Kushk, and asks in general terms for our advice. I propose to reply to this letter on the lines indicated by your Despatch of the 16th October 1896, which were followed by Elgin in his letter to the Amir of the 2nd January 1897. In all these cases, however, I think that my acquaintance with the Amir, and the fact that we have already talked over many of these questions while I was at Kabul, will entitle me to adopt a less purely official tone, and to approach him with a frankness which I know enough of his character to be certain that he will respect. I want to get him upon the present occasion, instead of always inviting our opinions about railways and telegraphs, to give some definite indication of his own; and although the effort may be unsuccessful, it will not, therefore, be uninteresting.

Russian Government's desire for a Consulate at Bombay.

I am procuring information from Bombay before definitely replying to your telegram about a Russian Consulate there. Broadly speaking, as my letter about Rangoon will have shown, I agree with the opinions expressed on three separate occasions by my three predecessors. That Russia should appeal to the Treaty of Commerce of 1859 seems to me very cool when she herself has carried her violations of that treaty to a point which has led us not merely seriously to protest, but even to contemplate its denunciation.

Alleged Agreement about Tiflis.

As to the alleged Agreement of 1875 about Tiflis, we can find nothing that deserves that name. A British Consul was appointed to Tiflis, and a Russian Consul was nominated to Bombay. The former was, I believe, sacked at a later date; the latter never came. Since then it is on record that the Russian Government have, on many occasions, adopted an unfavourable attitude towards a revival of the Tiflis demand; so that it appears to be out of the question that they should appeal to an Agreement now.

Legal Membership of Council.

I hope you may be so fortunate as to get Raleigh to succeed Chalmers. He is a man of great ability, a good speaker, a good writer, and has a wonderfully clear head. Davidson is an accurate but rather pedantic lawyer, and, though he might do the work very well, would not add the strength to my Council that would be contributed by Raleigh.

Sir Arthur Trevor's leave.

Sir Arthur Trevor will go on leave after the Session. He seems to me quite played out, and probably stands in need of a change. I am beginning to look out for some one to take his place, but feel it is entirely wrong that a Department like the Public Works should be for six months in the hands of a novice who will probably be recommended to me on other grounds, and is unlikely to know anything about public works at all. Much of the controversy that surrounds our administration of Railways arises, I expect, from the frequent presence at the head of the Department of a man who has never previously had any practical experience of the subject.

His *locum tenens*.

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Of the many first class questions left to me for solution by my predecessor I am taking up the Khyber first. Of course it is a branch of the larger question of future frontier administration, but I think we may clear it out of the way independently of the wider issue. Unfortunately the system of working here is so radically vicious that a stage arises at which a question gets tied up in a tangle of manuscript and print, in which the real issues are utterly obscured, and from which no one seems able to extricate it. I have spent seven hours on the Khyber papers only, and am not much nearer the end. Let me give you an illustration. Your Despatch of August 5th arrives. It goes to the Foreign Department. Thereupon Clerk No. 1 paraphrases and comments upon it over 4½ folio pages of print of his own composition dealing solely with the Khyber suggestions in it. Then comes Clerk No. 2 with 2¼ more pages upon Clerk No. 1. Then we get to the region of Assistant Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, and Secretaries. All these gentlemen state their worthless views at equal length. Finally we get to the top of the scale, and we find the Viceroy and the Military Member, with a proper regard for their dignity, expanding themselves over a proportionate space of print. Then these papers wander about from Department to Department, and amid the various Members of Council. Each has his say, and the result is a sort of literary Bedlam. I am grappling with this vile system in my own Department, but it has seated itself, like the Old Man of the Sea, upon the shoulders of the Indian Government, and every man accepts, while deploring, the burden.

The Khyber question.

The Departmental system of work.

An illustration of it.

With reference to your telegram of this morning, calling our attention to Article 3 of Muscat Treaty with France of 1844, please note Article 17 of the same Treaty, and the Memorandum at the end. We should contend that the Memorandum applies to Article 3, as well as to Article 17, *i. e.*, to Muscat as well as Zanzibar. In any case we should hold that "the French" means French persons, not the French Government.

Muscat Treaty with France.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Translation of a letter from the Amir of Afghanistan to the Viceroy, dated 15th January 1899.

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No. 4.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
February 2nd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Ultimatum to the Sultan of Muscat.

We are sending you by this mail a collection of Muscat papers, culminating in the Ultimatum which is to be delivered by Meade. I wrote the greater part of this myself, and endeavoured to make it as comprehensive as possible. You will note that I sent a subsequent telegram to Meade instructing him to include the cancelling of the Jisseh agreement among the points of his demands. The reason why this had not been mentioned in the Ultimatum itself was that, when I wrote the latter, we had not yet heard whether the lease was to French individuals (in which case there might have been some colourable justification for it), or to the French Government. The Sultan having admitted the latter, it seemed to me that we were bound to put the case in the forefront of our demands. I think myself that the Sultan will give way, but the presence of a man-of-war, or two, may be required to accelerate his surrender. Meanwhile would you consider the propriety of suggesting to Lord Salisbury that he might speak a few words to M. Cambon on the subject? A French coaling station at Muscat, where they have no *bonâ fide* interests, political or commercial, is an absurdity, unless it be intended as a deliberate act of political offence. There is no parallel between a coaling station and the one or two sheds covered with corrugated iron in which we are now allowed to keep a certain amount of coal for our ships on the right-hand side of Muscat Harbour. It may be that the French Vice-Consul has been pursuing a pin-prick policy without direct instructions from his Government; and as I imagine we do not intend to tolerate any nonsense in the matter, it might be well that the French Government should realise this in advance, and have an opportunity of moderating the activity of their local agent.

Alleged treaty between Russia and the Amir.

I have received your telegram reporting the German Emperor's observation about a treaty between Russia and the Amir. I should not be at all surprised if some money had passed, and if some engagement had been made

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between the two parties. It might, for instance, be that if, at any time, we threw him over, Russia would take him up. It might be that if we deserted his sons, Russia would guarantee to back them for the throne. It might take many other shapes without directly compromising the loyalty of the Amir, or infringing his engagements to us; but that he has given pledges of any sort directly disloyal to us, or substituting Russian for British influence, I am not inclined to believe. His own denial of similar rumours last year is absolutely categorical; and I shall, in my forthcoming letter to him, give him an opening for repeating it.

Crop prospects.

We are beginning to have rather disturbing rumours as to the state of the crops in some parts of the country. From Ajmere and the Central Provinces, both of which were left below par after the Famine, we hear that the rains have been scanty, and that the outlook is disquieting. Similarly, in the Punjab I hear that rain is badly needed. On my way up to Simla at the end of the session I shall probably go to Lahore to make the acquaintance of Sir Mackworth Young and the Punjab officials, and shall probably devote a week to an inspection of some great Irrigation Works in that part of the country. I am inclined to think that Irrigation has been rather neglected, and that we must give it a helping hand in the future.

Proposed visit to Lahore.

Irrigation.

Dr. Welldon.

Welldon arrived on Tuesday, and was installed yesterday. I had sent him a warning to Aden that some suspicions had been aroused by his remarks in England; and all his speeches and sermons since landing in India have been characterised by great felicity and tact. I think that he will soon overcome the impressions to which I have before referred; while the public, both English and Native, undoubtedly regards it as a compliment that a man of such high intellectual calibre and public position should come out as Metropolitan to India.

Anomalous method of transacting Govt. business at Head-Quarters.

One of the absurd anomalies of the method of Government here is not merely that it is almost entirely conducted by correspondence, but that the heads of Departments do their work away from their offices, instead of inside them. Some of the Members of Council never visit their Departments at all, and the connection with them is only one of pen-and-ink. In my own case I find that the Foreign Department is nearly a quarter of a mile distant, and that, under the system hitherto existing, I only see my Sanderson, or Godley, once a week, unless I send for him in the interval. There was, when I came, no machinery for making references, getting papers, or issuing instructions, except through messengers running to and fro between the two places. It is very much the same as if you were to try and conduct the affairs of the India Office without ever emerging from the Carlton Club. One of my first steps accordingly has been to have a telephone put in my room and connected with the Foreign Department, so that I can ring up anybody, or any reference that I want.

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The Khyber question. Note by the Viceroy. [Enclosure.]

The first of the big questions I have taken up is that of the Khyber. I enclose you a copy of a Note which I have just written and circulated on the subject, and from which you will see what is passing in my own mind. I cannot of course say whether these views will be acceptable to my colleagues; but I have been very much struck in reading the papers with the haphazard manner in which decisions appear hitherto to have been arrived at, and have been passed on to the Secretary of State as a formal representation of the opinions of the Government of India. I do not want to go and spend a lot of unnecessary money on the Khyber. I think we can save there, and on other points along the frontier; I have a strong *à priori* distrust of military schemes for great defensive posts and forts on and across the border. I am now taking up Nowshera-Dargai Railway which has got tangled up somehow. I shall then try Samana and the Tochi; and I hope, before leaving for Simla, to have got some distance with the larger question of the future administration of the Punjab.

Frontier Railways.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Printed copy of Note by the Viceroy on the Khyber Question, dated 30th January 1899.

No. 5.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
February 9th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Maharaja of Cooch Behar. [Enclosure I.]

I send you two enclosures. The first contains the correspondence between Cooch Behar and myself. As you will see, I based my refusal of his request on general grounds, without disputing the particular

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pleas put forward by him. I believe, however, that each one of these could easily be contested; and that even when in India he does not, as a rule, spend the amount of time which he declares in his own State, which he habitually neglects, but in shooting expeditions in neighbouring districts. His own State is reported to be pretty well shot out, and a sporting expedition on which he is about to conduct the Count of Turin, who is now staying with us, and Lord Lonsdale, who arrives to-day, will not be in Cooch Behar itself, but on and across the frontiers of Assam.

Draft letter to the Amir. [Enclosure II.]

The second enclosure is a draft letter which I propose to send to the Amir of Afghanistan, subject to the approval of Council, who will see it to-morrow. It is the complement of the Memorandum on the Khyber aspect of the Frontier question, of which I sent you an advance copy last week, and which will be discussed at the same time to-morrow. There may be some difference of opinion on the subject of the Khyber Railway, and I should like to know what are your real views on this matter; but I think there will be a general consensus here not finally to pledge ourselves in either direction until we get some indication from the Amir's reply of what his own attitude is likely to be. You will observe that I have addressed him with a candour and a degree of personal intimacy quite unusual in communications between the Government of India and himself; but it seems to me that the experiment is worth making, and that it is not worth while having been to Kabul if I do not at any rate attempt to turn it to some account. The letter, you will observe, is strictly confined within the limits of your instructions to Elgin in 1896.

Affray at Gumatti.

A stupid little affray, which seems to me to be a miracle of blundering on the part of everyone concerned, has just occurred at a place called Gumatti, which is across the frontier near Bunnoo. It was represented to us by the Punjab Government that a nest of outlaws, who were the scourge of the country, and who had been raiding for some time with complete impunity across our border, were living in this village, and could without the least difficulty be surprised. The Punjab Government have absolute authority, with the consent of the local military authorities, to deal with such cases, and, subject to the consent of the latter, we sanctioned the proceeding, which was described to us in advance as one of the greatest simplicity and ease. The result you have read in the newspapers. Valuable lives have been thrown away, and what ought to have been a walk-over was practically a defeat. Lockhart is as angry about the matter as I am, and you may be sure that somebody will be roughly handled before the business is at an end. I am constantly having evidence of the inability of the Punjab Government and its officers to deal with these minor frontier issues.

Ultimatum to the Sultan of Muscat.

Although your telegrams of January 3rd and January 25th might, I think, have been held to justify me in according to Meade the sanction to back up his Muscat ultimatum by force which he desired, I thought it better to telegraph

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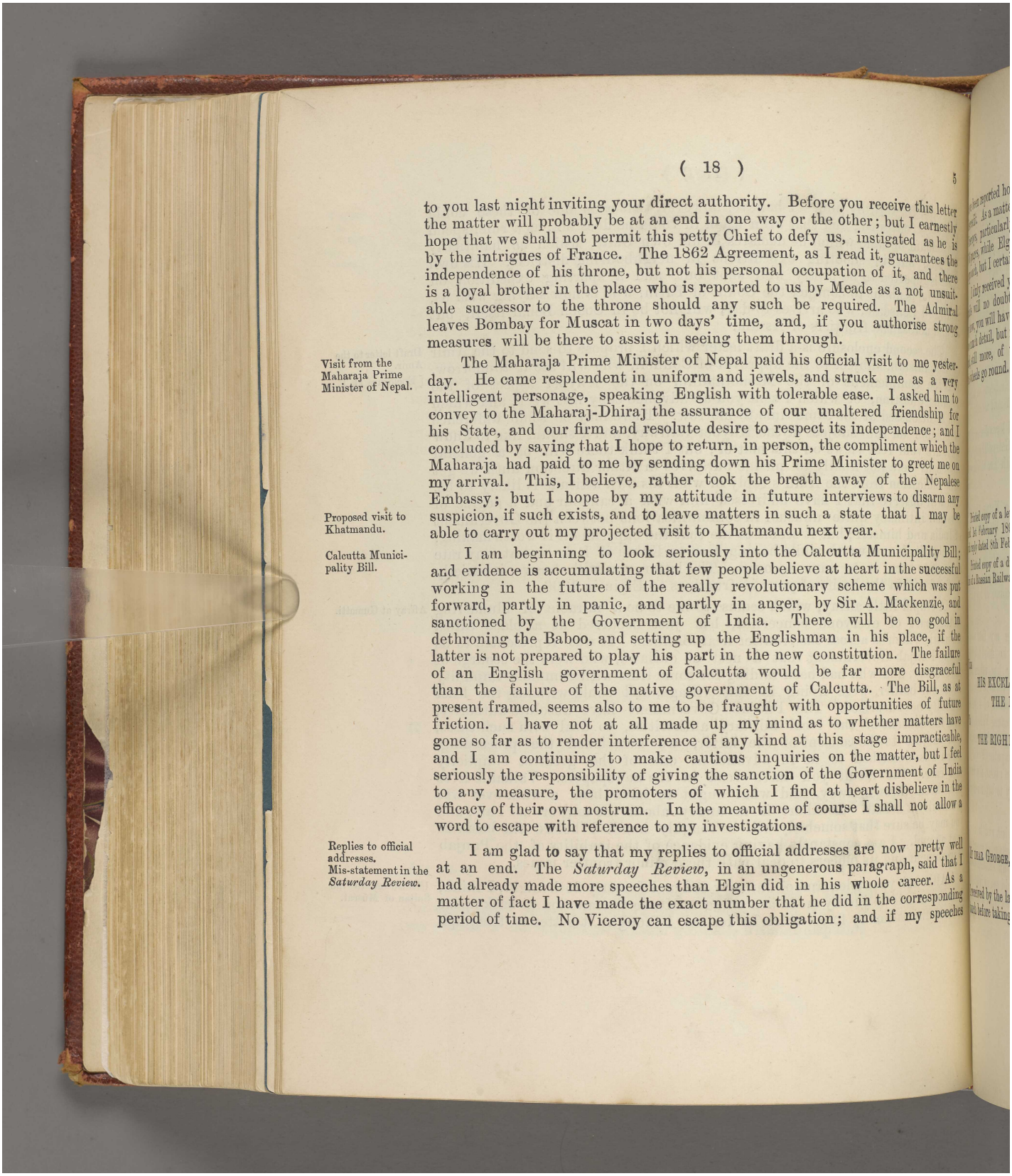

to you last night inviting your direct authority. Before you receive this letter the matter will probably be at an end in one way or the other; but I earnestly hope that we shall not permit this petty Chief to defy us, instigated as he is by the intrigues of France. The 1862 Agreement, as I read it, guarantees the independence of his throne, but not his personal occupation of it, and there is a loyal brother in the place who is reported to us by Meade as a not unsuitable successor to the throne should any such be required. The Admiral leaves Bombay for Muscat in two days' time, and, if you authorise strong measures will be there to assist in seeing them through.

Visit from the Maharaja Prime Minister of Nepal.

The Maharaja Prime Minister of Nepal paid his official visit to me yesterday. He came resplendent in uniform and jewels, and struck me as a very intelligent personage, speaking English with tolerable ease. I asked him to convey to the Maharaj-Dhiraj the assurance of our unaltered friendship for his State, and our firm and resolute desire to respect its independence; and I concluded by saying that I hope to return, in person, the compliment which the Maharaja had paid to me by sending down his Prime Minister to greet me on my arrival. This, I believe, rather took the breath away of the Nepalese Embassy; but I hope by my attitude in future interviews to disarm any suspicion, if such exists, and to leave matters in such a state that I may be able to carry out my projected visit to Khatmandu next year.

Proposed visit to Khatmandu.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

I am beginning to look seriously into the Calcutta Municipality Bill; and evidence is accumulating that few people believe at heart in the successful working in the future of the really revolutionary scheme which was put forward, partly in panic, and partly in anger, by Sir A. Mackenzie, and sanctioned by the Government of India. There will be no good in dethroning the Baboo, and setting up the Englishman in his place, if the latter is not prepared to play his part in the new constitution. The failure of an English government of Calcutta would be far more disgraceful than the failure of the native government of Calcutta. The Bill, as at present framed, seems also to me to be fraught with opportunities of future friction. I have not at all made up my mind as to whether matters have gone so far as to render interference of any kind at this stage impracticable, and I am continuing to make cautious inquiries on the matter, but I feel seriously the responsibility of giving the sanction of the Government of India to any measure, the promoters of which I find at heart disbelieve in the efficacy of their own nostrum. In the meantime of course I shall not allow a word to escape with reference to my investigations.

Replies to official addresses.
Mis-statement in the *Saturday Review*.

I am glad to say that my replies to official addresses are now pretty well at an end. The *Saturday Review*, in an ungenerous paragraph, said that I had already made more speeches than Elgin did in his whole career. As a matter of fact I have made the exact number that he did in the corresponding period of time. No Viceroy can escape this obligation; and if my speeches

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have been reported home, and Elgin's were not, it can hardly be set down to my discredit. As a matter of fact, both he and Lansdowne were rather loquacious Viceroys, particularly the latter. His printed speeches fill a volume of 706 pages, while Elgin's occupy a volume of 504. I may be driven to approach, but I certainly hope I shall not exceed, the latter total.

Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elgin's speeches.

I duly received your letter of the 12th January, and the approaching mails will no doubt bring others from you corresponding with those which, by now, you will have received from me. You must let me know if I give you too much detail, but my idea is that the more you know of what we are doing, and, still more, of what we are contemplating here, the more smoothly will the wheels go round.

Correspondence.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Printed copy of a letter from H. H. the Maharaja of Cooch Behar to H. E. the Viceroy, dated 1st February 1899, asking permission to spend a portion of each year in England, with reply dated 8th February 1899.

Printed copy of a draft letter from H. E. the Viceroy to the Amir regarding the construction of a Russian Railway to the frontiers of Afghanistan.

No. 6.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
February 16*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your interesting letter of the 24th January, which I received by the last mail, suggests one or two points upon which I will touch before taking up the main thread of my remarks.

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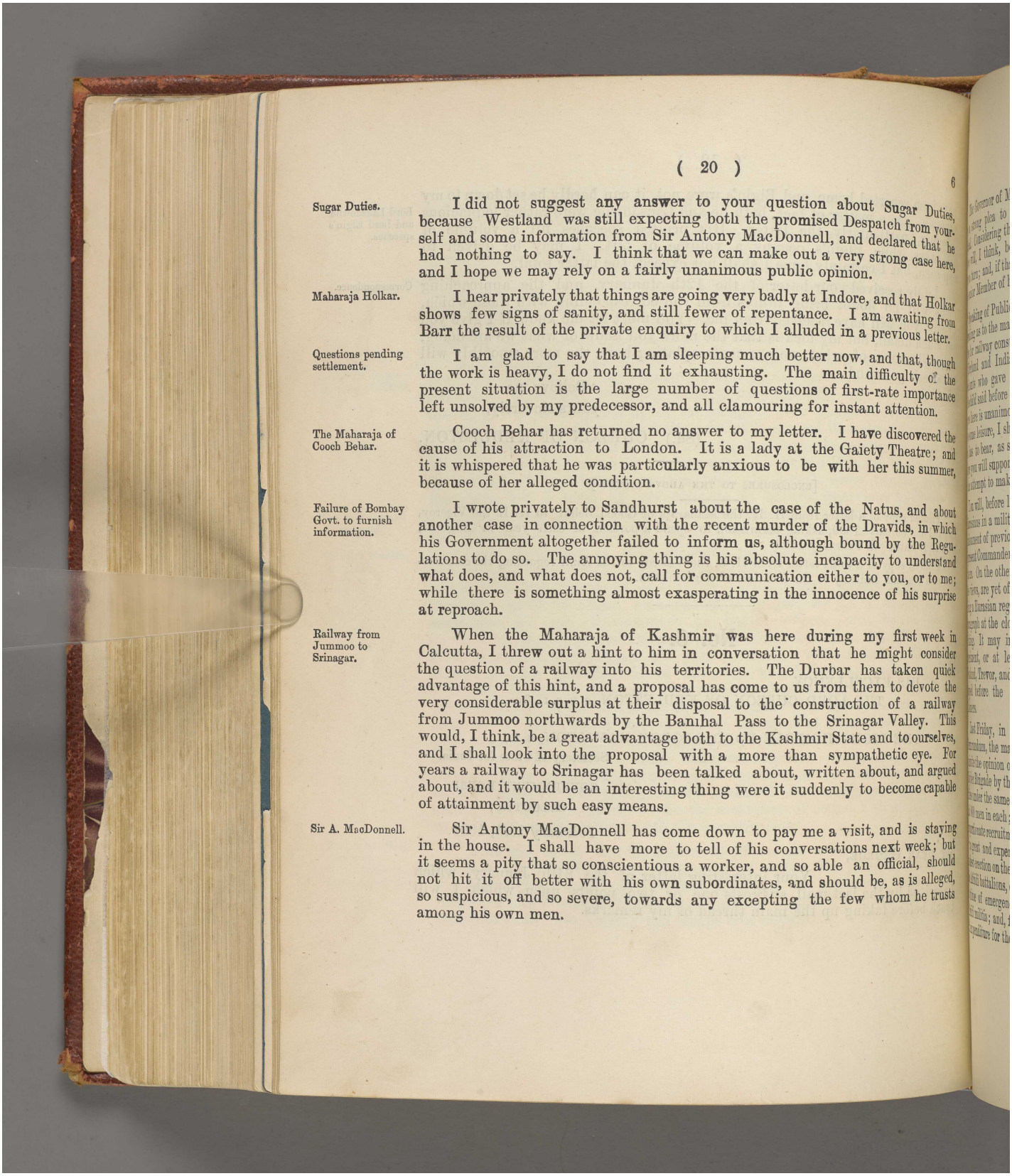

Sugar Duties.

I did not suggest any answer to your question about Sugar Duties, because Westland was still expecting both the promised Despatch from yourself and some information from Sir Antony MacDonnell, and declared that he had nothing to say. I think that we can make out a very strong case here, and I hope we may rely on a fairly unanimous public opinion.

Maharaja Holkar.

I hear privately that things are going very badly at Indore, and that Holkar shows few signs of sanity, and still fewer of repentance. I am awaiting from Barr the result of the private enquiry to which I alluded in a previous letter.

Questions pending settlement.

I am glad to say that I am sleeping much better now, and that, though the work is heavy, I do not find it exhausting. The main difficulty of the present situation is the large number of questions of first-rate importance left unsolved by my predecessor, and all clamouring for instant attention.

The Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

Cooch Behar has returned no answer to my letter. I have discovered the cause of his attraction to London. It is a lady at the Gaiety Theatre; and it is whispered that he was particularly anxious to be with her this summer, because of her alleged condition.

Failure of Bombay Govt. to furnish information.

I wrote privately to Sandhurst about the case of the Natus, and about another case in connection with the recent murder of the Dravids, in which his Government altogether failed to inform us, although bound by the Regulations to do so. The annoying thing is his absolute incapacity to understand what does, and what does not, call for communication either to you, or to me; while there is something almost exasperating in the innocence of his surprise at reproach.

Railway from Jummoo to Srinagar.

When the Maharaja of Kashmir was here during my first week in Calcutta, I threw out a hint to him in conversation that he might consider the question of a railway into his territories. The Durbar has taken quick advantage of this hint, and a proposal has come to us from them to devote the very considerable surplus at their disposal to the construction of a railway from Jummoo northwards by the Banihal Pass to the Srinagar Valley. This would, I think, be a great advantage both to the Kashmir State and to ourselves, and I shall look into the proposal with a more than sympathetic eye. For years a railway to Srinagar has been talked about, written about, and argued about, and it would be an interesting thing were it suddenly to become capable of attainment by such easy means.

Sir A. MacDonnell.

Sir Antony MacDonnell has come down to pay me a visit, and is staying in the house. I shall have more to tell of his conversations next week; but it seems a pity that so conscientious a worker, and so able an official, should not hit it off better with his own subordinates, and should be, as is alleged, so suspicious, and so severe, towards any excepting the few whom he trusts among his own men.

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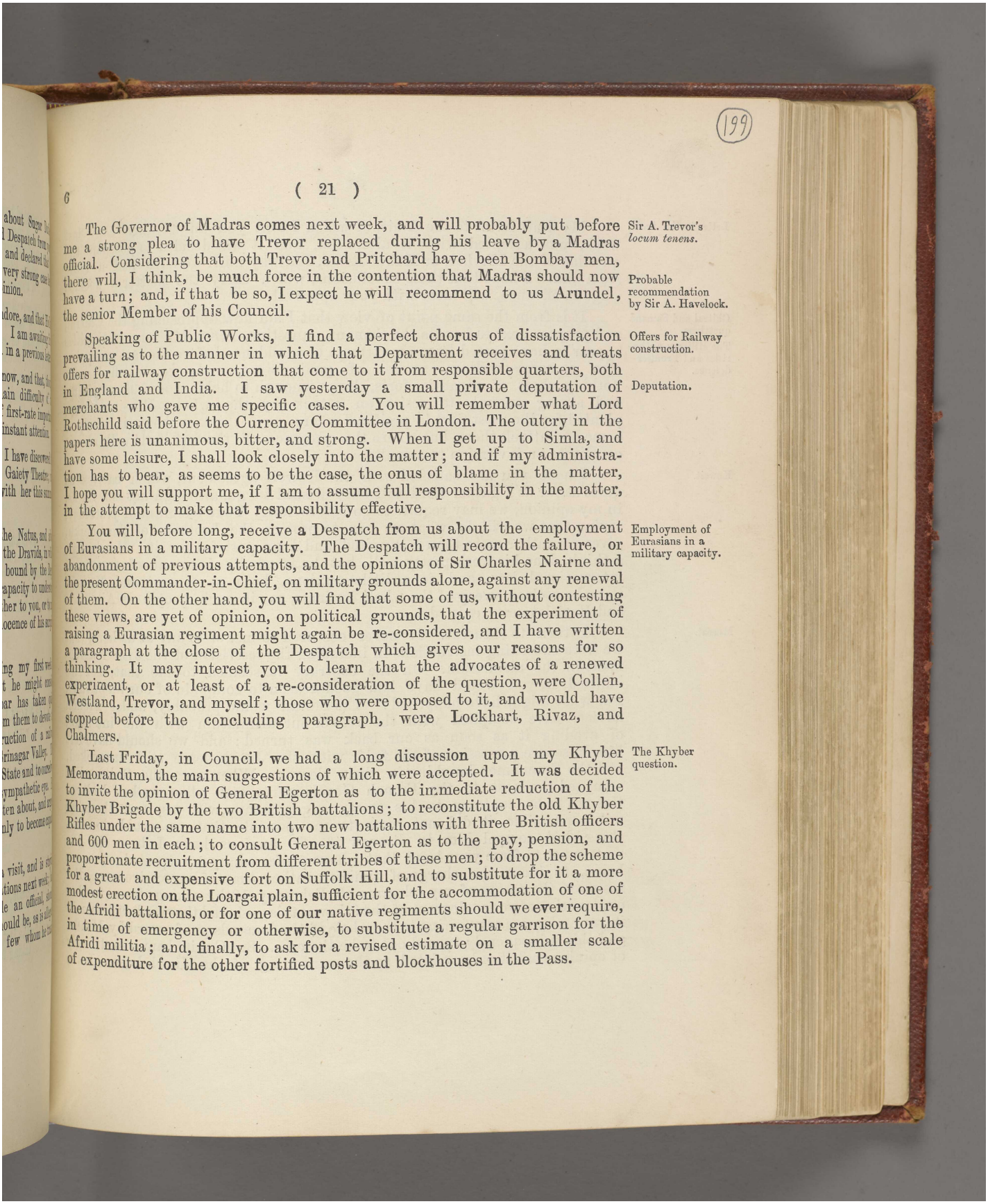

Sir A. Trevor's *locum tenens*.

The Governor of Madras comes next week, and will probably put before me a strong plea to have Trevor replaced during his leave by a Madras official. Considering that both Trevor and Pritchard have been Bombay men, there will, I think, be much force in the contention that Madras should now have a turn; and, if that be so, I expect he will recommend to us Arundel, the senior Member of his Council.

Probable recommendation by Sir A. Havelock.

Offers for Railway construction.

Speaking of Public Works, I find a perfect chorus of dissatisfaction prevailing as to the manner in which that Department receives and treats offers for railway construction that come to it from responsible quarters, both in England and India. I saw yesterday a small private deputation of merchants who gave me specific cases. You will remember what Lord Rothschild said before the Currency Committee in London. The outcry in the papers here is unanimous, bitter, and strong. When I get up to Simla, and have some leisure, I shall look closely into the matter; and if my administration has to bear, as seems to be the case, the onus of blame in the matter, I hope you will support me, if I am to assume full responsibility in the matter, in the attempt to make that responsibility effective.

Deputation.

Employment of Eurasians in a military capacity.

You will, before long, receive a Despatch from us about the employment of Eurasians in a military capacity. The Despatch will record the failure, or abandonment of previous attempts, and the opinions of Sir Charles Nairne and the present Commander-in-Chief, on military grounds alone, against any renewal of them. On the other hand, you will find that some of us, without contesting these views, are yet of opinion, on political grounds, that the experiment of raising a Eurasian regiment might again be re-considered, and I have written a paragraph at the close of the Despatch which gives our reasons for so thinking. It may interest you to learn that the advocates of a renewed experiment, or at least of a re-consideration of the question, were Collen, Westland, Trevor, and myself; those who were opposed to it, and would have stopped before the concluding paragraph, were Lockhart, Rivaz, and Chalmers.

The Khyber question.

Last Friday, in Council, we had a long discussion upon my Khyber Memorandum, the main suggestions of which were accepted. It was decided to invite the opinion of General Egerton as to the immediate reduction of the Khyber Brigade by the two British battalions; to reconstitute the old Khyber Rifles under the same name into two new battalions with three British officers and 600 men in each; to consult General Egerton as to the pay, pension, and proportionate recruitment from different tribes of these men; to drop the scheme for a great and expensive fort on Suffolk Hill, and to substitute for it a more modest erection on the Loargai plain, sufficient for the accommodation of one of the Afridi battalions, or for one of our native regiments should we ever require, in time of emergency or otherwise, to substitute a regular garrison for the Afridi militia; and, finally, to ask for a revised estimate on a smaller scale of expenditure for the other fortified posts and blockhouses in the Pass.

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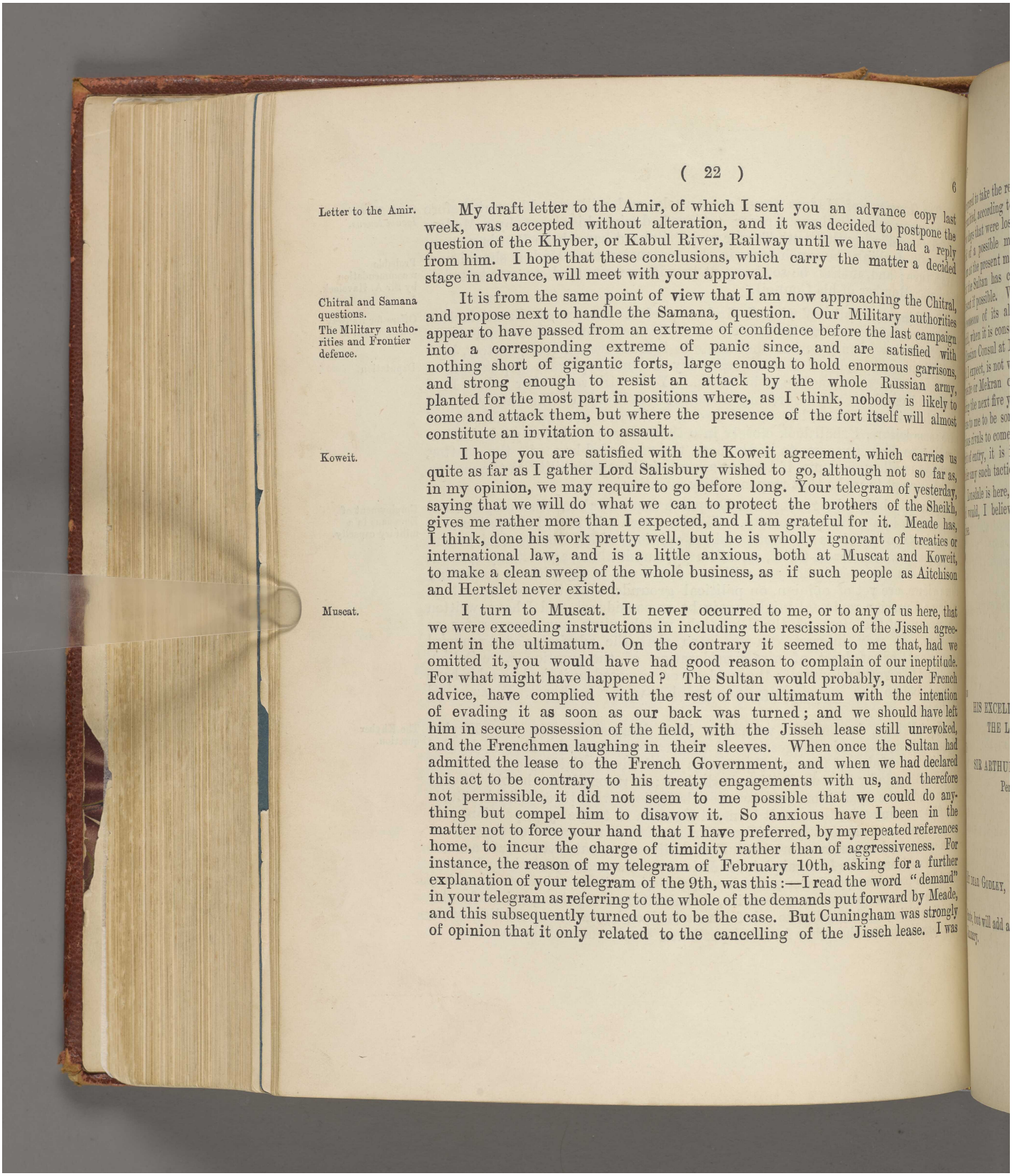

Letter to the Amir.

My draft letter to the Amir, of which I sent you an advance copy last week, was accepted without alteration, and it was decided to postpone the question of the Khyber, or Kabul River, Railway until we have had a reply from him. I hope that these conclusions, which carry the matter a decided stage in advance, will meet with your approval.

Chitral and Samana questions.
The Military authorities and Frontier defence.

It is from the same point of view that I am now approaching the Chitral, and propose next to handle the Samana, question. Our Military authorities appear to have passed from an extreme of confidence before the last campaign into a corresponding extreme of panic since, and are satisfied with nothing short of gigantic forts, large enough to hold enormous garrisons, and strong enough to resist an attack by the whole Russian army, planted for the most part in positions where, as I think, nobody is likely to come and attack them, but where the presence of the fort itself will almost constitute an invitation to assault.

Koweit.

I hope you are satisfied with the Koweit agreement, which carries us quite as far as I gather Lord Salisbury wished to go, although not so far as, in my opinion, we may require to go before long. Your telegram of yesterday, saying that we will do what we can to protect the brothers of the Sheikh, gives me rather more than I expected, and I am grateful for it. Meade has, I think, done his work pretty well, but he is wholly ignorant of treaties or international law, and is a little anxious, both at Muscat and Koweit, to make a clean sweep of the whole business, as if such people as Aitchison and Hertslet never existed.

Muscat.

I turn to Muscat. It never occurred to me, or to any of us here, that we were exceeding instructions in including the rescission of the Jisseh agreement in the ultimatum. On the contrary it seemed to me that, had we omitted it, you would have had good reason to complain of our ineptitude. For what might have happened? The Sultan would probably, under French advice, have complied with the rest of our ultimatum with the intention of evading it as soon as our back was turned; and we should have left him in secure possession of the field, with the Jisseh lease still unrevoked, and the Frenchmen laughing in their sleeves. When once the Sultan had admitted the lease to the French Government, and when we had declared this act to be contrary to his treaty engagements with us, and therefore not permissible, it did not seem to me possible that we could do anything but compel him to disavow it. So anxious have I been in the matter not to force your hand that I have preferred, by my repeated references home, to incur the charge of timidity rather than of aggressiveness. For instance, the reason of my telegram of February 10th, asking for a further explanation of your telegram of the 9th, was this:—I read the word "demand" in your telegram as referring to the whole of the demands put forward by Meade, and this subsequently turned out to be the case. But Cuningham was strongly of opinion that it only related to the cancelling of the Jisseh lease. I was

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prepared to take the responsibility of authorising Meade to employ force as permitted, according to my interpretation, by you, and was anxious to save the two days that were lost by a fresh reference home. But sooner than run the risk of a possible misinterpretation I decided to refer it back again to you. I am at the present moment awaiting your reply to my telegram announcing that the Sultan has caved in. I should like to keep out the Russians from Muscat if possible. What is the good of the Russian Government assuring us *ad nauseam* of its almost passionate desire to be friends with us all over the world, when it is constantly performing almost deliberately unfriendly acts? A Russian Consul at Muscat simply means a paid assistant to the Frenchmen, and, I expect, is not without some reference to Muscat possessions on the opposite or Mekran coast. A vigilant policy on our part in the Persian Gulf during the next five years may save us untold trouble in the future. There seems to me to be something like a deliberate conspiracy on the part of our various rivals to come in; and, although it is difficult for us to dispute their right of entry, it is in our power to consolidate our own position, so as to render any such tactics comparatively harmless.

Lonsdale is here, overhauling my horses, carriages, harness, and stables, and would, I believe, almost accept a permanent situation as Master of the Horse. Lord Lonsdale.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 6a.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

TO
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
February 16th, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I have written rather a long letter to the Secretary of State, but will add a few lines to you in acknowledgment of yours of the 27th January.

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Plague on the *Bundhara*.

I have followed in the Foreign Office telegrams the interesting and rather dramatic struggle between Arthur Hardinge and Lord Salisbury over the *Bundhara*, ending in the crushing defeat of the former; and I hear from Foreign Office sources that the persistent indiscretions of the Lieutenant have not commended themselves to the Commander.

Use of Anglican churches in India.

I have referred the papers about use of churches to the Bishop. We have no anxiety to assert lay control; and I think that the final court of appeal should be the Metropolitan. But from the papers that have come before me I judge that the friction that has so far arisen has been due far more to the intractability of the Army Chaplains than to the conduct of the local authorities.

Frontier questions.

I can scarcely describe to you the state of uncertainty and confusion in which I find all the bigger frontier questions tied up. No two people agree about them; and the papers are a series of voluminous *obiter dicta* by all the authorities with no unity or concord. I hope to get to the main question a little later. But in the meantime all the smaller issues (Nowshera-Dargai line, Chitral garrison, Chitral cantonment, Samana posts, Tochi, &c.) block the way. My letter to Lord George will show that we have taken a big step ahead with the Khyber.

Sir J. Westland.

I shall be glad when Dawkins arrives. Sir J. Westland is a pleasant man to meet, and even to argue with. But on paper he is somewhat of a gladiator, and his financial puritanism leads him into positions almost every week in which he is in collision with the whole of his colleagues.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 6b.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

To
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
February 23rd, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Sugar Duties.

About sugar bounties Westland had to wait for your despatch and circular concerning the United States system, of which he said he knew nothing. I fancy that he is disposed to think rather less favourably

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of the Indian case than I do: and to fear that we are wanted as the stalking horse, from behind whom the Home Government propose to slay an independent quarry. But I hope we may be able to do what you want in the matter on its own merits.

You will have seen from my last week's letter to the Secretary of State that the question of our handling of railway offers, both here and at home, has already greatly concerned and disturbed me, and when I asked for his support I meant that, after I have gone thoroughly into the question, I may have to ask him to back me up in extensive schemes of reform. His backing may especially be needed, because I believe (and am glad that you admit) that a good deal of the blame lies at home, in the influence of retired officials or Councillors, whose views are apt to have great weight with the India Office, without being always quite disinterested. Attitude of Govt. towards private enterprise.

But our system here is, I think, a bad one, and I will undertake the overhauling of that. Only I think you will see when you talk to the present Public Works Member, while at home on leave, that he is hardly the Arthur to lead a Round Table of Knights upon any very novel or venturesome quest.

I am going round all the public Offices (Departments they call them) here. It does not appear that any Viceroy has done this, though why he should not I do not see. The Foreign Office is housed in a building that resembles a dilapidated villa in a decayed London suburb. Inspection of Depts. by the Viceroy.

Tranquil procrastination seems to be the keynote of all systems here. In the Public Library I found pigeons flying about and dropping their dirt on the tables and chairs, because no one would think of arresting so well-established and consecrated a habit.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 7.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
February 23rd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I was much gratified at receiving your full and interesting reply to my first essay in dictation.

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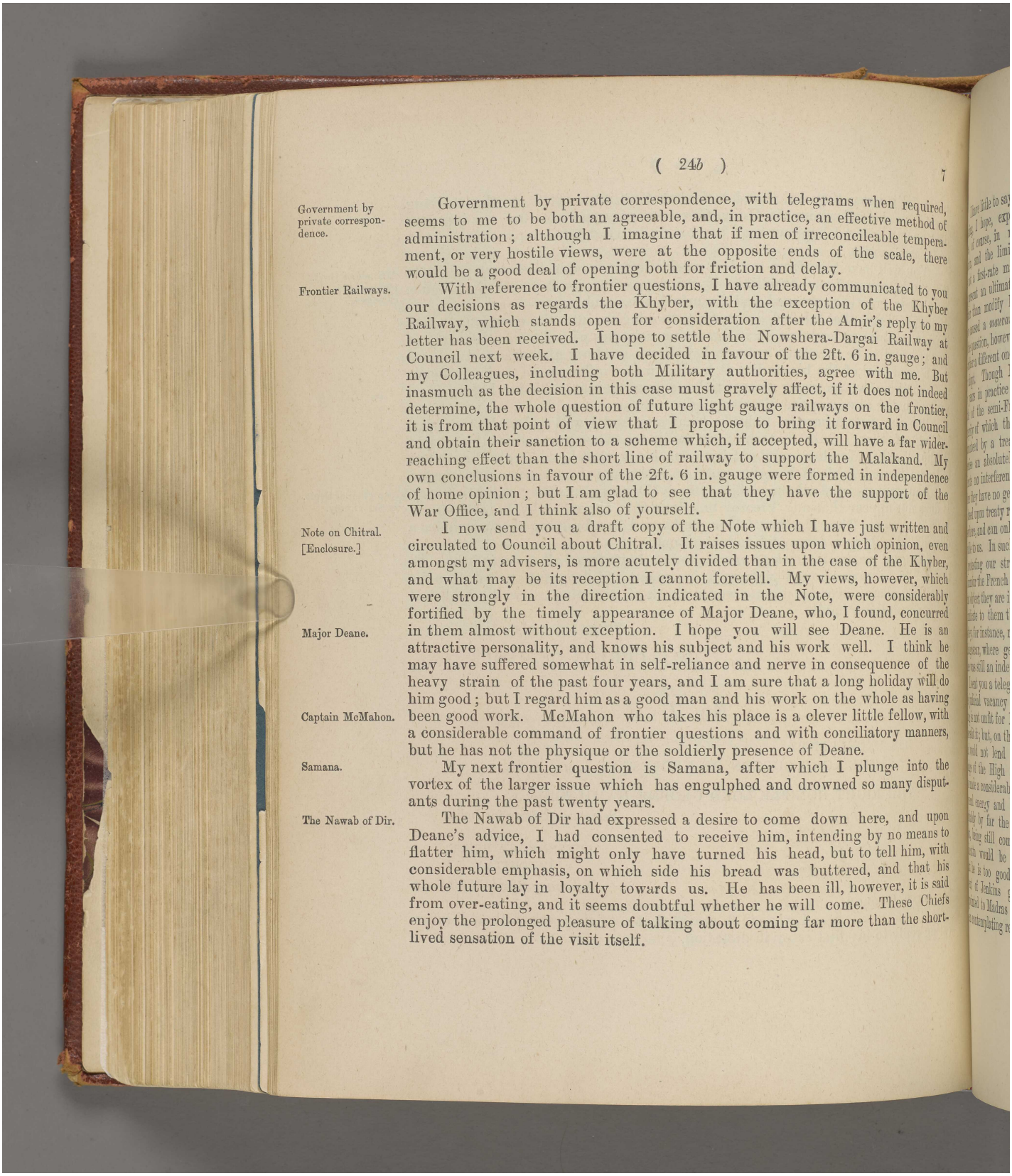

Government by private correspondence.

Government by private correspondence, with telegrams when required, seems to me to be both an agreeable, and, in practice, an effective method of administration; although I imagine that if men of irreconcileable temperament, or very hostile views, were at the opposite ends of the scale, there would be a good deal of opening both for friction and delay.

Frontier Railways.

With reference to frontier questions, I have already communicated to you our decisions as regards the Khyber, with the exception of the Khyber Railway, which stands open for consideration after the Amir's reply to my letter has been received. I hope to settle the Nowshera-Dargai Railway at Council next week. I have decided in favour of the 2ft. 6 in. gauge; and my Colleagues, including both Military authorities, agree with me. But inasmuch as the decision in this case must gravely affect, if it does not indeed determine, the whole question of future light gauge railways on the frontier, it is from that point of view that I propose to bring it forward in Council and obtain their sanction to a scheme which, if accepted, will have a far wider-reaching effect than the short line of railway to support the Malakand. My own conclusions in favour of the 2ft. 6 in. gauge were formed in independence of home opinion; but I am glad to see that they have the support of the War Office, and I think also of yourself.

Note on Chitral. [Enclosure.]

I now send you a draft copy of the Note which I have just written and circulated to Council about Chitral. It raises issues upon which opinion, even amongst my advisers, is more acutely divided than in the case of the Khyber, and what may be its reception I cannot foretell. My views, however, which were strongly in the direction indicated in the Note, were considerably fortified by the timely appearance of Major Deane, who, I found, concurred in them almost without exception. I hope you will see Deane. He is an attractive personality, and knows his subject and his work well. I think he may have suffered somewhat in self-reliance and nerve in consequence of the heavy strain of the past four years, and I am sure that a long holiday will do him good; but I regard him as a good man and his work on the whole as having been good work. McMahon who takes his place is a clever little fellow, with a considerable command of frontier questions and with conciliatory manners, but he has not the physique or the soldierly presence of Deane.

Major Deane.

Captain McMahon.

Samana.

My next frontier question is Samana, after which I plunge into the vortex of the larger issue which has engulphed and drowned so many disputants during the past twenty years.

The Nawab of Dir.

The Nawab of Dir had expressed a desire to come down here, and upon Deane's advice, I had consented to receive him, intending by no means to flatter him, which might only have turned his head, but to tell him, with considerable emphasis, on which side his bread was buttered, and that his whole future lay in loyalty towards us. He has been ill, however, it is said from over-eating, and it seems doubtful whether he will come. These Chiefs enjoy the prolonged pleasure of talking about coming far more than the short-lived sensation of the visit itself.

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I have little to say about Muscat this week, my telegrams and letters having, I hope, explained the situation as we regard it here. Meade has, of course, in more than one case exceeded his instructions in action, and the limits of treaty-law in suggestion. But I take it that he is not a first-rate man, and he has probably never before been called upon to present an ultimatum. The company of an Admiral would stimulate rather than modify his zeal, and I am afraid that between them they must have caused a *mauvais quart d' heure* in the Foreign Office. My own view of the question, however, apart from the mistakes which they have made, is rather a different one from that which I understand the Foreign Office to adopt. Though Muscat is in theory an independent State, it has for years in practice resembled an Indian Protected State. It reminds me a little of the semi-French Kingdom of Cambodia, the independence and integrity of which the French Government have, if I remember rightly, guaranteed by a treaty with Siam, but over which, nevertheless, they exercise an absolutely predominant control, and in which they would tolerate no interference. The intrusion of the French, therefore, at Muscat, where they have no genuine interest, political or commercial, even though it be based upon treaty right, stands upon a different footing from similar action elsewhere, and can only be viewed in the light of a gratuitous attempt to give trouble to us. In such a case it seems to me that we are entitled, instead of protesting our strict regard to treaty obligations and our willingness to humour the French in obtaining full compliance therewith, to ask them with what object they are interfering at all; and, in the absence of any clear reply, to indicate to them that we regard their interference much in the same way as they, for instance, regarded any action taken by the British Government in Madagascar, where genuine British interests existed, in the old days when there was still an independent, or semi-independent, Queen. Muscat.

I sent you a telegram yesterday asking you to suspend judgment about the judicial vacancy at Bombay until you heard from me. I gather that Lang is not unfit for Kershaw's place; in other words, that he would not discredit it; but, on the other hand, that he has not quite the requisite metal, and would not lend distinction to the office. We have here in Calcutta a Judge of the High Court named Jenkins, who in less than three years has made a considerable reputation both for capacity on the Bench and for general energy and popularity. He also has a charming wife. He is probably by far the best fitted of all possible candidates for the Bombay post, being still comparatively young and of really high class quality. Calcutta would be miserable at losing him, but public opinion knows that he is too good a man to be left. Chalmers thinks that, in the event of Jenkins going to Bombay, Lang might very properly be appointed to Madras when Collins retires. The latter has, for some time, been contemplating retirement, and is 67 years of age; but the Governor of Chief Justice, Bombay High Court.

Mr. Justice Jenkins.

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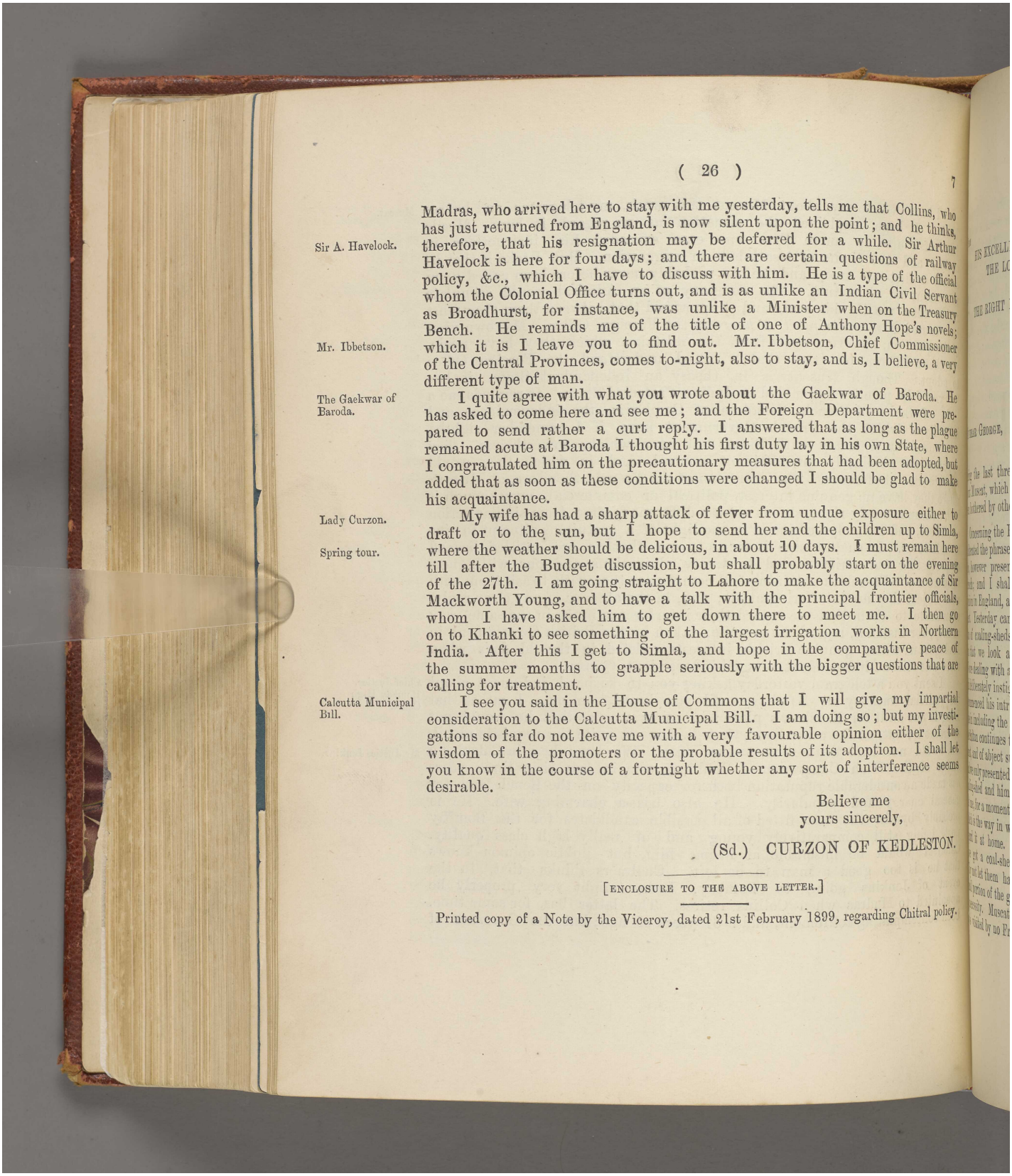

Sir A. Havelock.

Madras, who arrived here to stay with me yesterday, tells me that Collins, who has just returned from England, is now silent upon the point; and he thinks, therefore, that his resignation may be deferred for a while. Sir Arthur Havelock is here for four days; and there are certain questions of railway policy, &c., which I have to discuss with him. He is a type of the official whom the Colonial Office turns out, and is as unlike an Indian Civil Servant as Broadhurst, for instance, was unlike a Minister when on the Treasury Bench. He reminds me of the title of one of Anthony Hope's novels;

Mr. Ibbetson.

which it is I leave you to find out. Mr. Ibbetson, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, comes to-night, also to stay, and is, I believe, a very different type of man.

The Gaekwar of Baroda.

I quite agree with what you wrote about the Gaekwar of Baroda. He has asked to come here and see me; and the Foreign Department were prepared to send rather a curt reply. I answered that as long as the plague remained acute at Baroda I thought his first duty lay in his own State, where I congratulated him on the precautionary measures that had been adopted, but added that as soon as these conditions were changed I should be glad to make his acquaintance.

Lady Curzon.

My wife has had a sharp attack of fever from undue exposure either to draft or to the sun, but I hope to send her and the children up to Simla,

Spring tour.

where the weather should be delicious, in about 10 days. I must remain here till after the Budget discussion, but shall probably start on the evening of the 27th. I am going straight to Lahore to make the acquaintance of Sir Mackworth Young, and to have a talk with the principal frontier officials, whom I have asked him to get down there to meet me. I then go on to Khanki to see something of the largest irrigation works in Northern India. After this I get to Simla, and hope in the comparative peace of the summer months to grapple seriously with the bigger questions that are calling for treatment.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

I see you said in the House of Commons that I will give my impartial consideration to the Calcutta Municipal Bill. I am doing so; but my investigations so far do not leave me with a very favourable opinion either of the wisdom of the promoters or the probable results of its adoption. I shall let you know in the course of a fortnight whether any sort of interference seems desirable.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Printed copy of a Note by the Viceroy, dated 21st February 1899, regarding Chitral policy.

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No. 8.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
March 2nd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am rather tired; having been very busily occupied during the last three days in drawing up for you the Parliamentary Report about Muscat, which has cost me many hours' labour; and having, in addition, been bothered by other matters to which I shall presently allude. Muscat.

Concerning the Report, I do not know if it is what you want. I have adulterated the phraseology as much as possible, but I am afraid that the situation, however presented, constitutes a formidable indictment against the French; and I shall be glad if this is brought home both to public opinion in England, and also I may add to members of Her Majesty's Government. Yesterday came the telegram from you suggesting a form of concession of coaling-sheds to the French at Muscat. My reply will have shown you that we look at the matter from rather a different point of view here. We are dealing with a man in the person of the Sultan actively disloyal to us and deliberately instigated by the French. If Fagan is right, he has already recommenced his intrigues. I hope this may lead you to think that I was wise in including the cancellation of the lease in the original ultimatum. If the Sultan continues to play with us within a week of threatened bombardment, and of abject surrender, how much more would he have trifled with us had we only presented an ultimatum which left the French in possession of their coaling-shed and himself in confident possession of the support of the French. Let me, for a moment, argue the question from the point of view of diplomacy, which is the way in which the Cabinet, perhaps not unnaturally, appear to regard it at home. It seems a very easy and proper thing to say—"We have got a coal-shed. The French have equal treaty rights with ourselves. Why not let them have one too?" But that appears to me to cover but a small portion of the ground. In the first place, look at the respective measures of necessity. Muscat is constantly visited by English ships and men-of-war. It is visited by no French ships, and, on the average, once a year by a French Parliamentary Report.

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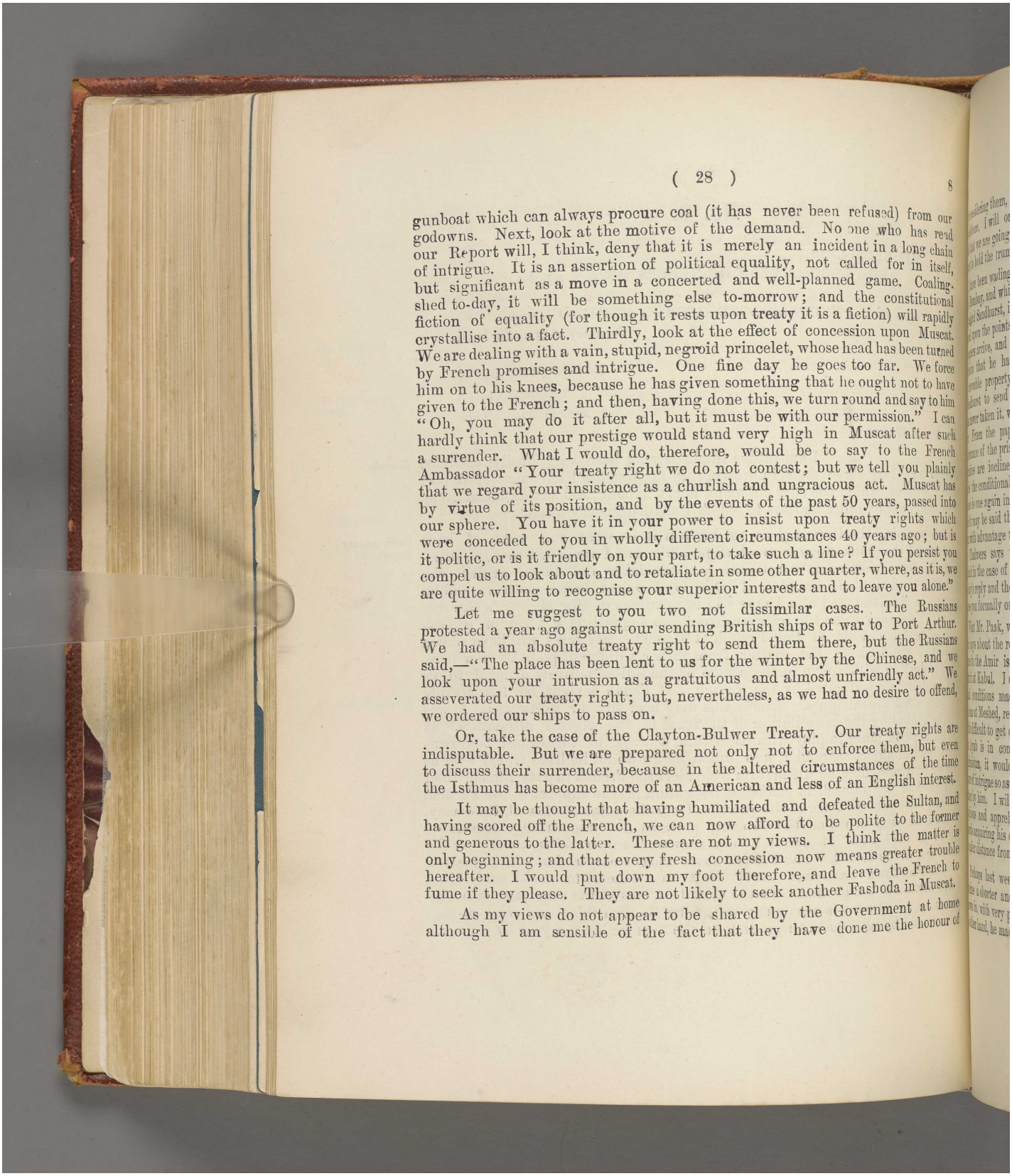

gunboat which can always procure coal (it has never been refused) from our godowns. Next, look at the motive of the demand. No one who has read our Report will, I think, deny that it is merely an incident in a long chain of intrigue. It is an assertion of political equality, not called for in itself, but significant as a move in a concerted and well-planned game. Coaling-shed to-day, it will be something else to-morrow; and the constitutional fiction of equality (for though it rests upon treaty it is a fiction) will rapidly crystallise into a fact. Thirdly, look at the effect of concession upon Muscat. We are dealing with a vain, stupid, negroid princelet, whose head has been turned by French promises and intrigue. One fine day he goes too far. We force him on to his knees, because he has given something that he ought not to have given to the French; and then, having done this, we turn round and say to him "Oh, you may do it after all, but it must be with our permission." I can hardly think that our prestige would stand very high in Muscat after such a surrender. What I would do, therefore, would be to say to the French Ambassador "Your treaty right we do not contest; but we tell you plainly that we regard your insistence as a churlish and ungracious act. Muscat has by virtue of its position, and by the events of the past 50 years, passed into our sphere. You have it in your power to insist upon treaty rights which were conceded to you in wholly different circumstances 40 years ago; but is it politic, or is it friendly on your part, to take such a line? If you persist you compel us to look about and to retaliate in some other quarter, where, as it is, we are quite willing to recognise your superior interests and to leave you alone."

Let me suggest to you two not dissimilar cases. The Russians protested a year ago against our sending British ships of war to Port Arthur. We had an absolute treaty right to send them there, but the Russians said,—"The place has been lent to us for the winter by the Chinese, and we look upon your intrusion as a gratuitous and almost unfriendly act." We asseverated our treaty right; but, nevertheless, as we had no desire to offend, we ordered our ships to pass on.

Or, take the case of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Our treaty rights are indisputable. But we are prepared not only not to enforce them, but even to discuss their surrender, because in the altered circumstances of the time the Isthmus has become more of an American and less of an English interest.

It may be thought that having humiliated and defeated the Sultan, and having scored off the French, we can now afford to be polite to the former and generous to the latter. These are not my views. I think the matter is only beginning; and that every fresh concession now means greater trouble hereafter. I would put down my foot therefore, and leave the French to fume if they please. They are not likely to seek another Fashoda in Muscat.

As my views do not appear to be shared by the Government at home although I am sensible of the fact that they have done me the honour of

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fully considering them, I may be excused for this private explosion in my own defence. I will only add that I cannot too strongly re-asseverate my belief that we are going to have trouble in the Persian Gulf in the future, and I want to hold the trumps from the start.

Detention of the Natus.

I have been wading through the Natu papers which have come to us from Bombay, and which, it is needless to say, are imperfect. I had particularly asked Sandhurst, in my original telegram to him, to consult his Advocate-General upon the points as to the legality of which doubt is entertained. The papers arrive, and there is not a single opinion from Lang, nor even an indication that he has been consulted, with one exception referring to the moveable property of the brothers. I have accordingly telegraphed to Sandhurst to send me Lang's opinion on the points at issue; or if he has never taken it, which is scarcely possible, to take it at once and let me know. From the papers, as we have them here, the point as to the maintenance of the prisoners seems to me a little doubtful, although our legal authorities are inclined to accept the legality of the course pursued. As regards the conditional form of detention under which the prisoners are kept, the case is one again in which there seems some opening for doubt, but upon which it may be said that had it been possible to challenge the legality of the action with advantage to the Natus, this would probably have been done long ago. Chalmers says that a somewhat analogous procedure is adopted in England in the case of sentences of imprisonment for debt. When we have Bombay's reply and the opinions of their Legal Adviser we shall of course address you formally on the subject.

Effect of Ayub Khan's residence at Rawal Pindi on the Amir.

What Mr. Paak, who is one of the numerous rather shady Agents of the Amir, says about the residence of Ayub Khan at Rawal Pindi as a cause of offence to the Amir is no doubt quite true. The Amir used to talk to me about it at Kabul. I did not at that time know that this was one of the formal conditions made by Ayub Khan when he surrendered to General Maclean at Meshed, recorded upon paper and signed by both parties. It is a little difficult to get over this; and though it may be, and no doubt is, true that Ayub is in constant communication with his party and friends in Afghanistan, it would probably be difficult to establish anything in the nature of intrigue so as to justify us in treating the engagement as having been broken by him. I will, however, make careful enquiry into the matter, for suspicious and apprehensive as the Amir is, I feel it would go a long way towards acquiring his confidence if we could remove the only serious pretender to a safer distance from the frontier.

Sir Arthur Havelock.

Perhaps last week I did less than justice to the Governor of Madras. Imagine a shorter and smugger Charlie Hall with a touch of Condie Stephen thrown in, with very precise manners and a slightly affected utterance. On the other hand, he made himself very agreeable; seemed quite indifferent to the

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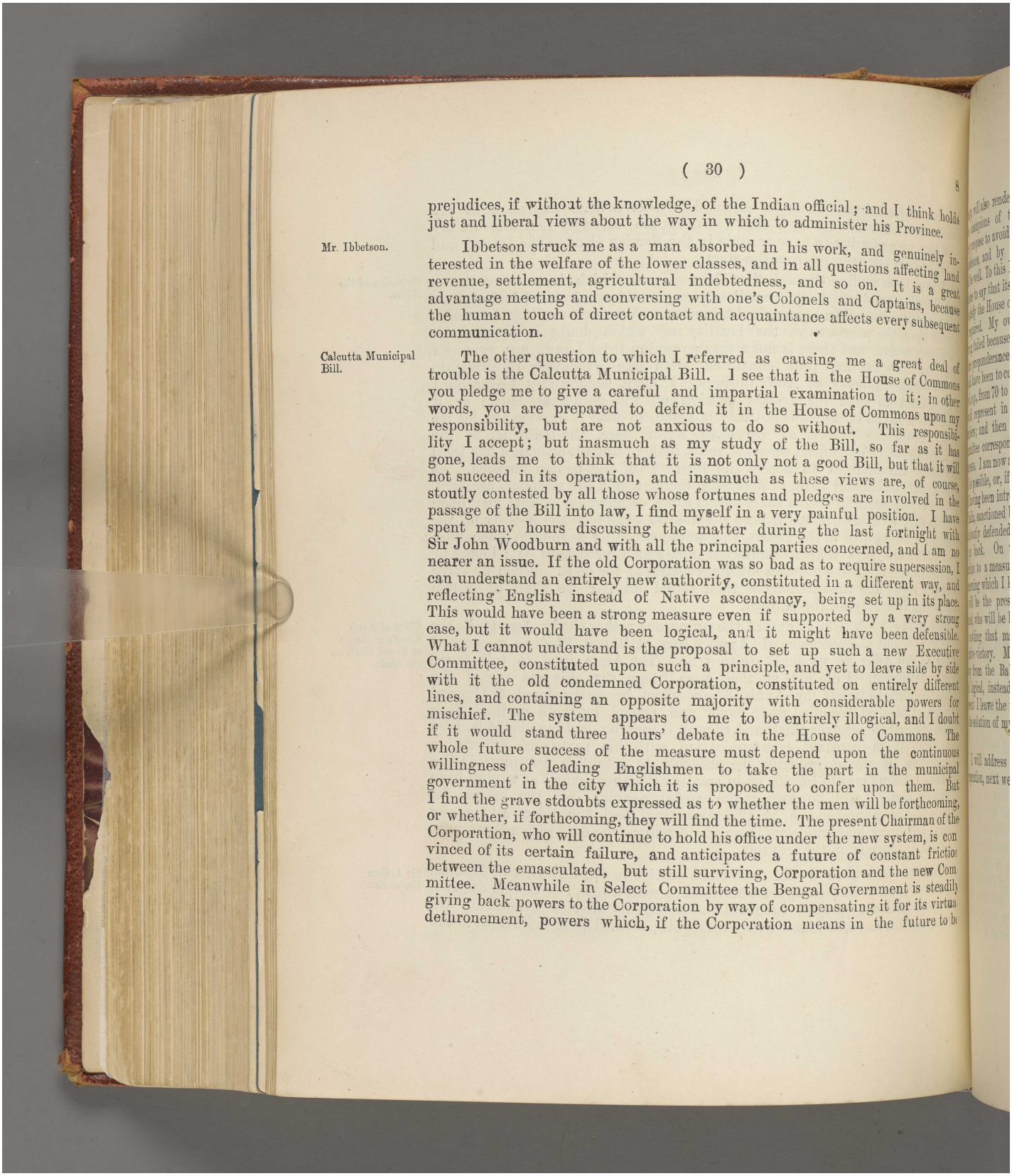

prejudices, if without the knowledge, of the Indian official; and I think holds just and liberal views about the way in which to administer his Province.

Mr. Ibbetson.

Ibbetson struck me as a man absorbed in his work, and genuinely interested in the welfare of the lower classes, and in all questions affecting land revenue, settlement, agricultural indebtedness, and so on. It is a great advantage meeting and conversing with one's Colonels and Captains, because the human touch of direct contact and acquaintance affects every subsequent communication.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

The other question to which I referred as causing me a great deal of trouble is the Calcutta Municipal Bill. I see that in the House of Commons you pledge me to give a careful and impartial examination to it; in other words, you are prepared to defend it in the House of Commons upon my responsibility, but are not anxious to do so without. This responsibility I accept; but inasmuch as my study of the Bill, so far as it has gone, leads me to think that it is not only not a good Bill, but that it will not succeed in its operation, and inasmuch as these views are, of course, stoutly contested by all those whose fortunes and pledges are involved in the passage of the Bill into law, I find myself in a very painful position. I have spent many hours discussing the matter during the last fortnight with Sir John Woodburn and with all the principal parties concerned, and I am no nearer an issue. If the old Corporation was so bad as to require supersession, I can understand an entirely new authority, constituted in a different way, and reflecting English instead of Native ascendancy, being set up in its place. This would have been a strong measure even if supported by a very strong case, but it would have been logical, and it might have been defensible. What I cannot understand is the proposal to set up such a new Executive Committee, constituted upon such a principle, and yet to leave side by side with it the old condemned Corporation, constituted on entirely different lines, and containing an opposite majority with considerable powers for mischief. The system appears to me to be entirely illogical, and I doubt if it would stand three hours' debate in the House of Commons. The whole future success of the measure must depend upon the continuous willingness of leading Englishmen to take the part in the municipal government in the city which it is proposed to confer upon them. But I find the grave stdoubts expressed as to whether the men will be forthcoming, or whether, if forthcoming, they will find the time. The present Chairman of the Corporation, who will continue to hold his office under the new system, is convinced of its certain failure, and anticipates a future of constant friction between the emasculated, but still surviving, Corporation and the new Committee. Meanwhile in Select Committee the Bengal Government is steadily giving back powers to the Corporation by way of compensating it for its virtual dethronement, powers which, if the Corporation means in the future to be

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nasty, will also render it dangerous. When I ask Sir John Woodburn and the champions of the Bill how they defend these anomalies, and how they propose to avoid these dangers, they answer by an appeal to personal confidence, and by the statement of their absolute conviction that all will be well. To this I reply that it is not an adequate defence of an illogical scheme to say that its promoters believe it will turn out all right; and that to satisfy the House of Commons something more in the nature of argument is required. My own view of the case is that the old Corporation having failed because of its absurd numbers, its general talkativeness, and its undue preponderance of the purely Babu interest, the proper thing to have done would have been to cut down its numbers to something more like the English level, *e.g.*, from 70 to 40; to say boldly that this Corporation as re-constituted should represent in certain definite proportions interests rather than numbers; and then to create out of this body a General and Executive Committee corresponding to it exactly in proportionate representation of interests. I am now at work to find out whether any such re-construction of the Bill is possible, or, if possible, desirable. Most of my advisers tell me that the Bill having been introduced by Sir A. Mackenzie, endorsed by the Government of India, sanctioned by the Secretary of State, accepted by Sir John Woodburn, and stoutly defended in scores of speeches, we are too deeply pledged to go back. On the other hand, I cannot bring myself to give my sanction to a measure in which, as at present informed, I disbelieve, and concerning which I know that, when it comes before the House of Commons, it will be the present Viceroy, and not all the other officials that I have named, who will be held responsible. Of course I have to be very careful to do nothing that may give colour to the idea of concession to clamour, or of a native victory. My own scheme would, however, in reality take more away from the Babus than probably does this, but it would do it in an open and logical, instead of a roundabout and an illogical, way. Here for the present I leave the matter, hoping, in subsequent letters, to say something as to the solution of my doubts.

I will address you about Sugar Bounties, the Bill for which is in preparation, next week. Sugar Bounties.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 9.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
March 9th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

When I was at the Foreign Office at home, engaged in sending out telegrams of instruction or interrogation to our Agents in different parts of the world, I used sometimes to wonder what were the feelings of the men at the other end of the wire. I have now the pleasure, not perhaps altogether an unmixed one, of realising what they are.

Muscat.

A certain difference, arising from the different surroundings and point of view, is inevitable; and either side is, I suppose, apt to overlook, or to depreciate, the considerations which appeal most forcibly to the other. For instance, in the case of Muscat, I have been endeavouring to impress upon the Home Government my conviction that there has been a deliberate and unscrupulous intrigue against British interests, which only sharp action has nipped in the bud, and which, but for a resolute policy, will be revived. On the other hand, the Foreign Office at home, with its eye fixed on the nominal treaty equality between Great Britain and France in Muscat, and with a desire to reduce the points of friction with the French Government, has been more anxious for compromise. Neither of us has perhaps quite succeeded in conveying to the other the superior importance of his own point of view. I regard any concession to France in the matter (even if based on a treaty claim), after the unfriendly and surreptitious way in which they have behaved, as weakness. The Foreign Office probably regard my lack of reverence for the 1862 Treaty as heterodox and unbecoming. Then again the views of the Foreign Office seem to me to have been coloured by their inherent distrust of Indian officials. For instance, in your letter of February 16th, the last I have received, you speak of Meade having inserted into the ultimatum to the Sultan a clause compelling him to refuse the representative of a Foreign Government, and, further, of having misled you by the information that the lease of the coaling station was to the French Government, and not to an individual; and you say that Lord Salisbury was a good deal annoyed at both these errors of judgment. Subsequent telegrams will, however, have shown you that in neither case did Meade err. He did not insert the clause in question,

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and he was quite right in saying that the lease was to the French Government and to nobody else. There have in reality been two excesses of instructions on our side, and two alone. I exceeded your instructions in including the rescission of the lease in our ultimatum. I have no shadow of doubt that, though quite unconscious at the time that I was exceeding instructions at all, I was right in this; nor have I any desire that my conduct should be concealed if you wish it to come out. Meade exceeded my instructions in insisting on public cancellation,—an act of superficial affront for which some defence may perhaps be found, both in his despatch which we are sending home to you this week, and in our report which went by last mail. Meanwhile the French Vice-Consul not only exceeded his instructions, but, unless Delcassé is lying, must have acted without any instructions at all. We seem, therefore, to have arrived at a point where our Parliamentary spokesmen are saying that it is all the fault of French subordinate agents; while the French Parliamentary spokesmen are saying, in much more offensive and unwarrantable form, that it is all the fault of ours. I have been very much relieved, however, by the telegram which came an hour ago assuring me of the support of Government; and I hope that the exposure of French methods which their duplicity has involved may counteract the damage to our interests in Muscat and the Persian Gulf, which even the limited concession that is proposed cannot, in my opinion, fail to bring.

Chitral.

Last week we had our discussion in Council upon my Memorandum concerning Chitral. The upshot we have telegraphed to you. We decided to reduce the garrison, if possible, by one-half in May; to commence the raising of levies; and to reconsider the position as regards concentration, forts, and so on, taken up in the Government of India's despatch in November last. Meanwhile we are sending at once Colonel Thurburn, an Engineer officer well known to Sir William Lockhart, and Captain McMahon, who has just succeeded Deane. They are to proceed without delay to Chitral, and I send you a copy of a Note which I have written, and which constitutes the instructions upon which they are to act. I hope that their report may be in our hands in time to enable us to communicate to you our final recommendations before the month of May.

Frontier light railways.

At the same Council we decided two other points, one of first-rate, and the other of not inconsiderable, importance. I had written a Memorandum strongly recommending the adoption of a 2-ft. 6-in. gauge for the new system of frontier light railways wherever such require to be laid, and I need not worry you with the arguments. After some discussion this view was unanimously adopted, and it is one with which I believe your Office is not indisposed to agree.

Nowshera-Dargai Line.

I also carried the immediate construction of the Nowshera-Dargai line upon this gauge as the first application of the principle. We do not propose to bridge the Kabul River, but to start the line from the opposite or left bank.

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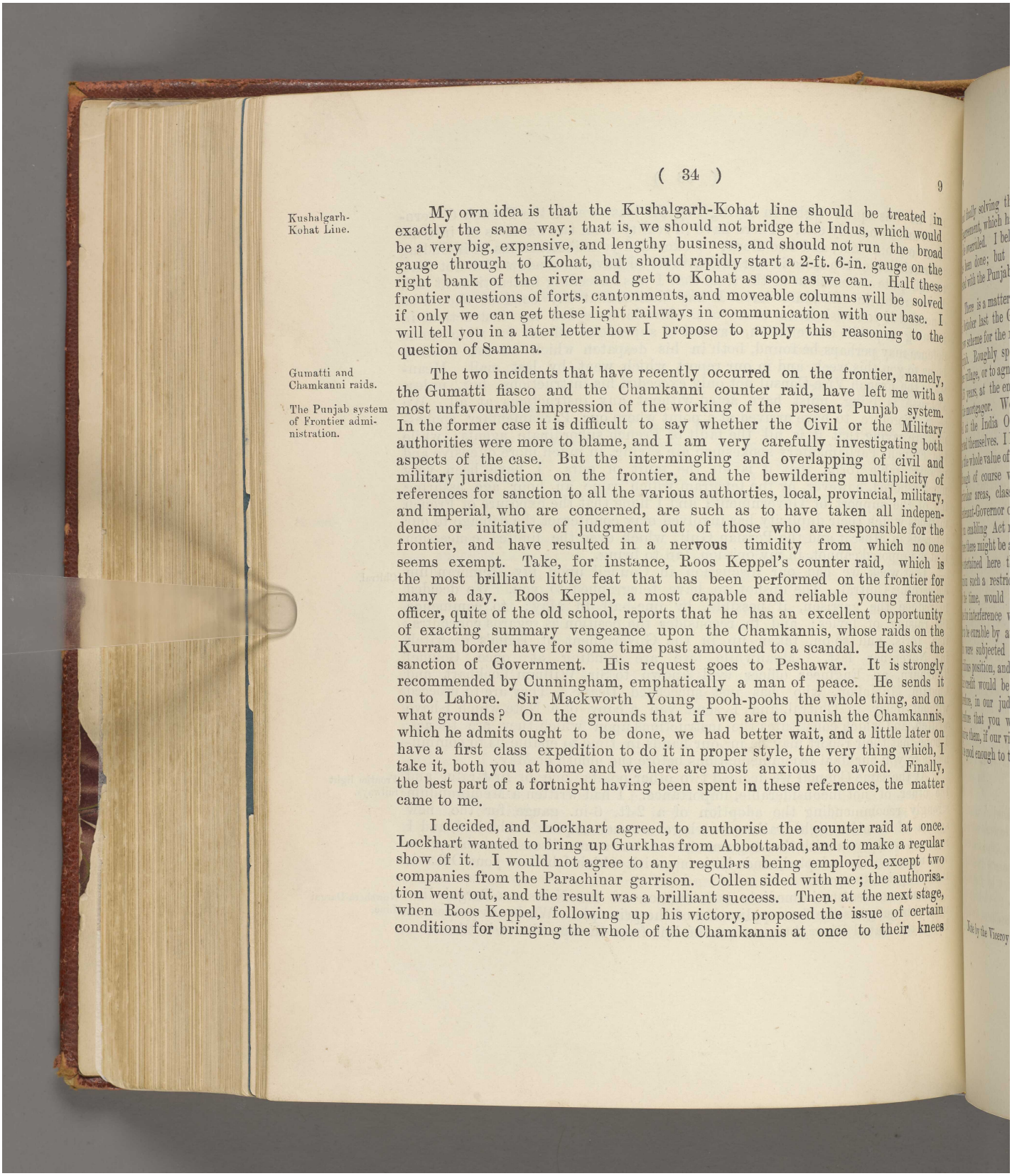

Kushalgarh-Kohat Line.

My own idea is that the Kushalgarh-Kohat line should be treated in exactly the same way; that is, we should not bridge the Indus, which would be a very big, expensive, and lengthy business, and should not run the broad gauge through to Kohat, but should rapidly start a 2-ft. 6-in. gauge on the right bank of the river and get to Kohat as soon as we can. Half these frontier questions of forts, cantonments, and moveable columns will be solved if only we can get these light railways in communication with our base. I will tell you in a later letter how I propose to apply this reasoning to the question of Samana.

Gumatti and Chamkanni raids.

The Punjab system of Frontier administration.

The two incidents that have recently occurred on the frontier, namely, the Gumatti fiasco and the Chamkanni counter raid, have left me with a most unfavourable impression of the working of the present Punjab system. In the former case it is difficult to say whether the Civil or the Military authorities were more to blame, and I am very carefully investigating both aspects of the case. But the intermingling and overlapping of civil and military jurisdiction on the frontier, and the bewildering multiplicity of references for sanction to all the various authorties, local, provincial, military, and imperial, who are concerned, are such as to have taken all independence or initiative of judgment out of those who are responsible for the frontier, and have resulted in a nervous timidity from which no one seems exempt. Take, for instance, Roos Keppel's counter raid, which is the most brilliant little feat that has been performed on the frontier for many a day. Roos Keppel, a most capable and reliable young frontier officer, quite of the old school, reports that he has an excellent opportunity of exacting summary vengeance upon the Chamkannis, whose raids on the Kurram border have for some time past amounted to a scandal. He asks the sanction of Government. His request goes to Peshawar. It is strongly recommended by Cunningham, emphatically a man of peace. He sends it on to Lahore. Sir Mackworth Young pooh-poohs the whole thing, and on what grounds? On the grounds that if we are to punish the Chamkannis, which he admits ought to be done, we had better wait, and a little later on have a first class expedition to do it in proper style, the very thing which, I take it, both you at home and we here are most anxious to avoid. Finally, the best part of a fortnight having been spent in these references, the matter came to me.

I decided, and Lockhart agreed, to authorise the counter raid at once. Lockhart wanted to bring up Gurkhas from Abbottabad, and to make a regular show of it. I would not agree to any regulars being employed, except two companies from the Parachinar garrison. Collen sided with me; the authorisation went out, and the result was a brilliant success. Then, at the next stage, when Roos Keppel, following up his victory, proposed the issue of certain conditions for bringing the whole of the Chamkannis at once to their knees

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and finally solving the question, in came Lahore again with a long protest of disagreement, which has again, though of course with the utmost civility, had to be overruled. I believe we have saved you a frontier expedition by what has been done; but not a step of it would have been taken had the matter rested with the Punjab.

Sale and mortgage of lands in the Punjab.

There is a matter of internal politics upon which I wish to say a word. In October last the Government of India sent you a Despatch recommending a new scheme for the restriction of the sale and mortgage of lands in the Punjab. Roughly speaking, sales are prohibited, except to a resident of the same village, or to agnates of the two parties concerned; mortgages are limited to 15 years, at the end of which the land is to revert free from incumbrance to the mortgagor. We have heard indirectly that this proposal is not faring well at the India Office, and that influences hostile to its acceptance have exerted themselves. I have looked into the matter closely, and I am bound to say tha tthe whole value of the proposal seems to me to lie in its general application, although of course we give a dispensory power of exemption in the case of particular areas, classes, and persons. When Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, he expressed a strong opinion in favour of an enabling Act restricting the proposals in question to particular tracts where there might be an overwhelming case for interference, and some fear is entertained here that the India Office may take the same view. In our opinion such a restriction, which was discussed and unanimously rejected at the time, would deprive the proposals of all value, for the overwhelming case for interference would mean that the mischief had already gone too far to be curable by any such prescription. On the other hand, the people who were subjected to such localised restriction would be placed in a very invidious position, and would regard themselves as a proscribed class, while their credit would be most injuriously affected. A permissive measure would therefore, in our judgment, do far more harm than good, and we hope therefore that you will not return our proposals to us so emasculated as to deprive them, if our views are correct, of any practical value. May I ask you to be good enough to take this seriously into consideration?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Note by the Viceroy on points for examination in Chitral, dated March 6th, 1899.

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No. 9a.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
March 9th, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Holkar.

Barr's report upon the secret enquiry which we ordered into the alleged poisoning of Bolia in Indore in 1895, and the subsequent conduct of Holkar, has just come in. You will remember that, in October 1898, nearly three years after the death, Holkar seized a man named Ganpat against whom he had a grudge, accused him of the murder, sentenced him to death, and has kept him in prison ever since. The evidence we have accumulated tends to show that Bolia died from quite natural causes, and that the poison was a mere after-thought. Accordingly I am having a firm letter written to Holkar expressing my serious displeasure at his various irregularities and calling upon him to release the prisoner. If he is contumacious, further steps will have to be taken; and a Court of Enquiry as to his capacity to administer his State may ultimately be required. I need hardly say that I am most anxious to avoid this if possible.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

And now as regards the Calcutta Municipal Bill. Fowler's suggestion for increasing the elected element on the Executive Committee would only produce ceaseless worry and squabbling, and would lead also to perpetual snap divisions when the Government happened to be in a minority. The same situation would be repeated in the Sub-Committees, of which there must be a good many. No amount of authority given to the Government, or to the Chairman, would altogether remove this danger. Moreover, under such conditions the English community in Calcutta would, to a man, decline to serve. Nor would such a

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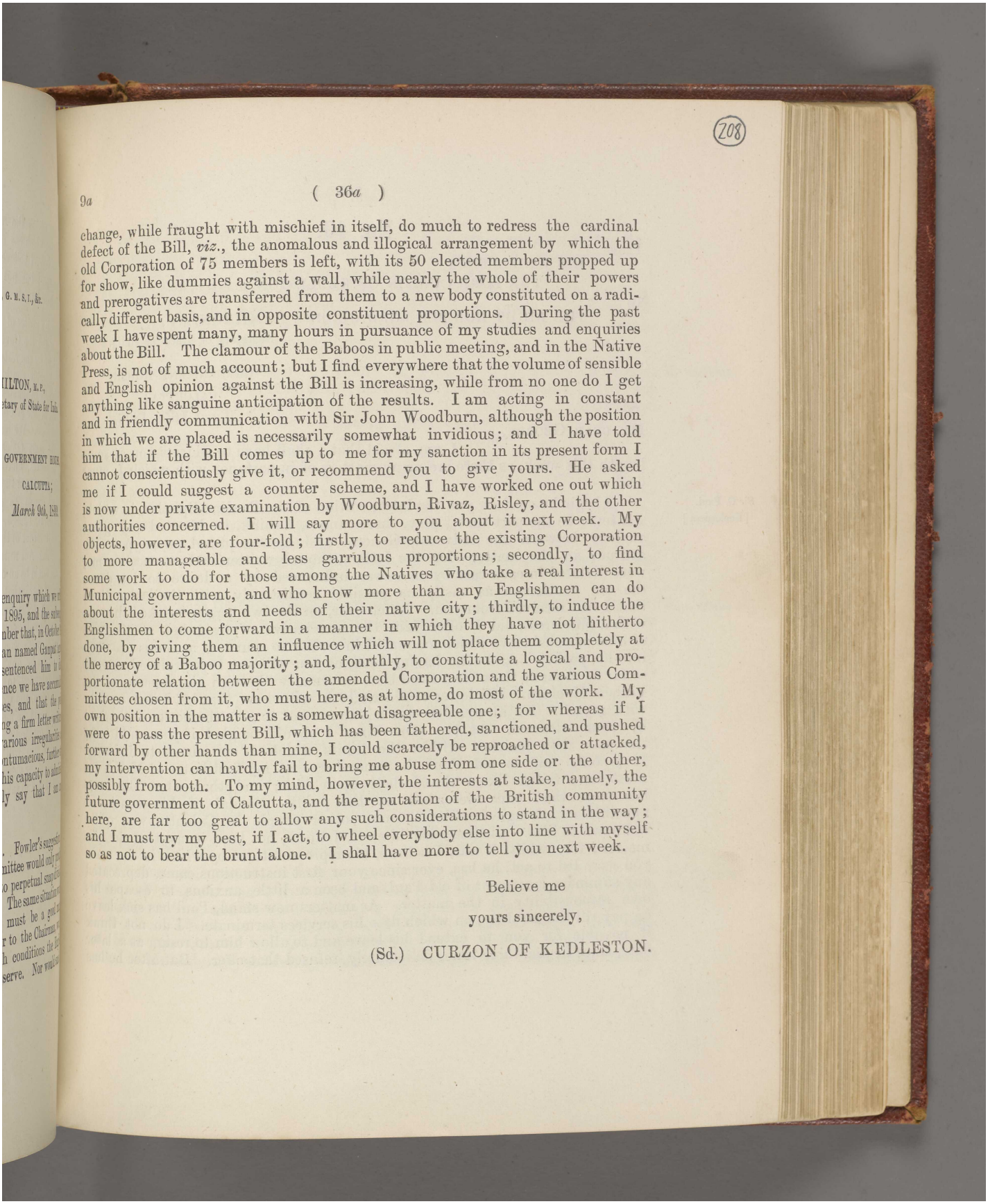

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change, while fraught with mischief in itself, do much to redress the cardinal defect of the Bill, *viz.*, the anomalous and illogical arrangement by which the old Corporation of 75 members is left, with its 50 elected members propped up for show, like dummies against a wall, while nearly the whole of their powers and prerogatives are transferred from them to a new body constituted on a radically different basis, and in opposite constituent proportions. During the past week I have spent many, many hours in pursuance of my studies and enquiries about the Bill. The clamour of the Baboos in public meeting, and in the Native Press, is not of much account; but I find everywhere that the volume of sensible and English opinion against the Bill is increasing, while from no one do I get anything like sanguine anticipation of the results. I am acting in constant and in friendly communication with Sir John Woodburn, although the position in which we are placed is necessarily somewhat invidious; and I have told him that if the Bill comes up to me for my sanction in its present form I cannot conscientiously give it, or recommend you to give yours. He asked me if I could suggest a counter scheme, and I have worked one out which is now under private examination by Woodburn, Rivaz, Risley, and the other authorities concerned. I will say more to you about it next week. My objects, however, are four-fold; firstly, to reduce the existing Corporation to more manageable and less garrulous proportions; secondly, to find some work to do for those among the Natives who take a real interest in Municipal government, and who know more than any Englishmen can do about the interests and needs of their native city; thirdly, to induce the Englishmen to come forward in a manner in which they have not hitherto done, by giving them an influence which will not place them completely at the mercy of a Baboo majority; and, fourthly, to constitute a logical and proportionate relation between the amended Corporation and the various Committees chosen from it, who must here, as at home, do most of the work. My own position in the matter is a somewhat disagreeable one; for whereas if I were to pass the present Bill, which has been fathered, sanctioned, and pushed forward by other hands than mine, I could scarcely be reproached or attacked, my intervention can hardly fail to bring me abuse from one side or the other, possibly from both. To my mind, however, the interests at stake, namely, the future government of Calcutta, and the reputation of the British community here, are far too great to allow any such considerations to stand in the way; and I must try my best, if I act, to wheel everybody else into line with myself so as not to bear the brunt alone. I shall have more to tell you next week.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 10.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
March 16th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am afraid that I shall have to address you at some length this week, as there are many matters of importance with which I must deal.

Sir C. Paul. [Enclosures.]

I begin by sending you the latest edition of the Pauline Epistles, in which, whatever be the part that I play, there cannot, I think, be detected any great analogy between the Advocate-General and his Scriptural prototype. My attitude in the matter—for the letters, though written in Lawrence's name, were dictated in each case by me—was influenced by a desire to let down the old gentleman as easily as possible consistently with the instructions that I had received from you. Twice over, on the two pages marked by me with a blue cross, did I offer him the alternative of resigning at the end of nine months' leave which amounted in reality to putting a bonus of £750 into his pocket. And after having been, as you will see, twice refused, I went so far as to make the offer a third time informally through the agency of Sir Francis Maclean. His letter of March 10th will show that he failed equally with myself. No alternative was left to me but to give the notice authorised by your telegram. At the same time I should be glad if you could treat the case with leniency within the limits which I am about to indicate. It is only fair to old Paul to remember that my first letter of March 1st must have fallen like a thunderbolt upon him; and that what Chalmers has more than once described as the public scandal of his continued appointment, though familiar to most other people in Calcutta, was quite unknown to him. Chalmers has himself, I think, not been consistent in the matter; for, whilst it was, I believe, his representations by which in the main you were led to act, he has, ever since your first instructions came, deprecated any summary treatment of old Paul, and been a little anxious to escape his own responsibility in the matter. As matters now stand, Paul has sick leave on pay till the 1st July, on which date his services terminate. I do not think it possible for you to extend his leave and to allow him to resign at a later date, since he has three times deliberately refused that offer. But after he has

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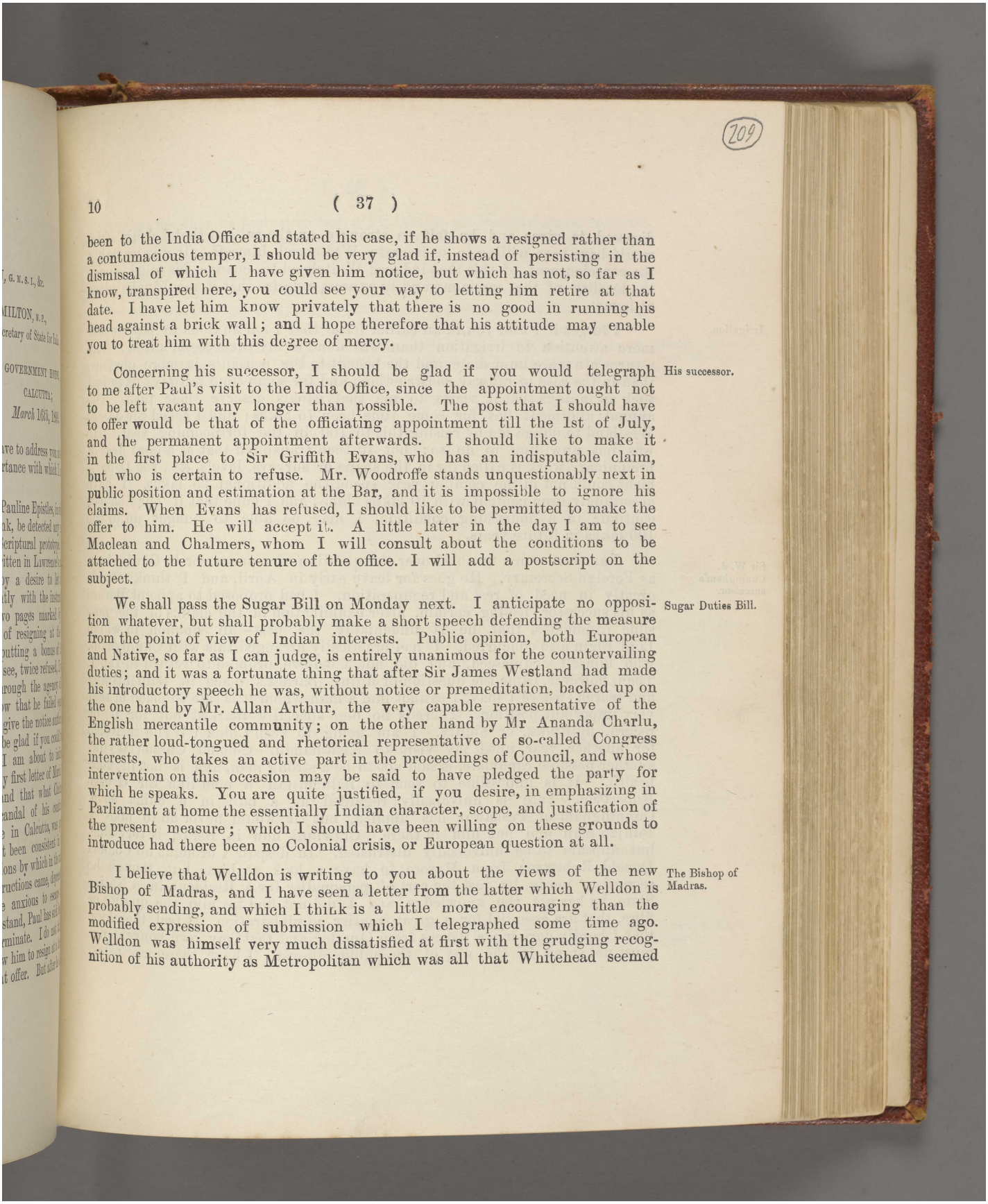

been to the India Office and stated his case, if he shows a resigned rather than a contumacious temper, I should be very glad if, instead of persisting in the dismissal of which I have given him notice, but which has not, so far as I know, transpired here, you could see your way to letting him retire at that date. I have let him know privately that there is no good in running his head against a brick wall; and I hope therefore that his attitude may enable you to treat him with this degree of mercy.

His successor.

Concerning his successor, I should be glad if you would telegraph to me after Paul's visit to the India Office, since the appointment ought not to be left vacant any longer than possible. The post that I should have to offer would be that of the officiating appointment till the 1st of July, and the permanent appointment afterwards. I should like to make it in the first place to Sir Griffith Evans, who has an indisputable claim, but who is certain to refuse. Mr. Woodroffe stands unquestionably next in public position and estimation at the Bar, and it is impossible to ignore his claims. When Evans has refused, I should like to be permitted to make the offer to him. He will accept it. A little later in the day I am to see Maclean and Chalmers, whom I will consult about the conditions to be attached to the future tenure of the office. I will add a postscript on the subject.

Sugar Duties Bill.

We shall pass the Sugar Bill on Monday next. I anticipate no opposition whatever, but shall probably make a short speech defending the measure from the point of view of Indian interests. Public opinion, both European and Native, so far as I can judge, is entirely unanimous for the countervailing duties; and it was a fortunate thing that after Sir James Westland had made his introductory speech he was, without notice or premeditation, backed up on the one hand by Mr. Allan Arthur, the very capable representative of the English mercantile community; on the other hand by Mr Ananda Charlu, the rather loud-tongued and rhetorical representative of so-called Congress interests, who takes an active part in the proceedings of Council, and whose intervention on this occasion may be said to have pledged the party for which he speaks. You are quite justified, if you desire, in emphasizing in Parliament at home the essentially Indian character, scope, and justification of the present measure; which I should have been willing on these grounds to introduce had there been no Colonial crisis, or European question at all.

The Bishop of Madras.

I believe that Welldon is writing to you about the views of the new Bishop of Madras, and I have seen a letter from the latter which Welldon is probably sending, and which I think is a little more encouraging than the modified expression of submission which I telegraphed some time ago. Welldon was himself very much dissatisfied at first with the grudging recognition of his authority as Metropolitan which was all that Whitehead seemed

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disposed to give; and he felt so strongly on the subject that I doubt if he would have been willing to consecrate Whitehead himself. It was probably the consciousness of this that induced Whitehead to change his mind about the locality of the ceremony and to express a desire that it should take place at home.

Irrigation.

I forget if I told you in an earlier letter that I am anxious to pay rather more attention to irrigation than was done in my predecessor's time. The returns are more immediate, and the benefit to the peasants is more obvious, than in the case of railway construction; and for some time railways have had such an innings that it seems to me that canals deserve their turn. The annual allotment has for some time been 75 lakhs; and I asked Sir James Westland to oblige me by raising this to 100 in the forthcoming year. He was not unwilling to do so; but it then transpired that as a good deal of preliminary work is called for in the shape of surveys, levels, &c., the Department could not in the coming year spend the additional 25 lakhs. I have accordingly been content with 10 lakhs alone; and I hope that if our finances continue in a flourishing condition, I may be able to budget up to the 100 lakhs in future years.

Sir W. J. Cuningham's successor.

I am very much troubled over the question of a successor to Cuningham as Foreign Secretary. He goes for leave early in April, and I think stands greatly in need of rest and recuperation. I had proposed to appoint Barnes as his successor, feeling certain, after examination of the claims of the possible candidates, that he is undeniably the best—an opinion in which Lord Elgin also concurred. I had practically arranged this with Cuningham, who himself acquiesced, and did not, I believe, propose to return to India. Then, however, came the question of filling Barnes's place in Baluchistan; and search where I may, I cannot find a man whom it is safe to place in that very important position. There is no one specially marked out for it by record, aptitudes, or ability. I am going to keep Colonel Wylie in Nepal for another year until my visit to Khatmandu. Colonel Curzon Wyllie, another possible candidate, is said not to be a strong man, and is not in good health. It is impossible to send to Baluchistan a man like Sir George Robertson. Yate is universally regarded as a bull in a china shop. Cunningham of Peshawar has applied, but it would never do to take a Punjab man and put him in there. Crawford, now in Berar, is very able, but appears to be universally distrusted. In despair I brought up Colonel Donald Robertson from Mysore to have a look at him; but, though he seemed to me to be just the sort of personality for a Resident in a Native State, he has not the knowledge, and I did not find in him the quality or fibre, that are essential for a great frontier administration. I feel, therefore, that I hardly dare move Barnes from Quetta; and that my own convenience must not stand in the way of the public interest. I have, therefore, asked

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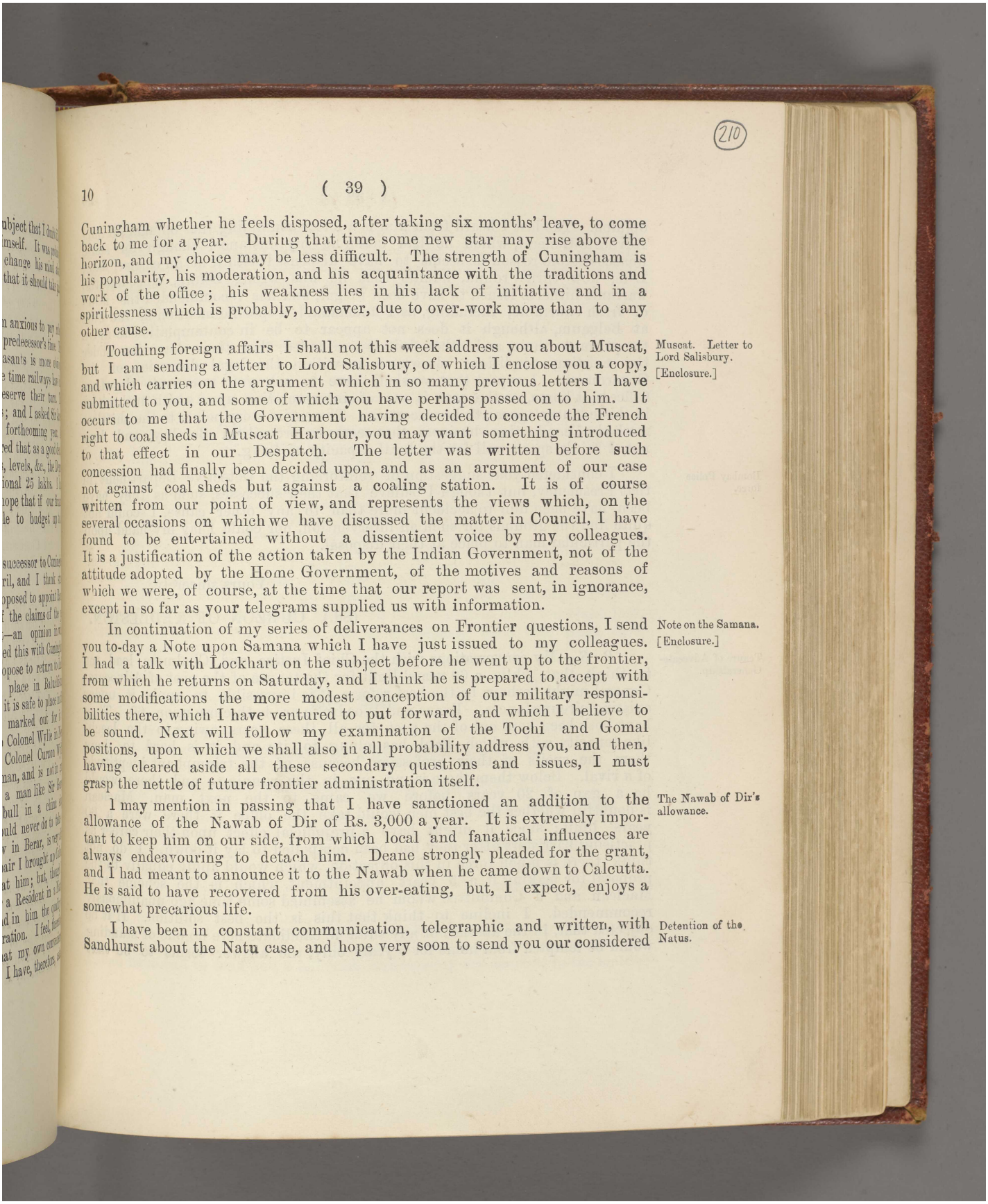

Cuningham whether he feels disposed, after taking six months' leave, to come back to me for a year. During that time some new star may rise above the horizon, and my choice may be less difficult. The strength of Cuningham is his popularity, his moderation, and his acquaintance with the traditions and work of the office; his weakness lies in his lack of initiative and in a spiritlessness which is probably, however, due to over-work more than to any other cause.

Muscat. Letter to Lord Salisbury. [Enclosure.]

Touching foreign affairs I shall not this week address you about Muscat, but I am sending a letter to Lord Salisbury, of which I enclose you a copy, and which carries on the argument which in so many previous letters I have submitted to you, and some of which you have perhaps passed on to him. It occurs to me that the Government having decided to concede the French right to coal sheds in Muscat Harbour, you may want something introduced to that effect in our Despatch. The letter was written before such concession had finally been decided upon, and as an argument of our case not against coal sheds but against a coaling station. It is of course written from our point of view, and represents the views which, on the several occasions on which we have discussed the matter in Council, I have found to be entertained without a dissentient voice by my colleagues. It is a justification of the action taken by the Indian Government, not of the attitude adopted by the Home Government, of the motives and reasons of which we were, of course, at the time that our report was sent, in ignorance, except in so far as your telegrams supplied us with information.

Note on the Samana. [Enclosure.]

In continuation of my series of deliverances on Frontier questions, I send you to-day a Note upon Samana which I have just issued to my colleagues. I had a talk with Lockhart on the subject before he went up to the frontier, from which he returns on Saturday, and I think he is prepared to accept with some modifications the more modest conception of our military responsibilities there, which I have ventured to put forward, and which I believe to be sound. Next will follow my examination of the Tochi and Gomal positions, upon which we shall also in all probability address you, and then, having cleared aside all these secondary questions and issues, I must grasp the nettle of future frontier administration itself.

The Nawab of Dir's allowance.

I may mention in passing that I have sanctioned an addition to the allowance of the Nawab of Dir of Rs. 3,000 a year. It is extremely important to keep him on our side, from which local and fanatical influences are always endeavouring to detach him. Deane strongly pleaded for the grant, and I had meant to announce it to the Nawab when he came down to Calcutta. He is said to have recovered from his over-eating, but, I expect, enjoys a somewhat precarious life.

Detention of the Natus.

I have been in constant communication, telegraphic and written, with Sandhurst about the Natu case, and hope very soon to send you our considered

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opinion. The last I heard from him is a letter containing the opinion of his Advocate-General, which he had taken at my instance, though for some unaccountable reason he seems to have dispensed with it at an earlier date. Lang now turns round, admits that he was wrong before, considers the warrants hitherto issued to have been illegal, and has recommended the issue of fresh warrants, including, as I understand, a specific mention of the Fort at Belgaum, although it does not appear to be in contemplation to move the prisoners there, and although it is contended that their detention under the existing conditions elsewhere is within the legal discretion of the Government. I expect that we shall have to ask you to consult the Law Officers at home, as the case is one of interpretation upon which authorities in this country appear to be uncertain. The entire story points to the shiftless method of conducting business that seems to prevail in Bombay, and does not, I think, speak well for the legal capacity of Lang.

Bombay Police force.

I considered your suggestion of reinforcing the Detective Department in that Presidency, but though I believe that their successes, such as they have been, have been due to accident more than to any other cause, I could not quite find the grounds for such an intervention, nor could I lay my hand upon the particular man to place at their disposal.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

Tenure of Advocate-Generalship.

P. S.—My conversations with the Chief Justice and Chalmers lead me to think that while a 60 years' limit for the tenure of the post of Advocate-General might perhaps be the best reform, it is impossible to apply it under existing circumstances. Evans and Woodroffe are both close upon 60. They have both been kept out of the post for all these years owing to the leech-like tenacity with which Paul has clung to it; and it is hard to deny them the spoils of their profession because of the triumphant ineptitude of a rival. Below them there is no one in the running: and there would be a gap of 20 years before we came to the next man. Maclean is doubtful whether the best men would take the office if there were a 60 years' limit; since it might have a prejudicial effect upon their career as practising barristers after they had been compelled to lay it down. I do not think there is much force in this objection, which would apply equally to the proposal for making it a 5 years' appointment, which is the scheme that Maclean and a Committee whom he assembled some time ago unanimously recommended. I incline to think that this is the best solution. If it be objected that, in the absence of any suitable candidate here no one of standing would be tempted from home for 5 years only, the answer seems to be that

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you would promise a double term to a good man in advance. If you do not care to authorise me to offer the post to Evans first and then to Woodroffe, for as much as 5 years, I might say that the conditions as regards length of tenure are still under consideration and will be communicated later on.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

I.—Printed copies of letters—

(1) from Private Secretary to Viceroy to Sir C. Paul, dated 1st March 1899.
(2) from Sir C. Paul to Private Secretary to Viceroy, dated 4th March 1899.
(3) from Sir C. Paul to Private Secretary to Viceroy, dated 8th March 1899.
(4) from Private Secretary to Viceroy to Sir C. Paul, dated 8th March 1899.
(5) from Sir C. Paul to Private Secretary to Viceroy, dated 8th March 1899.
(6) from Private Secretary to Viceroy to Sir C. Paul, dated 9th March 1899.
(7) from Private Secretary to Viceroy to Sir C. Paul, dated 10th March 1899.
(8) from Sir C. Paul to Private Secretary to Viceroy, dated 10th March 1899.
(9) from Sir C. Paul to Private Secretary to Viceroy, dated 10th March 1899.
(10) from Sir F. Maclean to Viceroy, dated 10th March 1899.
(11) from Private Secretary to Viceroy to Sir C. Paul, dated 10th March 1899.
(12) from Sir C. Paul to Private Secretary to Viceroy, dated 11th March 1899.
(13) from Private Secretary to Viceroy to Sir C. Paul, dated 11th March 1899.
(14) from Sir C. Paul to Private Secretary to Viceroy, dated 13th March 1899.

II.—Printed copy of the Viceroy's Note on the Samana Position, dated 14th March 1899.

III.—Letter from the Viceroy to the Marquis of Salisbury, dated 16th March 1899, regarding Maskat.

No. 10a.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
March 16th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I must again, this week as last, add a few lines about the Calcutta Municipal Bill. In all probability, long before you receive this I shall have had to send you a telegram, announcing my decision in the matter. Calcutta Municipal Bill.

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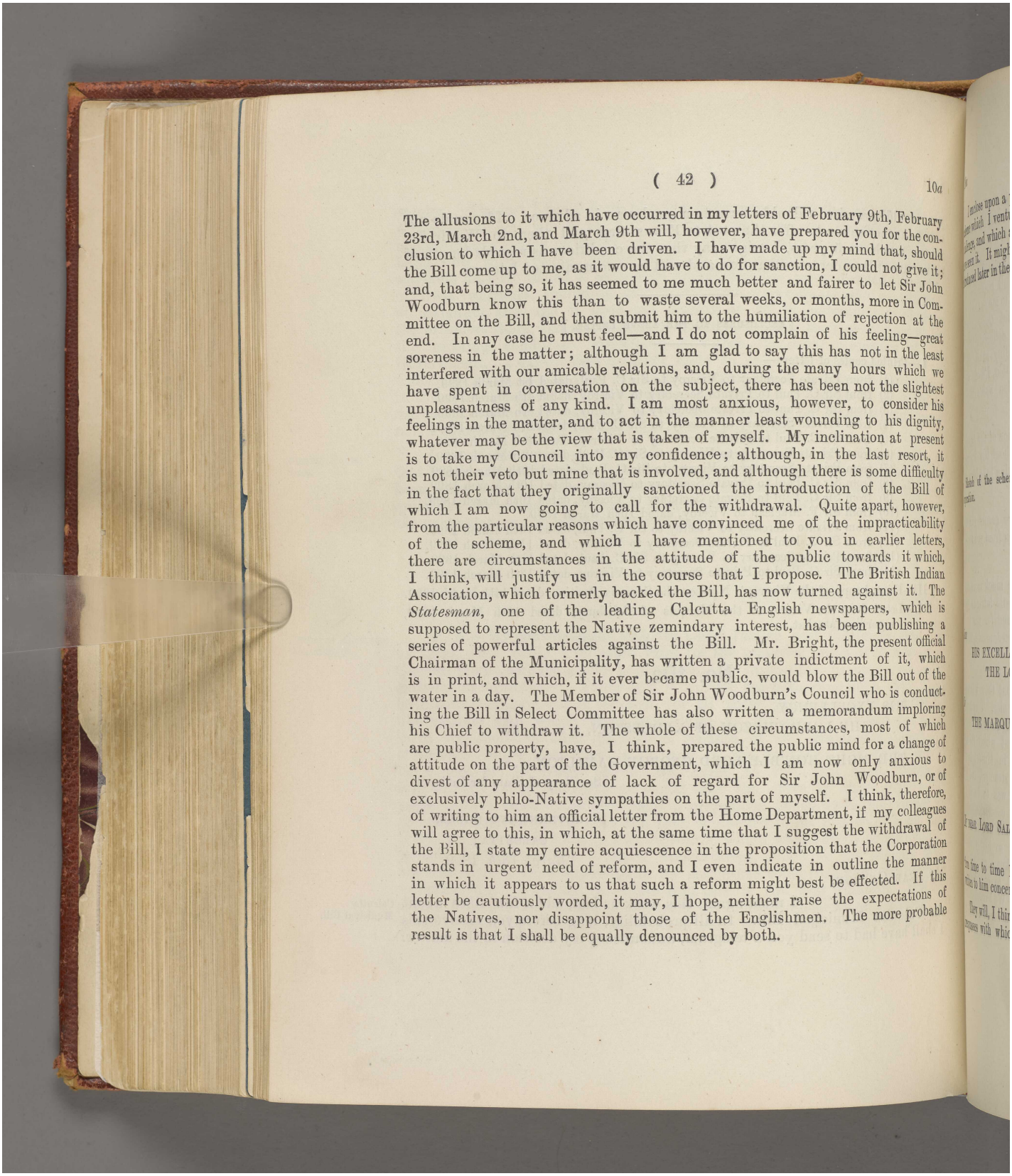

The allusions to it which have occurred in my letters of February 9th, February 23rd, March 2nd, and March 9th will, however, have prepared you for the conclusion to which I have been driven. I have made up my mind that, should the Bill come up to me, as it would have to do for sanction, I could not give it; and, that being so, it has seemed to me much better and fairer to let Sir John Woodburn know this than to waste several weeks, or months, more in Committee on the Bill, and then submit him to the humiliation of rejection at the end. In any case he must feel—and I do not complain of his feeling—great soreness in the matter; although I am glad to say this has not in the least interfered with our amicable relations, and, during the many hours which we have spent in conversation on the subject, there has been not the slightest unpleasantness of any kind. I am most anxious, however, to consider his feelings in the matter, and to act in the manner least wounding to his dignity, whatever may be the view that is taken of myself. My inclination at present is to take my Council into my confidence; although, in the last resort, it is not their veto but mine that is involved, and although there is some difficulty in the fact that they originally sanctioned the introduction of the Bill of which I am now going to call for the withdrawal. Quite apart, however, from the particular reasons which have convinced me of the impracticability of the scheme, and which I have mentioned to you in earlier letters, there are circumstances in the attitude of the public towards it which, I think, will justify us in the course that I propose. The British Indian Association, which formerly backed the Bill, has now turned against it. The *Statesman*, one of the leading Calcutta English newspapers, which is supposed to represent the Native zemindary interest, has been publishing a series of powerful articles against the Bill. Mr. Bright, the present official Chairman of the Municipality, has written a private indictment of it, which is in print, and which, if it ever became public, would blow the Bill out of the water in a day. The Member of Sir John Woodburn's Council who is conducting the Bill in Select Committee has also written a memorandum imploring his Chief to withdraw it. The whole of these circumstances, most of which are public property, have, I think, prepared the public mind for a change of attitude on the part of the Government, which I am now only anxious to divest of any appearance of lack of regard for Sir John Woodburn, or of exclusively philo-Native sympathies on the part of myself. I think, therefore, of writing to him an official letter from the Home Department, if my colleagues will agree to this, in which, at the same time that I suggest the withdrawal of the Bill, I state my entire acquiescence in the proposition that the Corporation stands in urgent need of reform, and I even indicate in outline the manner in which it appears to us that such a reform might best be effected. If this letter be cautiously worded, it may, I hope, neither raise the expectations of the Natives, nor disappoint those of the Englishmen. The more probable result is that I shall be equally denounced by both.

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I enclose upon a piece of paper a sketch, or diagram, of the counter scheme which I ventured to put before Sir John Woodburn in response to his challenge, and which appears to be very favourably regarded by all those who have seen it. It might, I think, supply the basis for a very useful Bill to be introduced later in the year. [Enclosure.]

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Sketch of the scheme suggested by H. E. the Viceroy for the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

No. 11.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K. G., P. C.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
March 16th, 1899.

MY DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

I rather hope that the Secretary of State may from time to time have shown to you the passages in letters which I have written to him concerning our action at Muscat.

They will, I think, have shown you that Meade was not guilty of all the trespasses with which the imperfections of telegraphic communication had at Muscat.

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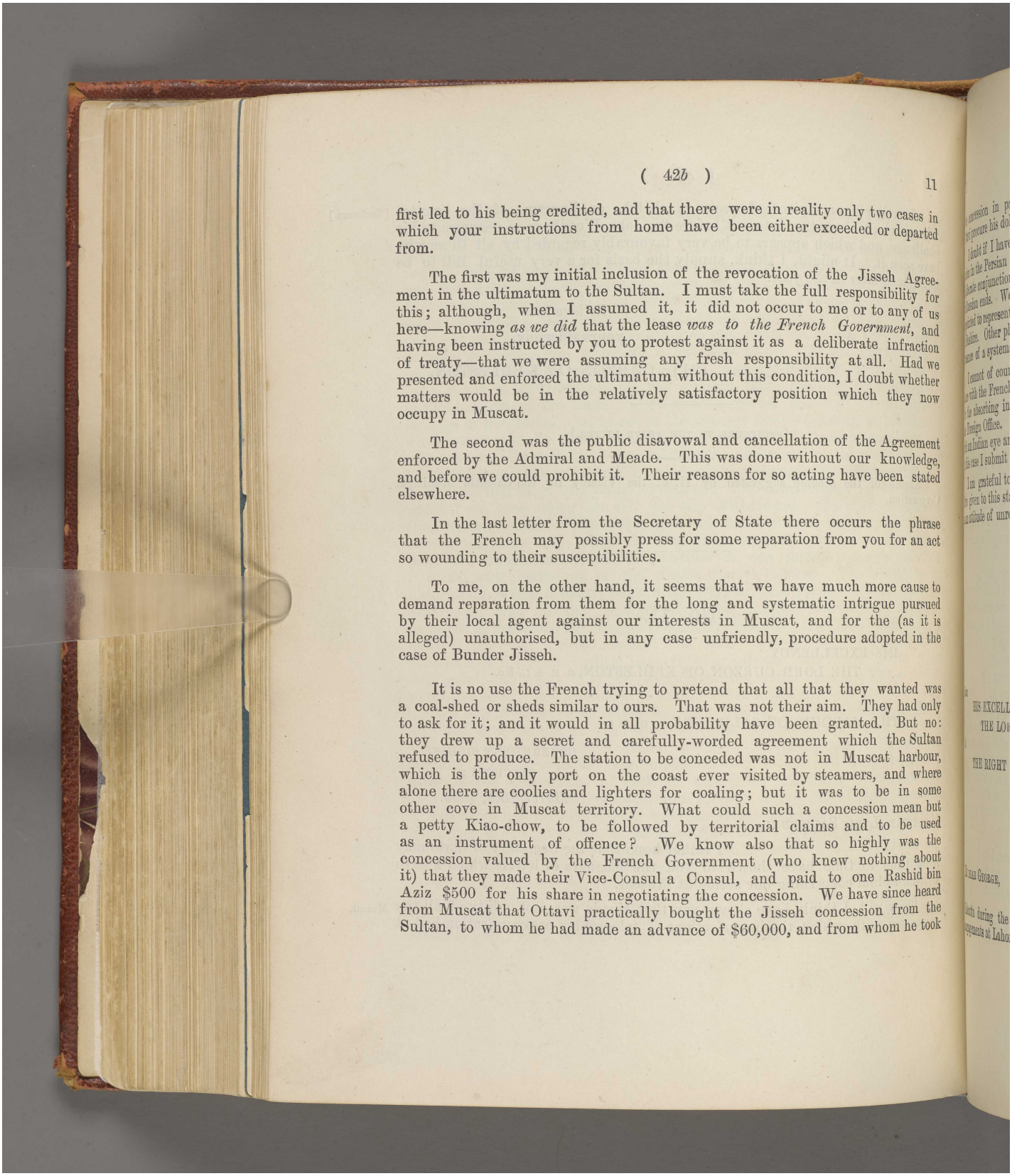

first led to his being credited, and that there were in reality only two cases in which your instructions from home have been either exceeded or departed from.

The first was my initial inclusion of the revocation of the Jisseh Agreement in the ultimatum to the Sultan. I must take the full responsibility for this; although, when I assumed it, it did not occur to me or to any of us here—knowing *as we did* that the lease *was to the French Government*, and having been instructed by you to protest against it as a deliberate infraction of treaty—that we were assuming any fresh responsibility at all. Had we presented and enforced the ultimatum without this condition, I doubt whether matters would be in the relatively satisfactory position which they now occupy in Muscat.

The second was the public disavowal and cancellation of the Agreement enforced by the Admiral and Meade. This was done without our knowledge, and before we could prohibit it. Their reasons for so acting have been stated elsewhere.

In the last letter from the Secretary of State there occurs the phrase that the French may possibly press for some reparation from you for an act so wounding to their susceptibilities.

To me, on the other hand, it seems that we have much more cause to demand reparation from them for the long and systematic intrigue pursued by their local agent against our interests in Muscat, and for the (as it is alleged) unauthorised, but in any case unfriendly, procedure adopted in the case of Bunder Jisseh.

It is no use the French trying to pretend that all that they wanted was a coal-shed or sheds similar to ours. That was not their aim. They had only to ask for it; and it would in all probability have been granted. But no: they drew up a secret and carefully-worded agreement which the Sultan refused to produce. The station to be conceded was not in Muscat harbour, which is the only port on the coast ever visited by steamers, and where alone there are coolies and lighters for coaling; but it was to be in some other cove in Muscat territory. What could such a concession mean but a petty Kiao-chow, to be followed by territorial claims and to be used as an instrument of offence? We know also that so highly was the concession valued by the French Government (who knew nothing about it) that they made their Vice-Consul a Consul, and paid to one Rashid bin Aziz $500 for his share in negotiating the concession. We have since heard from Muscat that Ottavi practically bought the Jisseh concession from the Sultan, to whom he had made an advance of $60,000, and from whom he took

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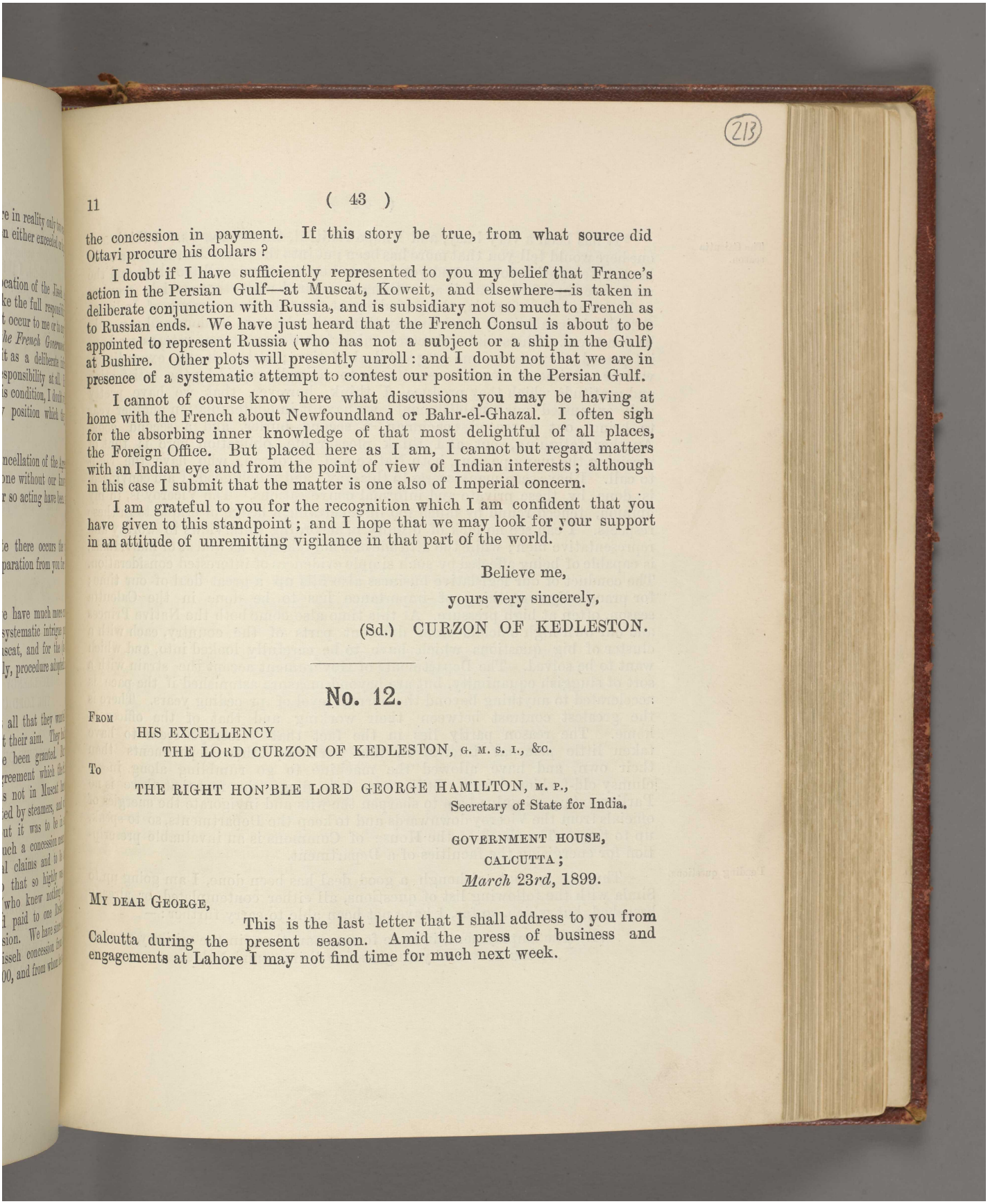

the concession in payment. If this story be true, from what source did Ottavi procure his dollars ?

I doubt if I have sufficiently represented to you my belief that France's action in the Persian Gulf—at Muscat, Koweit, and elsewhere—is taken in deliberate conjunction with Russia, and is subsidiary not so much to French as to Russian ends. We have just heard that the French Consul is about to be appointed to represent Russia (who has not a subject or a ship in the Gulf) at Bushire. Other plots will presently unroll: and I doubt not that we are in presence of a systematic attempt to contest our position in the Persian Gulf.

I cannot of course know here what discussions you may be having at home with the French about Newfoundland or Bahr-el-Ghazal. I often sigh for the absorbing inner knowledge of that most delightful of all places, the Foreign Office. But placed here as I am, I cannot but regard matters with an Indian eye and from the point of view of Indian interests; although in this case I submit that the matter is one also of Imperial concern.

I am grateful to you for the recognition which I am confident that you have given to this standpoint; and I hope that we may look for your support in an attitude of unremitting vigilance in that part of the world.

Believe me,

yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 12.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
March 23*rd*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

This is the last letter that I shall address to you from Calcutta during the present season. Amid the press of business and engagements at Lahore I may not find time for much next week.

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The Calcutta season.

It has been a very busy, and I hope fruitful, three months. I think any one here would tell you that more has been put into that time than has, as a rule, been attempted before. And yet to me the time seems all too short and the work accomplished almost as nothing compared with that which requires to be done. The fact is, the period spent by the Government of India at Calcutta is insufficient, for the many things that have to be done and can only be done here. The social and ceremonial functions, at any rate as we have interpreted them, consume a great deal of time; although any expenditure, whether of time or means, seems to me to be well repaid by the satisfaction and gratitude which they produce. I think, however, that we have pretty well exhausted our establishment; we have it in contemplation another year to bring out a second coachman, a second butler, and a second cook. Another fatiguing, but as I think pleasurable, obligation here is that of receiving the many persons, both Native and European, who have the right to call. I have seen many scores in this way; and much good, I am convinced, is done by these private and informal conversations. The Viceroy is, in my opinion, fenced round by much too impenetrable a hedge of etiquette in these respects. I can see no lack of dignity in according interviews to worthy and representative men; while the attitude of whole classes, as well as of individuals, is capable of being affected by such simple evidences of interested consideration. The conduct of our legislative business also fills up a great deal of our time; for practically everything of importance has to be done in the Calcutta season, often at high pressure. At this time also come both the Native Princes and our own high officials from different parts of the country, each with a cluster of big questions which have to be carefully looked into, and which want to be solved. The Departments of Government accept the strain with a sort of sluggish equanimity, but are beyond measure astonished if the pace is accelerated to anything beyond the normal level of preceding years. There is the greatest contrast between their working and that of the offices at home. The reason partly lies in the fact that Viceroys seem to have taken little personal interest in the work of other Departments than their own, and have allowed the machine to go rumbling along in its clumsy old-fashioned way. Still more is it due to the fact that there is no Parliamentary stimulus here to sharpen the wits and invigorate the energies of officials from the Viceroy downwards and to keep the Departments, so to speak, up to time. The check of the House of Commons is an invaluable prescription for energising the faculties of a Department.

Pending questions.

Thus it is that, although a good deal has been done, I am going up to Simla with the following list of questions, all either contemplated or already broached, but which, so far, I have not been able to carry further:—

(1.) The employment, in some form or another, in the military services of the Crown of young Native Princes and Nobles.

Done 1901

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(2.) The management of our Educational system, which seems to me to be strangely deficient in central authority and Government control; for instance, I find to my amazement and disgust that Lee-Warner's excellent manual had not been introduced into any of the Government schools in India, because the Text Book Committee, on which there is a majority of Babus and only one Government representative, had declined to admit it.

(3.) The future relations of the Government of India to railways and to enterprise in general.

(4.) The much-needed reform, of which I have before written, in the system of official and departmental writing.

(5.) The question of Seistan and a possible Seistan railway.

(6.) The revision of the leave rules under which the continuity of our administration is rapidly breaking down.

(7.) The thorough overhauling of the Archæological Department and the revision of the at present most imperfect control which we keep over the ancient monuments of India.

(8.) The institution of an Imperial Library in Calcutta.

(9.) The scientific survey of parts of the great Himalayan Range.

(10.) The Punjab frontier.

I have started upon all these questions, but every day, though I work from morning till night, I feel that there is no time, no time; and that a Viceroy, if he is really to leave a mark upon India, and to do what is urgently required, should have 15 years and not 5.

Muscat.

I will now turn to foreign subjects. I have only to say this upon Muscat this week, and it is of course in the strictest confidence; that I have been absolutely staggered in reading the reports of Lord Salisbury's first interviews with the French Ambassador to find that while the entire discussion turned upon the exact interpretation of treaties on both sides he never for one moment raised the question as to why the Frenchmen wanted a coaling depôt or coaling sheds at all. M. Cambon, without a murmur of protest, made the astonishing statement that they were wanted for French commerce and French men-of-war on their way to the East. But the whole point of our case lies in the fact that there is no French commerce, and that French men-of-war cannot go to Muscat except by going out of their way and in order to do us a bad turn. Herein lies the whole difference between the Foreign Office and ourselves. While with them it is a question of treaty right with us it is a question of motive; but I will not further enlarge upon this

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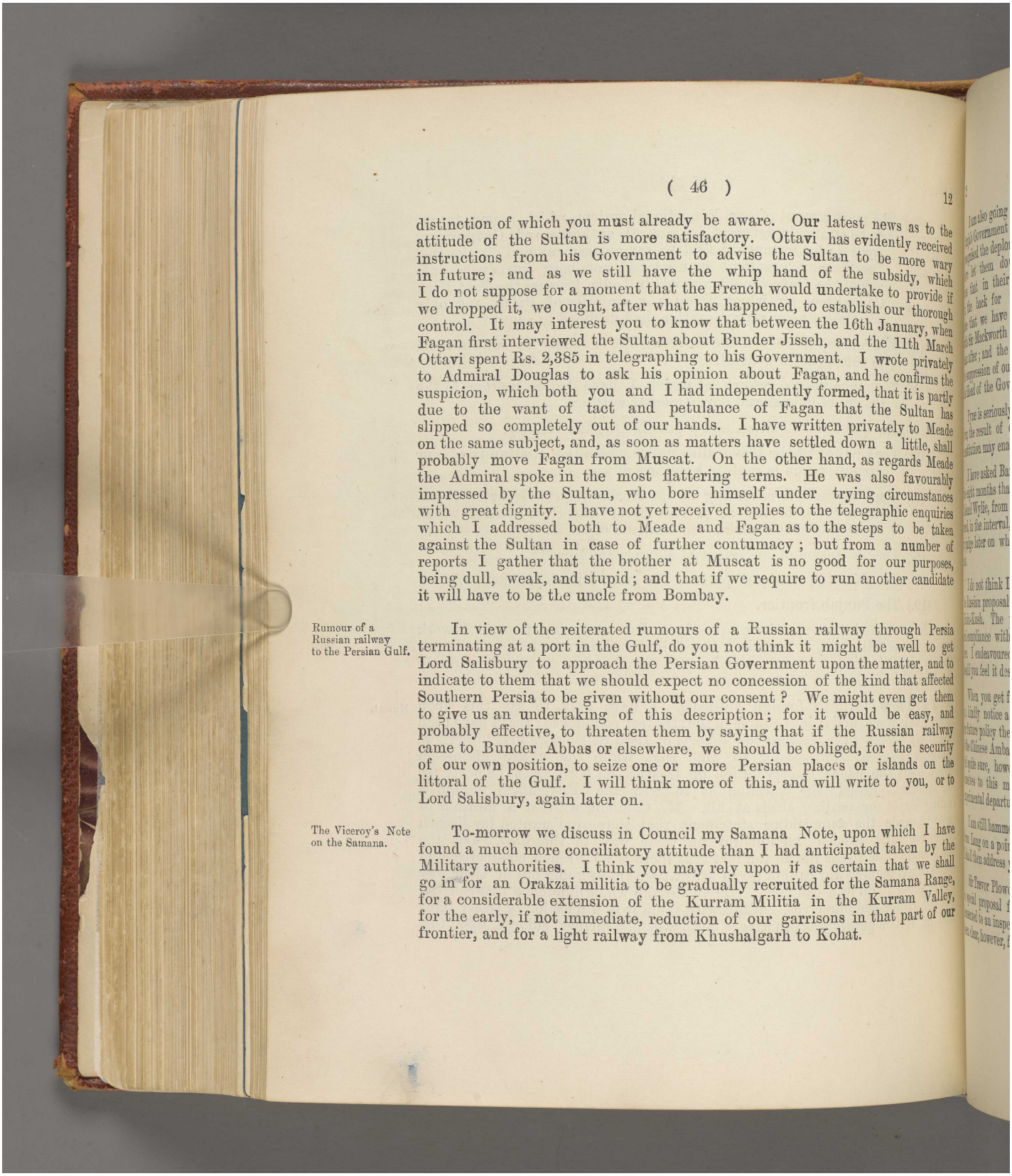

distinction of which you must already be aware. Our latest news as to the attitude of the Sultan is more satisfactory. Ottavi has evidently received instructions from his Government to advise the Sultan to be more wary in future; and as we still have the whip hand of the subsidy, which I do not suppose for a moment that the French would undertake to provide if we dropped it, we ought, after what has happened, to establish our thorough control. It may interest you to know that between the 16th January, when Fagan first interviewed the Sultan about Bunder Jisseh, and the 11th March Ottavi spent Rs. 2,385 in telegraphing to his Government. I wrote privately to Admiral Douglas to ask his opinion about Fagan, and he confirms the suspicion, which both you and I had independently formed, that it is partly due to the want of tact and petulance of Fagan that the Sultan has slipped so completely out of our hands. I have written privately to Meade on the same subject, and, as soon as matters have settled down a little, shall probably move Fagan from Muscat. On the other hand, as regards Meade the Admiral spoke in the most flattering terms. He was also favourably impressed by the Sultan, who bore himself under trying circumstances with great dignity. I have not yet received replies to the telegraphic enquiries which I addressed both to Meade and Fagan as to the steps to be taken against the Sultan in case of further contumacy; but from a number of reports I gather that the brother at Muscat is no good for our purposes, being dull, weak, and stupid; and that if we require to run another candidate it will have to be the uncle from Bombay.

Rumour of a Russian railway to the Persian Gulf.

In view of the reiterated rumours of a Russian railway through Persia terminating at a port in the Gulf, do you not think it might be well to get Lord Salisbury to approach the Persian Government upon the matter, and to indicate to them that we should expect no concession of the kind that affected Southern Persia to be given without our consent? We might even get them to give us an undertaking of this description; for it would be easy, and probably effective, to threaten them by saying that if the Russian railway came to Bunder Abbas or elsewhere, we should be obliged, for the security of our own position, to seize one or more Persian places or islands on the littoral of the Gulf. I will think more of this, and will write to you, or to Lord Salisbury, again later on.

The Viceroy's Note on the Samana.

To-morrow we discuss in Council my Samana Note, upon which I have found a much more conciliatory attitude than I had anticipated taken by the Military authorities. I think you may rely upon it as certain that we shall go in for an Orakzai militia to be gradually recruited for the Samana Range, for a considerable extension of the Kurram Militia in the Kurram Valley, for the early, if not immediate, reduction of our garrisons in that part of our frontier, and for a light railway from Khushalgarh to Kohat.

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The Gumatti affair.

I am also going to submit to Council a letter which I have written to the Punjab Government upon the Gumatti affair. Had the Punjab Government recognised the deplorable, and even culpable nature of the fiasco, we might have let them down easily; but though it is scarcely credible, it is true that in their report to us they conclude by patting everybody on the back for the vigilance and ability displayed. It is unfortunate that we have to express our views just before I am going to stay with Sir Mackworth Young. But it is better that the letter should go before than after; and the case is such a disgraceful one that I cannot acquiesce in the suppression of our views because I am about to receive the hospitality of the Head of the Government concerned.

Sir S. Pyne.

Pyne is seriously ill in Calcutta, having had an abscess cut out of his liver, the result of excessive affection for the whisky-bottle. His sturdy constitution may enable him to pull through, but his life is in some peril.

Mr. H. S. Barnes as Officiating Foreign Secretary. Colonel Wylie to officiate for Mr. Barnes.

I have asked Barnes to come to me and act in Cuningham's place during the eight months that the latter is away, and he has accepted. I shall put Colonel Wylie, from Nepal, into Baluchistan, which he has already administered, in the interval, and the experience will be useful to me as enabling me to judge later on whether Barnes should be Cuningham's final successor or not.

Russian proposal to examine the Passes of the Hindu-Kush.

I do not think I need add anything to what I telegraphed to you about the Russian proposal to send a party of officers to examine the Passes of the Hindu-Kush. The proposal seemed to me to be one of amazing coolness, and compliance with it would produce a highly unfavourable impression here. I endeavoured, however, to provide you with a loophole of escape should you feel it desirable not to return an absolute refusal.

Sikkim-Tibetan frontier.

When you get from us a Despatch upon the Sikkim-Tibetan frontier, will you kindly notice a paragraph which I have inserted towards the close as to our future policy there? The present position is most ignominious, and the use of the Chinese Amban as an intermediary is an admitted farce. I do not feel quite sure, however, whether in your opinion we have so far committed ourselves to this method of procedure in the case of Tibet as to render any experimental departure from it impossible.

Detention of the Natus.

I am still hammering at Sandhurst and trying to get from him an opinion from Lang on a point which he has apparently left unnoticed. If I succeed, I shall then address you upon the whole case.

The Nizam of Hyderabad.

Sir Trevor Plowden came up from Hyderabad to see me last week, with a special proposal from the Nizam. The latter, you will remember, had consented to an inspection of his private accounts by Mr. Crawley. It has been clear, however, from the start that he bitterly resented such an inquisition

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into his private affairs, and would do his best to evade his promise. His proposal to me is that if I will forego the examination he will undertake to limit his expenditure to 55 lakhs from the public Treasury. This is exclusive of the 20 lakhs net which he is believed to receive from the Sarf-i-khas. I think the proposal is not an unreasonable one, and I propose to agree to it under conditions and with a limitation of 50 lakhs instead of 55. I also propose to ask the Nizam to come up and see me here next cold weather. I am certain that these Princes are to be got at by a little personal courtesy, and that what is represented as disloyalty to Government is often no more than the irritation produced by a long course of friction with a not very tactful British representative. I do not know enough of Hyderabad to say that it has been so in this case, but I think that we are more likely to get on with the Nizam should he come here than if I do not meet him at all.

Sugar Bounties Bill.

The Sugar Bounties Bill was passed amid a chorus of approval, and my own speech was dedicated to a defence of it in exclusively Indian interests. I do not know whether it was reported in the papers at home, or what view the House of Commons may take; but I imagine that it will be better for your interests as well as for ours that the Bill should be regarded as dictated solely by Indian needs rather than as having been influenced by international or by English considerations.

Budget.

We take the budget on Monday next. There will probably be some criticism on the ground that we have not reduced taxation; and I think myself that Westland has been a little over-cautious in estimating for next year at a $15\frac{3}{4}d.$ rupee instead of 1*s.* 4*d.* but I expect we shall, get through without much trouble.

Mr. M. D. Chalmers and Sir J. Westland.

To-night I give a parting dinner to Chalmers and Westland, the latter of whom is retiring in a blaze of triumph.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

Concerning the Calcutta Municipal Bill I have nothing to add to-day to the telegram which I sent yesterday in response to your very generous offer of intervention and willingness to share the responsibility with me. In the interval, before the steps are taken which I have indicated, I shall make further enquiries as to the merits of the different alternatives proposed.

It is a great pleasure to receive your weekly letters, and to feel that my work, which is conducted almost in solitude here—for the Viceroy can scarcely be said to have advisers—is regarded with a sympathetic eye at home.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 12a.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
March 23rd, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I am in your debt for two very interesting letters. Muscat. There is only one phrase in your allusion to Muscat that I deprecate. It is when you say that we have administered a *coup de épingle* to the French. Surely the pinprick is the other way about. What astonishes me here (putting aside for the moment the question of Treaty equality and right) is the assumption at home that the French were after all only doing a normal and legitimate thing, and that the utmost required of us was civilly to rob it of any illegality and consecrate it, in a legal form, by our consent. I seem to have quite failed in getting the Foreign Office to understand that there is no case or excuse for a French coaling depôt or even coaling sheds at all. Of course they will be useful for Russian ships of war to coal from later on. But when you argue that after all such an establishment is only a hostage to fortune which we should seize in time of war, you appear to me to forget that we do not go to war with France nowadays more than thrice in a century (if that); and that in the interval claims, rights, privileges are created out of that hostage which will have converted it into something much more substantial long before war comes. I have never been impressed by the argument that we need not mind the intrusion of France here or Russia there because in time of war we could seize the possession in question. It would justify, for instance, a Russian port in the Persian Gulf. It was used to allay our fears when France went into Tongking (out of which the whole trouble about Siam has arisen). It was revived when the Germans went to Kiaochou, which has brought about the partition of China.

The reason why we have never been able (since Ross' time) to get a good man for the Persian Gulf, is that the best men will not go to so disagreeable a station, and such as go clamour till they are taken away. Residents in the Persian Gulf. We do not turn out Ottavis. He belongs to a special class of foreign agents who have worked their way up from a low position by knowledge of a particular language, subject, or place. Foreign Agents. They are not gentlemen, and we have a partiality for being represented by the latter. Of the same class are Petrovski, the Russian at

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Kashgar, and Lagarde, the Frenchman at Jibuti. To it also belonged Pavie at Bangkok. He had been a telegraph clerk. Here and there these men, who shine in petty intrigue, have a success. But the system is not one to be imitated or admired.

Tenure of judicial appointments.

I conclude, from the stipulation as to retirement of Jenkins at age of 60, that the Secretary of State has decided to enforce such a change in spite of the objections in the House of Commons. In the case of the Advocate-General here it will be easy, if the appointment be offered to Woodroffe now, to give it to him for 5 years, and to make the condition as to retirement at 60 apply to his successors.

Duration of Membership of Council.

As regards the duration of Membership of Council here, I find it difficult to pronounce. The advantage of persuading a good man to stay out for 10 years would of course be great. But this would be dearly purchased at the cost of having a bad man, *e.g.*, Sir A. Miller, for more than 5. Again, Sir A. Trevor has ability of a sort. But 10 years of him at Public Works would bring the Government of India to a standstill. However, I gather that what you say refers to Legal and Financial Members rather than to Civilians. Would it not be possible to do it in this way :—Appoint a man for 5 years, and retain power of giving him a second term (if he is satisfactory), such second term to carry with it right to a pension. Of course in such a case you would have to give leave other than for ill-health.

Leave for the Viceroy, the C.-in-C., &c.

But I have not a doubt that the entire leave question will have to be revised before long. The Commander-in-Chief will probably have to be put on the same footing as other Members of Council, and, sooner or later, you will have to let the Viceroy get his change of air and scene too.

Civil Veterinary Dept. scheme.

There is a question that we sent home a week or two ago about the Civil Veterinary Department in India, in which we are being hung up by the War Office at home. There is an absolute consensus of opinion here with regard to it. Three successive Commanders-in-Chief have supported the scheme. It was accepted by the War Office in 1894, and now at the last moment it appears to be blocked by a War Office official (Colonel Duck), who, when in India, failed to get his counter-scheme adopted, and who is believed out here to be animated by personal motives. I hope that the Secretary of State may speak strongly to Lord Lansdowne about it, for out here there is a good deal of indignation.

I greatly appreciate your dispassionate utterances on home politics whenever you are good enough to let me have them. The debates read to me as strangely like those of last year : the same subjects, the same speakers all but

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 13.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP,
LAHORE;
March 30th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have not time this week for a dictated and printed letter. The mail goes presently, and I am taking advantage of a spare half-an-hour before the Lahore Municipality arrive to present their address.

Lahore. I arrived yesterday evening: public reception: station excellently decorated: crowds in streets: everything very well arranged: Sir M. Young like a taller Monty Rowton, redeemed by a touch of Godley. I spend to-day in interviewing all the Frontier officers who have been summoned to see me, *viz.*, General Egerton, Cunningham, Merk, Anderson, King, Donald. I have ideas as to a possible frontier scheme for the future, and must take Sir M. Young into my confidence about it. More of this next week.

Budget Discussion. My last week in Calcutta was a heavy one, since it included, in addition to all the business of winding up, four speeches. The Budget discussion was very harmonious, and not unusually long. Dawkins was a spectator, and learned more of his future colleagues in those five hours than he would have done in months of independent study. I tried to restore the confidence which Dawkins told me had been a little shaken at home by Westland's over-cautious calculation of the rupee at $15\frac{3}{4}d.$ for the next year by a frank assertion of our belief in the stability of the existing rate. Indeed, when Westland originally estimated for the next surplus at the lower rate, I raised the objection as to the effect that might be produced upon public opinion both in India and at home; but he was not to be moved.

Khyber Note. I am glad to learn from your last that my Khyber Minute gave satisfaction at home, and I hope that this may not have been dissipated by its two successors on Chitral and Samana.

Landi Kotal. The extension and fortification of the existing Serai at Landi Kotal, with the water-supply, will cost less than 2 lakhs instead of the 8 or 9 that the

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Suffolk Hill structure would have cost, so that I have made a respectable saving there. In the face of this I was rather disgusted to see that it had been telegraphed to the *Times* that I had sanctioned an expenditure of 12 lakhs on the Khyber!

Samana proposals.

You will be interested to learn that at Council last Thursday, I carried my Samana proposals with scarcely any difficulty. They were as follows:—

(1.) That we raise a force of 450 Orakzai and Afridi police to hold the forts on Samana with a view to the withdrawal of the British garrison.

(2.) That we similarly increase the Kurram Militia to a point that will enable us to withdraw all regulars from any point more advanced than Thal.

(3.) That inasmuch as (*a*) it is impossible to withdraw the regulars from both places and to substitute militia or police for them, without being in a position to support the latter if attacked; (*b*) a movable column for such relief has already been sanctioned; (*c*) such a column must have quarters; (*d*) Kohat is both unhealthy and inadequate, and money spent upon new lines there will be ill spent—therefore we recommend the construction of a new cantonment at a point to be settled (probably Kai) on the Miranzai plain, where it will support both Samana and the Kurram.

(4.) That we build a 2 feet 6 inch light frontier railway from Khushalgarh to Kohat.

We have not as yet addressed you about these projects, because they are to some extent dependent upon what I hear here from Sir M. Young and his officers.

They are, however, constructed entirely on the lines of your Despatch of February 1898, in which you laid down the principles of future frontier policy; and, in so far as they depart either from Scheme A or Scheme B as submitted to you later in the autumn, they do so in the direction of contracting and concentrating, instead of diffusing our responsibilities.

Colonel R. Gardiner as Offg. P. W. D. Member of Council.

I was so very favourably impressed with Colonel R. Gardiner during a conversation which I had with him (without letting him know what was in my mind) about our Railway Policy, that I at once made him the offer of the acting appointment subject to your assent. I gathered from Ilbert's book, which I looked up, that the appointment ought really to be made by you, and that only when *you* have made an acting appointment, and there is an interval between it and the time the nominee arrives, do I put in some one else. But inasmuch as you say that you either have not the power of appointing or do not propose to exercise it, I have offered the place to Gardiner who

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has accepted. He has to return home to see an old mother of 94; but he undertakes to be in Simla in the first week of June. I should mention that Sir A. Trevor, whom I consulted throughout, was obviously averse to the appointment. He asked why I should not wait to look into the subject until he returns, and even hinted that reform was quite unnecessary. These are perhaps natural emotions on his part, but I own to being very glad that I am to have six months without him, in which I can both form and take action upon an independent judgment.

Your letter of March 10th was most interesting, and I look forward to the arrival of the weekly mail for the budget that it brings me from the India Office.

Our news from Koweit and Busrah is that the Turks are unlikely to make any move during the hot weather. We must be on the *qui vive* when the autumn comes round.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 14.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP,
LAHORE;
April 5th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Inasmuch as I start to-night for Simla, and shall be travelling to-morrow (mail day), I must write what I have to say this afternoon.

I have had a very busy but enjoyable week, which (I am sorry to say) has included five speeches—copies of two enclosed—but has been otherwise full of instruction and interest. In Sir M. Young I have found a most agreeable and charming host; and a man upon whose loyalty, whatever our points

Tour.

Sir M. Young.

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of minor disagreement, I can absolutely rely. I should regard him as a very excellent type of the superior order of official evolved by our Indian system; not, I should think, a particularly able nor a very strong man, but conciliatory and prudent, perhaps to the point of over-caution.

Inspection of irrigation works.

Outside the speech-making and the sight-seeing, I have done two main things. The first was a visit to the new colony, created by the wonderful Chenab irrigation-scheme. It was really an amazing sight. Where only four years ago there was a barren waste with only a few scrubby bushes, there now extends mile after mile of rich crops and close cultivation; 200,000 people, either peasant proprietors or yeomen, or retired veterans, are settled on the soil; and at the two principal towns the entire population turned out, engaged bands, decorated the streets, and illuminated the whole place at night.

I should like one or two of the Wedderburn class of critics to be transported to this happy spot. They would certainly be ducked by the settlers in the nearest canal.

Discussion on Frontier administration.

My second pre-occupation has been the discussion of the Frontier Question with the Lieutenant-Governor and with all the Officers named in my letter of last week.

Alternative schemes.

There are four possible solutions: (1) the *status quo*; (2) a Frontier Province and Commission; (3) your compromise; (4) a compromise suggested by myself, *viz.*, the division of the Trans-Frontier Districts into 5 or 6 separate charges, each under a Political officer (a sort of Deane); all of these being subordinate to a local Agent to the Governor General, who should report directly to the Government of India; the civil and administrative organisation of the Punjab remaining untouched, except in so far as the abstraction of these trans-frontier tracts is concerned.

Now, in conversation, I indicated myself no preference for any one of these alternatives; and indeed I have not made up my mind about any one of them, beyond the conviction that (1) is unsatisfactory.

Judge of my surprise then when every one of the officers consulted (Merk, Cunningham, Anderson, King, Egerton) independently (for I saw them each separately) plumped unhesitatingly for (2), and denounced (3) and (4), your compromise and mine, as impracticable or as fraught with certain friction.

The Lieutenant-Governor will, of course, argue for (1); but he is far from being either unreasonable or immoderate in his attitude towards (2); he unreservedly condemns (3) and (4).

I must now go into the whole question when I arrive at Simla. But you will have this time what you have never had before when the opinion of the local officers is asked, *viz.*, a unanimous pronouncement of the leading officials of the Punjab Government against their own system.

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There is another difference between the present and previous occasions. The situation has invariably been complicated before, and the various projects have been ultimately ruined by the question of territorial re-adjustments and compensations. That question will not be raised now. The Punjab Province, even if shorn of the Trans-Indus Districts, would still remain a powerful and populous Province, although of course its Lieutenant-Governor will tell you that it would be reft of the greater part of its dignity and prestige. The only remaining consideration which I will mention to-day is this; and by it my views towards the present system are largely affected. The Frontier policy of the Punjab Government is the policy of the Government of India, in fact of the Viceroy. He and he alone is responsible to the Secretary of State, to Parliament, and to public opinion. He receives either the praise or the blame. And yet how is he required to conduct it? Through a Lieutenant-Governor who is not primarily selected for frontier knowledge or political capacity, and who has sometimes never been on the frontier in his life; through a Chief Secretary to that Governor who (I am speaking of the present case) has never seen the frontier in the whole of his service; and through a number of Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the appointment, or interchange or removal of none of whom can the Viceroy have a word. How can any such system possibly work? and what is the upshot? It is this, that in ordinary times the Punjab Government does the frontier work and dictates the frontier policy without any interference from the Supreme Government at all, *e. g.*, Sir Mackworth Young was immeasurably astonished at my double and decided intervention over Gumatti and the Chumkanni raid; but that in extraordinary times the entire control is taken over by the Government of India, acting through agents who are not its own; while the Punjab Government, dispossessed and sulky, stands on one side, criticising everything that is done.

The present position.

Working of the present scheme.

Your letter of March 16th was very interesting; and I am only sorry that I have so little material for reciprocating the items of social or political news which enliven your letters, but so rarely find a place in mine.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Printed copy of the Viceroy's speech at the Punjab Chiefs' College.
Ditto ditto to Mahomedans of Lahore.

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No. 14a.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
April 12*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Russian designs in the Persian Gulf.

You will hardly have expected your remarks about Russia and the Persian Gulf to have excited anything but horror in my mind. You draw what to my way of thinking is a quite artificial distinction between the North and the South end of the Gulf: and while you admit that we should have "something to say" about a Russian port at the latter extremity—which is, I suppose, a euphemism for resisting it—you infer that, though not overpleased, we should say nothing to a Russian port at the Bussorah end.

From our standpoint of British, *i. e.*, mainly Indian interests, I can see very little difference between the two. Neither, if we regard it from Russia's point of view, do I see why she is more entitled to Mesopotamia, Bagdad, a railway to Bussorah, and an outlet on the Gulf at that end, than she is to Khorasan, Seistan, and a rail-road to Bunder Abbas. Precisely the same arguments would justify both advances: and if we are to resist one, I do not quite see why we should concede the other, or *vice versâ*.

You reason from what you regard as the inevitable: and it is a familiar argument in modern politics. I used to be much impressed by it in the case of Home Rule, until I found that courage and a clear conviction soon resolve the inevitable into something very different. My experience of foreign affairs, such as it has been, has taught me to regard the inevitable with equally little respect: and I will no more admit that an irresistible destiny is going to plant Russia in the Persian Gulf than at Kabul or Constantinople. South of a certain line in Asia her future is much more what we choose to make it than what she can make it herself.

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I have in one of my letters to the Secretary of State alluded to the question about alienation of land in the Punjab, to which you referred in your last. If you are divided at home, I believe that we are united here. But for some time it will hardly be fair to attach too much authority to what my Council may say; for with new men in Dawkins, Raleigh, and Gardiner, as well as myself and the Commander-in-Chief, there will be no Indian administrative experience in our body except that of Rivaz, who has not himself been a Member of Council very long.

Alienation of land in the Punjab.

There is a business matter upon which I must add a word. We propose to put a lift into one of the wings of Government House at Calcutta. Its construction has been sanctioned by the Public Works Department. But there is no firm in Calcutta capable of undertaking the work (indeed there is only one lift in the whole city); so we have to send home the plans and drawings to the India Office and to get you to order the lift for us at home.

Lift for Government House, Calcutta.

The first question is whether it should be electric or hydraulic. I incline to the former. Electric lifts are much less noisy and less liable to get out of order than hydraulic. We have the power, for we are just going to light the whole house by electricity. A very competent Engineer, named Crompton, who has just been out to report upon the new Kashmir railway, strongly recommends an electric lift, and says that the Otis Company (American) is the best in London.

The lift is indoors, is on our private staircase in Government House, should be constructed so as to carry passengers or luggage, and in shape and position will be curiously like the lift that runs up to the Ladies' Gallery in the House of Commons, *i.e.*, it will be long and narrow (though we propose to reduce the great length of the staircase-well in which it will be placed by building out a platform at one end to meet the door of the lift); and the seats inside it will probably require to be at the side instead of at either end, and should be capable of being hitched up when luggage is being carried up or down. There is a further difficulty that while we can only enter by one extremity at the bottom, *e.g.*,* ⌈ ⌉ ; on the top landing we can only get out by a door either at the opposite ⌈ ⌉* extremity† or at the side on the landing,‡. *e.g.*, ⌈ ⌉† ⌈ ⌉‡ I hope that these explanations may assist the Department in your Office which is to help us. We should like the lift to be *in situ* by December when we return.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 15.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
April 13*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Chitral Garrison.

I have some good news to tell you. Colonel Thurburn and Captain McMahon have just returned from their visit to Chitral; and they are now engaged in drawing up what I understand to be absolutely consentient reports, in which, without having ever seen my original Memorandum on Chitral, which is in your possession, and without being aware of the proposals which it contains, they have, nevertheless, arrived, both on military and political grounds, at identically the same conclusions as those which I there ventured to put forward; in other words, they recommend the reduction of the infantry garrison by one battalion in the autumn, as soon as the works which they propose for the safety of the remaining garrison have been completed; they advocate concentration at Upper Drosh, and the building of a new keep and barracks there; they recommend the retention at Chitral of only a small detachment to act as escort to the Political Agent; they recommend the holding, by levies, of posts at Mirkanni, Lower Drosh, and Ghairat; and they make subsidiary proposals as regards roads and telegraph, the entire cost of the works which they advocate being estimated at Rs. 2,86,000. I shall go very carefully into all these proposals with the Commander-in-Chief. We shall no doubt have a discussion upon them in Council; and I hope before long to be able to report to you officially that the policy which I ventured to put forward, and which I am glad to think has your private approval, is to be immediately carried into effect. I have been in communication with Lockhart this morning, and we have decided at once to postpone the forthcoming reliefs,

Chitral Reliefs.

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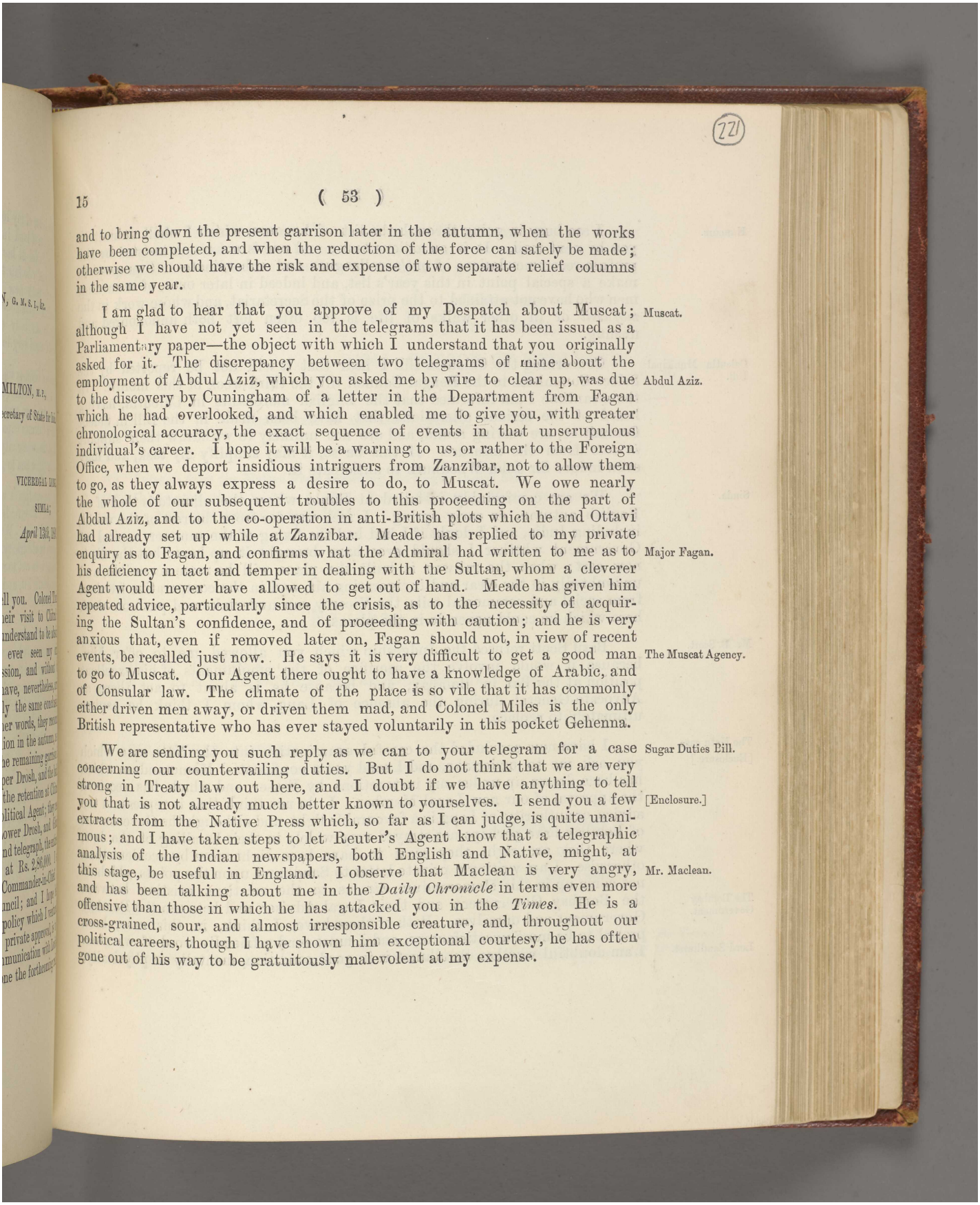

and to bring down the present garrison later in the autumn, when the works have been completed, and when the reduction of the force can safely be made; otherwise we should have the risk and expense of two separate relief columns in the same year.

Muscat. I am glad to hear that you approve of my Despatch about Muscat; although I have not yet seen in the telegrams that it has been issued as a Parliamentary paper—the object with which I understand that you originally asked for it.

Abdul Aziz. The discrepancy between two telegrams of mine about the employment of Abdul Aziz, which you asked me by wire to clear up, was due to the discovery by Cuningham of a letter in the Department from Fagan which he had overlooked, and which enabled me to give you, with greater chronological accuracy, the exact sequence of events in that unscrupulous individual's career. I hope it will be a warning to us, or rather to the Foreign Office, when we deport insidious intriguers from Zanzibar, not to allow them to go, as they always express a desire to do, to Muscat. We owe nearly the whole of our subsequent troubles to this proceeding on the part of Abdul Aziz, and to the co-operation in anti-British plots which he and Ottavi had already set up while at Zanzibar.

Major Fagan. Meade has replied to my private enquiry as to Fagan, and confirms what the Admiral had written to me as to his deficiency in tact and temper in dealing with the Sultan, whom a cleverer Agent would never have allowed to get out of hand. Meade has given him repeated advice, particularly since the crisis, as to the necessity of acquiring the Sultan's confidence, and of proceeding with caution; and he is very anxious that, even if removed later on, Fagan should not, in view of recent events, be recalled just now.

The Muscat Agency. He says it is very difficult to get a good man to go to Muscat. Our Agent there ought to have a knowledge of Arabic, and of Consular law. The climate of the place is so vile that it has commonly either driven men away, or driven them mad, and Colonel Miles is the only British representative who has ever stayed voluntarily in this pocket Gehenna.

Sugar Duties Bill. We are sending you such reply as we can to your telegram for a case concerning our countervailing duties. But I do not think that we are very strong in Treaty law out here, and I doubt if we have anything to tell you that is not already much better known to yourselves.

[Enclosure.] I send you a few extracts from the Native Press which, so far as I can judge, is quite unanimous; and I have taken steps to let Reuter's Agent know that a telegraphic analysis of the Indian newspapers, both English and Native, might, at this stage, be useful in England.

Mr. Maclean. I observe that Maclean is very angry, and has been talking about me in the *Daily Chronicle* in terms even more offensive than those in which he has attacked you in the *Times*. He is a cross-grained, sour, and almost irresponsible creature, and, throughout our political careers, though I have shown him exceptional courtesy, he has often gone out of his way to be gratuitously malevolent at my expense.

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Honours.

I am busy in going through the list of honours, which I shall submit to you by next mail. It is an odious task; and one is not much assisted by the profuse recommendations of one's colleagues and subordinates. I propose to make a special point in this year's list, and indeed in later ones, of rewarding men who have not attained to the prize of the Secretariat, and whose work in the *mofussil* or in other walks of life is too often left both unhonoured and unsung.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

Concerning the Calcutta Bill I hear that it will not be reported by the Select Committee to the Bengal Council till the third week of this month. In the meantime I am informed that the English merchants in Calcutta, having heard of the serious alterations that have been made in the Bill in Select Committee, are veering round, and are not unlikely to withdraw their support *in toto* from the measure. If this be so, it may simplify my task, and may even induce Sir John Woodburn to anticipate it.

Simla.

We are comfortably installed at Simla where the climate is that of an English autumn, or early spring. I feel very far from the rest of the world, including India, and I doubt if I had had the fixing of the summer capital of Government whether I should ever have brought it up here; but the die is now cast; when the railway is built the place will be more accessible, and undoubtedly in the clear and invigorating air, and in the comparative freedom from social and ceremonial toils, the Viceroy can undertake and push on work here which he could never do in the plains.

Mr. B. Scott.

Basil Scott refused the Judgeship which you allowed me to offer him, because it would involve the sacrifice of the emoluments of his excellent position at the Bar in Bombay, and because he is about to act there as Advocate-General during the absence of Lang, whom I think he aspires ultimately to replace.

The Natu case. [Enclosure.]

I have now concluded the careful examination into the Natu case which you ask me to undertake, and I send you a confidential Memorandum which has been drawn up under my instructions by Fraser, and which has received the approval of our new Legal Member. I do not think that it represents the advice, or authority, of Lang in a favourable light, and although the Government of Bombay have perhaps not strayed very widely in their handling of the law, where they are right they seem to have been right more by accident than otherwise. I am writing a private letter to Sandhurst upon the points which do not come up in this Memorandum, *viz.*, as to the relations existing between the Bombay Government and their Legal Adviser, and between the Bombay Government and ourselves. Both of these have, I think, in this case, been proved to be most unsatisfactory, and I must send a friendly word of warning. I am doubtful whether Sandhurst is in good condition, mentally or physically,

The Bombay Government.

Lord Sandhurst.

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for I have had a letter from him this morning of which I can only say that it is both ungrammatical and incoherent. He is a man, however, of the sweetest temper, and takes his various rebuffs with admirable grace.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

(1.) Extracts from the Native Press regarding the Sugar Duties Bill.
(2.) Confidential Note by Mr. A. H. L. Fraser, Officiating Home Secretary, on the Natu case, dated 7th April 1899.

No. 15a.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
April 19th, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Thank you for your interesting letter of the 30th. I am glad that so fair, though generous, a critic as yourself should approve of The Viceroy's speeches.

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what I have said in the various speeches that I have been called upon to make. I now relapse for 6 months into a compulsory, but most welcome, silence: from which I shall not emerge till my autumn tour.

Sugar Duties.

Concerning Sugar. Mr. Romesh Dutt wrote a most useful letter to the *Times*. I venture to predict that the Wedderburn party, who opened by a noisy denunciation of our Bill, will either bless it or remain silent when the discussion comes on; and I anticipate for the Secretary of State an overwhelming victory.

Forecast of the Currency Report.

I am a little disappointed at what you tell me concerning the probable report of the Currency Committee. While we are willing to take full responsibility for the practical measures to be adopted, they will be made all the easier by a strong and not uncertain lead. Above all, I am afraid of any fall in exchange that may occur if anything happens to diminish the public confidence. I am inclined to think that the present value of the rupee is artificial, in so far as I believe that it depends more upon confidence than it does upon any particular conditions either of the money market or of trade: and I am nervously anxious that we should get our instructions in so clear and unhesitating a form that we can at once take action upon them, before any variation or fall has had time to intervene.

Tibetan Gold Mines scheme.

Just after receiving your letter, in which you indicate the desire of one of our friends to exploit certain gold-fields at an elevation of 16,500 feet above the sea, I have had the telegram from the Secretary of State containing a particular suggestion and enquiry. There is no one in Simla who has been in Tibet so far as I can make out: and I must acquire such information as is available before I reply. I have telegraphed for General Strahan, the Surveyor-General, to come up from Dehra Dun to talk over the matter with me: and I hope soon to be in a position to send you an answer. My first impression is that it is rather a wild-cat scheme: and that any English Syndicate would find great difficulty in conducting operations in such a locality and at such an altitude upon at all an extensive scale.

Lift for Govt. House, Calcutta.

May I add one word about the projected lift mentioned in my last? There should be inside the cage a handle or implement of some kind by which

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any one, even a lady, going up or down alone, could regulate the pace and stop the lift where she pleased without requiring an attendant to manipulate anything so obsolete as a rope.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 15b.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
April 19*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am sorry to say that the trouble with Holkar continues, and threatens to become acute. Three weeks or a month ago, having ascertained by the secret enquiry which we conducted that Bolia died Holkar.

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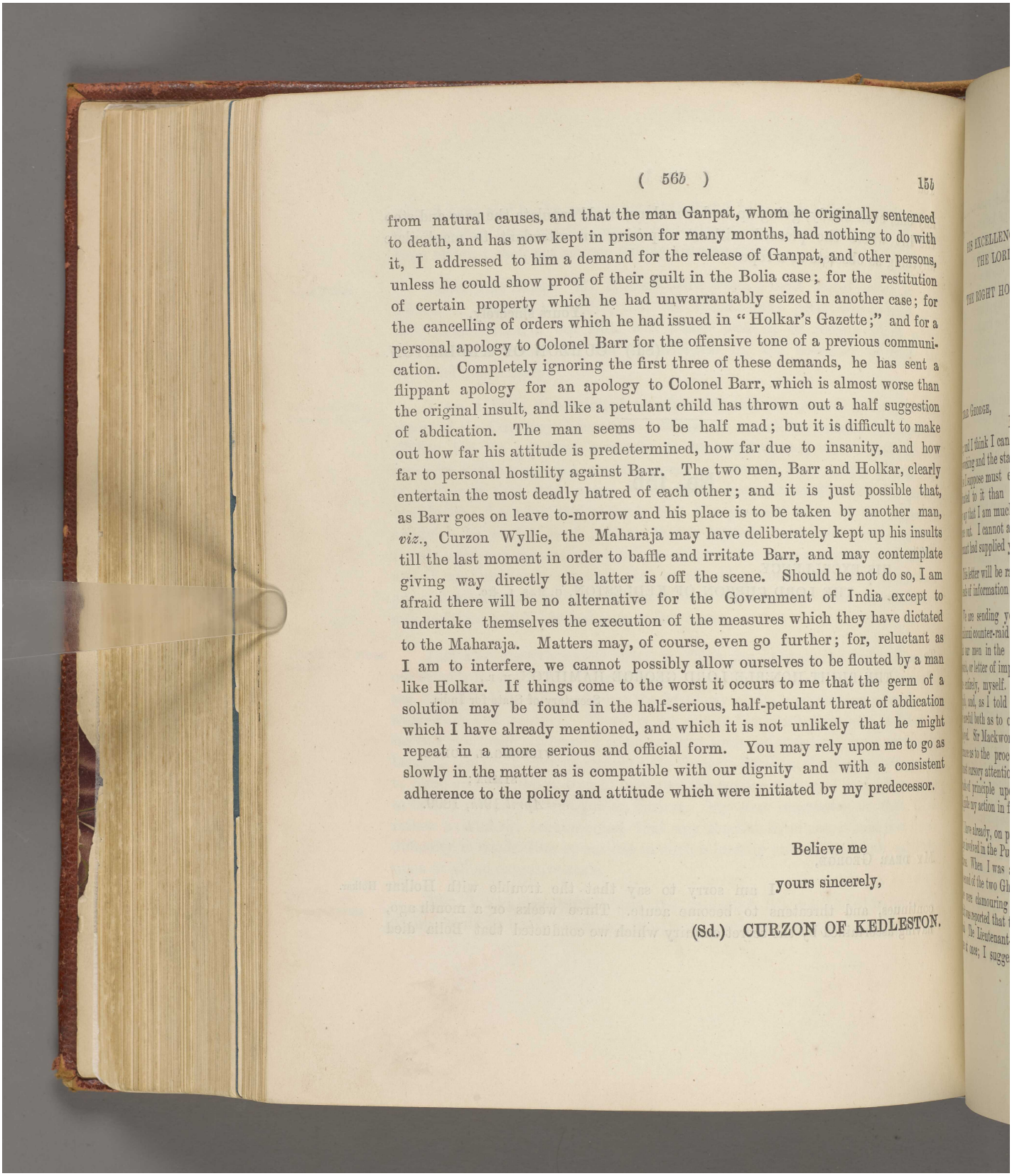

from natural causes, and that the man Ganpat, whom he originally sentenced to death, and has now kept in prison for many months, had nothing to do with it, I addressed to him a demand for the release of Ganpat, and other persons, unless he could show proof of their guilt in the Bolia case; for the restitution of certain property which he had unwarrantably seized in another case; for the cancelling of orders which he had issued in "Holkar's Gazette;" and for a personal apology to Colonel Barr for the offensive tone of a previous communication. Completely ignoring the first three of these demands, he has sent a flippant apology for an apology to Colonel Barr, which is almost worse than the original insult, and like a petulant child has thrown out a half suggestion of abdication. The man seems to be half mad; but it is difficult to make out how far his attitude is predetermined, how far due to insanity, and how far to personal hostility against Barr. The two men, Barr and Holkar, clearly entertain the most deadly hatred of each other; and it is just possible that, as Barr goes on leave to-morrow and his place is to be taken by another man, *viz.*, Curzon Wyllie, the Maharaja may have deliberately kept up his insults till the last moment in order to baffle and irritate Barr, and may contemplate giving way directly the latter is off the scene. Should he not do so, I am afraid there will be no alternative for the Government of India except to undertake themselves the execution of the measures which they have dictated to the Maharaja. Matters may, of course, even go further; for, reluctant as I am to interfere, we cannot possibly allow ourselves to be flouted by a man like Holkar. If things come to the worst it occurs to me that the germ of a solution may be found in the half-serious, half-petulant threat of abdication which I have already mentioned, and which it is not unlikely that he might repeat in a more serious and official form. You may rely upon me to go as slowly in the matter as is compatible with our dignity and with a consistent adherence to the policy and attitude which were initiated by my predecessor.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 16.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
April 19*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Viceroy's work.

I am obliged for your very agreeable letter of March 28th; and I think I can relieve your most considerate alarms about my alleged over-working and the state of my health. It is true that I do work very hard; and so I suppose must every Viceroy do. But I expect that I am more habituated to it than most of my predecessors have been; and I can truthfully say that I am much stronger in general health and physique than when I came out. I cannot accept the rather fanciful calculations with which your informant had supplied you.

This letter will be rather an *olla podrida;* since I have a number of odds and ends of information upon which to address you.

The Chamkanni counter-raid and the Gumatti affair.

We are sending you by this mail despatches and papers about the Chamkanni counter-raid and the Gumatti affair. I am sorry to say that I think our men in the Foreign Office here write very badly indeed; and any despatch, or letter of importance, I either have to re-write very largely, or to write entirely, myself. For instance, I wrote the Gumatti letter to the Punjab, and, as I told you, submitted it to Council; feeling that we must be very careful both as to our case and as to the character of the language employed. Sir Mackworth Young took it very well, but was in almost entire ignorance as to the proceedings, upon which he had evidently only bestowed the most cursory attention. In our Chamkanni Despatch I have indicated the grounds of principle upon which we endorsed the counter-raid, and which will guide my action in future cases.

Punjab frontier administration system.

I have already, on previous occasions, said something to you about the delays involved in the Punjab Government system. Let me give you two illustrations. When I was at Lahore, three weeks ago from to-day, there occurred the second of the two Ghazi outrages at Peshawar. The Military authorities there were clamouring for some action in the nature of disarmament, and it was reported that the British soldiers could with difficulty be kept in hand. The Lieutenant-Governor was anxious that something should be done at once; I suggested a conference with all the frontier officials who

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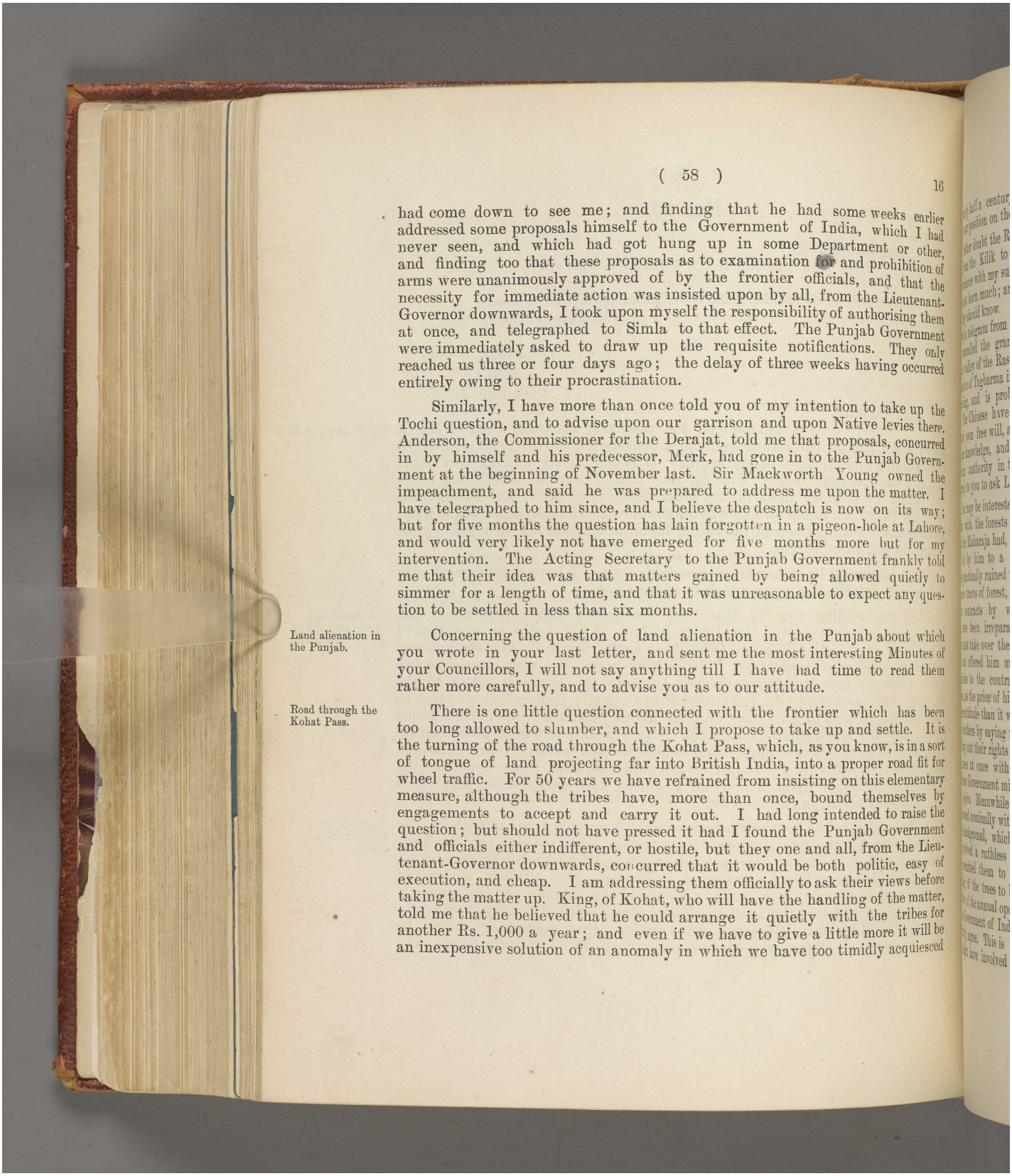

had come down to see me; and finding that he had some weeks earlier addressed some proposals himself to the Government of India, which I had never seen, and which had got hung up in some Department or other, and finding too that these proposals as to examination for and prohibition of arms were unanimously approved of by the frontier officials, and that the necessity for immediate action was insisted upon by all, from the Lieutenant-Governor downwards, I took upon myself the responsibility of authorising them at once, and telegraphed to Simla to that effect. The Punjab Government were immediately asked to draw up the requisite notifications. They only reached us three or four days ago; the delay of three weeks having occurred entirely owing to their procrastination.

Similarly, I have more than once told you of my intention to take up the Tochi question, and to advise upon our garrison and upon Native levies there. Anderson, the Commissioner for the Derajat, told me that proposals, concurred in by himself and his predecessor, Merk, had gone in to the Punjab Government at the beginning of November last. Sir Mackworth Young owned the impeachment, and said he was prepared to address me upon the matter. I have telegraphed to him since, and I believe the despatch is now on its way; but for five months the question has lain forgotten in a pigeon-hole at Lahore, and would very likely not have emerged for five months more but for my intervention. The Acting Secretary to the Punjab Government frankly told me that their idea was that matters gained by being allowed quietly to simmer for a length of time, and that it was unreasonable to expect any question to be settled in less than six months.

Land alienation in the Punjab.

Concerning the question of land alienation in the Punjab about which you wrote in your last letter, and sent me the most interesting Minutes of your Councillors, I will not say anything till I have had time to read them rather more carefully, and to advise you as to our attitude.

Road through the Kohat Pass.

There is one little question connected with the frontier which has been too long allowed to slumber, and which I propose to take up and settle. It is the turning of the road through the Kohat Pass, which, as you know, is in a sort of tongue of land projecting far into British India, into a proper road fit for wheel traffic. For 50 years we have refrained from insisting on this elementary measure, although the tribes have, more than once, bound themselves by engagements to accept and carry it out. I had long intended to raise the question; but should not have pressed it had I found the Punjab Government and officials either indifferent, or hostile, but they one and all, from the Lieutenant-Governor downwards, concurred that it would be both politic, easy of execution, and cheap. I am addressing them officially to ask their views before taking the matter up. King, of Kohat, who will have the handling of the matter, told me that he believed that he could arrange it quietly with the tribes for another Rs. 1,000 a year; and even if we have to give a little more it will be an inexpensive solution of an anomaly in which we have too timidly acquiesced

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for nearly half a century, with great discredit to our prestige as well as some risk to our position on the frontier.

Russian expedition across the Hindu-Kush into British protected territory.

I rather doubt the Russians taking advantage of the permission to come down from the Kilik to Gilgit, or Kashmir, which you telegraphed that, in accordance with my suggestion, Lord Salisbury has offered to them. They would not learn much; and what they did learn it is not altogether undesirable that they should know. In this connection I may mention that I have just received a telegram from Peking to the effect that the Chinese Government have cancelled the grant of certain lands to Hunza in the Tagdumbash and the valley of the Raskam, because Russia has threatened them with the occupation of Tagharma in Sarikol as a *quid pro quo*. This is a very outrageous proceeding, and is probably one of the many explosions of Petrovski's zeal. The Chinese have been making their terms with the Mir of Hunza of their own free will, and in complete independence of ourselves, although with our knowledge, and Russia's attitude is practically denying to them sovereign authority in their own dominions. I shall probably have to telegraph to you to ask Lord Salisbury to make representations on the matter.

Action of Chinese Govt towards Hunza.

The forests of Kashmir.

You may be interested to hear of certain steps that I have taken in connection with the forests of Kashmir. I found that certain of these forests, to which the Maharaja had, even by the admission of his brothers, no claim, had been let by him to a band of Native contractors who have decimated, and indeed practically ruined them. I found also that the two brothers, who own immense tracts of forest, but under genuine *jagir* titles, had also entered into similar contracts by which, in a few years' time, their forests would also have been irreparably destroyed. I told the Maharaja that the State must take over the first-named forests to which we could not admit his title; and offered him most liberal terms, both as to freeing him from his obligations to the contractors, and as to a future increase in his personal revenue, as the price of his acquiescence. At the same time I took up rather a stronger attitude than it was necessary to adhere to, with regard to the forests of the brothers by saying that, to obviate a similar destruction there, the State must buy out their rights and assume direct control. This brought them to their knees at once with a petition that, whatever happened, and whatever conditions Government might choose to enforce, they might not be deprived of their *jagirs*. Meanwhile they submitted to me the contracts into which they had entered nominally with a Native, but in reality with an English Firm in the background, which I can only say were of a most discreditable nature, and involved a ruthless and wholesale devastation of the forests. I have now permitted them to retain their forests on the condition that the marking of the trees to be felled, the number taken out, and the extent and duration of the annual operations, be under the control of an officer deputed by the Government of India; and to this I think they will, without much difficulty, agree. This is tantamount to a cancelling of the original contract, and might have involved some risk were it not that, in my opinion, the

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English Firm in question dare not come into Court with such a case as that which the contract would reveal. I did not take away the contract from them. Indeed, in our demands I say nothing about it. But the practical result will be that it will have to be revised in the sense which we desire; while the ulterior consequence will be that the forests of Kashmir will be saved. I have taken this action of my own initiative, but without the slightest hesitation, for I have not a doubt that, included in the duties of the paramount Power is that of seeing that the interests of a Feudatory State, of which the conservancy of forests is one, are not selfishly jeopardised and even sacrificed, by indefensible bargains surreptitiously concluded by members of the ruling family. I am told that, had a similar attitude been adopted in other cases before, we might have saved immense tracts of forest which have disappeared from other parts of India.

Use of established churches by other denominations.

You may remember the question of the use of churches in India, about which you sent me a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and which you desired me to discuss with Welldon. He and I settled the matter in half an hour, within a fortnight after his arrival in Calcutta. We agreed that, in order to avoid the risk of the churches being applied for by non-Christian denominations, the operation of the rules should be confined to the Wesleyan and Presbyterian persuasions, and that the ultimate appeal in case of disagreement should be to the Metropolitan, instead of to the Local Government, or the Commander-in-Chief. Nevertheless, as an illustration of the way in which our system works, and of the portentous slowness of inter-departmental communication, I may mention that, though I have frequently been prodding the offices since, it is only in the present week that the amended regulations have emerged from the office quagmire in which they have now, for months, been plunged, and that we are sending them home to you for your approval.

Chitral Reliefs and Garrison.

With regard to Chitral, I have this morning answered your telegram about postponement of reliefs. I should, in any case, have telegraphed to you after our discussion in Council on Friday next when our proposed action will, I hope, be finally decided. But it has been, to some extent, anticipated, by the orders for the postponement of the impending reliefs which had to be issued at once, as all the regiments were assembling for the purpose. I will enclose in this letter, to-morrow morning before the mail goes, a copy of my Note in submitting the case to Council; and I will only say upon it at this moment that as the proposals coincide entirely with my original scheme, of which you have been good enough to express your approval, I think that they will probably meet with your acceptance; that the single point upon which revision may be required is in the estimates of the Engineer officer, which, as is usual in such cases, seem to me to err on the side of excessive liberality; and that, as my Note indicates, I am not anxious to expand my original proposals in some of the directions indicated by Thurburn

Note by Viceroy. [Enclosure.]

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and McMahon, since I do not want to turn Chitral into a sort of irregular mercenary State dependent upon ourselves for pay.

Letter from the Amir. [Enclosure.]

I also enclose you an advance copy of a very remarkable, and I think even startling, letter which I have received from the Amir in answer to the one already seen by you which I sent to him several weeks ago. Like all his letters it is extremely ingenious, very able, not altogether honest, and exceedingly difficult to reply to. As regards his proposed answer to the Russians about the Kushk railway, I think of replying to him at once that, if he desires to send a response, he is of course at liberty to do so, and to do it in the form that commends itself to his own mind; but that as I had advised him to pass the matter over in silence, I cannot assume any responsibility for the particular form of answer that he chooses to send. The wider question of policy, involving the entire question of the interpretation of our obligations to himself, upon which he has put a most disingenuous and inadmissible interpretation, is one that I do not consider that I am entitled to deal with without consultation with you, or without reference to Her Majesty's Government. In all probability the ordinary course in such a case would be to send the letter home to you and to ask for your views as to the nature of the proposed reply. But inasmuch as the correspondence which I initiated with the Amir is really on a different footing, as indeed this letter shows, both in its frankness and in the note of personal intimacy by which it is characterised, from any which has hitherto been conducted between the Amir and ourselves, and as it would seem to me undesirable, even while correcting his views, to slip back from the familiar into the official, I propose to draw up the draft reply that it would seem to me might with propriety be sent, and to submit it to you for such revision or additions as you may think desirable at home. At least we now know definitely that neither railways nor telegraphs will be admitted into Afghanistan in his time; while his novel definition of our responsibilities towards his State places upon a footing that requires serious examination the policy of pouring arms and ammunition into Afghanistan, to which we have, as I think, foolishly pledged ourselves by the most injudicious of all the clauses included in that most injudicious agreement of Sir Mortimer Durand.

Proposed reply.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

Muscat.

P. S.—The reasons for which I pressed so strongly in a telegram a few days ago for the publication of our Parliamentary Report about Muscat are these. It seems to me only fair, after Delcassé's outrageous statement, and after the still unsolved contradiction between him and Brodrick, that our case should be heard. No one quite knows whether the Agent, who is

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supposed to have been apologised for, was Meade, or the Admiral, or myself. No one knows whether we nipped in the bud a genuine conspiracy, or acted with premature and superfluous zeal. Half the papers say that an indiscreet Viceroy, eager for martial laurels, precipitated the situation by his headlong ardour; the other half that his prompt and courageous action settled the question before it had become acute. No one outside of India appears to know the history of our connection with Muscat, or the *raison d'être* of our *de facto* suzerainty there. Some even say,—"Why should not the French have had their coaling-station?" In some quarters the French, in others we, are believed to have scored. In these circumstances it seems to me both politically desirable and only just to the Government of India and to myself that our statement of the case, which indeed you requested for Parliamentary use, should be made public.

(Sd.) C. of K.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Proof copy of a note by the Viceroy, dated 17th April 1899, on the Chitral Reliefs and garrison.

Printed copy of a letter from the Amir to the Viceroy, dated 4th April 1899.

No. 17.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
April 20th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Honours, I enclose a list of the names which I have to ask you to submit to Her Majesty in connection with the distribution of Honours which usually takes place on the Queen's Birthday.

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The Memorandum which accompanies the list gives the necessary information about the persons recommended, and I need not therefore make any observations here.

I shall be obliged if you will direct a telegram to be sent to me when the list is finally approved by the Queen, so that the Gazette may be published simultaneously at home and in India.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

HONOURS.

QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY GAZETTE, 1899.

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

C. S. I.

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. HENRY FARRINGTON EVANS, Indian Civil Service, Member of the Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces for making Laws and Regulations.

2. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN MUIR HUNTER, Indian Staff Corps, Political Agent in Kathiawar.

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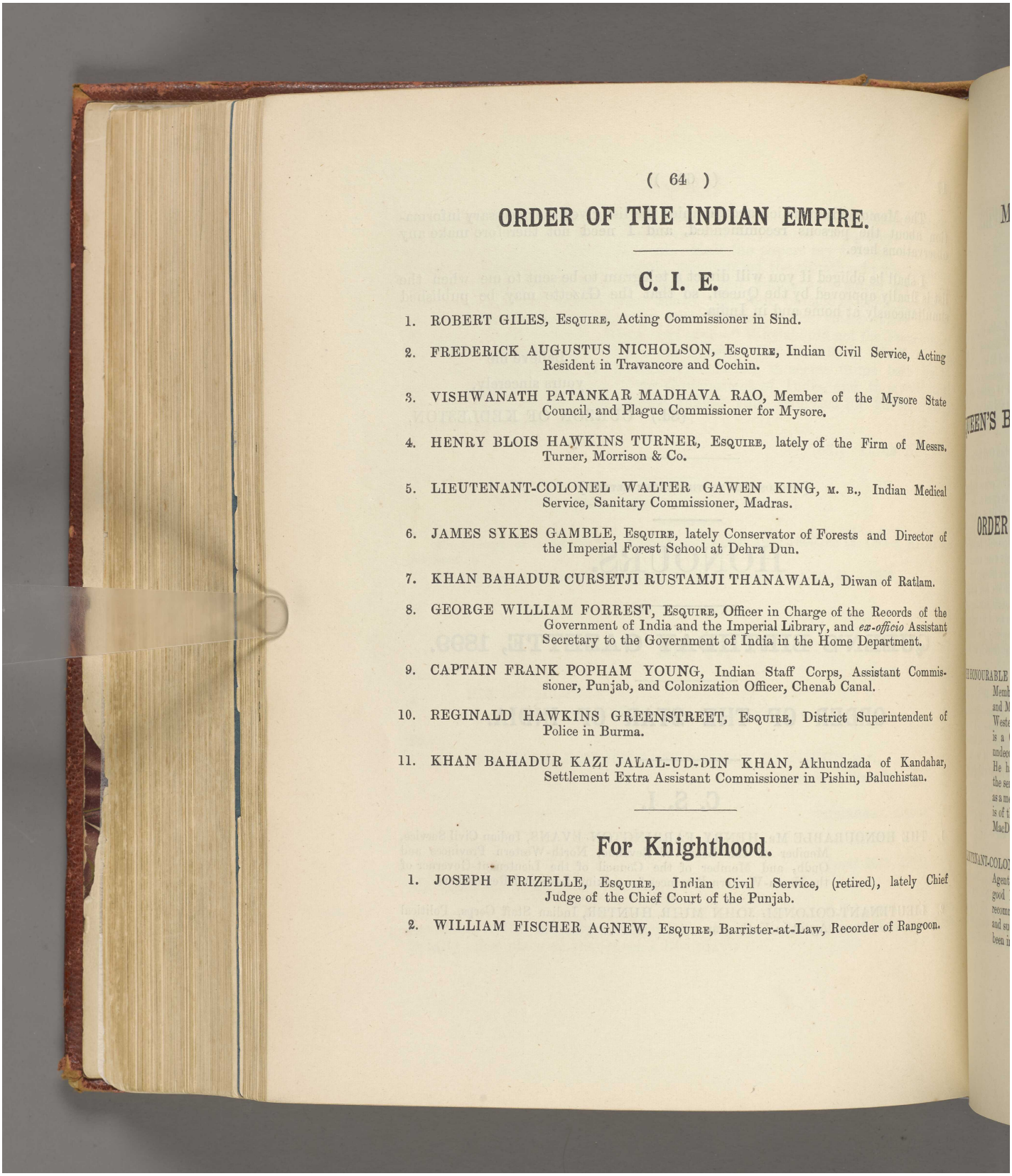

ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

C. I. E.

1. ROBERT GILES, Esquire, Acting Commissioner in Sind.
2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS NICHOLSON, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Acting Resident in Travancore and Cochin.
3. VISHWANATH PATANKAR MADHAVA RAO, Member of the Mysore State Council, and Plague Commissioner for Mysore.
4. HENRY BLOIS HAWKINS TURNER, Esquire, lately of the Firm of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co.
5. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WALTER GAWEN KING, M. B., Indian Medical Service, Sanitary Commissioner, Madras.
6. JAMES SYKES GAMBLE, Esquire, lately Conservator of Forests and Director of the Imperial Forest School at Dehra Dun.
7. KHAN BAHADUR CURSETJI RUSTAMJI THANAWALA, Diwan of Ratlam.
8. GEORGE WILLIAM FORREST, Esquire, Officer in Charge of the Records of the Government of India and the Imperial Library, and *ex-officio* Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department.
9. CAPTAIN FRANK POPHAM YOUNG, Indian Staff Corps, Assistant Commissioner, Punjab, and Colonization Officer, Chenab Canal.
10. REGINALD HAWKINS GREENSTREET, Esquire, District Superintendent of Police in Burma.
11. KHAN BAHADUR KAZI JALAL-UD-DIN KHAN, Akhundzada of Kandahar, Settlement Extra Assistant Commissioner in Pishin, Baluchistan.

For Knighthood.

1. JOSEPH FRIZELLE, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, (retired), lately Chief Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab.
2. WILLIAM FISCHER AGNEW, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, Recorder of Rangoon.

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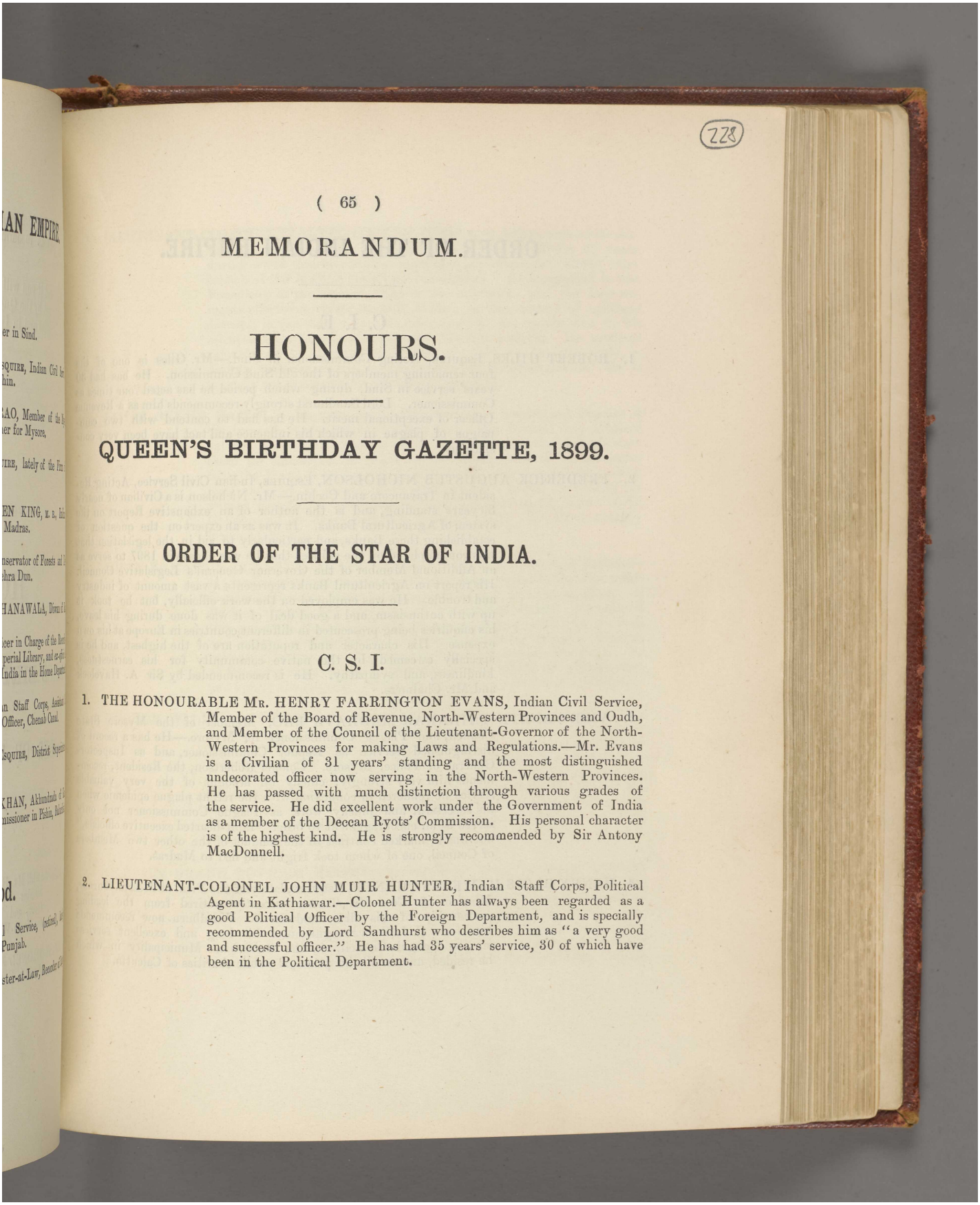

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MEMORANDUM.

HONOURS.

QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY GAZETTE, 1899.

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

C. S. I.

1. THE HONOURABLE Mr. HENRY FARRINGTON EVANS, Indian Civil Service, Member of the Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces for making Laws and Regulations.—Mr. Evans is a Civilian of 31 years' standing and the most distinguished undecorated officer now serving in the North-Western Provinces. He has passed with much distinction through various grades of the service. He did excellent work under the Government of India as a member of the Deccan Ryots' Commission. His personal character is of the highest kind. He is strongly recommended by Sir Antony MacDonnell.

2. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN MUIR HUNTER, Indian Staff Corps, Political Agent in Kathiawar.—Colonel Hunter has always been regarded as a good Political Officer by the Foreign Department, and is specially recommended by Lord Sandhurst who describes him as "a very good and successful officer." He has had 35 years' service, 30 of which have been in the Political Department.

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ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

C. I. E.

1. ROBERT GILES, Esquire, Acting Commissioner in Sind.—Mr. Giles is one of the four remaining members of the old Sind Commission. He has had 30 years' service in Sind, during which period he has acted four times as Commissioner. Lord Sandhurst strongly recommends him as a Revenue Officer of exceptional merit. He has had to contend with two campaigns of plague in which his influence and tact have been very conspicuous.

2. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS NICHOLSON, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Acting Resident in Travancore and Cochin.—Mr. Nicholson is a Civilian of nearly 30 years' standing, and is the author of an exhaustive Report on the system of Agricultural Banks. It was as an expert on the question of establishing these Banks, and particularly to aid in the legislation that was contemplated on the subject that he was chosen in 1897 to serve as an Additional Member of the Governor General's Legislative Council. His report on Agricultural Banks represents a vast amount of industry and trouble. He was employed on the work officially, but he took it up with enthusiasm, and a good deal of it was done during his leave, his enquiries being prosecuted in different countries in Europe at his own expense. His character and reputation are of the highest, and he is specially esteemed by the native community for his earnestness, kindliness, and sympathy. He is recommended by Sir A. Havelock and Mr. Chalmers.

3. VISHWANATH PATANKAR MADHAVA RAO, Member of the Mysore State Council, and Plague Commissioner for Mysore.—He has a record of distinguished service as Deputy Commissioner, and as Inspector-General of Police, Mysore. Colonel Robertson, the Resident, recommends him very strongly, chiefly on account of the very valuable service he rendered in connexion with the recent plague epidemic when his successful and plucky work as Plague Commissioner not only served as an encouragement to other "faint-hearted executive officials," but was in marked contrast to the conduct of the other two Members of Council, one of whom took fright and fled to Madras.

4. HENRY BLOIS HAWKINS TURNER, Esquire, lately of the Firm of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co.—Mr. Turner recently retired from the leading partnership of his firm, and Sir J. Woodburn now recommends him for a C. I. E. in recognition of his long and excellent services on the Bengal Council, in the Suburban Municipality in which he resided, and on all the principal public charities of Calcutta.

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5. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WALTER GAWEN KING, M. B., Indian Medical Service, Sanitary Commissioner, Madras.—Dr. King has served for 25 years, during which time he has filled important appointments in almost every branch of the Medical Department of Madras. He is regarded in that Presidency as the highest authority on sanitation, and the improvements effected in recent years in Madras in the control of epidemic diseases, in vaccination, and in water-supply, are mainly due to his scientific knowledge and his patient but active efforts. He rendered valuable service during the famine of 1897, and more recently, in dealing with the plague, he has rendered similar good service. He is strongly recommended by Sir Arthur Havelock.

6. JAMES SYKES GAMBLE, Esquire, lately Conservator of Forests and Director of the Imperial Forest School at Dehra Dun.—Mr. Gamble has rendered valuable service as Conservator of Bengal and Madras, but his main claim for distinction is based on his excellent work in connexion with the Forest School at Dehra, and on his scientific labours, which have resulted in several most useful standard works. He edited the *Indian Forester* for a number of years, and received the thanks of the Government on his retirement in February 1899. Mr. Rivaz strongly recommends him.

7. KHAN BAHADUR CURSETJI RUSTAMJI THANAWALA, Diwan of Ratlam.—He is strongly recommended by Colonel Barr, Agent to the Governor-General, Central India, on account of his services as Diwan of Ratlam during the minority of the present Rajah. Throughout this period the Diwan conducted the administration with the greatest zeal, energy, and discretion, and while preserving friendly relations with the Thakurs and all classes of the subjects of the State, he at the same time carefully maintained the rights of the Durbar, and upheld the character of the Administration for justice and equity.

8. GEORGE WILLIAM FORREST, Esquire, Officer in Charge of the Records of the Government of India and the Imperial Library, and *ex-officio* Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department.—Sir Edwin Collen recommends Mr. Forrest on account of the valuable literary services he has performed for the Military Department. He is also recommended by Mr. Rivaz, the Member in charge of the Home Department, for the work he has done in selecting and cataloguing the Records of the Government of India and in establishing the Imperial Library.

9. CAPTAIN FRANK POPHAM YOUNG, Indian Staff Corps, Assistant Commissioner, Punjab, and Colonization Officer, Chenab Canal.—The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab recommends Captain Young in recognition of his excellent work, on which he has been engaged for seven years, in colonizing the tract irrigated by the Chenab Canal, which, owing largely to his great tact and indefatigable industry, has proved a marked success. The present is a suitable time for recognising Captain

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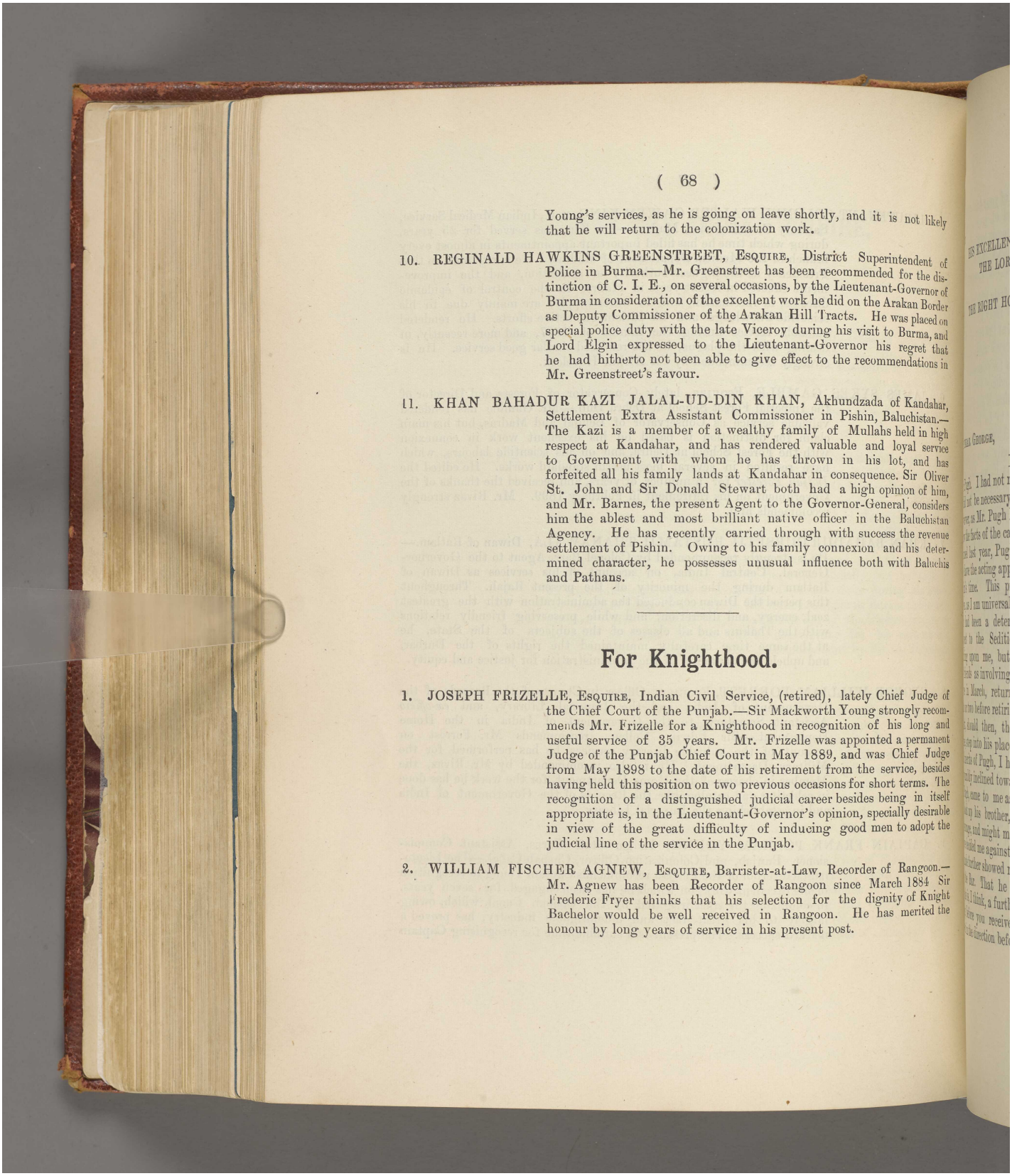

Young's services, as he is going on leave shortly, and it is not likely that he will return to the colonization work.

10. REGINALD HAWKINS GREENSTREET, Esquire, District Superintendent of Police in Burma.—Mr. Greenstreet has been recommended for the distinction of C. I. E., on several occasions, by the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma in consideration of the excellent work he did on the Arakan Border as Deputy Commissioner of the Arakan Hill Tracts. He was placed on special police duty with the late Viceroy during his visit to Burma, and Lord Elgin expressed to the Lieutenant-Governor his regret that he had hitherto not been able to give effect to the recommendations in Mr. Greenstreet's favour.

11. KHAN BAHADUR KAZI JALAL-UD-DIN KHAN, Akhundzada of Kandahar, Settlement Extra Assistant Commissioner in Pishin, Baluchistan.—The Kazi is a member of a wealthy family of Mullahs held in high respect at Kandahar, and has rendered valuable and loyal service to Government with whom he has thrown in his lot, and has forfeited all his family lands at Kandahar in consequence. Sir Oliver St. John and Sir Donald Stewart both had a high opinion of him, and Mr. Barnes, the present Agent to the Governor-General, considers him the ablest and most brilliant native officer in the Baluchistan Agency. He has recently carried through with success the revenue settlement of Pishin. Owing to his family connexion and his determined character, he possesses unusual influence both with Baluchis and Pathans.

For Knighthood.

1. JOSEPH FRIZELLE, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, (retired), lately Chief Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab.—Sir Mackworth Young strongly recommends Mr. Frizelle for a Knighthood in recognition of his long and useful service of 35 years. Mr. Frizelle was appointed a permanent Judge of the Punjab Chief Court in May 1889, and was Chief Judge from May 1898 to the date of his retirement from the service, besides having held this position on two previous occasions for short terms. The recognition of a distinguished judicial career besides being in itself appropriate is, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, specially desirable in view of the great difficulty of inducing good men to adopt the judicial line of the service in the Punjab.

2. WILLIAM FISCHER AGNEW, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, Recorder of Rangoon.—Mr. Agnew has been Recorder of Rangoon since March 1884 Sir Frederic Fryer thinks that his selection for the dignity of Knight Bachelor would be well received in Rangoon. He has merited the honour by long years of service in his present post.

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No. 18.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

TO

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
April 26th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have just received and answered your telegram about Mr. Pugh. I had not mentioned his name before, because I had hoped that it would not be necessary to introduce to you a rather petty and sordid intrigue. However, as Mr. Pugh has addressed you on his own behalf, I must let you know the facts of the case. When Elgin asked him to be Acting Standing Counsel last year, Pugh made it a condition of acceptance that he should also have the acting appointment of Advocate-General, if it occurred during Elgin's time. This promise ought never to have been given; but it was given, as I am universally informed, in order to shut the mouth of Pugh, who had been a determined and inconvenient critic of Government with respect to the Sedition Bill. The promise was expressly made not binding upon me, but, I need hardly say, has been interpreted by Pugh and his friends as involving me also. The idea was that Paul should go for leave in March, return in December, and hold the appointment for another year or two before retiring, and that Pugh, having held the acting appointment, should then, the remaining competitors having disappeared from the scene, step into his place. This is a plot that, quite apart from the personality and merits of Pugh, I have been anxious to circumvent. I was not the more favourably inclined towards it when Sir Griffith Evans, who is the elder brother of Pugh, came to me as soon as he knew that Paul was going, and urged me to back up his brother, on the ground that the latter was rather a dangerous personage, and might make himself unpleasant if I did not. This alone would have decided me against recommending him in any form. The enquiries that I made further showed me that he is not qualified for the position by his standing at the Bar. That he should have written to you, so to speak, behind our backs is, I think, a further indication of the character of Mr. Pugh. I hope that, before you receive this letter, you may have instructed me to offer the post in the direction before suggested by me.

Mr. Pugh and the Advocate-Generalship.

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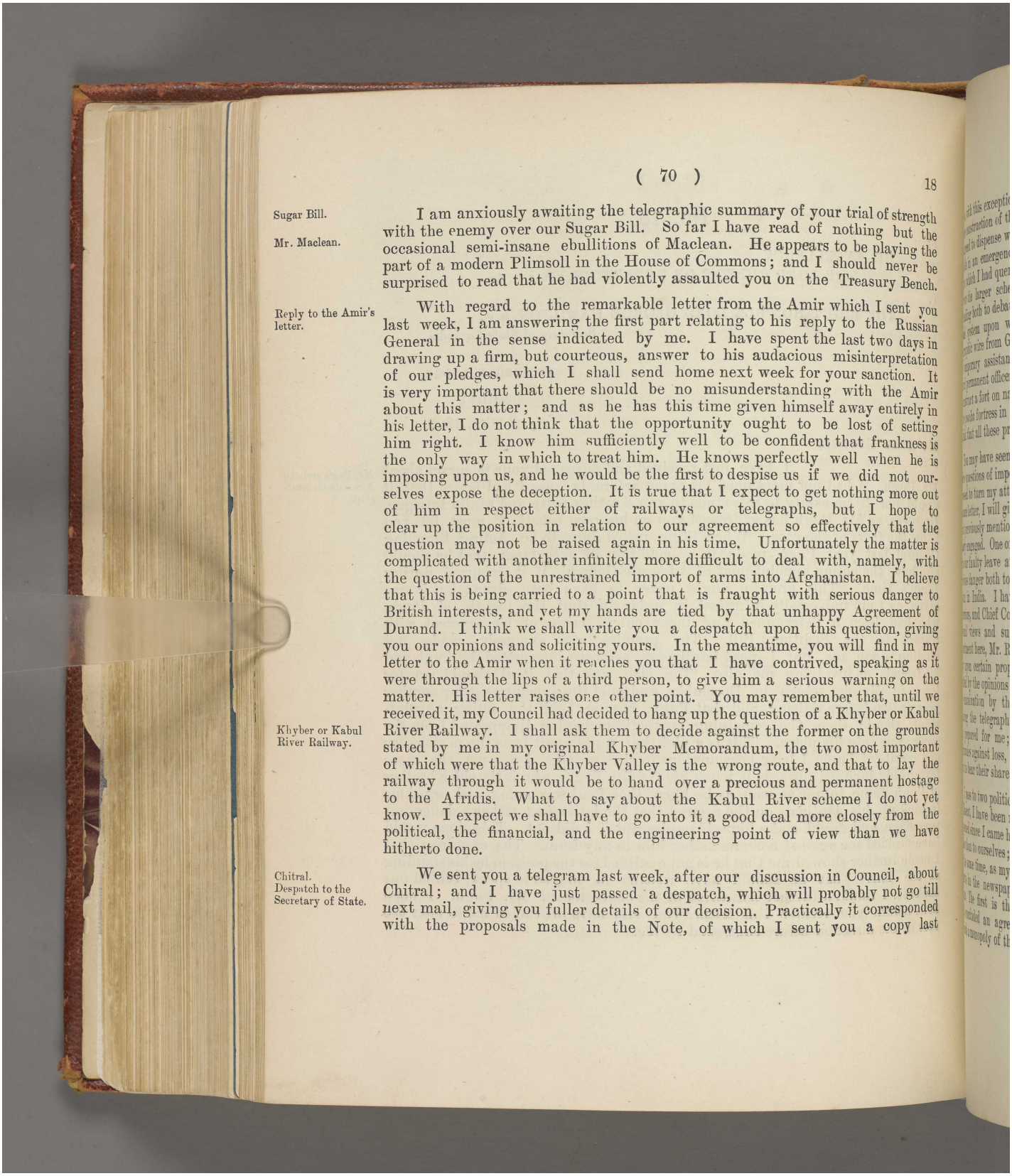

Sugar Bill.

Mr. Maclean.

I am anxiously awaiting the telegraphic summary of your trial of strength with the enemy over our Sugar Bill. So far I have read of nothing but the occasional semi-insane ebullitions of Maclean. He appears to be playing the part of a modern Plimsoll in the House of Commons; and I should never be surprised to read that he had violently assaulted you on the Treasury Bench.

Reply to the Amir's letter.

With regard to the remarkable letter from the Amir which I sent you last week, I am answering the first part relating to his reply to the Russian General in the sense indicated by me. I have spent the last two days in drawing up a firm, but courteous, answer to his audacious misinterpretation of our pledges, which I shall send home next week for your sanction. It is very important that there should be no misunderstanding with the Amir about this matter; and as he has this time given himself away entirely in his letter, I do not think that the opportunity ought to be lost of setting him right. I know him sufficiently well to be confident that frankness is the only way in which to treat him. He knows perfectly well when he is imposing upon us, and he would be the first to despise us if we did not ourselves expose the deception. It is true that I expect to get nothing more out of him in respect either of railways or telegraphs, but I hope to clear up the position in relation to our agreement so effectively that the question may not be raised again in his time. Unfortunately the matter is complicated with another infinitely more difficult to deal with, namely, with the question of the unrestrained import of arms into Afghanistan. I believe that this is being carried to a point that is fraught with serious danger to British interests, and yet my hands are tied by that unhappy Agreement of Durand. I think we shall write you a despatch upon this question, giving you our opinions and soliciting yours. In the meantime, you will find in my letter to the Amir when it reaches you that I have contrived, speaking as it were through the lips of a third person, to give him a serious warning on the matter. His letter raises one other point. You may remember that, until we received it, my Council had decided to hang up the question of a Khyber or Kabul River Railway. I shall ask them to decide against the former on the grounds stated by me in my original Khyber Memorandum, the two most important of which were that the Khyber Valley is the wrong route, and that to lay the railway through it would be to hand over a precious and permanent hostage to the Afridis. What to say about the Kabul River scheme I do not yet know. I expect we shall have to go into it a good deal more closely from the political, the financial, and the engineering point of view than we have hitherto done.

Khyber or Kabul River Railway.

Chitral. Despatch to the Secretary of State.

We sent you a telegram last week, after our discussion in Council, about Chitral; and I have just passed a despatch, which will probably not go till next mail, giving you fuller details of our decision. Practically it corresponded with the proposals made in the Note, of which I sent you a copy last

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week, with this exception that the military authorities being strongly averse to the construction of the proposed barracks outside the keep at Upper Drosh, we agreed to dispense with them altogether by enlarging the keep so as to be capable in an emergency of sheltering the entire garrison. As regards the points which I had queried, or expressed a doubt about in my Note, we decided to veto the larger scheme of levies put forward by Gurdon and McMahon as tending both to debauch the State, and, in the last resort, to destroy the feudal system upon which the system of levies subsists; not to lay a telegraphic wire from Gilgit to Chitral; to give Gurdon, from time to time, the temporary assistance of one of the Gilgit men, instead of appointing a second permanent officer to Chitral; and to give the Mehtar a sum of money to construct a fort on native principles for the levy post at Mirkanni instead of the *pucka* fortress in which Colonel Thurburn was anxious to instal them. I think that all these proposals will be on lines acceptable to yourself.

Questions pending consideration.

You may have seen that, in my Budget speech at Calcutta, I alluded to twelve questions of importance which required taking up, and to which I proposed to turn my attention. I did not name them at the time, but, in a future letter, I will give you the list. There are two among them, not I think previously mentioned by me in our correspondence, upon which I am already engaged. One of these is the frequency of transfers, arising in the main from our faulty leave and furlough rules, which is becoming, in my judgment, a serious danger both to the continuity and the efficiency of British administration in India. I have written private letters to the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners, asking them to favour me with their personal views and suggestions on the matter; and already, in the Home Department here, Mr. Rivaz, who is a very charming and capable man, is busy upon certain proposals which, at a later date, after we have received and profited by the opinions of which I have spoken, we shall officially send out for examination by the Local Governments. The other question is that of reducing the telegraphic rates from India to England. I am having the case prepared for me; and if it comes to a question of a guarantee to the Companies against loss, I doubt not that we shall persuade the Home Government to bear their share.

Frequency of Official transfers.

Telegraph rates from India to England.

I pass to two political matters, about which, with the possible exception of Muscat, I have been more disturbed than by any other incident that has happened since I came here. They appertain more immediately to the Foreign Office than to ourselves; but, in both, India is directly and vitally concerned. At the same time, as my information upon both only depends upon telegraphic reports in the newspapers, I may be suffering from a quite superfluous alarm. The first is the statement telegraphed to us by Reuter that France had concluded an agreement with Siam by which the Siamese give to the French a monopoly of their public works, and promise to teach French in the

Alleged agreement between France and Siam.

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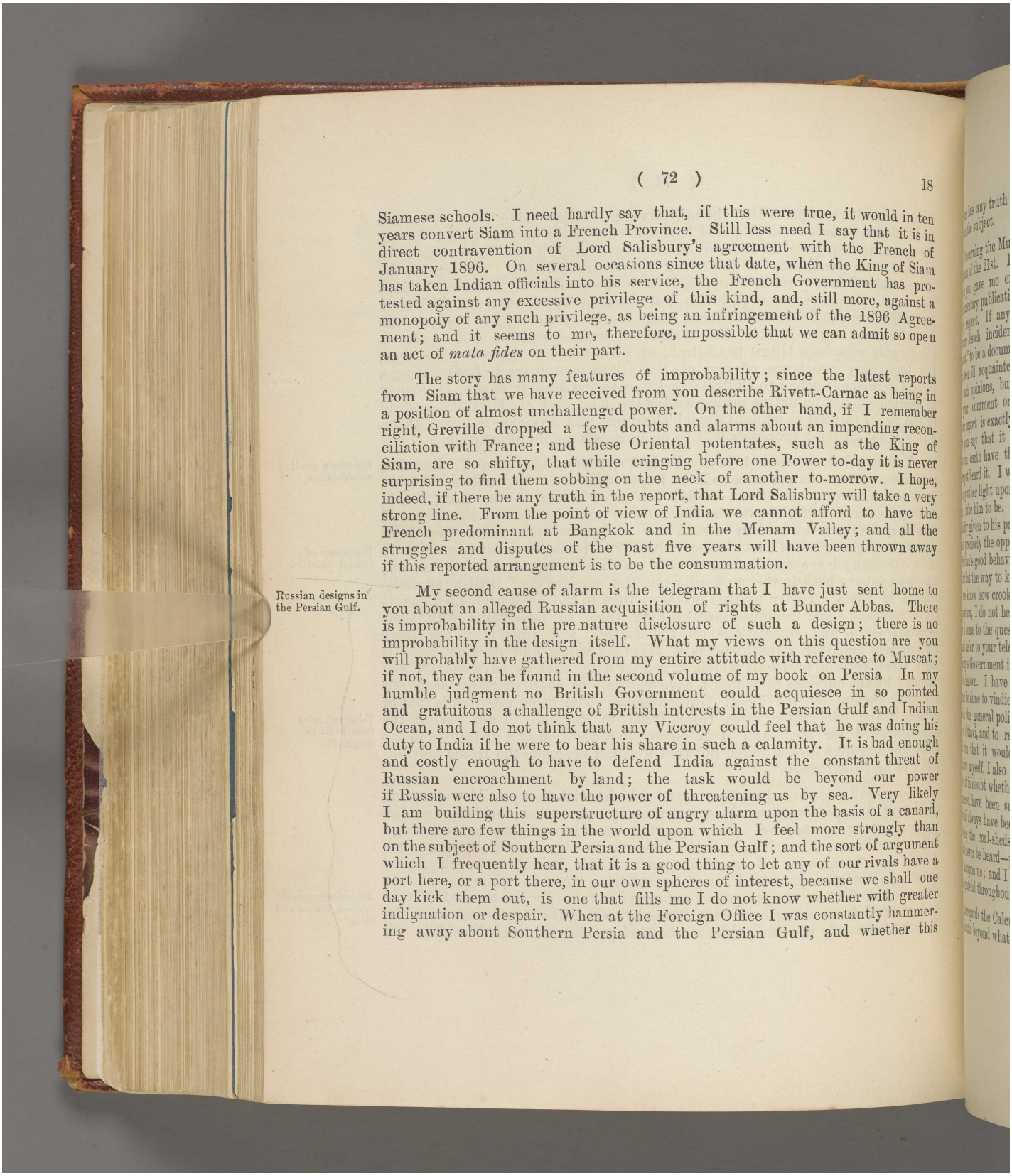

Siamese schools. I need hardly say that, if this were true, it would in ten years convert Siam into a French Province. Still less need I say that it is in direct contravention of Lord Salisbury's agreement with the French of January 1896. On several occasions since that date, when the King of Siam has taken Indian officials into his service, the French Government has protested against any excessive privilege of this kind, and, still more, against a monopoly of any such privilege, as being an infringement of the 1896 Agreement; and it seems to me, therefore, impossible that we can admit so open an act of *mala fides* on their part.

The story has many features of improbability; since the latest reports from Siam that we have received from you describe Rivett-Carnac as being in a position of almost unchallenged power. On the other hand, if I remember right, Greville dropped a few doubts and alarms about an impending reconciliation with France; and these Oriental potentates, such as the King of Siam, are so shifty, that while cringing before one Power to-day it is never surprising to find them sobbing on the neck of another to-morrow. I hope, indeed, if there be any truth in the report, that Lord Salisbury will take a very strong line. From the point of view of India we cannot afford to have the French predominant at Bangkok and in the Menam Valley; and all the struggles and disputes of the past five years will have been thrown away if this reported arrangement is to be the consummation.

Russian designs in the Persian Gulf.

My second cause of alarm is the telegram that I have just sent home to you about an alleged Russian acquisition of rights at Bunder Abbas. There is improbability in the premature disclosure of such a design; there is no improbability in the design itself. What my views on this question are you will probably have gathered from my entire attitude with reference to Muscat; if not, they can be found in the second volume of my book on Persia. In my humble judgment no British Government could acquiesce in so pointed and gratuitous a challenge of British interests in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, and I do not think that any Viceroy could feel that he was doing his duty to India if he were to bear his share in such a calamity. It is bad enough and costly enough to have to defend India against the constant threat of Russian encroachment by land; the task would be beyond our power if Russia were also to have the power of threatening us by sea. Very likely I am building this superstructure of angry alarm upon the basis of a canard, but there are few things in the world upon which I feel more strongly than on the subject of Southern Persia and the Persian Gulf; and the sort of argument which I frequently hear, that it is a good thing to let any of our rivals have a port here, or a port there, in our own spheres of interest, because we shall one day kick them out, is one that fills me I do not know whether with greater indignation or despair. When at the Foreign Office I was constantly hammering away about Southern Persia and the Persian Gulf, and whether this

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rumour has any truth in it or not, I think we shall address you shortly from here on the subject.

Concerning the Muscat papers I have been a good deal perturbed by your telegram of the 21st. If you will look at your telegram of February 24th, in which you gave me explicit instructions as to the preparation of a report for Parliamentary publication, you will see that I faithfully carried them out in every respect. If any one at home expected a report "dealing with the Bunder Jisseh incident," and "illustrating our predominant interest in Muscat," to be a document of compliments to the French, he must assuredly have been ill acquainted with what was passing. That you yourself held no such opinions, but expected and desired what we sent, is shown by your comment on the Despatch when it reached you, *viz.*, that "Your report is exactly what we want." Now, in your telegram of April 21st you say that it is sure to provoke a rejoinder from France. But what on earth have they to rejoin? Where and what is their case? I have never yet heard it. I would gladly let Ottavi say what he can. If he can put any other light upon an underhand intrigue, he will be even more subtle than I take him to be. Then you argue that if the Sultan is behaving well, publicity given to his past misconduct will not improve our relations with him. I hold precisely the opposite view. In the first place, I am very doubtful of the Sultan's good behaviour. Secondly, however that may be, I have not a doubt that the way to keep these shifty Orientals straight is by showing them that we know how crooked they have been. If the attitude of the Sultan be in question, I do not hesitate to say that publication will do good, and not harm. Now I come to the question. Why do I press for publication? For an answer I must refer to your telegram of March 8th. If those are the views of Her Majesty's Government it is hard upon me, and hard upon us, that they should not be known. I have had a letter from Meade, asking whether something cannot be done to vindicate the action of the Indian Government, to sustain him in the general policy which he pursued under our directions to check the lies of Ottavi, and to remove the impression, prevalent in the Gulf (as I told you that it would be) that we had ended by backing down. If I may mention myself, I also am not particularly satisfied at a situation which leaves it in doubt whether I have done right or have erred, have succeeded or blundered, have been supported or snubbed. As I hinted in an earlier letter, it would always have been possible, had you so desired, to insert a paragraph covering the coal-sheds, as against the coaling station. But that our case should never be heard—particularly after you had called for it—is, I submit, not fair upon us; and I hope that your generous backing, for which I have been most grateful throughout, will not fail us in the concluding chapter.

Muscat. Publication of papers.

As regards the Calcutta Municipal Bill, I know nothing of what is passing at Calcutta beyond what I read in the Press, *viz.*, that the Bill is to be reported

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

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from the Select Committee to the Bengal Legislative Council this week. Sir John Woodburn, to whom I wrote some time ago, is mum: from which I am led to conclude that he is meditating some move. I shall doubtless hear before long, and will of course let you know at once.

I have been in bed for five days with bad neuralgic or rheumatic pains, the doctor cannot quite say which, and I am dictating this letter to you while lying on my back.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 19.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
May 3rd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Personal. Since I last wrote to you we have had a very sick household. I am myself better, and am at last out of bed again; but my wife has had a bad cold and is still laid up. Lawrence is down with a smart attack of influenza, and has been *hors de combat* for nearly a week; one of the A.-D.-C.'s has been laid up with fever with a temperature at 105°; and altogether we none of us feel very grand. The fact is that Simla has a very treacherous climate; and April here this year has been an infinitely less agreeable and more fickle month than it is at home. On another occasion I think I shall try to tour somewhere during April and only come up to Simla at the beginning of May.

Muscat. Muscat is not yet extinguished; and once again it must form a leading feature in my correspondence. I do not know for what purposes you have just enquired by telegraph for the terms of Fagan's declaration about the French coal-sheds to the Sultan; but I presume that it is in relation to some diplomatic representation at home. We have not heard here of any action having been taken upon it. I have sent you a further telegram urging the publication of Parliamentary papers; but will not add now to the pleas that I advanced

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in my last letter. Every fresh letter, however, that we receive, whether private or official, from Meade or Fagan, emphasizes the fact that the true history of affairs is quite unknown, and has been deliberately misrepresented in the Gulf; and that Ottavi himself has, more or less, persuaded the Sultan that our Agents have been disavowed by Her Majesty's Government, and that he can therefore snap his fingers at them with impunity. Pray do not think that because the little commotion of February has died down, trouble is therefore at an end in Muscat. Two French personages have appeared upon the scene there, and are pressing for concessions. The German man-of-war which recently visited the Gulf also dropped an enterprising German at Muscat, who is trying to persuade the Sultan to make him the head of a new postal system. This sort of intrigue will go on until we have permanently re-established our position, which as yet we are far from having done. I am looking out for a successor to Fagan; but I am afraid that, if I move him at this moment, I shall but confirm the suspicions which are already collecting in the Sultan's mind.

The Admiral was quite right when he said, in the letter to Sir O. Burne, referred to by you in your last, that the Sultan's hostility dates for the most part since our refusal to extend to him the protection that he expected in the rebellion of 1895. But please remember that the diffidence of the Government of India upon that occasion was due, as I pointed out in our Despatch, to the rebuff that they had received from the India Office for more strenuous action at a previous juncture. This rebuff was, if I remember aright, communicated to them in 1886, and appears to me to have been just one of those instances in which the men at a distance are liable to an error which would not be committed by the men upon the spot.

Action of Admiral Douglas.

There is another curious matter to which I must allude. In the Despatch addressed to the Admiralty, of which you officially sent us a copy by the last mail, Admiral Douglas reports that, after summoning the Sultan on board, he warped the *Eclipse* broadside on to the town, and caused a warning to be circulated that the British squadron was about to open fire on the Sultan's palace and forts. This bore out what I always imagined him to have done, and what indeed (though I think this has been somewhat lost sight of at home), he was authorised to do by the telegram from Her Majesty's Government; and I have always imagined it to be one of the measures of publicity which Lord Salisbury deprecated in his conversations with the French Ambassador. During the last few days, however, we have had private letters from Meade in which he says that neither Fagan nor himself are aware of such a threat ever having been made; that, on the contrary, when the Admiral and he compared their instructions, which were identical, and when he asked the Admiral what steps he proposed in the last resort to take, the latter replied, that he could not fire upon a defenceless town, but that if the Sultan declined to visit the flag-ship, he was prepared to send a strong party ashore as a demonstration.

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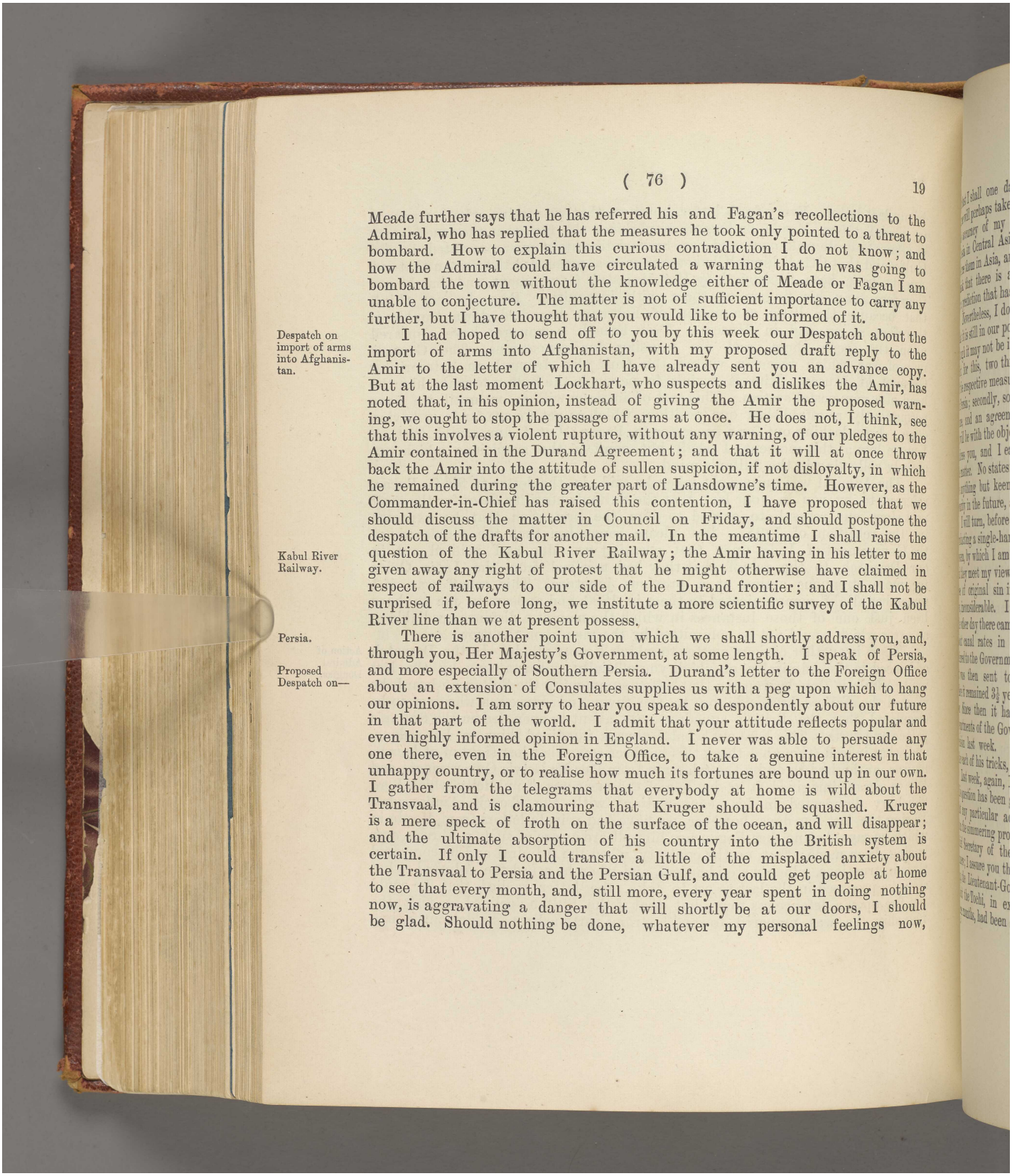

Meade further says that he has referred his and Fagan's recollections to the Admiral, who has replied that the measures he took only pointed to a threat to bombard. How to explain this curious contradiction I do not know; and how the Admiral could have circulated a warning that he was going to bombard the town without the knowledge either of Meade or Fagan I am unable to conjecture. The matter is not of sufficient importance to carry any further, but I have thought that you would like to be informed of it.

Despatch on import of arms into Afghanistan.

I had hoped to send off to you by this week our Despatch about the import of arms into Afghanistan, with my proposed draft reply to the Amir to the letter of which I have already sent you an advance copy. But at the last moment Lockhart, who suspects and dislikes the Amir, has noted that, in his opinion, instead of giving the Amir the proposed warning, we ought to stop the passage of arms at once. He does not, I think, see that this involves a violent rupture, without any warning, of our pledges to the Amir contained in the Durand Agreement; and that it will at once throw back the Amir into the attitude of sullen suspicion, if not disloyalty, in which he remained during the greater part of Lansdowne's time. However, as the Commander-in-Chief has raised this contention, I have proposed that we should discuss the matter in Council on Friday, and should postpone the despatch of the drafts for another mail. In the meantime I shall raise the question of the Kabul River Railway; the Amir having in his letter to me given away any right of protest that he might otherwise have claimed in respect of railways to our side of the Durand frontier; and I shall not be surprised if, before long, we institute a more scientific survey of the Kabul River line than we at present possess.

Kabul River Railway.

Persia.

Proposed Despatch on—

There is another point upon which we shall shortly address you, and, through you, Her Majesty's Government, at some length. I speak of Persia, and more especially of Southern Persia. Durand's letter to the Foreign Office about an extension of Consulates supplies us with a peg upon which to hang our opinions. I am sorry to hear you speak so despondently about our future in that part of the world. I admit that your attitude reflects popular and even highly informed opinion in England. I never was able to persuade any one there, even in the Foreign Office, to take a genuine interest in that unhappy country, or to realise how much its fortunes are bound up in our own. I gather from the telegrams that everybody at home is wild about the Transvaal, and is clamouring that Kruger should be squashed. Kruger is a mere speck of froth on the surface of the ocean, and will disappear; and the ultimate absorption of his country into the British system is certain. If only I could transfer a little of the misplaced anxiety about the Transvaal to Persia and the Persian Gulf, and could get people at home to see that every month, and, still more, every year spent in doing nothing now, is aggravating a danger that will shortly be at our doors, I should be glad. Should nothing be done, whatever my personal feelings now,

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at least I shall one day be regarded as a prophet; and people in times to come will perhaps take down my books and compliment me in my grave upon the accuracy of my forecasts. In 1888 I wrote a chapter in my book upon Russia in Central Asia upon Anglo-Russian relations and the future that lay before them in Asia, and, although that chapter is 11 years old, I do not think that there is a statement of opinion in it that I would now withdraw, or a prediction that has so far been falsified.

Nevertheless, I do not altogether share your despondency. I feel confident that it is still in our power to maintain our position in Southern Persia even though it may not be in the future as unique, or as unchallenged as heretofore. But, for this, two things are wanted; firstly, a clear and definite recognition of the respective measures of Imperial and Indian responsibility in the future in Persia; secondly, some consistent interest among the powers that be at home, and an agreement upon the line of policy that has to be carried out. It will be with the object, if possible, of securing these ends that we shall address you, and I earnestly bespeak your interest, as Secretary of State, in the matter. No statesman who is responsible for the fortunes of India, can be anything but keenly alive to a danger which must gravely imperil our security in the future, and add enormously to our financial burdens.

The Government Departmental system.

I will turn, before I conclude, to other and lighter matters. I am still conducting a single-handed and desperate struggle against the Governmental system, by which I am surrounded. I get on very well with the Departments, and they meet my views to the best of their conscious ability; but the double dose of original sin in them is so strong that the headway I make is, as yet, inconsiderable. I will give you one or two of my latest experiences. The other day there came up to me for decision a by no means complex question about canal rates in the North-Western Provinces. The matter had been referred to the Government of India—I think from home—in October 1892. It was then sent to the Government of the North-Western Provinces. There it remained $3\frac{1}{2}$ years without any reply either being returned or asked for. Since then it has spent another three years in wandering about the Departments of the Government of India, and at length came up to me for decision last week. I feel tempted to say, like the conjuror, Bertram, after each of his tricks, "Isn't it marvellous?"

Latest experiences.

Last week, again, I passed a Despatch to you about the Largha Shirannis. This question has been going on for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, during which time I cannot say that any particular advance has been made, other than the benefit resulting from the simmering process, which was so strongly recommended to me by the Chief Secretary of the Punjab. The latter Government remain the chief sinners; I assure you that I can get positively nothing out of them. Ten days ago, the Lieutenant-Governor wrote to me that his long awaited Despatch about the Tochi, in expectation of which I have hung up the question for three months, had been sent off. Unfortunately, it has not yet arrived. Some

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time before we left Calcutta we sent him our Samana proposals; nearly eight weeks have elapsed, but, in spite of telegraphic reminders and appeals, I cannot get the ghost of a reply. The system of Government in India reminds me of a gigantic quagmire, or bog, into which every question that comes along either sinks or is sucked down; and, unless you stick a peg with a label over the spot at which it disappeared, and, from time to time, go round and dig out the relics, you will never see anything of them again. My new Colleagues, Dawkins and Raleigh, are as keen in their resentment against this system as myself, and will presently join me in a sustained effort by a new code of departmental regulations to beat it down.

Alienation of land in the Punjab.

I have been in communication with Rivaz, himself as you know an old Punjab official, about the Land alienation proposals for the Punjab. I have shown him, privately, the draft Despatch and Minutes which you were good enough to send me, and I shall hope to address you at length upon the matter next week.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

I have only this morning received a letter from Sir John Woodburn, who is in a very different frame of mind from that in which I left him at Calcutta, and appears anxious for compromise, or conciliation. I am almost hopeful that, by a modification of the plan which I put before you, I may secure his assent and that of the mercantile community, and thus avoid the painful necessity of a conflict in which the Europeans, as well as the Natives, would be angry combatants. I shall have more to say about this also next week.

Parliamentary.

I follow your Parliamentary vicissitudes with the keenest interest, nor do I deprecate the gradual waning of our Party popularity and strength; partly because I doubt if the present Cabinet, after the prodigious strain of six years in office, could possibly, with any good effect, undertake a second period of administration; partly because a short spell of Radical ineptitude, while powerless to do any very great harm to the country, would speedily bring back the whole of our Party into line, and the majority of the country into line with us, and would ensure a further prolonged period of Unionist Government in the first decade of the next century.

Calcutta Advocate-Generalship.

I am rather surprised not to have heard from you hitherto about the new Advocate-General. The delay in making the appointment is causing some comment, and I believe even some inconvenience, at Calcutta. I can hardly think that you have been persuaded to extend to the veteran Apostle a larger measure of mercy than that for which I think, with no small generosity, I pleaded for him.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 19a.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
May 10*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

The Viceroy's speeches.

I have not written to you for a fortnight; but I have received your agreeable letters. No one more cordially agrees with Lord Northbrook than myself, and no one more deprecates the reproduction of my speeches in home newspapers, giving occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. I, however, can exercise no control. I have not the slightest idea in advance which of my speeches, or what portions of them, are going to be telegraphed home; nor do I ascertain, until the papers themselves come out three weeks later. I believe that the *Times* gave Hensman particular orders to send home more than usual; and I suppose (though I have never once been consulted on the matter) that he holds himself bound thereby.

You will note that the Indian newspapers have, without exception, ridiculed the charge that I have spoken too often, and have welcomed the frankness with which I have taken the public into my confidence. What people at home do not recognize is that the Viceroy is no longer the Great Moghul, throned

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in majesty and wrapped in silence. With the telegraph wire everywhere, and with an active and enterprising press, he and he alone is the Government in a personal aspect; and from his lips the Indian people look to learn how and wherefore they are governed. It would be as unreasonable to praise a Viceroy for his seven months' silence at Simla as to blame him for his five months' speaking at Calcutta or on tour.

The Viceroy's work.

I had hoped at Simla to find leisure for the larger schemes which I have in view. But each day is so full that no time is left for anything but the burden thereof; and I have not yet allowed myself one day off since I landed at Bombay.

I am taking the Public Works Department until Colonel Gardiner comes, and this involves some additional, but very interesting, labour. Upon all matters of public interest I have written this week to the Secretary of State.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

Tibetan gold mines scheme.

P. S.—After sending off my telegram to the Secretary of State about the Tibetan gold mines, I kept Chenevix Trench up here, in expectation of your reply, and in order to give him verbal instructions. No reply has yet come from you: so I have sent him off to Srinagar, after dangling his legs for 12 days in Simla. I presume that Rothschild & Co. are thinking twice before they embark on so precarious a scheme.

Russian officers in the Hindu-Kush.

If the Russian officers come through from Kashmir to India, I shall invite them up here and entertain them, in return for similar hospitalities shown to Englishmen in Central Asia. But it will be rather curious if they come through Hunza territory just after treating Hunza as scurvily as they are doing over Raskam.

C. of K.

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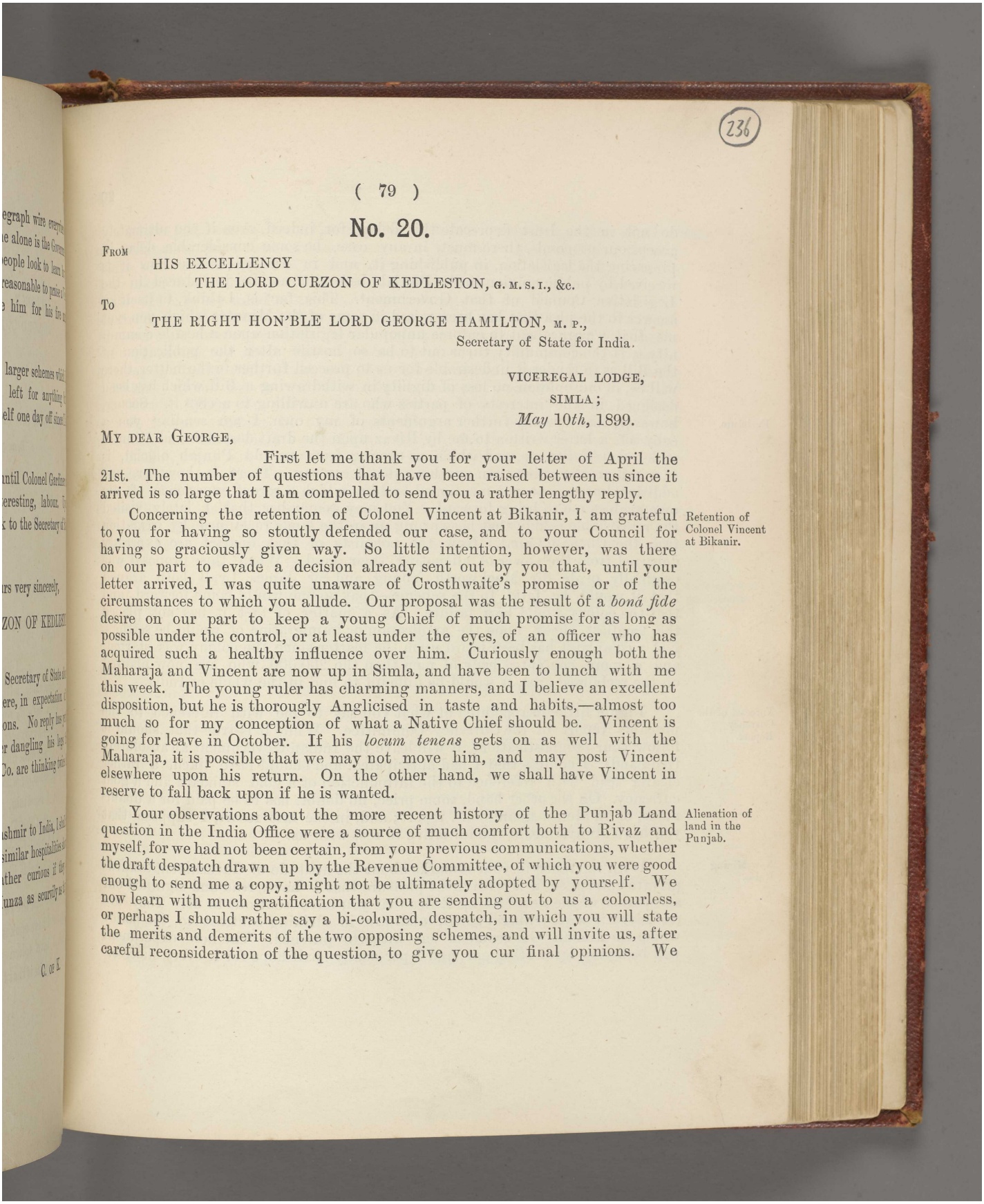

No. 20.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
May 10*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

First let me thank you for your letter of April the 21st. The number of questions that have been raised between us since it arrived is so large that I am compelled to send you a rather lengthy reply.

Retention of Colonel Vincent at Bikanir.

Concerning the retention of Colonel Vincent at Bikanir, I am grateful to you for having so stoutly defended our case, and to your Council for having so graciously given way. So little intention, however, was there on our part to evade a decision already sent out by you that, until your letter arrived, I was quite unaware of Crosthwaite's promise or of the circumstances to which you allude. Our proposal was the result of a *boná fide* desire on our part to keep a young Chief of much promise for as long as possible under the control, or at least under the eyes, of an officer who has acquired such a healthy influence over him. Curiously enough both the Maharaja and Vincent are now up in Simla, and have been to lunch with me this week. The young ruler has charming manners, and I believe an excellent disposition, but he is thoroughly Anglicised in taste and habits,—almost too much so for my conception of what a Native Chief should be. Vincent is going for leave in October. If his *locum tenens* gets on as well with the Maharaja, it is possible that we may not move him, and may post Vincent elsewhere upon his return. On the other hand, we shall have Vincent in reserve to fall back upon if he is wanted.

Alienation of land in the Punjab.

Your observations about the more recent history of the Punjab Land question in the India Office were a source of much comfort both to Rivaz and myself, for we had not been certain, from your previous communications, whether the draft despatch drawn up by the Revenue Committee, of which you were good enough to send me a copy, might not be ultimately adopted by yourself. We now learn with much gratification that you are sending out to us a colourless, or perhaps I should rather say a bi-coloured, despatch, in which you will state the merits and demerits of the two opposing schemes, and will invite us, after careful reconsideration of the question, to give you our final opinions. We

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do not in the least deprecate this delay, for, indeed, even if you ultimately accept our proposals, there must, in any case, be some considerable delay in preparing the legislation, in publishing it, and in waiting to see how it is received by public opinion in the Punjab, before it can be introduced in the Legislative Council of that Government. This fact is, I think, in itself an answer to the plea that has been raised in some of the Minutes which you sent me that we are about to enforce unpopular legislation upon a hostile community. If the community turns out to be so hostile after the publication of the Bill as to render it undesirable for us to proceed further in the matter, there will be, in our opinion, no loss of dignity in withdrawing a Bill which has been designed in the interests of parties who are unwilling to accept it. Sooner, however, than use any further arguments of my own, I am sending you a copy of a letter written to me by Rivaz upon the draft despatch and Minutes which you sent to me, and which, as coming from an old Punjab official, is of much greater value than anything that I can say. There is, however, one additional argument, not mentioned by him, which a recent experience of my own enables me to bring forward. You may remember that I lately visited the remarkable colony that has sprung up in the lands reclaimed by irrigation from the Chenab Canal. Now the colonists of that district are expressly debarred from the power of alienating their land. When this proposal was originally made, Sir Mackworth Young and Sir James Lyall both argued that it would be fatal to the scheme—that no one would come forward, and that the colony would be a failure. As a matter of fact it has not placed the smallest check upon the application or immigration of would-be settlers. Not a complaint has been heard upon the matter since the colony was started, and a more contented body of men than the 200,000, who are now planted on the reclaimed area, it would be difficult to find in the whole of India.

Enclosure.

Forecast of the Currency Report.

I am a little disappointed at what you say to me with reference to the probable report of the Currency Committee. While it is true that, should it follow your prognostications, it will leave the Indian Government an absolutely free hand, I confess that I had anticipated, and should have liked, a rather clearer lead with reference to the introduction of a gold standard and a gold currency. On the other hand, some price, no doubt, has to be paid for a unanimous, or an almost unanimous, report; and, in the last resort, I suppose that you have always meant the initiative to rest with us.

New Mining Rules.

With reference to your remarks about the attitude of Government towards private enterprise, it is with great pleasure that I have read and signified our acceptance of the new Mining Rules that you have sent out to us. They are conceived in a very liberal spirit, and are in striking contrast to the policy which the Indian Government has hitherto pursued. The new experiment will be a very interesting one, and I personally shall hope for it every success.

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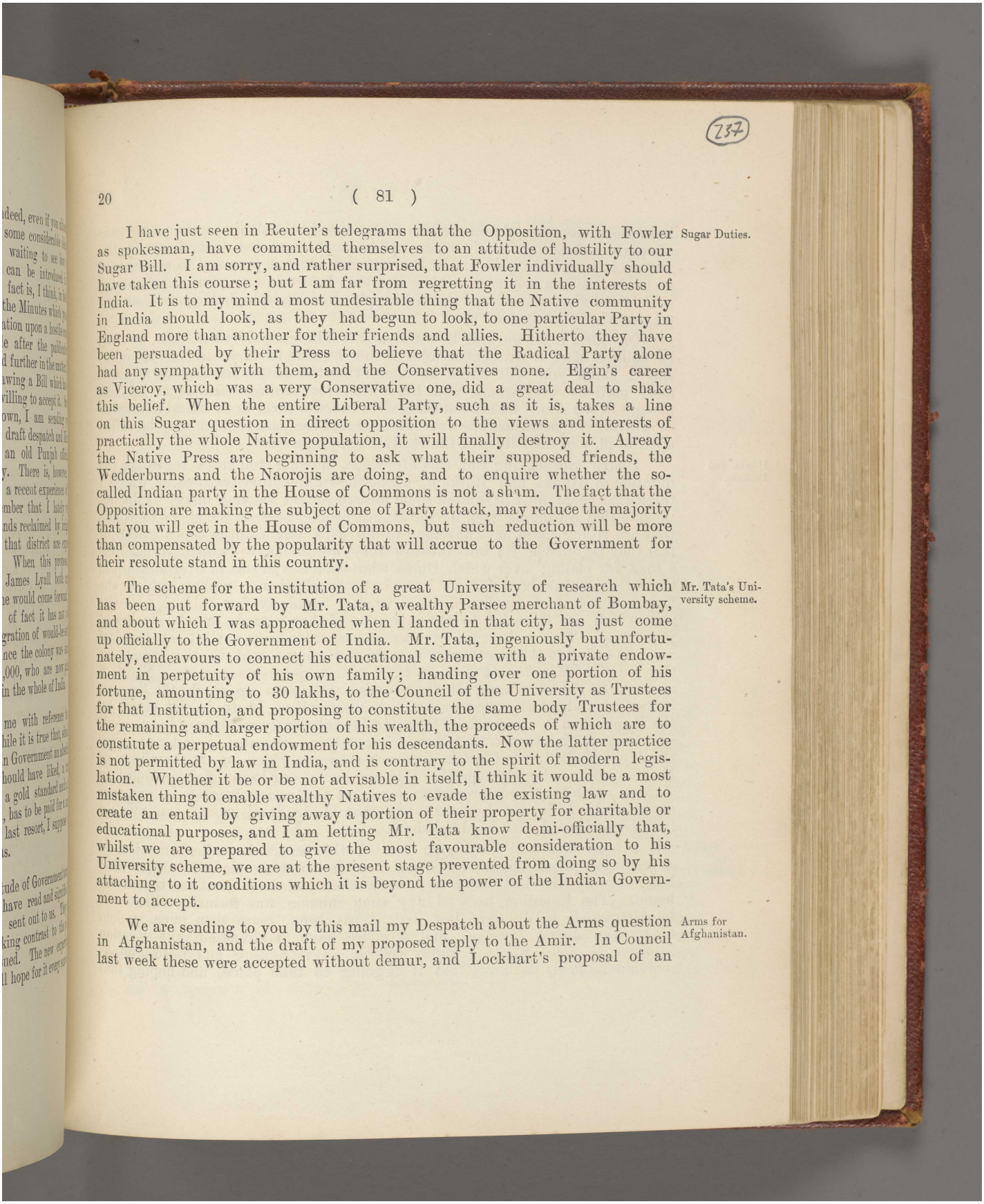

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Sugar Duties.

I have just seen in Reuter's telegrams that the Opposition, with Fowler as spokesman, have committed themselves to an attitude of hostility to our Sugar Bill. I am sorry, and rather surprised, that Fowler individually should have taken this course; but I am far from regretting it in the interests of India. It is to my mind a most undesirable thing that the Native community in India should look, as they had begun to look, to one particular Party in England more than another for their friends and allies. Hitherto they have been persuaded by their Press to believe that the Radical Party alone had any sympathy with them, and the Conservatives none. Elgin's career as Viceroy, which was a very Conservative one, did a great deal to shake this belief. When the entire Liberal Party, such as it is, takes a line on this Sugar question in direct opposition to the views and interests of practically the whole Native population, it will finally destroy it. Already the Native Press are beginning to ask what their supposed friends, the Wedderburns and the Naorojis are doing, and to enquire whether the so-called Indian party in the House of Commons is not a sham. The fact that the Opposition are making the subject one of Party attack, may reduce the majority that you will get in the House of Commons, but such reduction will be more than compensated by the popularity that will accrue to the Government for their resolute stand in this country.

Mr. Tata's University scheme.

The scheme for the institution of a great University of research which has been put forward by Mr. Tata, a wealthy Parsee merchant of Bombay, and about which I was approached when I landed in that city, has just come up officially to the Government of India. Mr. Tata, ingeniously but unfortunately, endeavours to connect his educational scheme with a private endowment in perpetuity of his own family; handing over one portion of his fortune, amounting to 30 lakhs, to the Council of the University as Trustees for that Institution, and proposing to constitute the same body Trustees for the remaining and larger portion of his wealth, the proceeds of which are to constitute a perpetual endowment for his descendants. Now the latter practice is not permitted by law in India, and is contrary to the spirit of modern legislation. Whether it be or be not advisable in itself, I think it would be a most mistaken thing to enable wealthy Natives to evade the existing law and to create an entail by giving away a portion of their property for charitable or educational purposes, and I am letting Mr. Tata know demi-officially that, whilst we are prepared to give the most favourable consideration to his University scheme, we are at the present stage prevented from doing so by his attaching to it conditions which it is beyond the power of the Indian Government to accept.

Arms for Afghanistan.

We are sending to you by this mail my Despatch about the Arms question in Afghanistan, and the draft of my proposed reply to the Amir. In Council last week these were accepted without demur, and Lockhart's proposal of an

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immediate stoppage of arms and an ultimatum to the Amir on the matter was of course withdrawn. But a strong opinion was expressed that delay in the matter is most undesirable; that the warning which I proposed to give should go to the Amir as soon as possible; and that I should ask you, if you agree with these views and accept the draft reply, to telegraph your consent, so that we may immediately send it off.

Of course if the warning be issued, and if it be ignored by the Amir, we shall be obliged after a reasonable lapse of time to take further and serious notice. But I think you will agree at home that the danger has already attained most perilous dimensions, and that whatever the *ipsissima verba* of our pledges to the Amir, we are not obliged to execute them in so literal a manner as gravely to jeopardise our own interests and the part that we may be called upon to play in the future of the Central Asian question.

Hunza and Raskam.

I have been sending you, this afternoon, a long telegram regarding the question of Hunza and Raskam, about the rudimentary features of which I think that there must have been some misconception in your office. I do not propose that we should back up the Hunza people, because the lands to which they are laying claim have anything to do with our frontier—as a matter of fact they lie outside it; but because they are lands to which Hunza has a *boná fide* claim; over which China who exercises a sort of over-lordship in those districts has been willing voluntarily to admit her rights; which she has occupied and cultivated more or less regularly for half a century; and which are essential to the expansion of her already much straitened population. That a bargain of this sort should be cancelled at the last moment owing to the bluster of Petrovski at Kashgar, and to the threats of the Russian Minister at Peking, is, I think, quite inexcusable. Nor do I understand the reluctance of the Foreign Office to approach the Russian Government about an action so obviously unfriendly. If we do not stand by the Hunza men in a case where the right is so obviously on their side, we shall give them the impression that Russia has only to threaten in order to carry the day, and shall forfeit much of the respect upon which on the confines of Empire power so largely depends. Had any one of our local officials adopted an attitude one-tenth as compromising in respect to Russian interests in any part of the world, I do not hesitate to say that M. de Staal would immediately have been closeted with Lord Salisbury.

Russian Medical Mission to Afghanistan.

I hope you will keep your eye on the reported medical mission to Afghanistan which again turned up in a rather more definite shape than heretofore in the last batch of papers that you have sent out to us from home. The intention to send any such mission was formally disavowed by Mouravieff in January last, but it has been, more than once, spoken of by the *Novoe Vremya*; and now we have Bakhmetieff, the Russian Minister at Sofia, whom I know well as an intriguing and unscrupulous individual, openly declaring that it is going to take place, and hoping that

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he may be appointed to it. Should any more be heard of the matter perhaps Count Mouravieff may be invited to repeat his contradiction. In this context you may, perhaps, call to mind the repeated contradictions, both in 1891 and 1892, by M. de Giers of the reported Russian expeditions of Colonel Yonoff to the Pamirs; and the fact that in spite of those contradictions, reiterated even after the men had started, the expedition in both years took place.

Coaling at Muscat.

It may interest you to hear, as an illustration of the practice that has always hitherto prevailed with reference to the supply of coal at Muscat that when the German Cruiser, the *Arcona*, touched there the other day, on her way to the Persian Gulf, she bought her coal, as other foreign gun-boats and men-of-war have always done, at the British coal-shed.

French coal-sheds at Muscat.

With regard to the telegrams which you sent me four days ago about the new proposals of the Foreign Office for the granting of the French coal-sheds at Muscat, I shall, of course, reply to you after obtaining the information from Fagan in answer to the communication which you instructed me to make. I will only say at this moment that I made it with the greatest reluctance; for that Fagan should have to go to Ottavi and ask the latter to tell him, almost as a favour, what he proposes to do, is, in my judgment, a decidedly undignified proceeding. Nor will my views upon the new suggestion which I am to send you as soon as I get Fagan's reply be of a more favourable character. After the Foreign Office had recommended for my acceptance a form of procedure for which I had no liking, but which at any rate preserved to some extent the theory of our ascendancy in Muscat, and after I had formally communicated that proposal to the Sultan, telling him that he was not to give a coal-shed to the French except upon written application to us and receipt of our consent—after all this, to adopt the roundabout method now proposed by the Foreign Office, and instead of requiring the Sultan to apply for our consent, to communicate it in advance to him, will, I think, only involve a further loss of prestige, and strengthen the impression, known to exist in the Sultan's mind, that the French have worsted us in the diplomatic encounter. That you yourself share these views is evident to me from the excellent letter which you addressed to the Foreign Office on April 21st, and which you sent out to us by the last mail. I agree with you in thinking that this sort of joint communication to the Sultan of Muscat is a bad and dangerous precedent; and again, if we do not insist upon seeing on paper the actual agreement arrived at between the Sultan and the French, but only communicate to the Sultan in advance our approval of what we have been told orally by Ottavi are likely to be its terms, there is nothing whatever to prevent the agreement from containing matters detrimental to our interests of which we shall know absolutely nothing. I can scarcely tell you how disheartening it is to me, in connection with this Muscat affair, to find the Foreign Office so reluctant to back me up, and so anxious to make things easy for our rivals. As long as there was a question of signing an agreement with the French about the

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African boundaries, it may have been desirable that the Persian Gulf should have been put on one side as a smaller and less important interest; but, now that the agreement has been signed, why should we not show a little more spirit in the matter? Above all, why should the Foreign Office recede from the proposal approved, and I believe suggested, by themselves? I am most grateful to you for your letter to them of April 21st, and I earnestly hope that your later telegrams do not mean that you will recede from it.

Calcutta Municipal Bill. Correspondence with Sir John Woodburn. Enclosure.

In pursuance of what I said last week I send you a copy of Sir John Woodburn's letter, and of my reply. The suggestion that he makes, and that I have signified my willingness favourably to consider, is one that I think may perhaps provide a solution of the question. It does not differ very substantially from the alternative proposal of mine of which I sent you a sketch sometime ago. If you are favourably inclined towards it, perhaps it may not be necessary to send the case home to you; since I have little doubt that I can persuade my Council unanimously to recommend it to the Lieutenant-Governor. I will keep you informed in the interval as to what passes between him and myself, and perhaps when you have received this letter and considered the new proposal, you may be willing to send me a telegram with your own views about it, and about the situation. I enclose a copy of the Note of Dissent by the two Babus containing the Bombay suggestion upon which the correspondence between Sir John Woodburn and myself turns.

Note of Dissent from Report of Select Committee. Enclosure.

Persian Despatch.

I have not yet had time to prepare our Persian Despatch, which I shall have to write myself, as we have unfortunately no one in the Foreign Office who is very familiar with that question. Nor have I yet had time to take up the larger question of the Frontier. The fact is that the normal and departmental work of each day is so heavy that I never have time, except occasionally on Sunday mornings, to take up any of the larger outside questions. I hope, however, before long to get off to you a despatch on the question of Telegraphic rates between India and England, which is one of the twelve subjects to which I have before alluded.

Frontier question.

Telegraphic rates between India and England.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

1. Letter from the Hon'ble Mr. Rivaz, dated 3rd May 1899, on alienation of land in the Punjab.

2. Letter from Sir John Woodburn to the Viceroy, dated 30th April 1899, and Viceroy's reply, dated 8th May 1899, on the Calcutta Municipal Bill.

3. Note of Dissent from the Select Committee's Report on the above Bill by Babus Norendro Nath Sen and Surendro Nath Banerjee.

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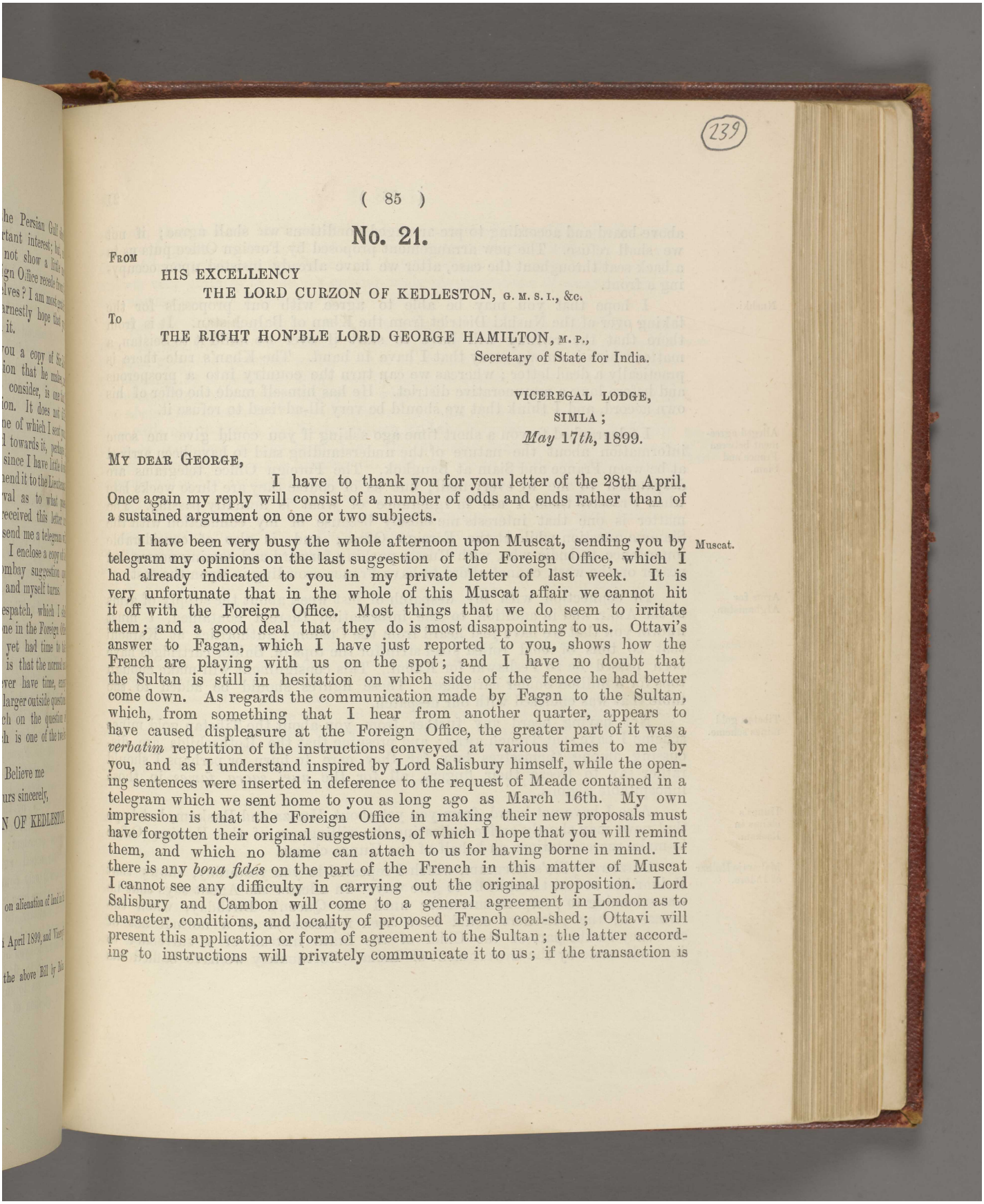

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No. 21.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
May 17*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 28th April. Once again my reply will consist of a number of odds and ends rather than of a sustained argument on one or two subjects.

Muscat. I have been very busy the whole afternoon upon Muscat, sending you by telegram my opinions on the last suggestion of the Foreign Office, which I had already indicated to you in my private letter of last week. It is very unfortunate that in the whole of this Muscat affair we cannot hit it off with the Foreign Office. Most things that we do seem to irritate them; and a good deal that they do is most disappointing to us. Ottavi's answer to Fagan, which I have just reported to you, shows how the French are playing with us on the spot; and I have no doubt that the Sultan is still in hesitation on which side of the fence he had better come down. As regards the communication made by Fagan to the Sultan, which, from something that I hear from another quarter, appears to have caused displeasure at the Foreign Office, the greater part of it was a *verbatim* repetition of the instructions conveyed at various times to me by you, and as I understand inspired by Lord Salisbury himself, while the opening sentences were inserted in deference to the request of Meade contained in a telegram which we sent home to you as long ago as March 16th. My own impression is that the Foreign Office in making their new proposals must have forgotten their original suggestions, of which I hope that you will remind them, and which no blame can attach to us for having borne in mind. If there is any *bona fides* on the part of the French in this matter of Muscat I cannot see any difficulty in carrying out the original proposition. Lord Salisbury and Cambon will come to a general agreement in London as to character, conditions, and locality of proposed French coal-shed; Ottavi will present this application or form of agreement to the Sultan; the latter according to instructions will privately communicate it to us; if the transaction is

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above-board and according to pre-arranged conditions we shall agree; if not we shall refuse. The new arrangement proposed by Foreign Office puts us in a back seat throughout the case, after we have already insisted upon occupying a front.

Nushki.

I hope that you may be able to agree with our proposals for the taking over of the Nushki District from the Khan of Baluchistan. It is from there that the railway will have to start if ever we build it to Seistan, a matter which is among many that I have in hand. The Khan's rule there is practically a dead letter; whereas we can turn the country into a prosperous and before long a remunerative district. He has himself made the offer of his own accord, and I think that we should be very ill-advised to refuse it.

Alleged agreement between France and Siam.

I telegraphed to you a short time ago asking if you could give me some information about the nature of the understanding said to have been arrived at between France and Siam at Bangkok. The Foreign Office telegrams are despatched to me by every mail; but as of course they are three weeks late when I receive them, I am in ignorance of what is actually passing. The matter is one that interests me closely because of my connection with the Siamese question while at the Foreign Office; and is also of considerable importance to India who, with Russia pushing forward and coming nearer and nearer on the west, cannot afford to have France crowding in upon the east.

Arms for Afghanistan.

In connection with my despatch of last week about the supply of arms to the Amir, and in addition to the information therein contained, I must inform you that we have just heard from the Customs authorities at Karachi that 20 tons of cold rolled steel strip for the tops of Snider cartridges have been passed on to Peshawar for Kabul. This consignment will make enough tops for 5 million Snider cartridges. These figures should be added to the table that was enclosed with our despatch.

Tibetan gold mines scheme.

Not having heard any further from you about the Tibetan gold mines scheme I have sent Trench away; and presume that the Rothschilds are discussing among themselves how far they care to burn, or perhaps I should rather say to freeze their fingers, all for the *auri sacra fames* in those inhospitable regions.

Hunza's claims in Raskam.

Also I have not heard from you yet about Hunza and Raskam, but hope that news may shortly arrive indicating the willingness of the Foreign Office to make representations on behalf of the Hunza claims.

Maharaja Holkar of Indore.

Curzon Wyllie's telegram, which I repeated to you yesterday, shows that Holkar has at last thought fit to give way. In a letter the Agent says that he was scheming to postpone surrender until the Queen's Birthday, when the release of the prisoners could have been represented as a normal act of clemency on the part of the Chief of the State instead of a surrender to demands made by the Government of India. Fortunately we have baffled his

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scheme; though I am far from thinking that a surrender would be made with any good grace on the part of Holkar, or that the trouble with him is at an end. I have written to the Queen at length about the subject this week; and am very grateful to you for having made the suggestion of communicating the information that I had given you to her.

The Viceroy's work.

Let me give you an illustration of the sort of work that devolves upon me. In addition to the Departmental files of every day, I am at present engaged upon the question which I have so often mentioned in previous letters of reducing, by a sustained effort and by common action in all the Departments, the over-noting and over-printing of which I have complained. A word or two about this presently. On the table at my side are lying the files, still undealt with, about Persia, the Tochi position, and the Frontier question. Suddenly there is launched at my head from the Military Department an enormous pile of papers containing a proposal to add 46 lakhs yearly to the Military expenditure of the Indian Government in order to constitute a better Transport organisation. The Commander-in-Chief and Collen are agreed upon this, and it comes to me, who am a layman and a novice, to accept, or to criticise, dissect, amend, or refuse. Such a task alone takes two or three days' independent reading and study, even if after that it is not too much for the shoulders of any individual to bear. I may say, however, though I have not as yet gone deeply into the question, that I am not at present at all disposed to acquiesce in such gigantic proposals, or to send you home a case which you will in all likelihood decline to accept.

Proposed scheme of Transport organisation.

The Government Departmental system.

To revert to the question of note-writing. I am drawing up a statement criticising the present practice and proposing remedies, which I shall circulate to every Department and to all my Colleagues, and upon which I shall invite their opinions. The next step will be to draw up a scheme of regulations which will henceforward be enforced in every Department, and which I shall send round to all the Local Governments for adoption, if it be practicable, in their systems as well. I find that the present system is the growth almost entirely of the last twenty years. I have sent for the papers of Lord Mayo's and Lord Northbrook's day, and find that, whereas the Notes, which were then written only by Secretaries and Members of Council, amounted, when printed, to proportions of one-sixth or less of the official proceedings, now that clerks and everybody have taken to write, they often exceed by three or four times the printed volume of the latter. The whole internal economy of the Departments is regulated not in accordance with the needs of presumably intelligent officials, but in order to provide for an automatic conduct of affairs by Native and other clerks, who apparently are not credited with any independent sense, and are only supposed to be able to act in deference to a rigid body of carefully formulated rules. A large number of these which have been submitted to me are absolutely unintelligible to any layman, and indeed were

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found to be quite incapable of explanation to me by the Secretary himself. A sort of Departmental terminology has grown up which is incomprehensible to any one except an old hand, and which requires a special glossary to explain. For instance, an index is called "précis docket," notes are called "Keep-withs." We meet with such phrases as "flat system," "key word," "major head." Papers are sub-divided into all sorts of marvellous categories, and there is a class of so-called "deposits," the meaning or contents of which I have as yet failed to ascertain. Another abominable practice has grown up to which I intend to put a stop. Almost every official telegram or despatch to us is accompanied by a demi-official or private letter to the Private Secretary or to the Department, enforcing the views of the writer. This is a procedure of which use ought only to be made in exceptional cases, but which has developed into proportions that almost amount to a scandal. A great deal of purely official business and communications is transmitted in this way. It is printed and kept in a category apart in the Departments, and never finds its way into the official proceedings, a copy of which is sent home to you. I do not hesitate therefore to say that the latter contain in many cases a most imperfect account of the transactions that have passed, and without a special key, are almost worthless as a guide. From the question of office-noting I propose to pass on to that of report-writing all over India. Thousands of pages, occupying hundreds of hours of valuable time, are written every year by score upon score of officers, to the obfuscation of their own intellects and the detriment of their official work, and are then sent up to the Local Governments to be annotated, criticised, and reported upon by other officers who are similarly neglecting their duty in deference to this absurd tyranny; while finally this conglomeration of unassimilated matter comes up here to us again to be noted upon in the Departments of the Government of India, and read, or probably not read, at all, by Secretaries and Under Secretaries, until finally, never having been seen by the heads of the Government at all, it reposes upon the dusty shelves of the Departmental libraries, unopened and untouched, till one day, perhaps, some friendly conflagration will carry it to its proper doom. This, I can assure you is no merely rhetorical or exaggerated picture. It is the system which is going on all over India, and which is strangling the vitality of our Government and our men. If I could succeed in reducing the bulk of what is written inside and outside the Departments by one-third, while I am in India, as I hope to do, and were to attempt, or to achieve nothing else at all, I believe that my administration would be more useful to the cause of good government than any catalogue of achievements, however dramatic, of success in peace or war.

The Bombay Government.

I confess to you that I am growing very much perturbed by the Bombay Government and about its relations with us. I am engaged in a correspondence with Sandhurst, in which I cannot get him to apprehend my simplest

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propositions, and in which he seems powerless to understand what the relations of the two Governments are, or ought to be. I asked him to let me know what were his views upon the policy of the continued detention of the Natus, about which it is essential that I should form, and about which you have asked me for, an independent judgment. He replies to me that he will not forget to keep me informed as to what course may be expedient in the future. We hear remarks from different quarters of movements and conspiracies among the Mahratta Brahmins, and of an unusual feeling generally in the Deccan. Nothing, however, comes to us directly from the Bombay Government. When the great strike occurred the other day upon the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, not a hint had been given to us in advance by their Thagi and Dakaiti Department, and the first we heard of it at Simla was from the newspapers. I believe the Police system in the Bombay Presidency to be very bad, and altogether there is a want of grip about the Government there, which seems to me to be of serious omen.

The Madras Government.

I am almost equally struck—although the case is less important—with the complete detachment from ourselves of the Government of Madras. With the exception of the visit to me of the Governor, during which a certain number of questions were discussed, I have not had a communication of any kind from Madras during the nearly five months that I have been here. Nor, I believe, do we ever hear from them, except as the Budget is approaching, when they want to get more money out of the Government of India, or when they are trying to perpetrate some private arrangement upon which we have to put a veto. Decentralization is all very well; but it appears to me, in the case of Bombay and Madras, to have been carried to a point in which the Supreme Government is nowhere, and of which the petty kings of those dominions are even unconscious that responsibility attaches to any one but themselves. I cannot spend my time complaining and disputing with them, but I know that the system seems to me in very urgent need of reform.

Lord Elgin.

I am glad to read of the dinner that was given to Elgin last night in London. I have also read with interest the well-informed article upon his administration in the *Quarterly Review*. The *Pioneer* attributes the latter to Lyall, but it is to my mind too conservative in sentiment, and a little too wanting in insight in one or two particulars, to have emanated from him. It is well that Elgin should receive at home the credit which has been, and is still somewhat ungenerously denied to him here. He never, by one single word or deed, touched the imagination either of Indian or of English society, and you will observe that not an effort has been made, or is likely to be made, to commemorate his rule in India. It is a remarkable fact that he will be the fifth only of the Governors-General to whom, during the last 70 years, no statue has been put up upon their leaving Calcutta. The first was Lord Ellenborough, who was recalled in disgrace; the second was Lord Elgin, the father, who died in less than a year; the third was Lord Lytton, who left

Statues to retiring Governors-General.

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India, as we all know, somewhat under a cloud; the fourth was Lord Ripon, a statue of whom, if ever the money had been raised to put it up by one party, would infallibly have been pitched into the Hooghly next day by the other. Does not this catalogue of exceptions throw rather a remarkable side-light upon Indian history?

Expenditure of the Berars.

I am glad that you have addressed us on the subject of the Berars. From what I had previously read of the case, I believe that the Nizam has a case against us which it is rather difficult to meet, and I shall be only too happy to take the interest in the question which you suggest.

Koweit.

We have received lately a number of letters, official and private, from Meade indicating that there is something important in the wind about Koweit. I believe that some of these are going home to you by this mail. I have not troubled you lately on the matter because a good deal of what Meade reports in the shape of actual or probable Turkish activity rests upon hearsay. He seems, however, to think that the Turks are meditating a move, if not against Koweit itself, at any rate against the date gardens of the Sheik, which, as you will remember, are in the Fao district; and he is very anxious that, before collision or trouble occurs, we should come to some understanding with the Turk at Constantinople. I think this may probably be advisable; and I will let you know as soon as we have anything definite. The task, however, will not be so easy as Meade appears to imagine.

Kalka-Simla Railway.

I have had a rather curious question before me in my capacity as Public Works Member upon which I should like your advice. We have, for some years, as you know, been negociating with a Company to build a Narrow Gauge Railway from Kalka to Simla. The first condition that we attached to such negociation, and that was accepted without demur by the Company, was that there should be no financial concession; in other words, no guarantee on the part of the Government. The original proposals of the Company were for a 2 ft. 6 in. line; and after some discussion, the whole of the terms and conditions were satisfactorily agreed to by both parties. A little later on the Government in Elgin's time hastily changed its mind about the gauge, and asked the Company to reduce the latter from 2 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft. It was this condition that appeared in the prospectus. Now the Government of India have reverted to the 2ft. 6 in. gauge as the standard gauge for military or commercial light railways, and we have accordingly asked the Company to revert to the original figure. They decline to do so unless we give them a guarantee. I interviewed the Engineer, who is representing the Directors out here, and told him frankly that I declined to do this; that it was contrary to the primary condition upon which negociations had originally been commenced and to which both parties had agreed. I further pointed out that we were only asking the Company to execute their original proposals. He pleaded consideration on the ground that the money of the public had been invited under false pretences. I may say that,

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out of the £400,000 asked for, he told me that £140,000 had been taken up by the public, and the rest under-written in London. I replied that the public subscriptions did not depend upon the exact dimensions of the gauge but upon the anticipated stability of the concern. I feel very strongly that it would be improper and unwise to revert to a guarantee. On the other hand, a rather interesting point of financial ethics is raised upon which I should like your opinion. Do you think it desirable, or necessary, to make any concession at all, and, if a concession be made, do you think that it might take the form of conceding to the Company an increase in tariffs and fares? We have signed the existing contract for a 2ft. line; on the other hand they cannot commence operations without our consent. That is the present situation.

Our season begins with a Garden Party to-morrow, and next week we shall be in the full swing of State dinners, levées, and balls.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 22.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

TO
THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K. G., P. C.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
May 18*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR LORD SALISBURY,

It was very good of you, in the midst of all your labours, to find time to write to me with your own hand so interesting a letter about foreign affairs in general.

I am afraid that we are giving you a little uneasiness again about Muscat. I heard, indirectly, that you were vexed at a letter written by Fagan to the Sultan, handed by the latter to Ottavi, and by Cambon to you. I think there must have been some mistake or forgetfulness at home about

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this. For with the exception of the preamble, which was harmless (*viz.*, the first three sentences) and had been particularly asked for by Meade, the remainder of the letter was a verbatim reproduction of the instructions sent out on three separate occasions to us (notably on February 28th by telegram) by the India Office, and, as I have been told, inspired by the Foreign Office.

I think it would be a great pity if, after telling the Sultan that he must submit for our approval any agreement with the French about their coaling place, we were now to waive that demand. He has not yet been able to make up his mind whether the French or ourselves are the superior power or his better friends. Ottavi is always whispering in his ear that England has been worsted, and the Agents of the Government of India disavowed, in the diplomatic encounter. He has not yet applied for a renewal of the British subsidy, and I fear that any weakening of our position would drive him straight over to the French.

I was greatly interested in your survey of the field of international politics. No doubt the Franco-Russian Alliance is losing something in cordiality. But as long as neither party has any other friend, are they not certain for selfish reasons to continue to play each other's game? Whatever agreements we conclude with either, I never see any diminution in the steady pursuance on petty arenas of the pin-prick policy. Your Chinese Agreement with Russia is followed by their demand of a railway to Peking. Your African Agreement with France is accompanied by their plot at Muscat. Staal is always murmuring consolatory words about Afghanistan and Persia. Meanwhile his people are visibly nibbling at the one, and biting hard at the other.

I am preparing a despatch to the India Office upon the whole Persian question; and the Seistan Railway will of course come into it. I earnestly hope that when it comes the Government may take it into consideration. Some common action for the preservation of Southern Persia seems to me essential.

Unfortunately, in this sort of work I get very little help here. My Foreign Department is recruited on haphazard and deplorable principles; and few Indian officials know much beyond the limits of their own subject or work. The Secretaries and Under Secretaries of Departments are a constantly changing body, and the subordinate staff, instead of being well-paid gentlemen, as in England, who are acquiring the traditions and training for the higher posts, are simply clerks, Native, Eurasian, and otherwise, who discharge their ministerial functions with a purely mechanical precision.

I am so glad to hear that Lady Salisbury and yourself returned in such splendid health.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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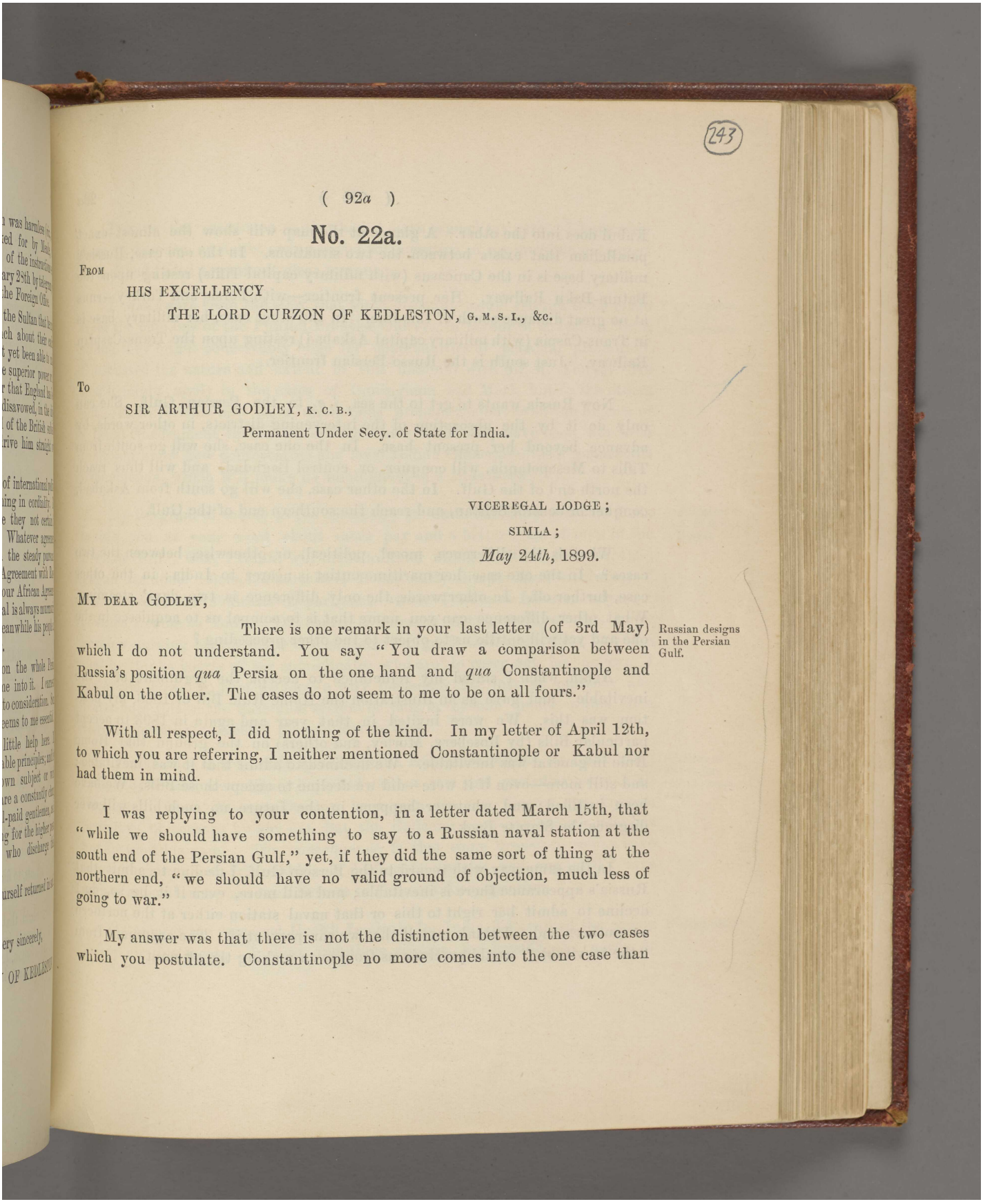

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No. 22a.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE;
SIMLA;
May 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

There is one remark in your last letter (of 3rd May) which I do not understand. You say "You draw a comparison between Russia's position *qua* Persia on the one hand and *qua* Constantinople and Kabul on the other. The cases do not seem to me to be on all fours."

Russian designs in the Persian Gulf.

With all respect, I did nothing of the kind. In my letter of April 12th, to which you are referring, I neither mentioned Constantinople or Kabul nor had them in mind.

I was replying to your contention, in a letter dated March 15th, that "while we should have something to say to a Russian naval station at the south end of the Persian Gulf," yet, if they did the same sort of thing at the northern end, "we should have no valid ground of objection, much less of going to war."

My answer was that there is not the distinction between the two cases which you postulate. Constantinople no more comes into the one case than

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Kabul does into the other. A glance at the map will show the almost exact parallelism that exists between the two situations. In the one case, Russia's military base is in the Caucasus (with military capital Tiflis) resting upon the Batum-Baku Railway. Her present frontier—with Persia and Turkey—runs at no great distance south of this line. In the other case, her military base is in Trans-Caspia (with military capital Askabad) resting upon the Trans-Caspian Railway. Just south is the Russo-Persian frontier.

Now Russia wants to get to the sea, *i.e.*, to the Persian Gulf. She can only do it by the absorption of the intervening districts, in other words, by advance beyond her present base. In the one case, she will go south from Tiflis to Mesopotamia, will conquer or control Baghdad, and will thus reach the north end of the Gulf. In the other case, she will go south from Askabad, conquer or control Seistan, and reach the southern end of the Gulf.

What is the difference, moral, political, or otherwise, between the two cases? In the one case, her maritime outlet is nearer to India: in the other case, further off. In other words, the only difference is two days' steaming. What other difference can you name that is to compel us to acquiesce in the one and yet will entitle us to object to the other proceeding?

Again, when I stated my reluctance to accept the argument of "the inevitable" and gave as an illustration the Home Rule Bill of 1886, my position was this. We were invited in that year and again in 1893 to accept particular Bills (by Rosebery, Morley, and others) on the ground that Home Rule in general was inevitable. We declined to admit that it was inevitable; and still more—even if it were—did we decline to accept those Bills. We have been justified: and whatever happens in the future no such bills will ever disgrace the Statute Book.

In the same way with regard to the Persian Gulf, I decline to admit that Russia's appearance there is inevitable; and still more, even if it be so, do I decline to admit her right to this or that naval station either at the northern or southern end. I think myself that we can prevent it. The argument from "the inevitable" would preclude us from even making the attempt.

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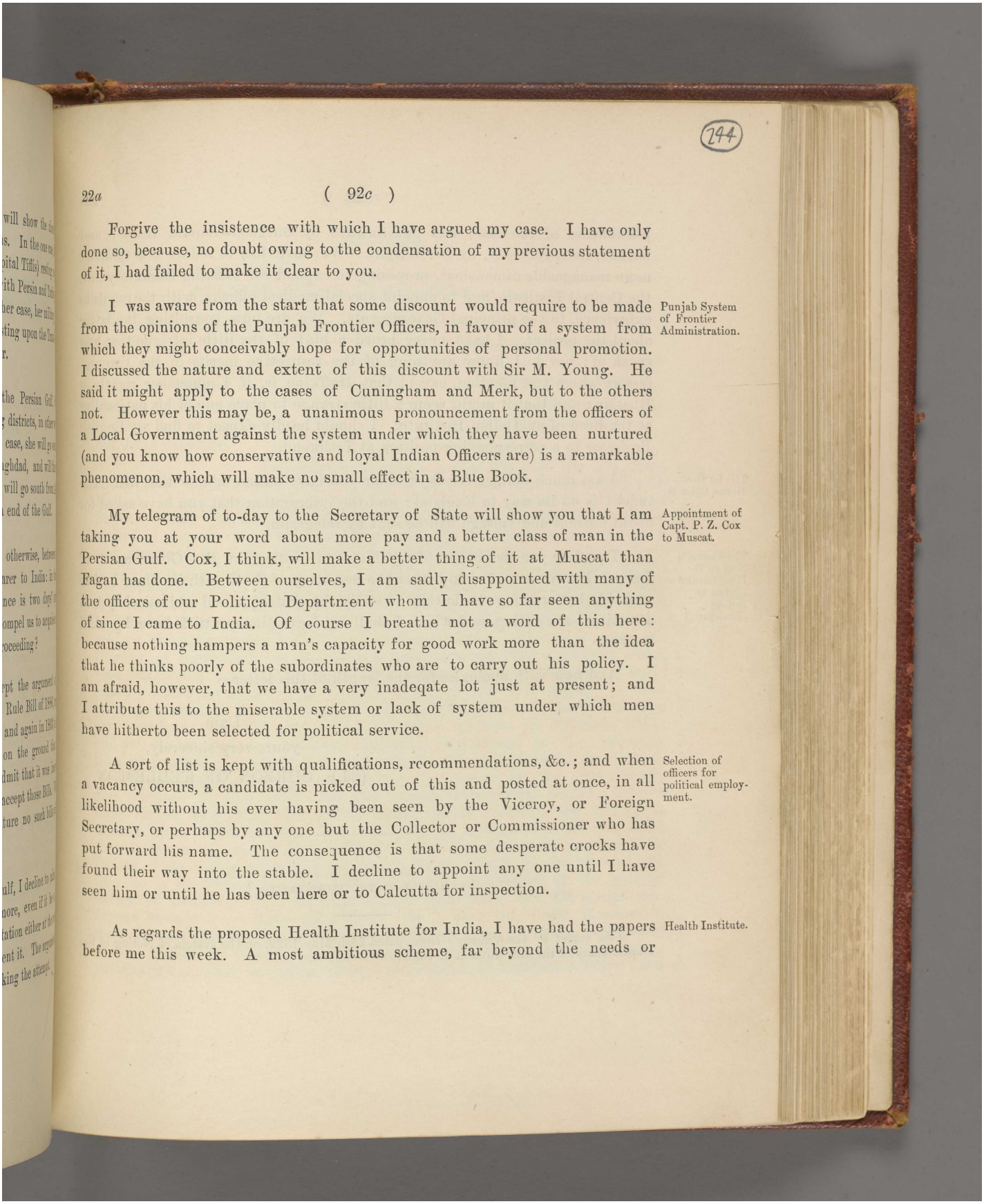

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Forgive the insistence with which I have argued my case. I have only done so, because, no doubt owing to the condensation of my previous statement of it, I had failed to make it clear to you.

Punjab System of Frontier Administration.

I was aware from the start that some discount would require to be made from the opinions of the Punjab Frontier Officers, in favour of a system from which they might conceivably hope for opportunities of personal promotion. I discussed the nature and extent of this discount with Sir M. Young. He said it might apply to the cases of Cuningham and Merk, but to the others not. However this may be, a unanimous pronouncement from the officers of a Local Government against the system under which they have been nurtured (and you know how conservative and loyal Indian Officers are) is a remarkable phenomenon, which will make no small effect in a Blue Book.

Appointment of Capt. P. Z. Cox to Muscat.

My telegram of to-day to the Secretary of State will show you that I am taking you at your word about more pay and a better class of man in the Persian Gulf. Cox, I think, will make a better thing of it at Muscat than Fagan has done. Between ourselves, I am sadly disappointed with many of the officers of our Political Department whom I have so far seen anything of since I came to India. Of course I breathe not a word of this here: because nothing hampers a man's capacity for good work more than the idea that he thinks poorly of the subordinates who are to carry out his policy. I am afraid, however, that we have a very inadeqate lot just at present; and I attribute this to the miserable system or lack of system under which men have hitherto been selected for political service.

Selection of officers for political employment.

A sort of list is kept with qualifications, recommendations, &c.; and when a vacancy occurs, a candidate is picked out of this and posted at once, in all likelihood without his ever having been seen by the Viceroy, or Foreign Secretary, or perhaps by any one but the Collector or Commissioner who has put forward his name. The consequence is that some desperate crocks have found their way into the stable. I decline to appoint any one until I have seen him or until he has been here or to Calcutta for inspection.

Health Institute.

As regards the proposed Health Institute for India, I have had the papers before me this week. A most ambitious scheme, far beyond the needs or

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possibilities of the case, was put forward by Surgeon-General Harvey, and backed, independently, by Dr. Wright. We have had to reduce this to much more manageable dimensions, proposing to expand an existing laboratory into the Central Institute, and to appoint special medical officers, with the requisite experience, to the principal Governments. We are now consulting the latter about the project. I have never heard a hint of the little intrigue that you speak of: nor do I know anything of the respective merits of the two professors whom you mention, except that Haffkine is, if I remember rightly, a Russian; and that it might seem a little strange to place one of his nationality at the head of an Indian Institute. I should hardly expect to find an English Professor in a corresponding position at Tashkend.

Lift for Govt. House, Calcutta.

I am much obliged for the trouble you have taken about the lift. The indent is on its way to England: and the information that you have asked for about current and voltage will be sent by telegraph.

The Viceroy's Note on the Departmental System of Noting. [Enclosure.]

I enclose you two copies of my Note on Noting in the Government of India. I have not liked to bother the Secretary of State with it: since he has probably better things to do than to study the grotesque and whimsical system at which I am tilting, and which I shall not leave alone until I have knocked it over.

And now with apologies for the length of this letter,

I am,
yours very sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Two copies of the Viceroy's Note, dated 24th May 1899, on the system of Noting in the Departments of the Government of India.

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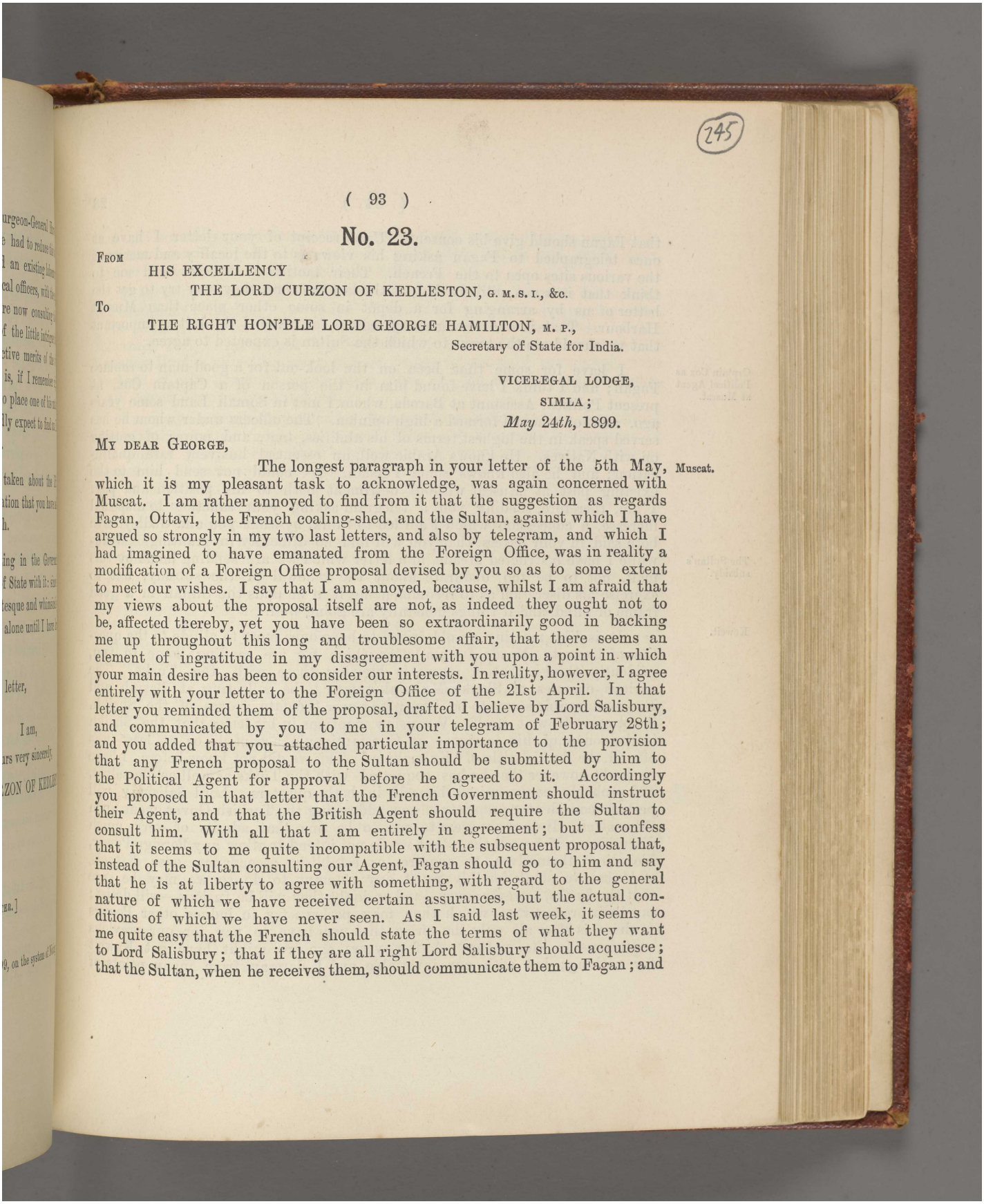

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No. 23.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
May 24th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The longest paragraph in your letter of the 5th May, which it is my pleasant task to acknowledge, was again concerned with Muscat. I am rather annoyed to find from it that the suggestion as regards Fagan, Ottavi, the French coaling-shed, and the Sultan, against which I have argued so strongly in my two last letters, and also by telegram, and which I had imagined to have emanated from the Foreign Office, was in reality a modification of a Foreign Office proposal devised by you so as to some extent to meet our wishes. I say that I am annoyed, because, whilst I am afraid that my views about the proposal itself are not, as indeed they ought not to be, affected thereby, yet you have been so extraordinarily good in backing me up throughout this long and troublesome affair, that there seems an element of ingratitude in my disagreement with you upon a point in which your main desire has been to consider our interests. In reality, however, I agree entirely with your letter to the Foreign Office of the 21st April. In that letter you reminded them of the proposal, drafted I believe by Lord Salisbury, and communicated by you to me in your telegram of February 28th; and you added that you attached particular importance to the provision that any French proposal to the Sultan should be submitted by him to the Political Agent for approval before he agreed to it. Accordingly you proposed in that letter that the French Government should instruct their Agent, and that the British Agent should require the Sultan to consult him. With all that I am entirely in agreement; but I confess that it seems to me quite incompatible with the subsequent proposal that, instead of the Sultan consulting our Agent, Fagan should go to him and say that he is at liberty to agree with something, with regard to the general nature of which we have received certain assurances, but the actual conditions of which we have never seen. As I said last week, it seems to me quite easy that the French should state the terms of what they want to Lord Salisbury; that if they are all right Lord Salisbury should acquiesce; that the Sultan, when he receives them, should communicate them to Fagan; and

Muscat.

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that Fagan should give his consent. Upon receipt of your letter I have at once telegraphed to Fagan asking his views as to the locality and merits of the various sites open to the French. Their tactics at Muscat lead me to think that it is not unlikely that, at the last moment, they may try to get the better of us by arranging for a depôt in some other place than Muscat Harbour. That is one among many reasons for which I think it so important that we should see the terms to which the Sultan is expected to agree.

Captain Cox as Political Agent at Muscat.

I have for some time been on the look-out for a good man to replace Fagan; and I think I have found him in the person of a Captain Cox, at present Political Assistant at Baroda, whom I met in Somali Land some years ago, and of whom I formed a high opinion. The officers under whom he has served speak in the highest terms of his abilities, tact, and power of getting on with Natives. He knows Arabic well, an essential but very rare qualification; and he also knows some Persian. We could not send him to the existing post at Muscat without detriment both to his position and pay. I am, therefore, sending you a telegram asking your sanction to a special increase, a concession which I am led to think, by what you and Godley have both said in your letters, that you will find no difficulty in granting. Meanwhile I have instructed Meade, in a letter which we are sending home by this mail, not to be too obdurate about the renewal of the subsidy, but to exercise his discretion as to recommencing it, if he finds the Sultan in a good frame of mind, and if things generally are going well.

The Sultan's subsidy.

Koweit.

It is like meeting an old friend to have once more to allude to the question of Koweit. Meade, from a letter which we are sending home to you, evidently thinks that a storm is brewing there with the Turks. The various enemies of Sheikh Mubarak appear to be collecting at Basrah and Fao, and trouble seems to be impending over the date groves of the Sheikh, if not over Koweit itself. Wratislaw mentions in his letter that the Sheikh in the course of his intrigues at Constantinople accepted, or at least was offered, the Turkish title of 'Kaimakam.' This we did not know before. I have no doubt however that he has coquetted with the Turks as well as ourselves, and probably compromised himself in both quarters. Lord Salisbury will perhaps consider the propriety of now addressing the Turkish Government upon the matter. It does not seem to me to be one that admits of very much discussion. If we tell them that we do not intend to allow any Foreign Power, including themselves, to acquire, or establish, ascendancy over Koweit, and that we shall forcibly resist any attempt to do so, we may be sure that the Turks, however angry—and no doubt they will be furious—will desist; but their present rage, which they may perhaps try to induce other Powers to share, is after all only the price that we have to pay for our previous supineness in the matter. A few years ago we might have got Koweit for nothing; but with our invariable, and I daresay from many points of

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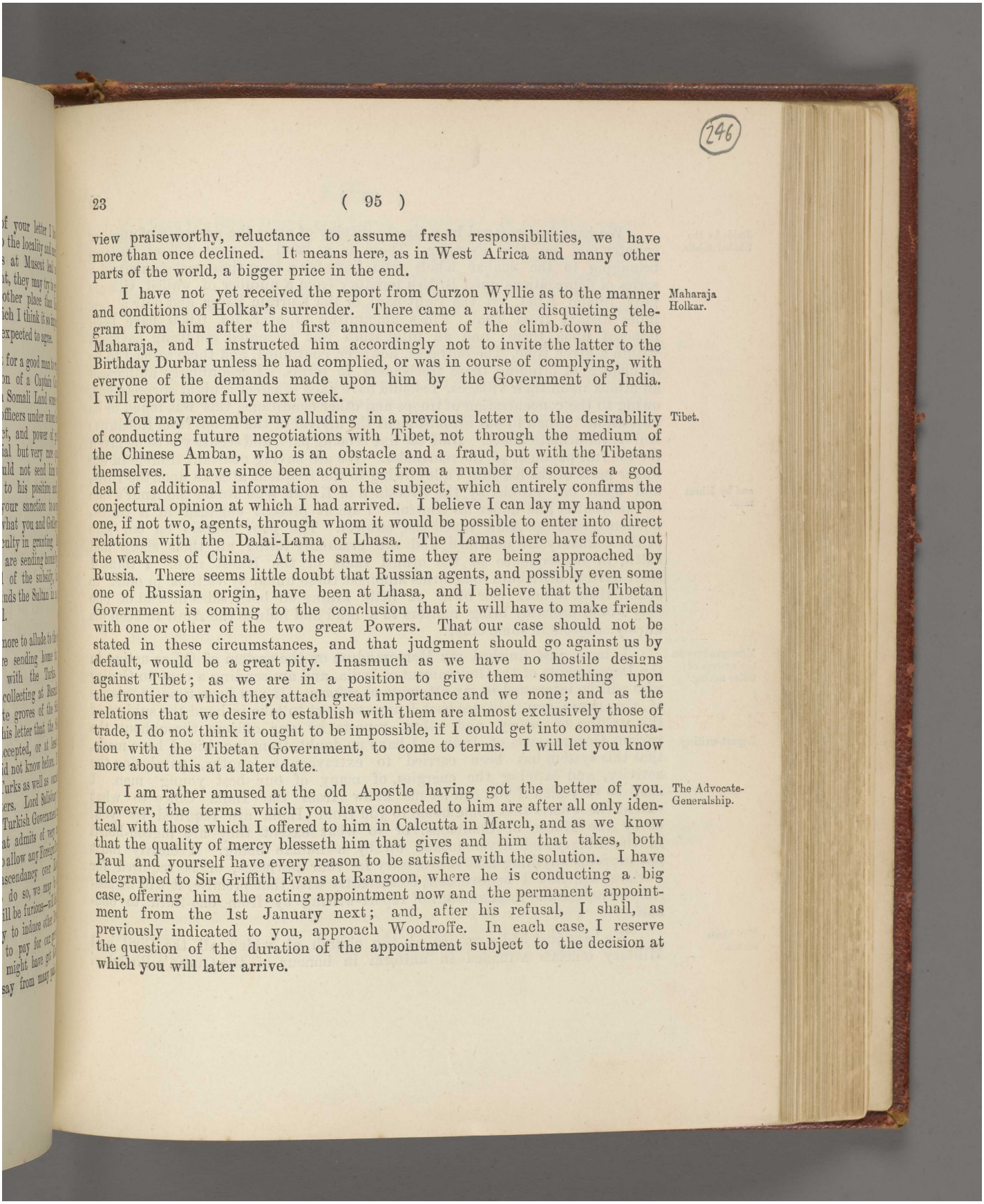

view praiseworthy, reluctance to assume fresh responsibilities, we have more than once declined. It means here, as in West Africa and many other parts of the world, a bigger price in the end.

Maharaja Holkar.

I have not yet received the report from Curzon Wyllie as to the manner and conditions of Holkar's surrender. There came a rather disquieting telegram from him after the first announcement of the climb-down of the Maharaja, and I instructed him accordingly not to invite the latter to the Birthday Durbar unless he had complied, or was in course of complying, with everyone of the demands made upon him by the Government of India. I will report more fully next week.

Tibet.

You may remember my alluding in a previous letter to the desirability of conducting future negotiations with Tibet, not through the medium of the Chinese Amban, who is an obstacle and a fraud, but with the Tibetans themselves. I have since been acquiring from a number of sources a good deal of additional information on the subject, which entirely confirms the conjectural opinion at which I had arrived. I believe I can lay my hand upon one, if not two, agents, through whom it would be possible to enter into direct relations with the Dalai-Lama of Lhasa. The Lamas there have found out the weakness of China. At the same time they are being approached by Russia. There seems little doubt that Russian agents, and possibly even some one of Russian origin, have been at Lhasa, and I believe that the Tibetan Government is coming to the conclusion that it will have to make friends with one or other of the two great Powers. That our case should not be stated in these circumstances, and that judgment should go against us by default, would be a great pity. Inasmuch as we have no hostile designs against Tibet; as we are in a position to give them something upon the frontier to which they attach great importance and we none; and as the relations that we desire to establish with them are almost exclusively those of trade, I do not think it ought to be impossible, if I could get into communication with the Tibetan Government, to come to terms. I will let you know more about this at a later date.

The Advocate-Generalship.

I am rather amused at the old Apostle having got the better of you. However, the terms which you have conceded to him are after all only identical with those which I offered to him in Calcutta in March, and as we know that the quality of mercy blesseth him that gives and him that takes, both Paul and yourself have every reason to be satisfied with the solution. I have telegraphed to Sir Griffith Evans at Rangoon, where he is conducting a big case, offering him the acting appointment now and the permanent appointment from the 1st January next; and, after his refusal, I shall, as previously indicated to you, approach Woodroffe. In each case, I reserve the question of the duration of the appointment subject to the decision at which you will later arrive.

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Raids by the Shabar Khels,

We have just escaped by a timely display of arms the necessity of another counter-raid on the Frontier. There is a band of very defiant outlaws belonging to the Shabar Khels who have for a long time past committed a series of depredations upon British territory from a number of walled villages near Biland Khel, on the right bank of the Kurram River, and only a few miles distant from Thal. Fines amounting to over Rs. 6,000 have been imposed upon them; and an ultimatum was presented requiring payment within a given time. The outrages, however, continued, and there seemed to be no chance of bringing these freebooters to terms. I accordingly authorised an attack upon their villages. I should have liked to effect a night surprise, but, owing to the concentration of troops and other conditions, this was found to be impossible. Much to our astonishment the arrival of the troops from Kohat has had its immediate effect. Half the fine is being paid, and security is being given for the full payment of the remainder. We are having constant trouble in the upper parts of the Kurram Valley owing to the frequent attacks upon the Turis,

and by Khost men.

and upon our people, by the tribesmen of Khost, who are on the Amir's side of the frontier and under his control. I am at present engaged in a correspondence with the Amir upon the subject. The poor fellows on our side of the boundary are unarmed, and are gradually losing all their sheep and cattle in consequence of the armed raids of the Khost men. I think I shall have to distribute some arms amongst these unhappy victims in order to enable them to hold their own. A little killing on both sides instead of one only would probably bring matters to a head and induce the Amir to keep his unruly subjects in some order.

Memorandum on the system of Office noting.

I have just finished my Memorandum on the system of Office noting in the Departments of the Government of India, and am sending a copy to Godley who will be interested in my attempts at reform. If you have time to glance at the paper, you will see that I propose next to take in hand the subject of this writing of yearly, and other, reports by our officers throughout the

Report-writing.

various Governments of India. I have no doubt, from inquiries I have made, that this system has been carried to extravagant lengths, paralysing the activity, and sapping the energies, of many of our best young men. I shall be very glad if you can let me know from the India Office to what extent the reports that come home to you from India are required by you, or by the House of Commons, or to what extent they are pigeon-holed in the library and never looked up by a human being. I clearly must not suppress anything that is necessary for your purposes, or is required for Parliament; but I believe that, consistently with that premise, it will be possible to reduce the total amount of report-writing by from one-third to one-half.

The Simla season.

We have just had a service at the church at which all the Civil and Military officials attended in uniform in honour of the Queen's Birthday.

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To-night I have the State Dinner and Levée. There are not so many people up in Simla this year as usual. They are said to have been frightened away by the rumours of a very full and expensive season which the house-owners and hotel-keepers were foolish enough to spread in advance. Sir Mackworth and Lady Young arrived last week, but they have had measles in their house, and accordingly we have not yet met. Their presence here will be a great addition to the attractions of Simla society.

Mr. Spencer Grey's employment in Burma.

The fair Lady Eden has been rewarded for the importunity with which she has impartially assailed both of us; for I have succeeded in obtaining employment for her brother in Burma. The one sad feature of my weekly mail is that of the letters from England, presumably addressed in the handwriting of acquaintances or friends, nine out of ten, when opened, prove to be written for no other purpose than to ask some favour for a husband, son, brother, nephew, or cousin.

Believe me
yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 24.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
May 31*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Foreign Secretaryship.

I think that the advice which you have twice given me, more especially in your last letter of May 12th, as to the desirability of rating at a higher value the services that a capable man can render me as Foreign Secretary than those which he might be rendering elsewhere as the head of a Province is very sound. My present acting Foreign Secretary, Barnes, is I think a man of quick intelligence as well as a hard worker. He interprets my ideas with a good deal of facility; and is probably, to a man like myself, a rather more helpful co-adjutor than Cuningham, although

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Changes in *personnel*.

he has not got either the Departmental experience, the social charm, or the great personal popularity of the latter. The real fault of our system here—and it is of course more felt in the Foreign Department than elsewhere—is the want of continuity in the *personnel* of the Department. The various Under Secretaries are continually coming in and going out again, and cannot possibly acquire a knowledge either of the history of cases, or of the traditions of the Department. A young man is brought in from the outside, is at once put in charge of a section of the office, and is expected forthwith in his notes to suggest a policy to the Government of India. The consequence is that, for a couple of years, he experiments at the expense of his superiors, and writes, in all probability, the most inconceivable trash. I have brought in such a young man to a vacant place recently, and he began firing off at once about Persia and Tibet. I have stopped his premature activity, and urged him to learn before he begins to teach. We have in the Department only one man who has at all a considerable acquaintance with Afghanistan. Being not quite a gentleman, for his father was a tradesman, he has not occupied quite the same positions, or made the same advance in promotion, as others have done; but being a man of a good deal of industry and some ability, he has acquired a great mastery of the Afghan and frontier questions. But this is a mere accident; and it is rather a strange thing that our authority on such subjects, instead of being a Godley, or a Lee-Warner, should be an Assistant Secretary in the third grade of Political Agents.

Punjab system of frontier administration.

With reference to your paragraph on the Punjab Government, let me give you another illustration of their amazing procrastination and want of system. On September 5th, 1898, a petty raid occurred at a village 10 miles from Kohat, in which a few men were killed and some donkeys carried off. From that date to this the Punjab Government have been solemnly discussing with their subordinate officers what were the exact dimensions of the fine to be inflicted, and on which of the various guilty parties, and in what proportions, it ought to be laid. Finally the matter came up to me for decision three days ago, nearly nine months after the incident occurred. I wrote to Sir Mackworth Young about this, and he says the fault is not his but that of his Secretariat; but did you ever hear of such a defence, or of such a system? Meanwhile I can get nothing from them about the other frontier questions, such as the Samana and Kohat Pass, regarding which I thought it proper to consult them before referring to you; and my impression is that the system there, as elsewhere, has got the absolute mastery over the men, and that nothing short of a complete revolution will set matters right. I do not think that the delay in forming in my own mind, and in submitting to you proposals about the future of the frontier, due as it has been solely to the pressure of other work, need be deprecated; since it enables

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me to accumulate my evidence as to the utter rottenness of the existing system.

In a telegram to you the other day I expressed my thanks for your success in procuring the intervention of the Foreign Office in respect of Hunza and Raskam. With reference to your observation as to the raiding instincts of the Kanjutis the real point is this:—They were, as you say, a notorious band of free-booters, and for years devastated the entire frontier far beyond the boundaries of British India; but when we came upon the scene, we stopped their raiding and compelled them to lead an orderly and pacific life. The consequence is that, the check upon population caused by the fighting in these frontier forays having been removed, the number of inhabitants of the valley has begun to swell so rapidly that some external means of subsistence are absolutely required. Hence the necessity of converting into a permanent occupation, under the sanction of the Chinese authorities, the somewhat sporadic, though fairly continuous, settlements which they have hitherto effected in the valley of the Raskam River. Of all the tribes on the Hindu-Kush frontier, the Hunza men are the most manly and the most loyal, and we must certainly stand by them in their trouble.

Hunza and Raskam.

The Kanjutis.

You have probably just received my draft reply to the Amir about the question of our respective obligations and the importation of arms. I do not think that you will find it deficient on the score of frankness, which I agree with you in regarding as the best attitude to adopt towards so clever and unscrupulous a controversialist. You rightly describe the bargain that we made with him 19 years ago as a one-sided one. But pray remember that it was made much more one-sided than it had hitherto been by my predecessor and Sir M. Durand. Never a week passes but, in some form or other, I have cause to regret that unfortunate agreement. It constitutes a perpetual bone of contention upon the frontier, where, on our side of the Durand line, we have practically made ourselves responsible for the good conduct of a lot of turbulent mountaineers whom we are powerless to control. The difficulty is affecting me very much in dealing with the question of the Tochi Valley, upon which I am now concerned, and about which I am engaged in preparing a Note similar to those which I have previously drawn up and submitted to my Colleagues upon the Khyber, the Samana, and Chitral. The entire question of the Tochi constitutes a melancholy record of unfulfilled military predictions, of unverified political assurances, and of immature and inconsequent policy. The record comes up to me in a number of files considerably over a foot in height; the soldiers having been writing now for a period of two years without the least cessation, and without anything approaching to a solution having as yet been suggested. We took over the valley at the beginning of 1895 with scarcely any forethought, and with the most imperfect knowledge of the strategical

Draft reply to the Amir.

The Durand Agreement.

The Tochi Valley.

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and political conditions. I desire to curtail our responsibilities there, as I am in course of doing elsewhere; but the course is not rendered easier by the conduct of the previous Administration.

Muscat.

Concerning Muscat I am still puzzled as to the genesis of the telegrams which you sent to me on the 5th and 6th May, and about which I have, in previous letters, expressed myself in unfavourable terms. For, in the papers which have come to us from you by the last mail, I find, as late as the 2nd May, an answer from you to the complaint of the Foreign Office about Fagan's letter to the Sultan which seems to me exactly to state the opinions which I hold. It was, I think, rather too strong of the Foreign Office to complain of Fagan's notification to the Sultan as obviously likely to offend the French Government, when it had been originally suggested by the Foreign Office themselves, and was couched in the precise terms which had, I understand, been suggested by Lord Salisbury. I am obliged to you for having made so gallant a fight on behalf of the publication of the papers; and I take it that, in due time, they will appear. I am further obliged to you for having sanctioned the appointment of Cox, who, I think, will manage the Sultan with tact. In the meantime we are very imperfectly informed as to what is passing in Muscat itself; nor do I really know why the subsidy is still withheld, since I have given to Meade the discretion of renewing it, nor how the Sultan is scraping on from month to month without it. An answer has just come from Fagan to your enquiry about the various possible sites in Muscat Harbour for the French coaling-shed, and I am passing it on to you.

Alleged French loan to Persia.

As I write, a telegram comes in from Durand to the effect that the Persian Government are negotiating a loan in Paris, in return for which the French Government are to have the control of the Southern Customs and a railway monopoly. Lord Salisbury would not believe me when, a short time ago, I argued that the Russians were putting forward the French to play their game in the Persian Gulf just as the French put forward the Russians in Tangier and Bangkok. He replied that the Franco-Russian Alliance was waning, and that neither party was disposed to pick any chestnuts out of the fire for the other. If Durand's story be true, it is surely a sufficient reply to such a contention. I will not recapitulate my views, which are so well known to you; but had I any responsibility for the foreign policy of England I should not hesitate to tell the Persian Government that any alienation of customs, any cession of territory, or any concession of a railway in Southern Persia, if, given in defiance of our advice, would be regarded as an unfriendly act by Great Britain, and would provoke the immediate occupation by the latter of some port, or ports, on the Southern Persian littoral. The occupation of Bushire and Mohammerah, which could be effected without the slightest difficulty, would very soon bring the Persain Government to their senses, and

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we should hear little more of these rival intrigues in that part of the world. I believe that, in the India Office, you share my general views upon this matter, and I trust that the Foreign Office may receive from you the requisite impetus and encouragement.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

I am expecting from you a reply, which will no doubt shortly arrive, as to the attitude I propose to adopt about the Calcutta Municipality Bill. The Government of India can, I think, take the responsibility upon their shoulders, and I see no necessity, unless you desire otherwise, for implicating you in the matter.

Relations with the Bombay Government. [Enclosure]

I enclose, with this letter, a copy of one which I sent a few days ago to Sandhurst. I have spoken in it with a frankness to which I daresay he has not hitherto been used, but I hope with no lack either of dignity or politeness. I could not tolerate any longer the sort of mock independence claimed by his Government, due though it be, in all probability, far more to stupidity than to design. If I fail now I shall despair of doing anything in the matter, and shall wait with resignation until another Governor appears upon the scene. I hope he will come, as I told you in my private letter last week, with different powers and with a clearer understanding as to his functions. Only yesterday I had another illustration of the incapacity of the Bombay Government, as now constituted and worked, to comprehend its relations towards us. Three weeks ago, I mentioned to you Mr. Tata's University Scheme, and his desire to connect therewith a perpetual endowment for his family; also my own feeling that two objects so divergent from each other should not be allowed to be so tied up together. The scheme came up to us from the Bombay Government with a general expression of sympathy, and no more. It now transpires, although we have not had a hint as to this before, that Mr. Tata has been in communication with the Bombay Government about it for two years, that they have advised him in the matter, and that the scheme for creating an entail was included in the University proposals with their knowledge and consent. Again I ask, as I have done in previous letters, how can one possibly get along with such a Government and with such men? It seems to me, from the private communications we have had with old Tata, whose position of course is very much strengthened by what I have just told you concerning the Bombay Government, that we shall probably lose the money for the University altogether unless, in some way or other, we can meet his wishes about the family endowment. I have not yet formed a final opinion upon the case, but I think it possible that if he may be willing to meet us on a number of points connected with his academic proposals, and if he agrees to sever these completely from his other plans, we may consider whether we cannot, somehow or other, permit the creation of an endowment for his family in the same way as has been done for the two Parsi Baronets of Bombay. I think I shall probably address you a separate letter, and ask your advice on this point. On the one hand I do not want to set an inconvenient precedent; on the

The Bombay Government and Mr. Tata's University Scheme.

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other I do not want to discourage Native munificence or to reject a really princely offer.

The Secretariat Departments.

I have been going round all the Departments here; and now that almost the entire establishment comes up to Simla for seven months in the year, I find that in some of the offices the crowding is not only inconvenient, but really discreditable. Verandahs which are intended to give light and air are filled with desks at which Native clerks permanently conduct their work, scorched in the summer and almost frozen in the winter. There being no rooms in which to keep the necessary records, each Department is crowded with racks along its walls upon which they have to be kept, considerably curtailing the space available for the clerks and their desks. In the majority of the Departments there is no room for the Member, who of course makes this an excuse for staying away; no waiting-room for any visitor; no conference-room for a Committee, and no luncheon-room for the officers or clerks. This condition of affairs has never been made the subject of action, because no Viceroy has hitherto visited the Departments. Several of them are at a great distance from each other, and, for lack of space, have to accommodate some of their branches in out-lying private houses leased for the purpose. You may imagine the extent to which business is thereby delayed. Proximity of situation, such as we have in the public offices in London, facilitates personal communication, and causes a great economy of time. Here some of the Departments are fully a mile and a half from each other. What I think we shall require to do is to construct a Civil Secretariat, as has before now been proposed, and as is now indispensable, in which all the Civil Departments shall be housed on the site of Peterhoff, the old Government House, where the Finance Department is already lodged. There is plenty of ground; it is a fine situation and in reasonable neighbourhood of this house. As it is, if I want to consult the Home Secretary upon any point, I have to send the best part of two miles to get him, and he has then to ride, or walk, the intervening distance before he can get to me. My general idea about the Departments is that any that are not really wanted at Simla ought to be kept permanently at Calcutta. This is already done with the Statistical Department, with the Survey Department, and with some others. On the other hand, for such of the Departments as are required here, and this of course is the large majority, it is absolutely essential to provide decent accommodation. During the last year the opposite principle has also been put into practice, and some of the Departments which are not particularly wanted at Calcutta have left the greater part of their establishments here throughout the year. I should like to make a rather more even partition of time between the two capitals in the case of those offices which must accompany the Government wherever it is. Seven months here and five months at Calcutta would seem to me to be the fairest division; but I shall be able to give a better opinion about this later on.

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Our State Ball was one of the largest on record and was attended by nearly 800 people. It may amuse you to know that Raleigh, who had never previously worn a uniform, much less a full-dress uniform, appeared in white breeches with continuations like those of riding breeches buttoned over his calves, and with his sword belt and sword hanging like an apron below his waist, and across his knees. In consequence of a chaffing remark which I once made as to the want of dignity in the appearance of a Member of Council in a rickshaw, he has bought a staid pony, which has already twice deposited him on the ground, but on which he may be seen, on most days, making the round of the Simla roads, propped up by two syces walking at the shoulders of the animal on either side. State Ball.

Colonel Gardiner, my new Public Works Member, will be out here in a week, and I shall then resign the portfolio of that Department into his hands. Though it has been hard work, I have derived from it a good deal of useful information during the past six weeks. Colonel Gardiner.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Printed copy of a letter from the Viceroy to Lord Sandhurst, dated 26th May 1899, regarding the relations of the Government of India with the Bombay Government.

No. 24a.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
May 31*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I will not at present answer your own letter and minute, still less the despatch, about a pension of £1,000 for our Finance and Law Members after seven years' service. There is a great deal to be said *pro* and *con*, and I must think and talk it over with some of my Colleagues. Position of the Finance and Legal Members.

In the second of your two private letters by the last mail you allude to Holkar, and, as I have not mentioned the matter in my letter to the Secretary of State, I will add a word upon it here. Only an hour ago I received Holkar.

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the last batch of communications from Curzon Wyllie. Holkar has been made to descend from his perch, but only, so to speak, by reluctant stages. He writes letters which he subsequently asks to withdraw, and makes reservations from which he is forced to recede. I am not letting him off any stage of this descent, until he reaches the *terra firma* of complete submission. He is by now very nearly on the ground. I shall then take the opportunity, when issuing final orders, of giving him a few very plain words as to his conduct and our relations in the future.

The Waziris. The other day a Native wrote to me with a suggestion as to the pacification of the frontier and the Waziris in particular, which is novel—

"If the Waziris knew that he who represents our Queen was the giver of such help as artificial arms and legs to them, it would do more to calm the ruffled waters than any punishment is likely to do."

I do not know whether I more admire the prescription in the first paragraph or the metaphor in the second.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 24b.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
June 7th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

India. I duly received your confidential letter enclosing Memorandum about *India* and Wedderburn. I attach less importance to the pernicious influence of the former than does the writer. I had expected (knowing the paper well and the tactics and mind of its editor) that on arriving in India, I should find its doctrines permeating, and its articles, &c., repeated everywhere in, the Vernacular Press. This does not seem to be the case to any appreciable extent, chiefly owing to the fact that it only arrives here two or three weeks after publication, too late to be of much use to the daily, or even to the weekly, newspapers. Again, if I may give a personal illustration, *India* has never had a kind—but usually a sneering or malignant—word for me. This, however, has not so far at all influenced the favourable verdict which the Indian newspapers still maintain; though how long I shall keep it I hesitate to say.

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I rather gather that you want me to ascertain what Native Princes or Noblemen contribute to Congress funds, and I will endeavour to discover this. Upon the other point, *viz.*, titles, rewards, and distinctions to agitators, I do not stand in need of conviction. I cut out from my Native Honours list the names of all those of whom I learned that they were associated with anti-British papers or societies. Of course, as you know, Sandhurst has been the great offender in recommending and honouring such men. I will enquire into the case of the Bhownagar Chief. I find that his name was submitted to me by Sandhurst for a K. C. S. I., but, as I had none to give, I did not even go into the matter.

Native Princes and the Congress.

Native Honours List.

Concerning Holkar, he is already behaving badly again, and is trying to back out of his recent surrender. He has issued two fresh notifications in the *Holkar Gazette* practically cancelling his recent recantation: and is already obstructing on some of the minor points upon which we require, and upon which he had promised, surrender. Curzon Wyllie has, in my opinion, been far from sufficiently firm in handling him; and I feel that, with a man so obviously *non compos mentis* as Holkar is, the trouble may at any moment break out again in its fullest intensity.

Holkar.

The Gaekwar is going shortly on a brief visit to Europe; and, wanting to get hold of him early in the day (for I am convinced that he is amenable), I have telegraphed to ask him to come up here, where I shall take a house and place it at his disposal for a week. He has accepted. I am sure that such acts of attention are not thrown away.

The Gaekwar of Baroda.

My Honours list, though short, has been received with a chorus of congratulation by all the papers, who welcome the tardy reward to the sweaters in the plains, as distinguished from the lotus-eaters on the hills.

Honours List.

Yours very sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 25.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
June 7th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 18th May.

The appointment of Mr. Woodroffe as Acting Advocate-General, which you authorised me to make, has been very well received by the Indian

The Advocate-Generalship of Bengal.

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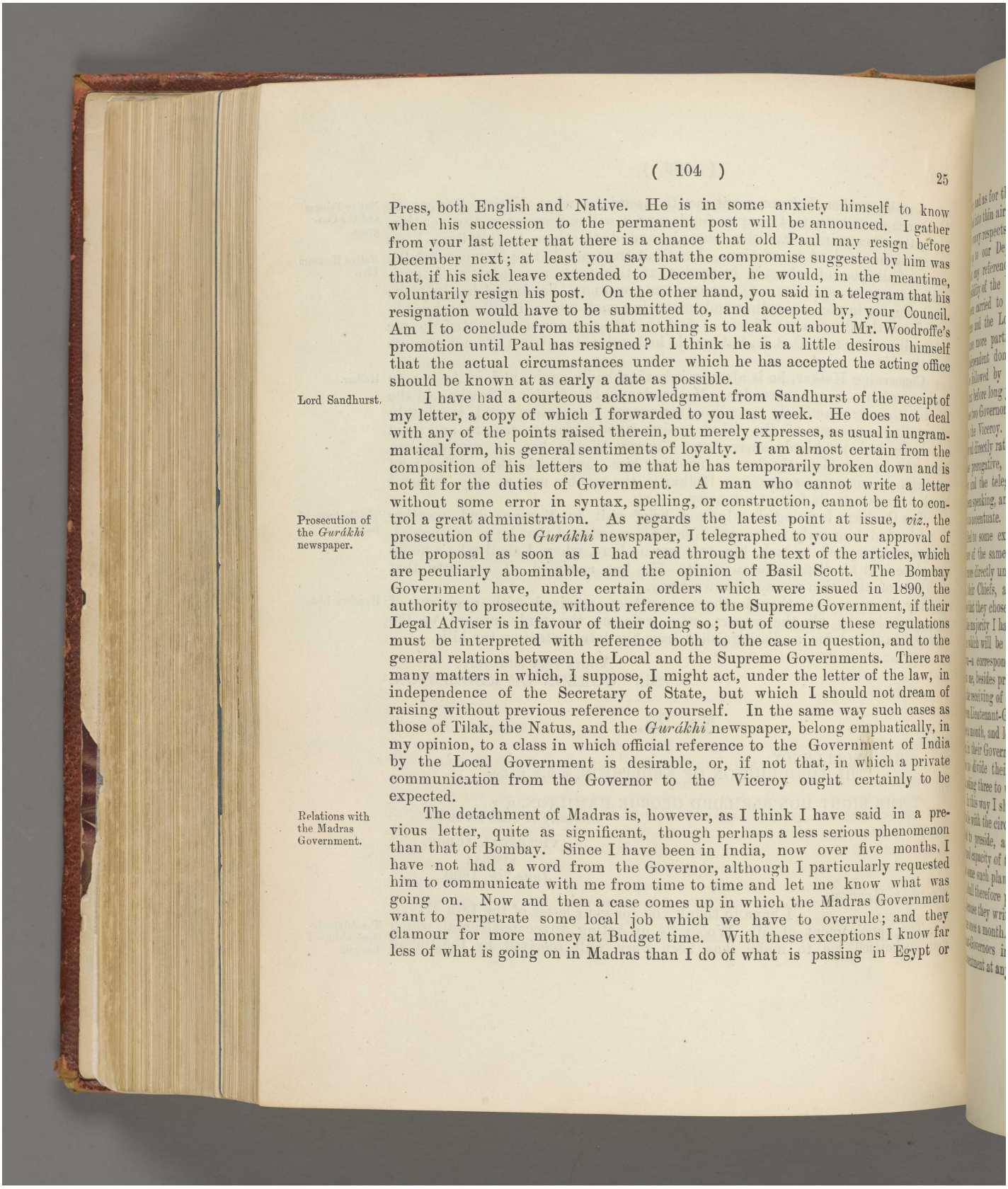

Press, both English and Native. He is in some anxiety himself to know when his succession to the permanent post will be announced. I gather from your last letter that there is a chance that old Paul may resign before December next; at least you say that the compromise suggested by him was that, if his sick leave extended to December, he would, in the meantime, voluntarily resign his post. On the other hand, you said in a telegram that his resignation would have to be submitted to, and accepted by, your Council. Am I to conclude from this that nothing is to leak out about Mr. Woodroffe's promotion until Paul has resigned? I think he is a little desirous himself that the actual circumstances under which he has accepted the acting office should be known at as early a date as possible.

Lord Sandhurst.

I have had a courteous acknowledgment from Sandhurst of the receipt of my letter, a copy of which I forwarded to you last week. He does not deal with any of the points raised therein, but merely expresses, as usual in ungrammatical form, his general sentiments of loyalty. I am almost certain from the composition of his letters to me that he has temporarily broken down and is not fit for the duties of Government. A man who cannot write a letter without some error in syntax, spelling, or construction, cannot be fit to control a great administration.

Prosecution of the *Gurákhi* newspaper.

As regards the latest point at issue, *viz.*, the prosecution of the *Gurákhi* newspaper, I telegraphed to you our approval of the proposal as soon as I had read through the text of the articles, which are peculiarly abominable, and the opinion of Basil Scott. The Bombay Government have, under certain orders which were issued in 1890, the authority to prosecute, without reference to the Supreme Government, if their Legal Adviser is in favour of their doing so; but of course these regulations must be interpreted with reference both to the case in question, and to the general relations between the Local and the Supreme Governments. There are many matters in which, I suppose, I might act, under the letter of the law, in independence of the Secretary of State, but which I should not dream of raising without previous reference to yourself. In the same way such cases as those of Tilak, the Natus, and the *Gurákhi* newspaper, belong emphatically, in my opinion, to a class in which official reference to the Government of India by the Local Government is desirable, or, if not that, in which a private communication from the Governor to the Viceroy ought certainly to be expected.

Relations with the Madras Government.

The detachment of Madras is, however, as I think I have said in a previous letter, quite as significant, though perhaps a less serious phenomenon than that of Bombay. Since I have been in India, now over five months, I have not had a word from the Governor, although I particularly requested him to communicate with me from time to time and let me know what was going on. Now and then a case comes up in which the Madras Government want to perpetrate some local job which we have to overrule; and they clamour for more money at Budget time. With these exceptions I know far less of what is going on in Madras than I do of what is passing in Egypt or

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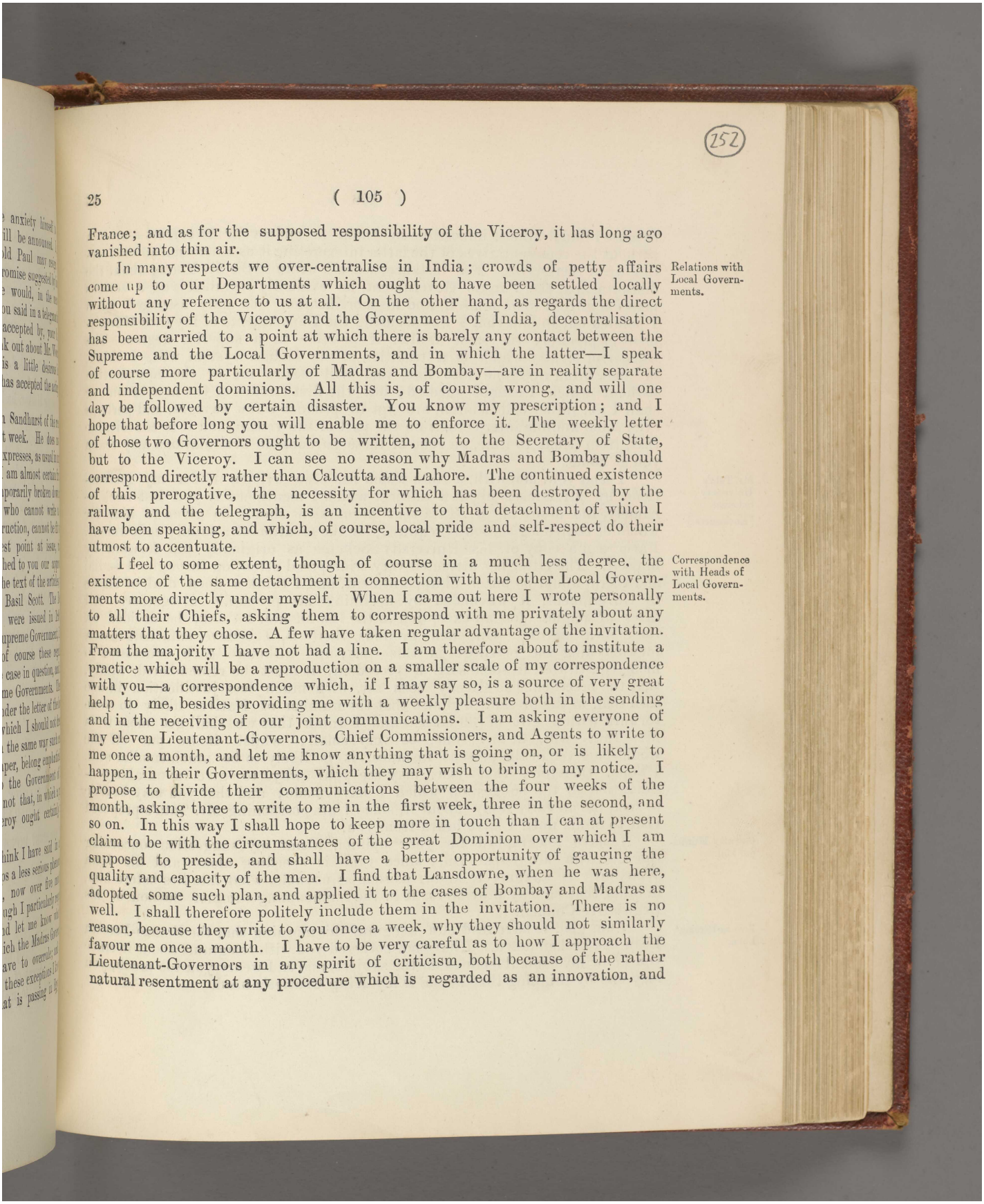

France; and as for the supposed responsibility of the Viceroy, it has long ago vanished into thin air.

Relations with Local Governments.

In many respects we over-centralise in India; crowds of petty affairs come up to our Departments which ought to have been settled locally without any reference to us at all. On the other hand, as regards the direct responsibility of the Viceroy and the Government of India, decentralisation has been carried to a point at which there is barely any contact between the Supreme and the Local Governments, and in which the latter—I speak of course more particularly of Madras and Bombay—are in reality separate and independent dominions. All this is, of course, wrong, and will one day be followed by certain disaster. You know my prescription; and I hope that before long you will enable me to enforce it. The weekly letter of those two Governors ought to be written, not to the Secretary of State, but to the Viceroy. I can see no reason why Madras and Bombay should correspond directly rather than Calcutta and Lahore. The continued existence of this prerogative, the necessity for which has been destroyed by the railway and the telegraph, is an incentive to that detachment of which I have been speaking, and which, of course, local pride and self-respect do their utmost to accentuate.

Correspondence with Heads of Local Governments.

I feel to some extent, though of course in a much less degree, the existence of the same detachment in connection with the other Local Governments more directly under myself. When I came out here I wrote personally to all their Chiefs, asking them to correspond with me privately about any matters that they chose. A few have taken regular advantage of the invitation. From the majority I have not had a line. I am therefore about to institute a practice which will be a reproduction on a smaller scale of my correspondence with you—a correspondence which, if I may say so, is a source of very great help to me, besides providing me with a weekly pleasure both in the sending and in the receiving of our joint communications. I am asking everyone of my eleven Lieutenant-Governors, Chief Commissioners, and Agents to write to me once a month, and let me know anything that is going on, or is likely to happen, in their Governments, which they may wish to bring to my notice. I propose to divide their communications between the four weeks of the month, asking three to write to me in the first week, three in the second, and so on. In this way I shall hope to keep more in touch than I can at present claim to be with the circumstances of the great Dominion over which I am supposed to preside, and shall have a better opportunity of gauging the quality and capacity of the men. I find that Lansdowne, when he was here, adopted some such plan, and applied it to the cases of Bombay and Madras as well. I shall therefore politely include them in the invitation. There is no reason, because they write to you once a week, why they should not similarly favour me once a month. I have to be very careful as to how I approach the Lieutenant-Governors in any spirit of criticism, both because of the rather natural resentment at any procedure which is regarded as an innovation, and

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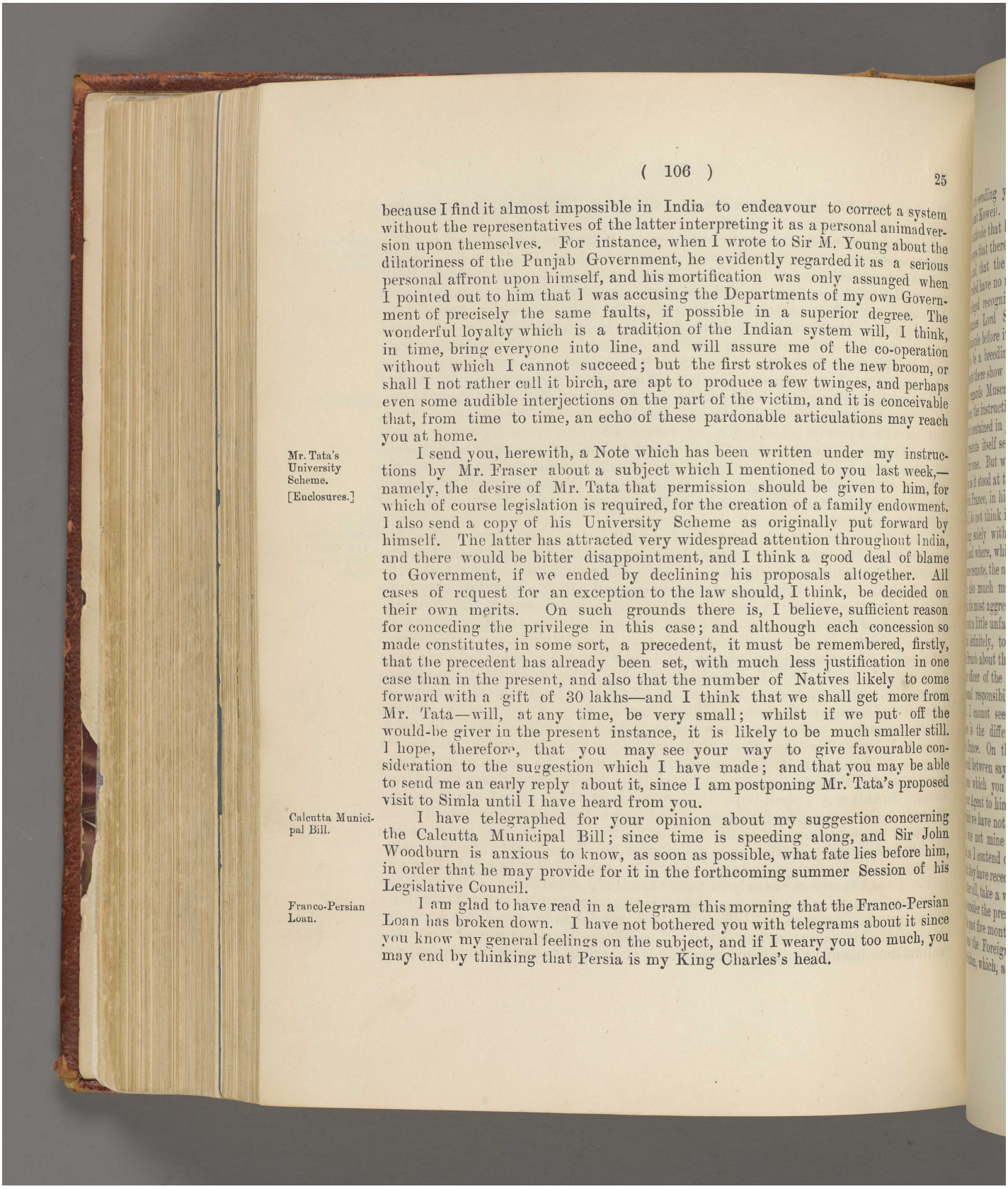

because I find it almost impossible in India to endeavour to correct a system without the representatives of the latter interpreting it as a personal animadversion upon themselves. For instance, when I wrote to Sir M. Young about the dilatoriness of the Punjab Government, he evidently regarded it as a serious personal affront upon himself, and his mortification was only assuaged when I pointed out to him that I was accusing the Departments of my own Government of precisely the same faults, if possible in a superior degree. The wonderful loyalty which is a tradition of the Indian system will, I think, in time, bring everyone into line, and will assure me of the co-operation without which I cannot succeed; but the first strokes of the new broom, or shall I not rather call it birch, are apt to produce a few twinges, and perhaps even some audible interjections on the part of the victim, and it is conceivable that, from time to time, an echo of these pardonable articulations may reach you at home.

Mr. Tata's University Scheme. [Enclosures.]

I send you, herewith, a Note which has been written under my instructions by Mr. Fraser about a subject which I mentioned to you last week,—namely, the desire of Mr. Tata that permission should be given to him, for which of course legislation is required, for the creation of a family endowment. I also send a copy of his University Scheme as originally put forward by himself. The latter has attracted very widespread attention throughout India, and there would be bitter disappointment, and I think a good deal of blame to Government, if we ended by declining his proposals altogether. All cases of request for an exception to the law should, I think, be decided on their own merits. On such grounds there is, I believe, sufficient reason for conceding the privilege in this case; and although each concession so made constitutes, in some sort, a precedent, it must be remembered, firstly, that the precedent has already been set, with much less justification in one case than in the present, and also that the number of Natives likely to come forward with a gift of 30 lakhs—and I think that we shall get more from Mr. Tata—will, at any time, be very small; whilst if we put off the would-be giver in the present instance, it is likely to be much smaller still. I hope, therefore, that you may see your way to give favourable consideration to the suggestion which I have made; and that you may be able to send me an early reply about it, since I am postponing Mr. Tata's proposed visit to Simla until I have heard from you.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.

I have telegraphed for your opinion about my suggestion concerning the Calcutta Municipal Bill; since time is speeding along, and Sir John Woodburn is anxious to know, as soon as possible, what fate lies before him, in order that he may provide for it in the forthcoming summer Session of his Legislative Council.

Franco-Persian Loan.

I am glad to have read in a telegram this morning that the Franco-Persian Loan has broken down. I have not bothered you with telegrams about it since you know my general feelings on the subject, and if I weary you too much, you may end by thinking that Persia is my King Charles's head.

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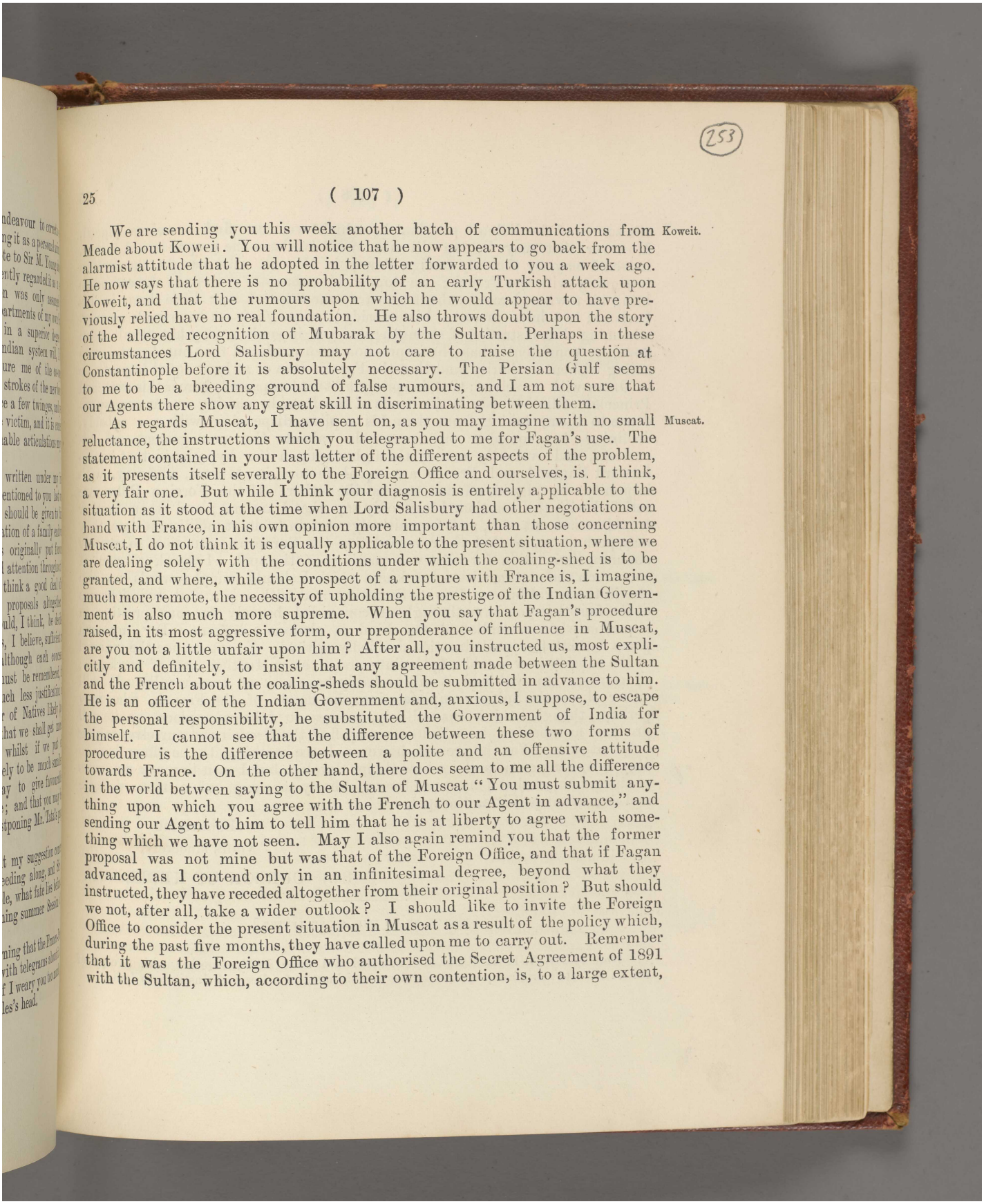

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We are sending you this week another batch of communications from Meade about Koweit. You will notice that he now appears to go back from the alarmist attitude that he adopted in the letter forwarded to you a week ago. He now says that there is no probability of an early Turkish attack upon Koweit, and that the rumours upon which he would appear to have previously relied have no real foundation. He also throws doubt upon the story of the alleged recognition of Mubarak by the Sultan. Perhaps in these circumstances Lord Salisbury may not care to raise the question at Constantinople before it is absolutely necessary. The Persian Gulf seems to me to be a breeding ground of false rumours, and I am not sure that our Agents there show any great skill in discriminating between them. Koweit.

As regards Muscat, I have sent on, as you may imagine with no small reluctance, the instructions which you telegraphed to me for Fagan's use. The statement contained in your last letter of the different aspects of the problem, as it presents itself severally to the Foreign Office and ourselves, is, I think, a very fair one. But while I think your diagnosis is entirely applicable to the situation as it stood at the time when Lord Salisbury had other negotiations on hand with France, in his own opinion more important than those concerning Muscat, I do not think it is equally applicable to the present situation, where we are dealing solely with the conditions under which the coaling-shed is to be granted, and where, while the prospect of a rupture with France is, I imagine, much more remote, the necessity of upholding the prestige of the Indian Government is also much more supreme. When you say that Fagan's procedure raised, in its most aggressive form, our preponderance of influence in Muscat, are you not a little unfair upon him? After all, you instructed us, most explicitly and definitely, to insist that any agreement made between the Sultan and the French about the coaling-sheds should be submitted in advance to him. He is an officer of the Indian Government and, anxious, I suppose, to escape the personal responsibility, he substituted the Government of India for himself. I cannot see that the difference between these two forms of procedure is the difference between a polite and an offensive attitude towards France. On the other hand, there does seem to me all the difference in the world between saying to the Sultan of Muscat "You must submit anything upon which you agree with the French to our Agent in advance," and sending our Agent to him to tell him that he is at liberty to agree with something which we have not seen. May I also again remind you that the former proposal was not mine but was that of the Foreign Office, and that if Fagan advanced, as I contend only in an infinitesimal degree, beyond what they instructed, they have receded altogether from their original position? But should we not, after all, take a wider outlook? I should like to invite the Foreign Office to consider the present situation in Muscat as a result of the policy which, during the past five months, they have called upon me to carry out. Remember that it was the Foreign Office who authorised the Secret Agreement of 1891 with the Sultan, which, according to their own contention, is, to a large extent, Muscat.

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the source of the difficult position in which we now find ourselves placed. However that may be, up till now we have been the preponderant Power, indeed I may say the only foreign Power, in Muscat. We caught the Sultan intriguing with the French; we stopped him abruptly; we even threatened to bring his town and castles about his ears; our ships of war have been in his harbour; we have arrested his subsidy; *primâ facie* we have made an overwhelming demonstration of strength; and yet, in such a way has it all been done, so consistently has the impression been produced that our Agents were acting without authority, and that the French were of at least equal importance in Oman with ourselves; that, in spite of all that has passed, here is this wretched Princelet still obviously in the hands of the French, passing on our correspondence to them, taking from them his replies, dispensing with our subsidy, declining to consider our proposals about the management of his customs, and evidently acting throughout upon the hypothesis that henceforward England and France are equal factors in Muscat, who may, with impunity, be played off one against the other. If the Foreign Office are satisfied with this solution, I can only say that I am not; and when further trouble arises out of it, as it is positively certain to do at no distant date, they may perhaps regret that their regard for the European situation so entirely obscured their vision for what was passing on the spot. I speak to you of course on the matter with a frankness which I should adopt towards no one else in the world but my Private Secretary, and with a grateful consciousness of the fact that you have throughout contended bravely for our prestige in a quarter where a conflict of any kind is obviously difficult. For my own part, I think the local situation decidedly critical. To commence the renewal of the subsidy now would only be interpreted as a further act of weakness; to continue to withhold it will probably have one of two results. It will either throw the Sultan completely into the hands of the French, who may perhaps, though I think this unlikely, propose to take our place, or it will produce a rebellion in which we may find the French and ourselves taking different sides. For the present, however, I see nothing to be done but to play a waiting game and see how things develop, but I own to many moments of sincere regret that I have not been at liberty to carry out a more definite and consistent policy on the spot.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Note by Mr. A. H. L. Fraser, C S.I., dated 3rd June 1899, together with a copy of Mr. J. N. Tata's original proposals for the establishment of a Research Institute in India.

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No. 26.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
June 14*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am much obliged for the letter which you wrote me with your own hand on the 24th May from your marine Tivoli. You always speak very apologetically of your handwriting, but any difficulty that I may have originally experienced in deciphering it is passing away under the agreeable pressure of experience, and was at no time to be compared with the severity of my fortnightly struggle with the letters which I am honoured by receiving from our illustrious Sovereign. Is it not very remarkable, however, and a wonderful proof of the great interest she takes in India, that at her advanced period of life, and with her imperfect sight, she should undertake to write with her own hand at all? It seems to me to set a really notable example of conscientious duty in high places. The Queen.

I entirely agree with your paragraph about the law against sedition in India. I should most earnestly deprecate any proposal to tinker it once again. I see at present no ground for any such measure, and the small advantage, if any, that might be derived from it, would be dearly purchased at the cost of a furious outbreak of Native indignation. I do not think it is so much that there is any widespread sympathy with sedition in this country; but the Indians, who, like the Irish, are very sentimental, are apt to think that a slur is cast upon the entire race if fresh legislation is proposed, although perhaps it may never be used, when people have managed to rub along without it for so many years. My own view of the legislative machine here is that it is an instrument not to be too hastily or promiscuously employed. It is a very valuable force, and its utility ought not to be dissipated, either in petty experiments, or on objects for which a first-rate case cannot be made out. The Sedition law.

I received with much satisfaction your telegram approving of my last suggestion as regards the Calcutta Municipality Bill, and inasmuch as I feel it of great importance that our case should be stated in such a way as to affect public opinion in our favour, or at least to avoid obvious misrepresentation, Calcutta Municipality Bill.

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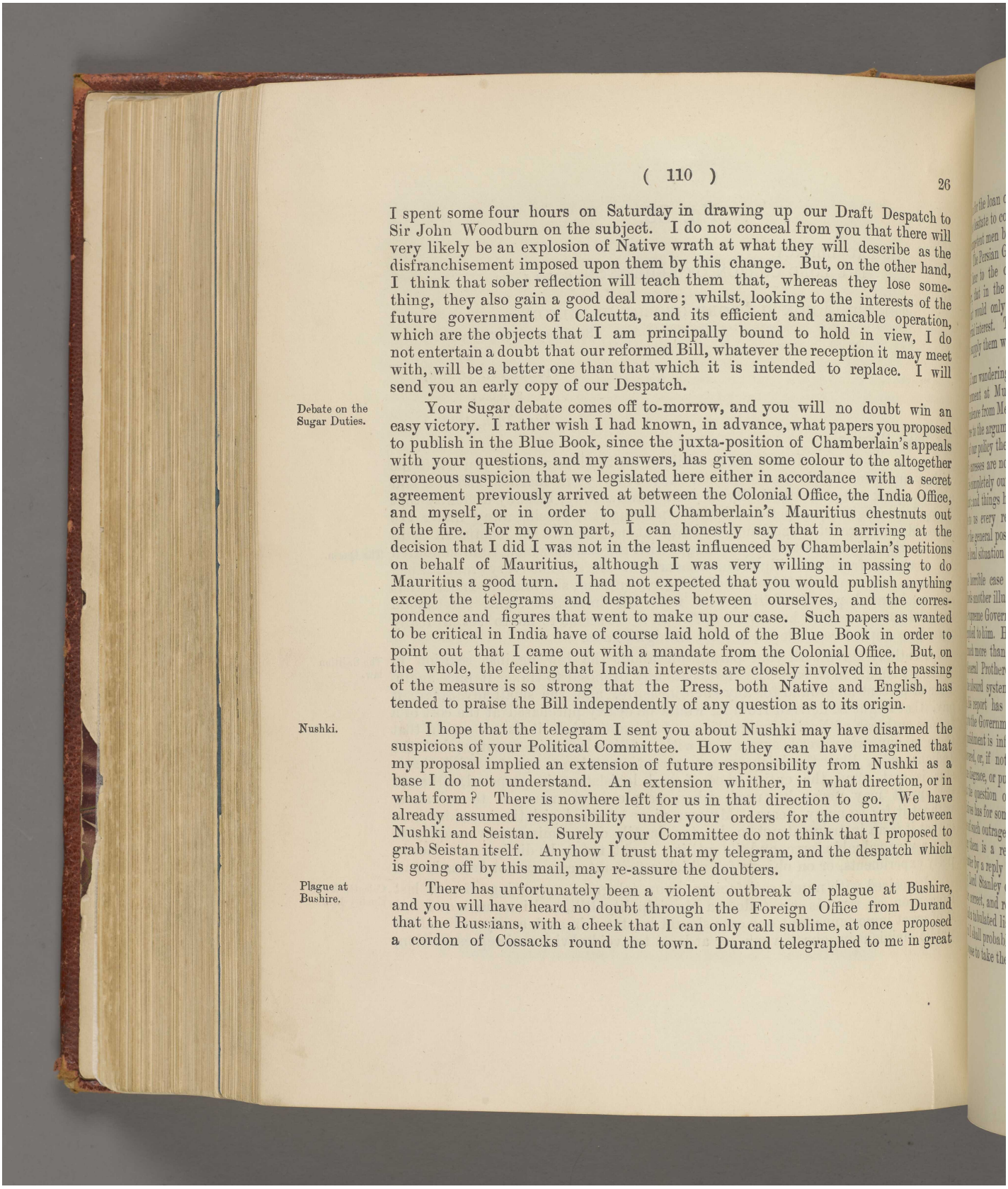

I spent some four hours on Saturday in drawing up our Draft Despatch to Sir John Woodburn on the subject. I do not conceal from you that there will very likely be an explosion of Native wrath at what they will describe as the disfranchisement imposed upon them by this change. But, on the other hand, I think that sober reflection will teach them that, whereas they lose something, they also gain a good deal more; whilst, looking to the interests of the future government of Calcutta, and its efficient and amicable operation, which are the objects that I am principally bound to hold in view, I do not entertain a doubt that our reformed Bill, whatever the reception it may meet with, will be a better one than that which it is intended to replace. I will send you an early copy of our Despatch.

Debate on the Sugar Duties.

Your Sugar debate comes off to-morrow, and you will no doubt win an easy victory. I rather wish I had known, in advance, what papers you proposed to publish in the Blue Book, since the juxta-position of Chamberlain's appeals with your questions, and my answers, has given some colour to the altogether erroneous suspicion that we legislated here either in accordance with a secret agreement previously arrived at between the Colonial Office, the India Office, and myself, or in order to pull Chamberlain's Mauritius chestnuts out of the fire. For my own part, I can honestly say that in arriving at the decision that I did I was not in the least influenced by Chamberlain's petitions on behalf of Mauritius, although I was very willing in passing to do Mauritius a good turn. I had not expected that you would publish anything except the telegrams and despatches between ourselves, and the correspondence and figures that went to make up our case. Such papers as wanted to be critical in India have of course laid hold of the Blue Book in order to point out that I came out with a mandate from the Colonial Office. But, on the whole, the feeling that Indian interests are closely involved in the passing of the measure is so strong that the Press, both Native and English, has tended to praise the Bill independently of any question as to its origin.

Nushki.

I hope that the telegram I sent you about Nushki may have disarmed the suspicions of your Political Committee. How they can have imagined that my proposal implied an extension of future responsibility from Nushki as a base I do not understand. An extension whither, in what direction, or in what form? There is nowhere left for us in that direction to go. We have already assumed responsibility under your orders for the country between Nushki and Seistan. Surely your Committee do not think that I proposed to grab Seistan itself. Anyhow I trust that my telegram, and the despatch which is going off by this mail, may re-assure the doubters.

Plague at Bushire.

There has unfortunately been a violent outbreak of plague at Bushire, and you will have heard no doubt through the Foreign Office from Durand that the Russians, with a cheek that I can only call sublime, at once proposed a cordon of Cossacks round the town. Durand telegraphed to me in great

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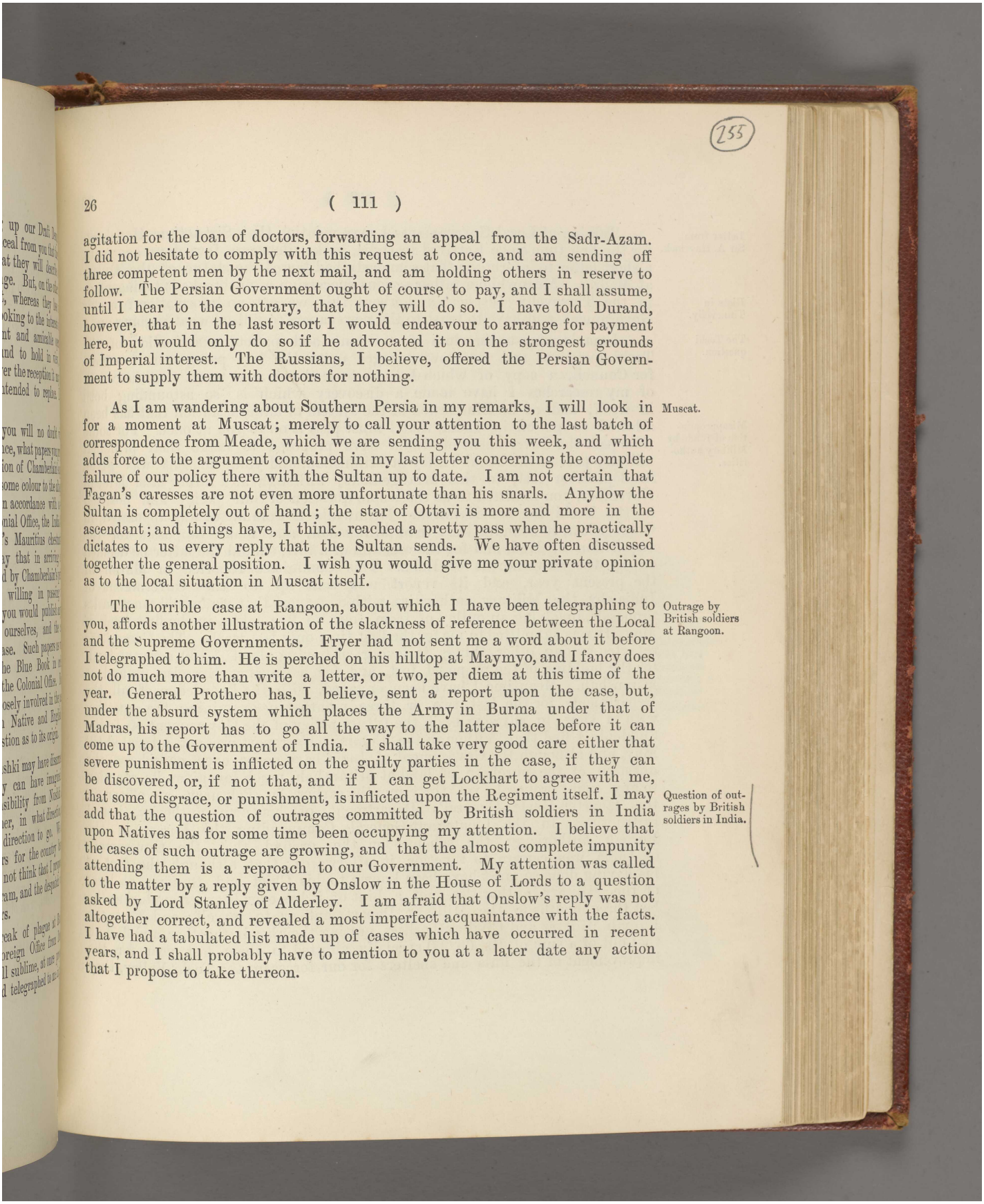

agitation for the loan of doctors, forwarding an appeal from the Sadr-Azam. I did not hesitate to comply with this request at once, and am sending off three competent men by the next mail, and am holding others in reserve to follow. The Persian Government ought of course to pay, and I shall assume, until I hear to the contrary, that they will do so. I have told Durand, however, that in the last resort I would endeavour to arrange for payment here, but would only do so if he advocated it on the strongest grounds of Imperial interest. The Russians, I believe, offered the Persian Government to supply them with doctors for nothing.

Muscat.

As I am wandering about Southern Persia in my remarks, I will look in for a moment at Muscat; merely to call your attention to the last batch of correspondence from Meade, which we are sending you this week, and which adds force to the argument contained in my last letter concerning the complete failure of our policy there with the Sultan up to date. I am not certain that Fagan's caresses are not even more unfortunate than his snarls. Anyhow the Sultan is completely out of hand; the star of Ottavi is more and more in the ascendant; and things have, I think, reached a pretty pass when he practically dictates to us every reply that the Sultan sends. We have often discussed together the general position. I wish you would give me your private opinion as to the local situation in Muscat itself.

Outrage by British soldiers at Rangoon.

The horrible case at Rangoon, about which I have been telegraphing to you, affords another illustration of the slackness of reference between the Local and the Supreme Governments. Fryer had not sent me a word about it before I telegraphed to him. He is perched on his hilltop at Maymyo, and I fancy does not do much more than write a letter, or two, per diem at this time of the year. General Prothero has, I believe, sent a report upon the case, but, under the absurd system which places the Army in Burma under that of Madras, his report has to go all the way to the latter place before it can come up to the Government of India. I shall take very good care either that severe punishment is inflicted on the guilty parties in the case, if they can be discovered, or, if not that, and if I can get Lockhart to agree with me, that some disgrace, or punishment, is inflicted upon the Regiment itself. I may add that the question of outrages committed by British soldiers in India upon Natives has for some time been occupying my attention. I believe that the cases of such outrage are growing, and that the almost complete impunity attending them is a reproach to our Government. My attention was called to the matter by a reply given by Onslow in the House of Lords to a question asked by Lord Stanley of Alderley. I am afraid that Onslow's reply was not altogether correct, and revealed a most imperfect acquaintance with the facts. I have had a tabulated list made up of cases which have occurred in recent years, and I shall probably have to mention to you at a later date any action that I propose to take thereon.

Question of outrages by British soldiers in India.

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Letter from Sir A. Havelock.

Talking of Local Governments I may mention that Sir Arthur Havelock, for the first time since I arrived in India, broke silence a few days ago with a short letter to inform me that somebody had tarred the statue of the Queen at Madras. Meanwhile a rather serious succession of outbreaks is taking place in the Tinnevelly District, and about this we get no information from his Government, and have to trust to the newspapers to tell us what is going on.

Riots in Tinnevelly.

The Tochi question.

I am drawing to the close of my long and patient examination of the Tochi question, and am now engaged upon the last paragraph of a Note for Council, a copy of which I hope to send you next week. In the course of my researches I have made a discovery which is so astounding both in itself, and as an illustration of the system of administration that has been allowed to go on in India, that I must pass it on to you at once. For some time past the Government of India have proposed to make their principal military post in the Tochi Valley at Miranshah, and your consent was given in September last, to this arrangement; although at a rather later date, in November, you remitted to us the whole question of our policy and position in the Tochi for consideration. Meanwhile a Committee was appointed, in October last, to examine the site of Miranshah, and make proposals for the acquisition of land, and for the erection of a fort, should the latter be decided on by the Government of India. This Committee reported in March of the present year, and its report was sent up to the Government of India by the Military authorities, with a request that we would sanction its proposals, involving an outlay of from four to five lakhs, in the first week of May. It was submitted to me for the first time only last week. The Committee reported among other things in favour of buying about 1,100 acres of land, for the building of the proposed fort, and for a Cavalry Exercise ground at Miranshah. Meantime I have been engaged, with the knowledge of all the Departments, for the last two or three months, in examining the question with a view to advising upon the future policy of the Government of India. Suddenly I find that, although the Committee's report was not presented till May, and although the Government of India have never even considered the question of the purchase of land at Miranshah, much less given its sanction to any such proposal, yet three months earlier, in February, an officer in the Quarter-Master-General's Department, of his own authority, issued instructions to the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Forces in the Punjab, authorizing the scheme on the ground that the Government of India was certain to sanction it afterwards; that although the fact of his having done so must have been known to his Chief and to some at least of the Military authorities, not a hint of it has ever been given during the last three months to the Military Department or to myself; and that the Punjab Military and Civil authorities, putting their heads together, and finding that out of a sum of Rs. 60,000 specially allotted to them last year for the improvement of the huts and shelters for our forces in the Tochi Valley, they

Misappropriation of funds by Military authorities.

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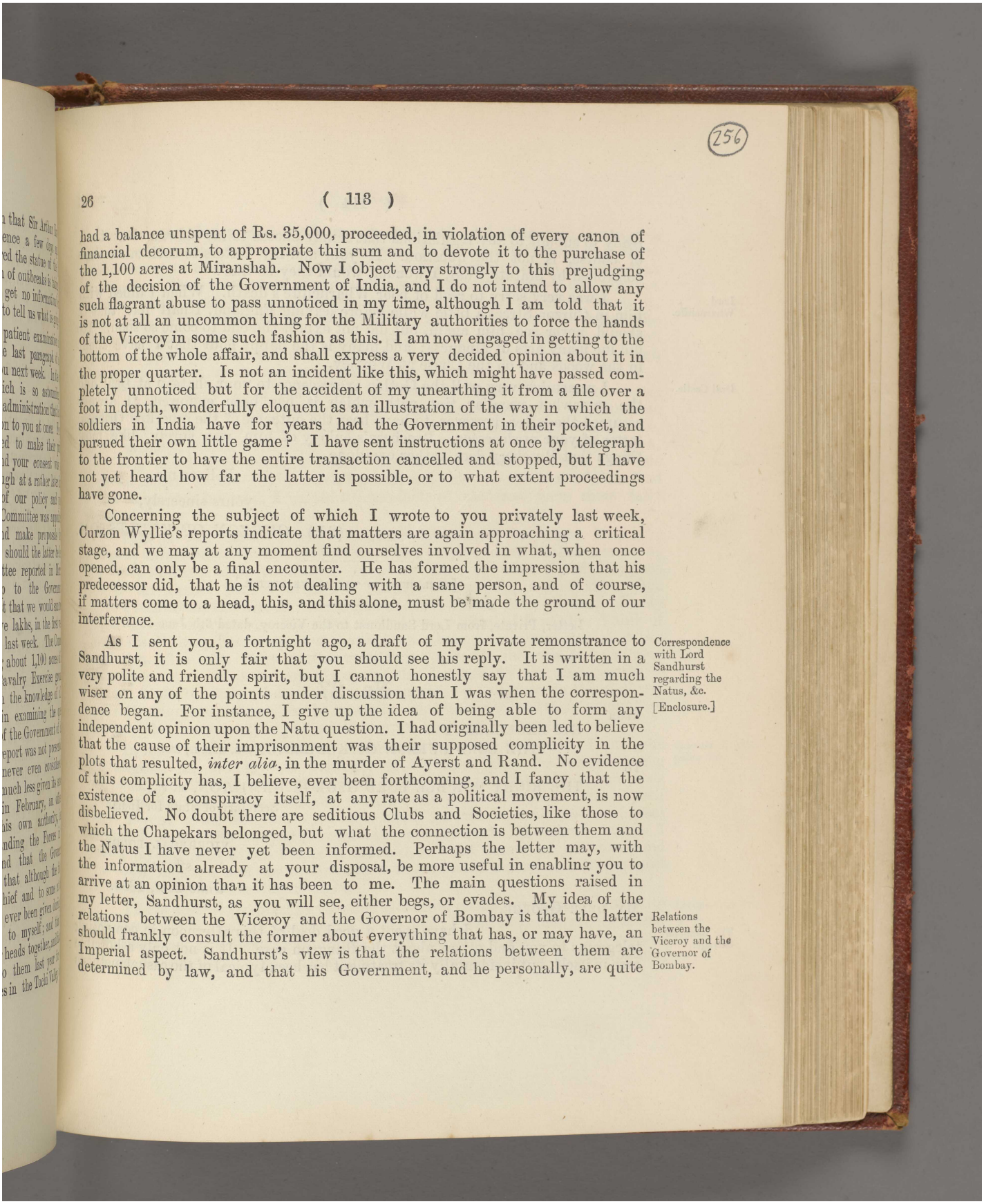

had a balance unspent of Rs. 35,000, proceeded, in violation of every canon of financial decorum, to appropriate this sum and to devote it to the purchase of the 1,100 acres at Miranshah. Now I object very strongly to this prejudging of the decision of the Government of India, and I do not intend to allow any such flagrant abuse to pass unnoticed in my time, although I am told that it is not at all an uncommon thing for the Military authorities to force the hands of the Viceroy in some such fashion as this. I am now engaged in getting to the bottom of the whole affair, and shall express a very decided opinion about it in the proper quarter. Is not an incident like this, which might have passed completely unnoticed but for the accident of my unearthing it from a file over a foot in depth, wonderfully eloquent as an illustration of the way in which the soldiers in India have for years had the Government in their pocket, and pursued their own little game? I have sent instructions at once by telegraph to the frontier to have the entire transaction cancelled and stopped, but I have not yet heard how far the latter is possible, or to what extent proceedings have gone.

Concerning the subject of which I wrote to you privately last week, Curzon Wyllie's reports indicate that matters are again approaching a critical stage, and we may at any moment find ourselves involved in what, when once opened, can only be a final encounter. He has formed the impression that his predecessor did, that he is not dealing with a sane person, and of course, if matters come to a head, this, and this alone, must be made the ground of our interference.

Correspondence with Lord Sandhurst regarding the Natus, &c. [Enclosure.]

As I sent you, a fortnight ago, a draft of my private remonstrance to Sandhurst, it is only fair that you should see his reply. It is written in a very polite and friendly spirit, but I cannot honestly say that I am much wiser on any of the points under discussion than I was when the correspondence began. For instance, I give up the idea of being able to form any independent opinion upon the Natu question. I had originally been led to believe that the cause of their imprisonment was their supposed complicity in the plots that resulted, *inter alia*, in the murder of Ayerst and Rand. No evidence of this complicity has, I believe, ever been forthcoming, and I fancy that the existence of a conspiracy itself, at any rate as a political movement, is now disbelieved. No doubt there are seditious Clubs and Societies, like those to which the Chapekars belonged, but what the connection is between them and the Natus I have never yet been informed. Perhaps the letter may, with the information already at your disposal, be more useful in enabling you to arrive at an opinion than it has been to me. The main questions raised in my letter, Sandhurst, as you will see, either begs, or evades. My idea of the relations between the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay is that the latter should frankly consult the former about everything that has, or may have, an Imperial aspect. Sandhurst's view is that the relations between them are determined by law, and that his Government, and he personally, are quite

Relations between the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay.

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ready to submit to any regulations that I may choose to lay down. But that, of course, is not the question. If your and my letters to each other were controlled by Statute what, I wonder, would they be like?

Lord Wharncliffe.

I was very sorry to read of poor Wharncliffe's death. When I dined with him in Curzon Street a little while before leaving England, I half felt that I should never see him again, but did not expect the end to come so soon. He did me many acts of kindness; and many is the happy hour that I have spent in the woods and on the Chase at Wortley.

Deal Castle.

I remember very well the Gothic excrescence to your chateau at Deal and the somewhat peculiar tint with which it has been endowed. I always assumed the latter, however, to have been the outcome of the inherited Oriental tastes of your predecessor. Rosebery's eulogy of him was surely, like most things that Rosebery does, rather overdone.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Letter, Private, from Lord Sandhurst to the Viceroy, dated 6th June 1899.

No. 27.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.
To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
June 21*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Rangoon outrage.

I have spent a good deal of this afternoon in composing telegrams to you and others about the Rangoon case. It is not only a horrible case in itself; but incidentally its treatment has been typical of the casual methods

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of government that prevail out here. As soon as I read about it in the papers, I ordered enquiries to be made at once from the Home Department, and asked that the report of the civil proceedings should be sent to the Government of India. That was some three weeks ago; but the report has not yet arrived, and I have again telegraphed this afternoon to Fryer about it. He had never thought of wiring any information to me upon the matter until I first wired to him, and in a letter from him, which I have just received, the view that the Lieutenant-Governor takes in such cases is indicated by the following astounding remark :—

"I am sorry I did not report the case in which a Burmese woman was assaulted by some soldiers of the West Kent Regiment at Rangoon. It is, I suppose, an event which had a political or administrative importance, and, as such, should have been reported under Home Department Resolution, No. 253, dated 31st January 1899. The Commissioner of Pegu made no special report to me till I called for one, and, as one of the soldiers had been committed for trial, I waited till the facts of the case were more fully elicited."

This is the sort of way in which Lieutenant-Governors keep the Viceroy informed of what is going on. I can only say that it is heart-breaking to me to find this utter dislocation in every joint of what I had imagined to be an almost perfect organism. Meanwhile, to continue my tale; when first I mentioned the case to the Commander-in-Chief, after it had already been in the newspapers for days, he had never heard of it at all. Think of what his Military Secretary must have been about to account for such an omission. He now fully realises the importance of the case, and you may rely upon us, so far as we possibly can at this distance, to see that justice is done. Unfortunately the evidence, as reported by telegram, in the civil and military enquiries, seems to be entirely contradictory, and the amount of perjury that has been going on must be appalling.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

In reply to an observation in your last letter of the 2nd June, I sent you a telegram on Monday to re-assure your Council that we were proposing no change in the Calcutta Municipality Bill beyond that which had been indicated in the correspondence between Sir John Woodburn and myself that I sent home to you. By this mail we are sending you a formal despatch upon the subject; including our letter to Woodburn, which I wrote myself, and which I hope is couched in such terms as not to wound his own feelings and as to present our suggested amendment in the most favourable and least invidious light.

Letters from the Amir.

I have also telegraphed to you this afternoon about my proposed reply to the Amir which you still have under discussion. I shall of course gladly accept any additional or amended paragraphs which you care to send out. Meanwhile he has started upon a peculiar course of action with the view of anticipating,

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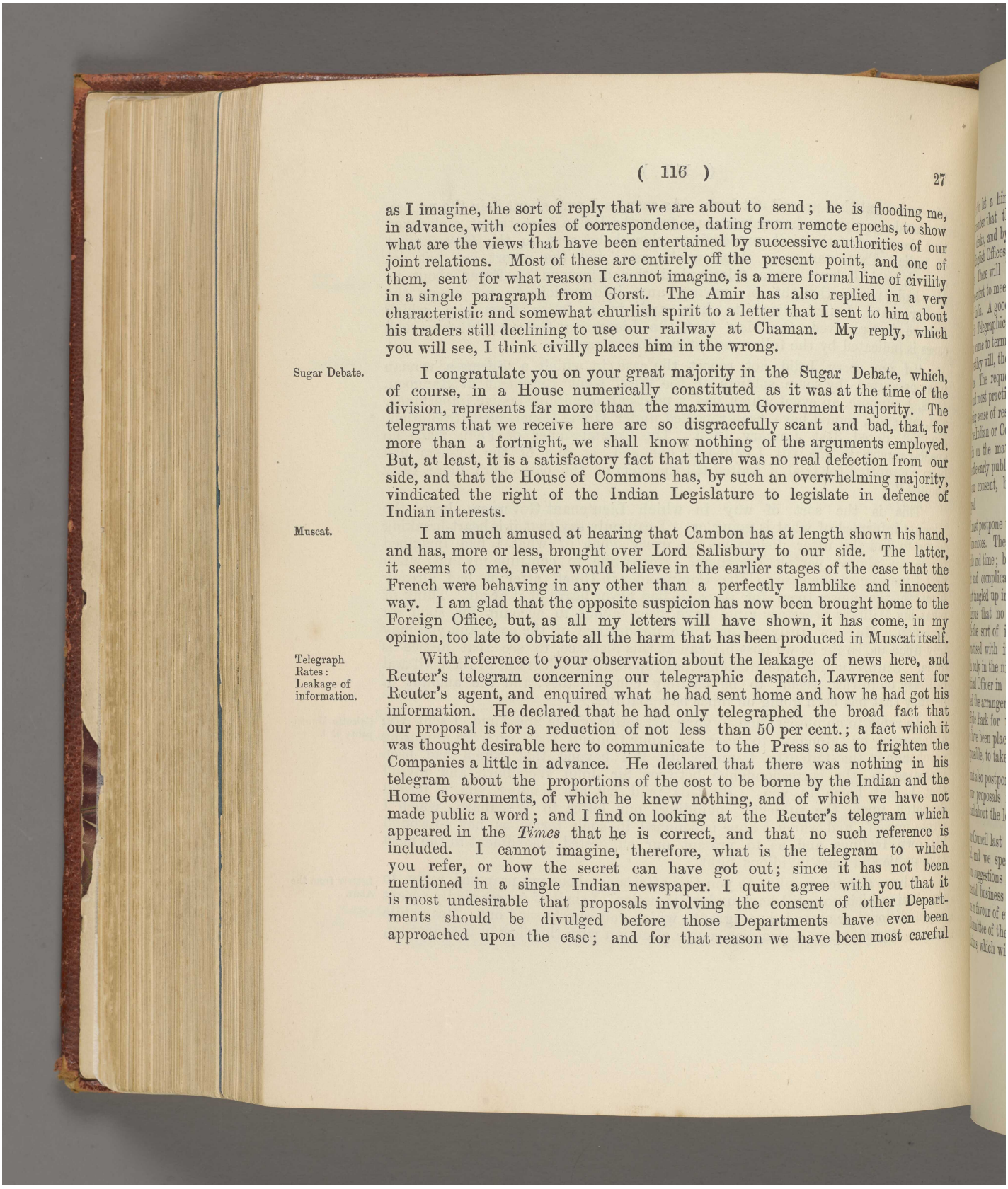

as I imagine, the sort of reply that we are about to send; he is flooding me, in advance, with copies of correspondence, dating from remote epochs, to show what are the views that have been entertained by successive authorities of our joint relations. Most of these are entirely off the present point, and one of them, sent for what reason I cannot imagine, is a mere formal line of civility in a single paragraph from Gorst. The Amir has also replied in a very characteristic and somewhat churlish spirit to a letter that I sent to him about his traders still declining to use our railway at Chaman. My reply, which you will see, I think civilly places him in the wrong.

Sugar Debate.

I congratulate you on your great majority in the Sugar Debate, which, of course, in a House numerically constituted as it was at the time of the division, represents far more than the maximum Government majority. The telegrams that we receive here are so disgracefully scant and bad, that, for more than a fortnight, we shall know nothing of the arguments employed. But, at least, it is a satisfactory fact that there was no real defection from our side, and that the House of Commons has, by such an overwhelming majority, vindicated the right of the Indian Legislature to legislate in defence of Indian interests.

Muscat.

I am much amused at hearing that Cambon has at length shown his hand, and has, more or less, brought over Lord Salisbury to our side. The latter, it seems to me, never would believe in the earlier stages of the case that the French were behaving in any other than a perfectly lamblike and innocent way. I am glad that the opposite suspicion has now been brought home to the Foreign Office, but, as all my letters will have shown, it has come, in my opinion, too late to obviate all the harm that has been produced in Muscat itself.

Telegraph Rates: Leakage of information.

With reference to your observation about the leakage of news here, and Reuter's telegram concerning our telegraphic despatch, Lawrence sent for Reuter's agent, and enquired what he had sent home and how he had got his information. He declared that he had only telegraphed the broad fact that our proposal is for a reduction of not less than 50 per cent.; a fact which it was thought desirable here to communicate to the Press so as to frighten the Companies a little in advance. He declared that there was nothing in his telegram about the proportions of the cost to be borne by the Indian and the Home Governments, of which he knew nothing, and of which we have not made public a word; and I find on looking at the Reuter's telegram which appeared in the *Times* that he is correct, and that no such reference is included. I cannot imagine, therefore, what is the telegram to which you refer, or how the secret can have got out; since it has not been mentioned in a single Indian newspaper. I quite agree with you that it is most undesirable that proposals involving the consent of other Departments should be divulged before those Departments have even been approached upon the case; and for that reason we have been most careful

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here not to let a hint escape as to the means which we proposed. When you remember that the Simla Departments are manned for the most part by Native clerks, and by men of a different stamp from those whom we employ in our English Offices, it is surprising, on the whole, that the leakage is not greater. There will be a very great outcry if, after Beach has been compelled to some extent to meet the Colonial demand, he returns a negative reply to that of India. A good deal of private evidence has reached me to the effect that the Telegraphic Companies are seriously alarmed, and will be only too glad to come to terms. If they will bear their share of the respective loss, as I believe they will, the reluctance of the Treasury may be, to some extent, overcome. The request which we make is an aspect of Imperialism in its sanest and most practical form, and niggardliness in such matters produces a lingering sense of resentment, which politicians at home, who do not perhaps study the Indian or Colonial Press, have no means of gauging. The feeling in India on the matter is so strong that I am being pressed every day to promise the early publication of our despatch. This of course I can only do with your consent, but I hope you will give favourable consideration to the appeal.

The Tochi and Wana questions.

I must postpone till next week sending you the copies of my Tochi and Wana notes. They are very long, and have cost me an incredible amount of trouble and time; but I have found the whole question to be the most difficult and complicated with which I have yet had to deal; besides which it has got tangled up in a mass of conflicting suggestions and correspondence, so prodigious that no one knew where we stood, or what we were about to do, while the sort of irregularity upon which I commented last week has been practised with impunity. I have succeeded in stopping the money, although only in the nick of time, since it had already got into the hands of the Political Officer in the Tochi, who would, in a week or two more, have concluded the arrangements for placing in our hands a space about double the size of Hyde Park for the future evolutions of troops who, I think, ought never to have been placed there at all, and whom I propose at the earliest date, if possible, to take away.

Misappropriation of funds by Military authorities.

Position of Members of Council.

I must also postpone till next week some remarks which I have to make about your proposals for pensions to the Legal and Financial Members of Council and about the leave rules of Councillors in general.

The Government Departmental system.

After Council last week I had a meeting of Members and Secretaries combined, and we spent over two hours in going, point by point, through the various suggestions contained in my Memorandum on the methods of Departmental business in India. I find, I am glad to say, an unbroken consensus in favour of every one of the recommendations that I had made, and a Committee of the Secretaries is now to meet to draw up a uniform body of regulations, which will be henceforward enforced in every Department of

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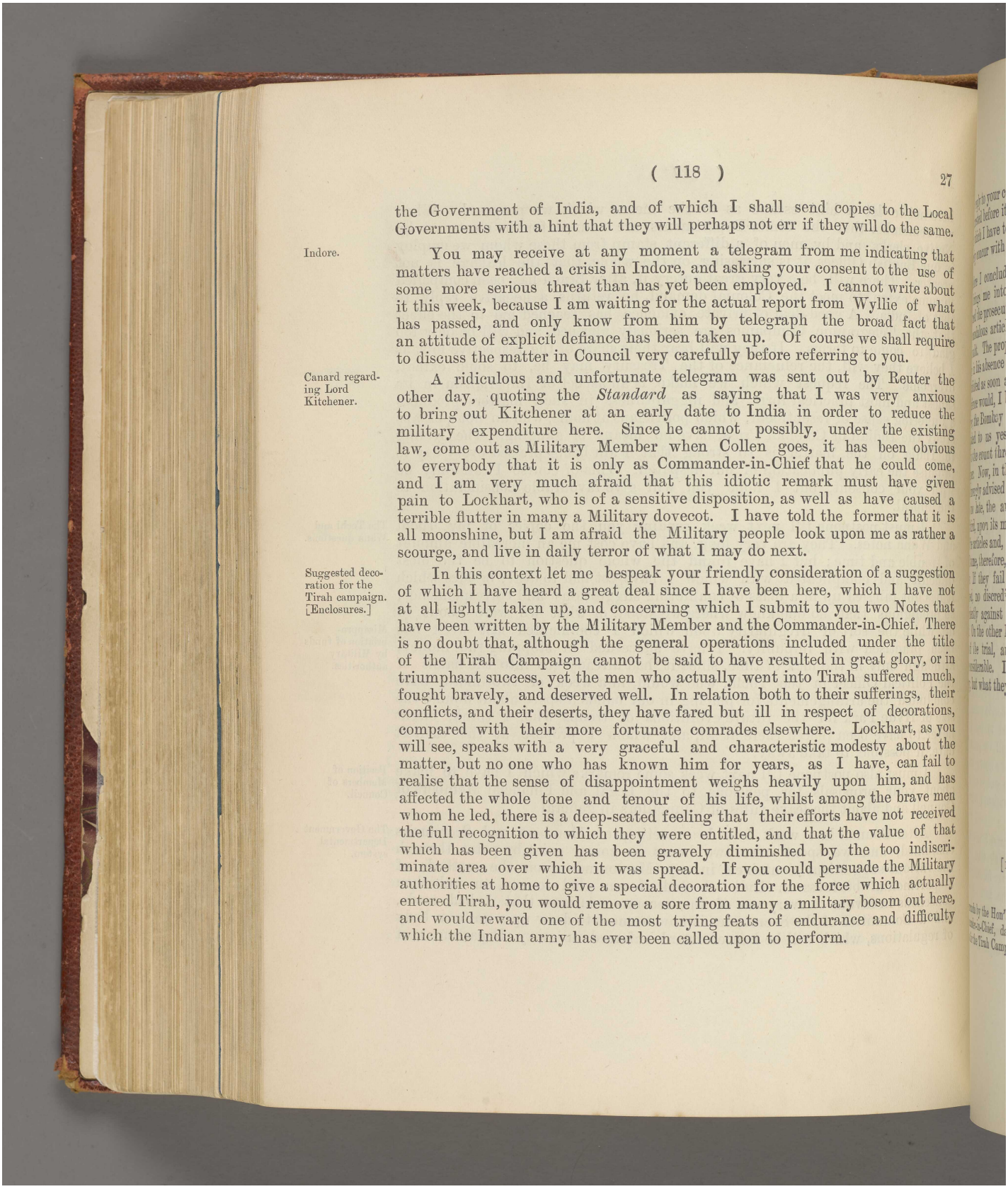

the Government of India, and of which I shall send copies to the Local Governments with a hint that they will perhaps not err if they will do the same.

Indore.

You may receive at any moment a telegram from me indicating that matters have reached a crisis in Indore, and asking your consent to the use of some more serious threat than has yet been employed. I cannot write about it this week, because I am waiting for the actual report from Wyllie of what has passed, and only know from him by telegraph the broad fact that an attitude of explicit defiance has been taken up. Of course we shall require to discuss the matter in Council very carefully before referring to you.

Canard regarding Lord Kitchener.

A ridiculous and unfortunate telegram was sent out by Reuter the other day, quoting the *Standard* as saying that I was very anxious to bring out Kitchener at an early date to India in order to reduce the military expenditure here. Since he cannot possibly, under the existing law, come out as Military Member when Collen goes, it has been obvious to everybody that it is only as Commander-in-Chief that he could come, and I am very much afraid that this idiotic remark must have given pain to Lockhart, who is of a sensitive disposition, as well as have caused a terrible flutter in many a Military dovecot. I have told the former that it is all moonshine, but I am afraid the Military people look upon me as rather a scourge, and live in daily terror of what I may do next.

Suggested decoration for the Tirah campaign. [Enclosures.]

In this context let me bespeak your friendly consideration of a suggestion of which I have heard a great deal since I have been here, which I have not at all lightly taken up, and concerning which I submit to you two Notes that have been written by the Military Member and the Commander-in-Chief. There is no doubt that, although the general operations included under the title of the Tirah Campaign cannot be said to have resulted in great glory, or in triumphant success, yet the men who actually went into Tirah suffered much, fought bravely, and deserved well. In relation both to their sufferings, their conflicts, and their deserts, they have fared but ill in respect of decorations, compared with their more fortunate comrades elsewhere. Lockhart, as you will see, speaks with a very graceful and characteristic modesty about the matter, but no one who has known him for years, as I have, can fail to realise that the sense of disappointment weighs heavily upon him, and has affected the whole tone and tenour of his life, whilst among the brave men whom he led, there is a deep-seated feeling that their efforts have not received the full recognition to which they were entitled, and that the value of that which has been given has been gravely diminished by the too indiscriminate area over which it was spread. If you could persuade the Military authorities at home to give a special decoration for the force which actually entered Tirah, you would remove a sore from many a military bosom out here, and would reward one of the most trying feats of endurance and difficulty which the Indian army has ever been called upon to perform.

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Snowdon.

In reply to your confidential letter I will endeavour to get the Snowdon proposal arrested before it is sent home to you, but you will understand that it is a case in which I have to proceed with great delicacy. I may add that personally I entirely concur with your views.

Prosecution of the *Gurákhi*.

Before I conclude, I must append a paragraph about a matter that once again brings me into contact with Bombay. You will remember that we sanctioned the prosecution of the *Gurákhi* newspaper for the publication of three scandalous articles of whose seditious and culpable character there could be no doubt. The proprietor and editor sets up the defence that they were written in his absence and without his sanction by an acting sub-editor, whom he repudiated as soon as he got back and found out what had happened. This defence would, I believe, avail no editor in an English Court of Justice.

Action of the Bombay Govt.

However, the Bombay Government are afraid of losing their case, and they telegraphed to us yesterday that they had decided, upon B. Scott's advice, to add to the count three other charges based upon earlier articles in the same newspaper. Now, in the case of two of these articles, their Advocate-General, Lang, strongly advised against prosecution a few weeks ago, on the ground that it was too late, the articles having appeared early in 1898, whilst, in the case of the third, upon its merits, he thought that a prosecution could not succeed. I read the articles and, as a layman, entirely concurred in these views. It seemed to me, therefore, that the Bombay Government were courting unnecessary disaster. If they fail in the original prosecution on the pleas which I have mentioned, no discredit will attach to them; while they are proceeding independently against the sub-editor of whose blood they ought to be fairly certain. On the other hand, if they deliberately add to the charges in the course of the trial, and then fail to get a verdict, the discredit and damage will be considerable. I ventured to intimate this in my telegraphic reply to Bombay; but what they may decide I do not know.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Memoranda by the Hon'ble General Sir E. H. H. Collen, K. C. I. E, and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated 8th and 10th June 1899, respectively, regarding a special decoration for the Tirah Campaign.

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No. 28.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
June 28th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

My letters to you cannot, as a rule, be described as short; but in the present case I shall probably require to err even more than I have previously done in the matter of length in reply to your interesting communication of the 8th June, for which I return you my hearty thanks.

Nushki.

I will first deal with one or two points mentioned in that letter. As regards Nushki, we have already sent off to you last week the despatch containing our proposals, and it is, therefore, too late for me to follow your recommendations in respect of particular care and delicacy in the phraseology employed. I think, however, that the despatch, which I wrote myself, sufficiently answers the required description. Nothing has surprised me more since I came here than the sudden, and as I think unreasonable, suspicions of your Political Committee in this matter. As I have before stated, the increase of responsibility in the present case is very slight, and has been practically endorsed by you in advance. What your Council mean by the increase of establishments which advances towards Persia may necessitate I do not understand. The question whether, sooner or later, it will be necessary to run a railway from Nushki to Seistan is surely one which the Cabinet will decide on broad grounds of Imperial policy, and which will not be remitted to your Council on financial grounds alone. Lord Salisbury, as you will remember from our conference before I left, holds very strong views upon the matter, and it is one which I shall discuss in a despatch which I am about to send you on the Persian question, and which, now that I have got rid of the various frontier cases, I propose to take in hand in the forthcoming week.

Kalka-Simla Railway.

As regards the Kalka-Simla Railway, I do not myself very much care whether the gauge is 2 ft. or 2 ft. 6-in. Only I think that, immediately after having come to a decision to adopt the broader gauge for our light railways in the future, it would look a little absurd to lay the narrow gauge to the Summer Capital of the Government of India. I am also inclined to think that, for the amount of traffic required, the 2 ft. 6-in. would be more suitable than the 2 ft. gauge; and, in the third place, the main object of our insistence

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upon uniformity of policy and gauge is the desirability of having a reserve of locomotives and rolling stock to be shifted to our light frontier railroads in the event of a sudden emergency. I shall be glad, therefore, if the Directors, with, or without, any concession, can meet us on the point.

Prosecution of the *Gurákhi*.

With reference to Bombay, I may mention that that Government took our advice in regard to two of the additional articles in the *Gurákhi*, which they had proposed to add to the charges in the trial now going on. These were the two on which it seemed to me that a verdict was most improbable, on account of the lapse of time. They have, however, added the third article, upon which Scott advises them in a different sense from Lang, although my own view, as a layman, would incline very strongly to the correctness of the advice of the latter.

India. [Enclosure.]

In reply to the notes which you sent me a short time ago, upon the paper *India* and other subjects, I send you a copy of a private note which has been drawn up for me by Mr. Bayley, General Superintendent of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department. Any further information that we may procure shall be passed on to you in the same way.

Proposed Russian Consulate at Bombay.

I am considering whether we can meet what appear to be Lord Salisbury's views about the question of the Russian Consul at Bombay. There seems a certain inconsistency in the argument that we should not apply for a British Consul in return at Samarkand, because it is an interior town, while, as I understand, the Russian proposal is to give us a Consul at Tiflis, which is an interior town also. When, however, you say that the Russians are arguing that a refusal of a privilege to which they think that they are entitled by commercial treaties will be an unfriendly act on our part, should we not also remember that they are themselves interpreting these treaties in another context in a manner which we consider to be still more unfriendly, and with respect to which we have hitherto in vain appealed to them for redress? What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander; and I shall probably suggest to you in our reply, if we are able to meet you on the main proposal, that affection for the treaties should not be a wholly one-sided emotion.

Discussion of Frontier questions in Council. [Enclosures.]

On Friday next we shall have a long discussion in Council upon several of the Frontier cases still outstanding. The two lengthy documents upon the Tochi and Wana positions, copies of which I send to you to-day, and which are now in circulation for the opinion of my Colleagues, will come up for decision. I think that there will be some advantage in the existence of a permanent record of our proceedings in Waziristan up to date, the narrative of which has hitherto been scattered in a score of independent files, and in laying down clearly the lines of the future policy which I hope I may persuade my Council to adopt. At the same meeting we shall discuss the reply of the Punjab Government to our proposals about the Samana, which I sketched to you some months ago. It is satisfactory

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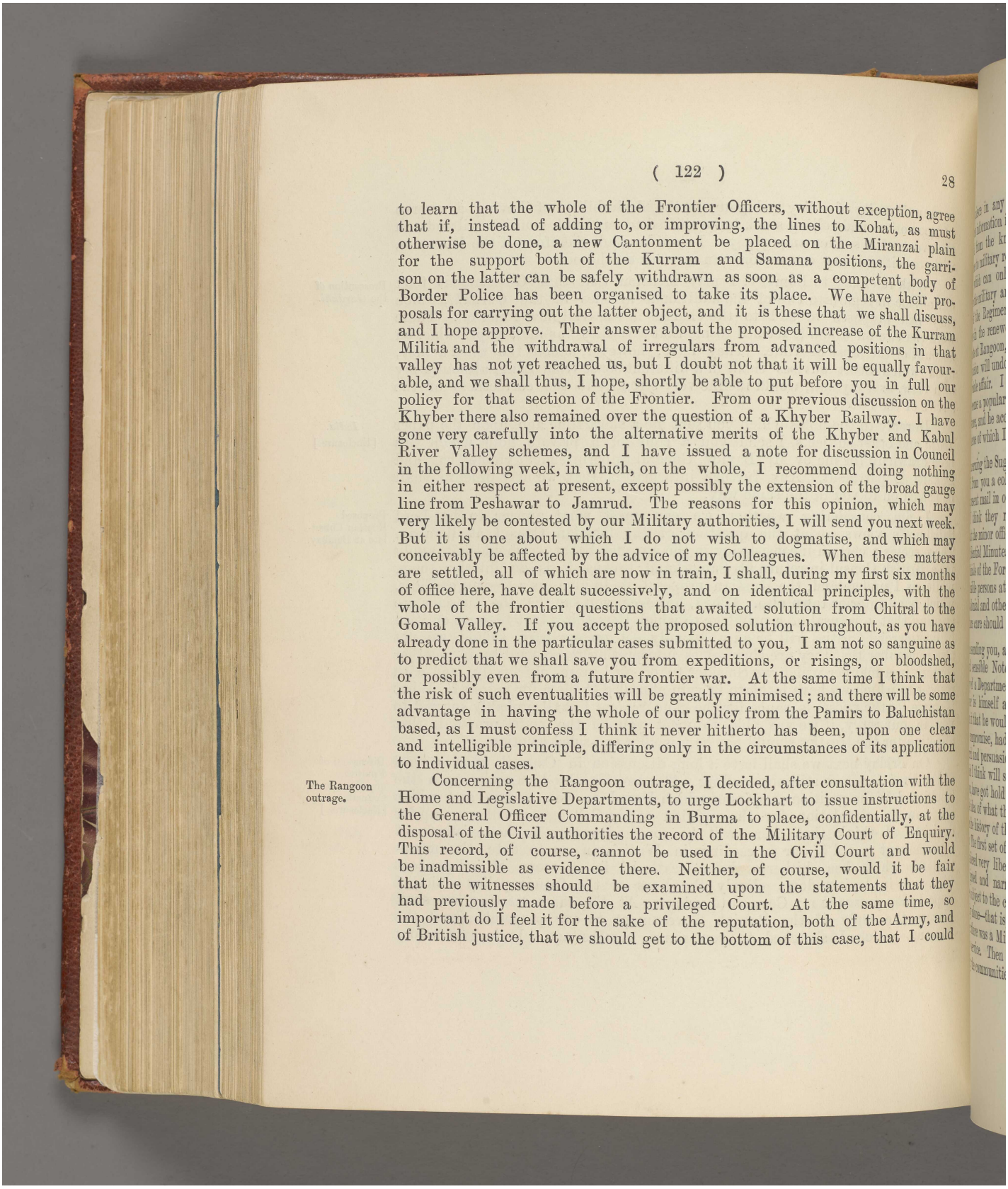

to learn that the whole of the Frontier Officers, without exception, agree that if, instead of adding to, or improving, the lines to Kohat, as must otherwise be done, a new Cantonment be placed on the Miranzai plain for the support both of the Kurram and Samana positions, the garrison on the latter can be safely withdrawn as soon as a competent body of Border Police has been organised to take its place. We have their proposals for carrying out the latter object, and it is these that we shall discuss, and I hope approve. Their answer about the proposed increase of the Kurram Militia and the withdrawal of irregulars from advanced positions in that valley has not yet reached us, but I doubt not that it will be equally favourable, and we shall thus, I hope, shortly be able to put before you in full our policy for that section of the Frontier. From our previous discussion on the Khyber there also remained over the question of a Khyber Railway. I have gone very carefully into the alternative merits of the Khyber and Kabul River Valley schemes, and I have issued a note for discussion in Council in the following week, in which, on the whole, I recommend doing nothing in either respect at present, except possibly the extension of the broad gauge line from Peshawar to Jamrud. The reasons for this opinion, which may very likely be contested by our Military authorities, I will send you next week. But it is one about which I do not wish to dogmatise, and which may conceivably be affected by the advice of my Colleagues. When these matters are settled, all of which are now in train, I shall, during my first six months of office here, have dealt successively, and on identical principles, with the whole of the frontier questions that awaited solution from Chitral to the Gomal Valley. If you accept the proposed solution throughout, as you have already done in the particular cases submitted to you, I am not so sanguine as to predict that we shall save you from expeditions, or risings, or bloodshed, or possibly even from a future frontier war. At the same time I think that the risk of such eventualities will be greatly minimised; and there will be some advantage in having the whole of our policy from the Pamirs to Baluchistan based, as I must confess I think it never hitherto has been, upon one clear and intelligible principle, differing only in the circumstances of its application to individual cases.

The Rangoon outrage.

Concerning the Rangoon outrage, I decided, after consultation with the Home and Legislative Departments, to urge Lockhart to issue instructions to the General Officer Commanding in Burma to place, confidentially, at the disposal of the Civil authorities the record of the Military Court of Enquiry. This record, of course, cannot be used in the Civil Court and would be inadmissible as evidence there. Neither, of course, would it be fair that the witnesses should be examined upon the statements that they had previously made before a privileged Court. At the same time, so important do I feel it for the sake of the reputation, both of the Army, and of British justice, that we should get to the bottom of this case, that I could

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not acquiesce in any proceeding which might give rise to the impression that important information in the possession of the Military authorities was being withheld from the knowledge of the Civil Court. In such a case a correct adherence to military regulations must not be allowed to defeat the ends of justice, which can only be attained by confidential and cordial co-operation between the military and civil officials. Owing to the action taken by an officer of the Regiment in appearing, so to speak, as Counsel for the prisoners in the renewed inquiry that has been opened before the Cantonment Magistrate at Rangoon, and in advising them not to answer any questions, the suspicion will undoubtedly get abroad that the soldiers are trying to hush up the whole affair. I represented to Lockhart the seriousness of what might easily become a popular belief, and the desirability of removing any ground for its existence, and he accordingly consented to send the telegraphic instructions to Protheroe of which I have spoken.

Papers on Sugar Duties sent to Financial Dept.

Concerning the Sugar Duties case, the Financial Department received by last mail from you a collection of Foreign Office papers, which I return to you by the present mail in order to draw your attention to their character and contents. I think they must have been sent by mistake, for it can hardly be right that the minor officials of an Indian Department should read the private and confidential Minutes of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Chamberlain, Brodrick, and the other officials of the Foreign Office, or should learn from the confidential notes of responsible persons at home the precise share of the matter which was borne by the Colonial and other Offices. I daresay you will give instructions that rather more care should be exercised in future.

[Enclosure.]

Use of Established Churches by other denominations.

I am sending you, as an additional enclosure with this letter, a very clear and sensible Note by Mr. Fraser, who is, I think, the most competent Secretary of a Department that I possess, on the Scotch Churches question. Mr. Fraser is himself a very strong and devout Presbyterian, and you may rely upon it that he would never have helped to frame, or have consented to, the present compromise, had he not felt it to be strictly fair to the interests of his own church and persuasion. I will add a few explanatory observations of my own which I think will show you that the Scotch worthies who are about to attack you, have got hold of entirely the wrong end of the stick, and really have very little idea of what they are talking about at all. There have been three phases in the history of the regulations affecting the use of Anglican Churches in India. The first set of regulations existed up till the time of Elgin. They were considered very liberal when instituted, although, to us, they would appear bigoted and narrow-minded now. They allowed the use of Anglican Churches, subject to the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, to the Presbyterian community alone—that is, not to Wesleyans, or to anybody else—and then only when there was a Minister of the Established Church of Scotland to conduct the service. Then came Elgin, with his more liberal rules, widely extending the communities to be favoured, and giving the ultimate decision to

[Enclosure.]

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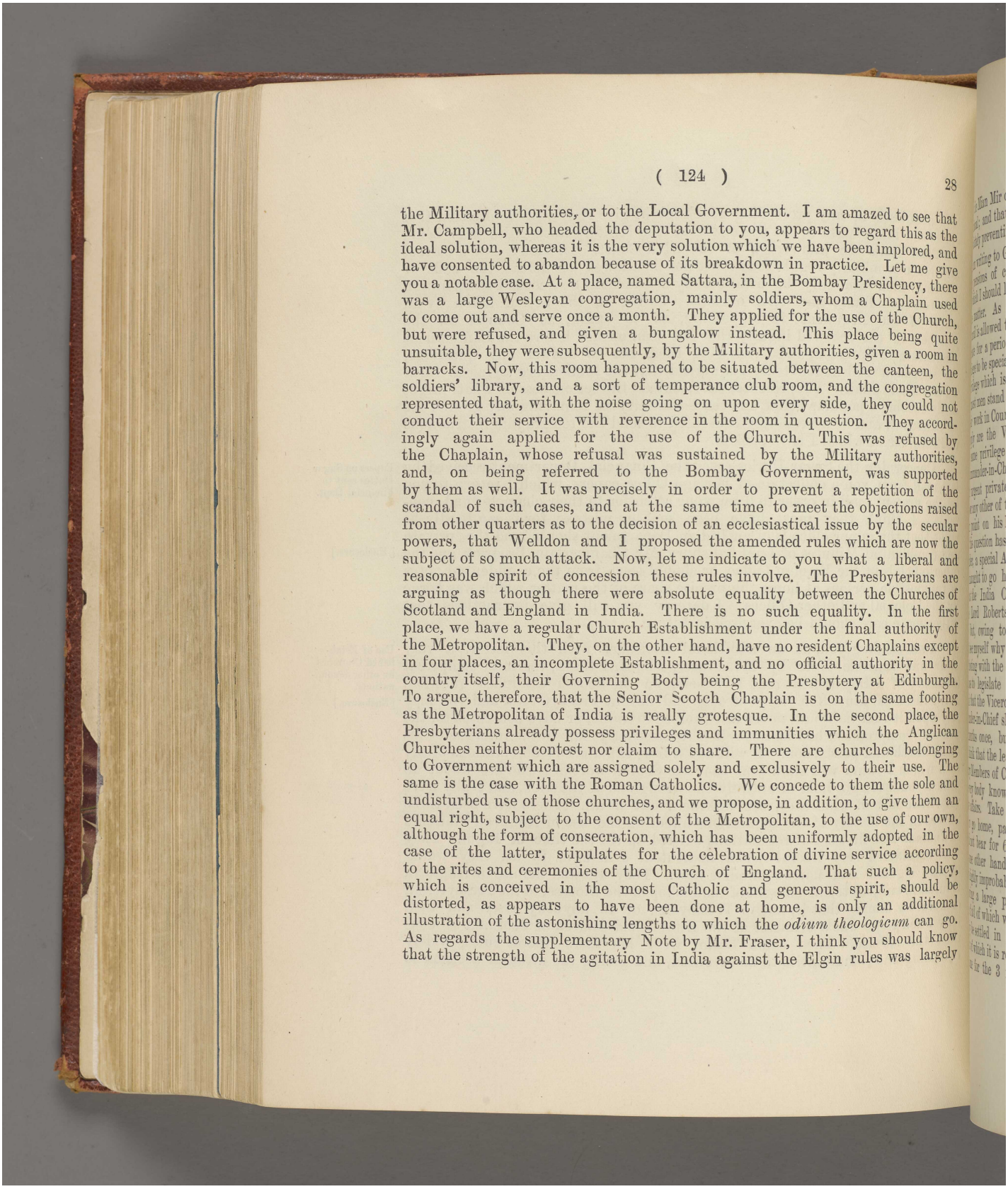

the Military authorities, or to the Local Government. I am amazed to see that Mr. Campbell, who headed the deputation to you, appears to regard this as the ideal solution, whereas it is the very solution which we have been implored, and have consented to abandon because of its breakdown in practice. Let me give you a notable case. At a place, named Sattara, in the Bombay Presidency, there was a large Wesleyan congregation, mainly soldiers, whom a Chaplain used to come out and serve once a month. They applied for the use of the Church, but were refused, and given a bungalow instead. This place being quite unsuitable, they were subsequently, by the Military authorities, given a room in barracks. Now, this room happened to be situated between the canteen, the soldiers' library, and a sort of temperance club room, and the congregation represented that, with the noise going on upon every side, they could not conduct their service with reverence in the room in question. They accordingly again applied for the use of the Church. This was refused by the Chaplain, whose refusal was sustained by the Military authorities, and, on being referred to the Bombay Government, was supported by them as well. It was precisely in order to prevent a repetition of the scandal of such cases, and at the same time to meet the objections raised from other quarters as to the decision of an ecclesiastical issue by the secular powers, that Welldon and I proposed the amended rules which are now the subject of so much attack. Now, let me indicate to you what a liberal and reasonable spirit of concession these rules involve. The Presbyterians are arguing as though there were absolute equality between the Churches of Scotland and England in India. There is no such equality. In the first place, we have a regular Church Establishment under the final authority of the Metropolitan. They, on the other hand, have no resident Chaplains except in four places, an incomplete Establishment, and no official authority in the country itself, their Governing Body being the Presbytery at Edinburgh. To argue, therefore, that the Senior Scotch Chaplain is on the same footing as the Metropolitan of India is really grotesque. In the second place, the Presbyterians already possess privileges and immunities which the Anglican Churches neither contest nor claim to share. There are churches belonging to Government which are assigned solely and exclusively to their use. The same is the case with the Roman Catholics. We concede to them the sole and undisturbed use of those churches, and we propose, in addition, to give them an equal right, subject to the consent of the Metropolitan, to the use of our own, although the form of consecration, which has been uniformly adopted in the case of the latter, stipulates for the celebration of divine service according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. That such a policy, which is conceived in the most Catholic and generous spirit, should be distorted, as appears to have been done at home, is only an additional illustration of the astonishing lengths to which the *odium theologicum* can go. As regards the supplementary Note by Mr. Fraser, I think you should know that the strength of the agitation in India against the Elgin rules was largely

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due to the Mian Mir case which is there mentioned; that that case was quite exceptional; and that we are, as indicated by him, considering the possibility of absolutely preventing the recurrence of another such incident.

Leave for the Viceroy, the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and the Commander-in-Chief.

I am writing to Godley this week about your proposals concerning the future pensions of certain Members of Council; but there is another point upon which I should like to ask your opinion before we address you formally on the matter. As you know, under the existing rules an ordinary Member of Council is allowed to take leave out of India on half pay on a medical certificate for a period not exceeding 6 months, not however as a right, but as a privilege to be specially granted by the Governor-General in Council. This is a privilege which is much valued, of which at the end of a long career in India most men stand in need, and which is, I think, essential to the efficiency of their work in Council. But the only Members of Council to whom it does not apply are the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. Neither, again, is the same privilege enjoyed by the Governors of Madras and Bombay. The Commander-in-Chief may, it is true, take leave on a medical certificate, or for urgent private affairs, but it must be in India only. As soon as he, or any other of the three Governors named, leaves India and reaches a certain point on his homeward journey, he, *ipso facto*, ceases to fill his office. Now, this question has often come before Secretaries of State, and, as far as I remember, a special Act of Parliament was passed in order to enable the Duke of Connaught to go home and attend the Queen's Jubilee in 1887. When I was at the India Office in 1891, we also had a Bill on the stocks to enable Lord Roberts to come home before the extension of his command, but, owing to Parliamentary exigencies, it was dropped. Now, I cannot see myself why all the persons I have named should not be put on the same footing with the ordinary Members of Council. I think that it would be invidious to legislate on behalf of any one, or any group, of the number. I think that the Viceroy, the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and the Commander-in-Chief should all be allowed to take special leave for a term of 6 months once, but not more than once, during their tenure of office, and I think that the leave should be given in their case, and in the case of ordinary Members of Council also, not only upon a medical certificate which is, as every body knows, in practice an absolute farce, but also for urgent private affairs. Take my own case. I am in the last degree unlikely to want to go home, partly because I am greedy of work, and partly because I could not bear for 6 months, or even for 3 months, to leave the ship with some other hand at the helm. And yet it is conceivable—although I hope highly improbable—that, during my term of office, my father might die, leaving a large place, a great estate, and a family of 10 children, the future of all of which would have to be settled, and which could not conceivably be settled in my absence. Those are urgent private affairs for the conduct of which it is really absurd that a Viceroy should not be allowed to run home for the 3 months that might be necessary to set them right.

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Take, again, the case of one of my Colleagues. He is shortly going to apply for 6 months' leave, and will produce a medical certificate. I happen to know that he is really going home in order to see about the education of his sons, but, as private affairs are not at present admissible as a plea, the Doctor has to be brought in. Again, a case may arise in which a man may have a wife, either being confined, or lying very ill at home, and it is ridiculous that he should have to pretend to be ill himself in order to see her in her illness, while it is more ridiculous—it is really unjust—that, in such circumstances, the four high officials whom I have named should find it absolutely impossible to obtain any leave at all. The fact is that the whole situation has been revolutionised by improvements in steam traffic, and that the present system, which was devised to suit an earlier time, is now out of date. Lord Cromer told me that one of the reasons for which he would never have consented to come to India as Viceroy, was because he would, for 5 years, have been deprived of any sight of England; and he further told me that he would never have been able to remain at Cairo all these years had it not been for his occasional run home. Now, as I say, a Viceroy who had any high sense of duty, would, I think, never, save in the most exceptional circumstances, take advantage of such permission in the course of his 5 years of office. But supposing a case arises, in which you want a Viceroy to stay longer—supposing you want him to stay 6 years, or 7 years, if he is a great and exceptional success, is he only to perform this public service, involving a considerable sacrifice to all his personal and domestic interests, at the cost of not going home at all? My own idea is that, if ever you get a great Viceroy, it will be the best thing in the world to get him to stay beyond his 5 years if he will, but you will never do it under the existing system.

These are a few of the considerations which appeal to my own mind. I should be grateful for your opinion upon them before I proceed any further in the matter.

Believe me
yours very sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

(1.) Note by Mr. C. S. Bayley on *India* and Congress Funds, dated 18th June 1899.
(2.) Memorandum by the Viceroy on (1) the present and future position in the Tochi; (2) the Wana position.
(3.) Foreign Office papers on the Sugar Duties.
(4.) Note and Memorandum on the use by other denominations of churches consecrated for the services of the Church of England, by Mr. A. H. L. Fraser, dated 26th June 1899.

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No. 28a.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.M.S.I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
June 28th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Viceroy's reforms.

I will write you a private line upon the inner life of a reforming Viceroy of India. You will have gathered from my letters that I think the methods of business here cumbrous, dilatory, and verbose, the want of proper supervision in many departments of administration shocking, and the detachment and independence of local Governors and Governments a serious challenge to the Viceroy's authority and control. You will also know that I am endeavouring to remedy these imperfections. But the old horse kicks a little under the bit or the spur—for it is now one and now the other—and chafes at a restraint or an incentive which it has never before known. The Viceroy has apparently rarely looked into any department except his own; and as for his Lieutenant-Governors, &c., he has left them to pursue their own sweet wills. The mechanism of Government, which, as you know, is in either case conducted in India by means of correspondence, has been kept carefully oiled by long-winded periphrasis and mutual compliment; and so the wheels have gone round and round until one day some undetected flaw has resulted in an explosion or a disaster which the very processes that called it into existence have then again been utilised to hush up and condone.

Irregularities in the Military Department and Army Head-Quarters.

However, let me particularise. I think that the Military Department and the Army Head-Quarters have been the chief sinners. Their loquacity on paper, headed and stimulated by the Military Member, is appalling. There is a slight, perhaps an inevitable, friction between the two Departments, and whilst they will conspire to gloss over an irregularity in which both have for years indulged, they will, if a difference arises between them, wrangle over it for a decade. In my Note on the Tochi question you will find mentioned

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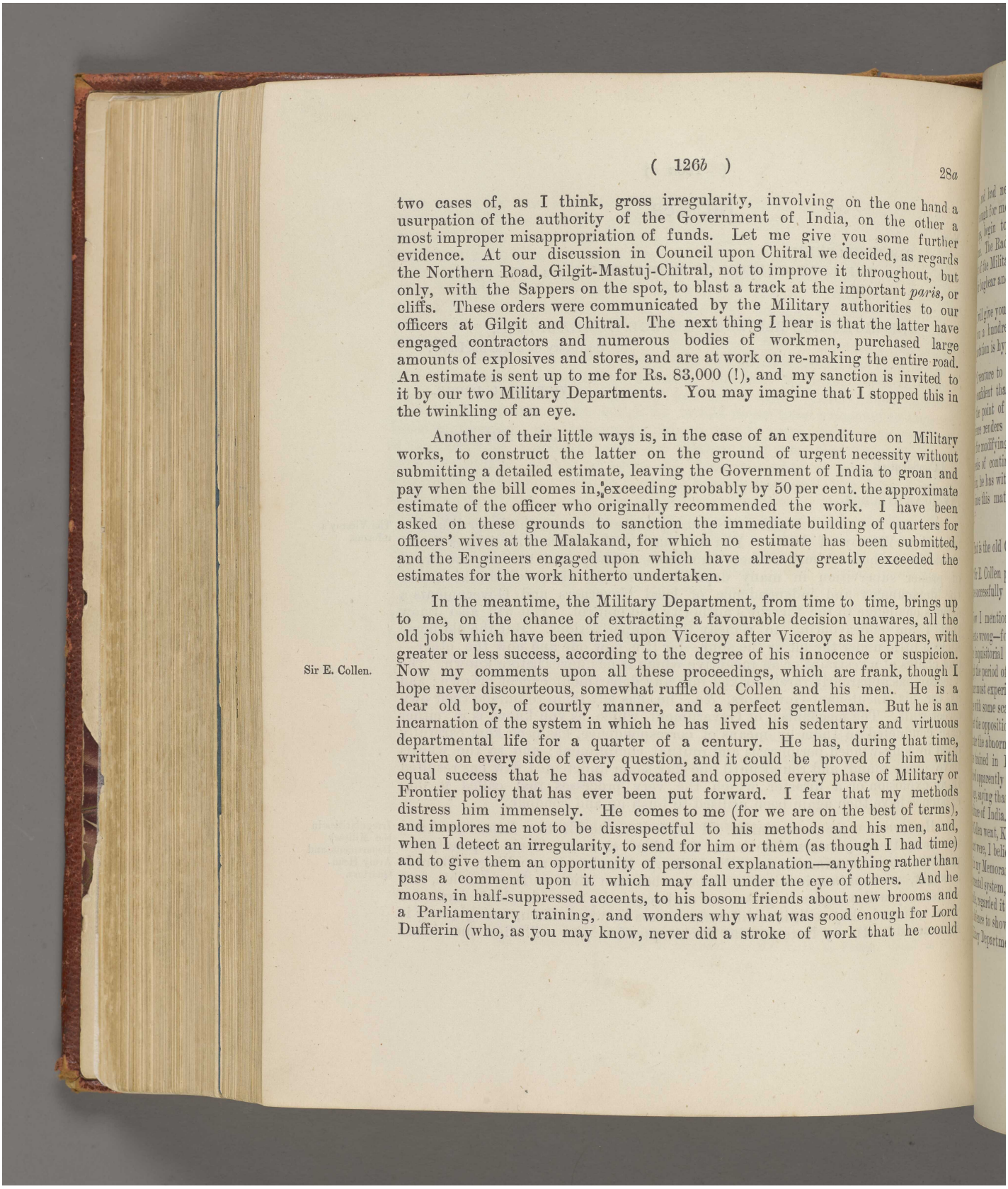

two cases of, as I think, gross irregularity, involving on the one hand a usurpation of the authority of the Government of India, on the other a most improper misappropriation of funds. Let me give you some further evidence. At our discussion in Council upon Chitral we decided, as regards the Northern Road, Gilgit-Mastuj-Chitral, not to improve it throughout, but only, with the Sappers on the spot, to blast a track at the important *paris*, or cliffs. These orders were communicated by the Military authorities to our officers at Gilgit and Chitral. The next thing I hear is that the latter have engaged contractors and numerous bodies of workmen, purchased large amounts of explosives and stores, and are at work on re-making the entire road. An estimate is sent up to me for Rs. 83,000 (!), and my sanction is invited to it by our two Military Departments. You may imagine that I stopped this in the twinkling of an eye.

Another of their little ways is, in the case of an expenditure on Military works, to construct the latter on the ground of urgent necessity without submitting a detailed estimate, leaving the Government of India to groan and pay when the bill comes in, exceeding probably by 50 per cent. the approximate estimate of the officer who originally recommended the work. I have been asked on these grounds to sanction the immediate building of quarters for officers' wives at the Malakand, for which no estimate has been submitted, and the Engineers engaged upon which have already greatly exceeded the estimates for the work hitherto undertaken.

Sir E. Collen.

In the meantime, the Military Department, from time to time, brings up to me, on the chance of extracting a favourable decision unawares, all the old jobs which have been tried upon Viceroy after Viceroy as he appears, with greater or less success, according to the degree of his innocence or suspicion. Now my comments upon all these proceedings, which are frank, though I hope never discourteous, somewhat ruffle old Collen and his men. He is a dear old boy, of courtly manner, and a perfect gentleman. But he is an incarnation of the system in which he has lived his sedentary and virtuous departmental life for a quarter of a century. He has, during that time, written on every side of every question, and it could be proved of him with equal success that he has advocated and opposed every phase of Military or Frontier policy that has ever been put forward. I fear that my methods distress him immensely. He comes to me (for we are on the best of terms), and implores me not to be disrespectful to his methods and his men, and, when I detect an irregularity, to send for him or them (as though I had time) and to give them an opportunity of personal explanation—anything rather than pass a comment upon it which may fall under the eye of others. And he moans, in half-suppressed accents, to his bosom friends about new brooms and a Parliamentary training, and wonders why what was good enough for Lord Dufferin (who, as you may know, never did a stroke of work that he could

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avoid, and had nearly all his papers initialled by his Private Secretary) is not good enough for me. I hear, too, that the soldiers, as my Frontier policy develops, begin to think that they will have not much chance of fighting in my time. The Radical papers in England denounce me as a fiery Jingo in the pocket of the Military party. The Military party here, I believe, regard me as their bugbear and bane.

Military men & the Viceroy's Frontier policy.

I will give you an illustration of the old literary style, of which I could cull you a hundred specimens from the notes recorded by my predecessors. The quotation is hypothetical, but it is true to life:

Style of Noting.

"I venture to think that if my Hon'ble Military Colleague, to whom I am confident that I shall not appeal in vain, will reconsider the position from the point of view which I have indicated, and which his own great experience renders him peculiarly qualified to understand, he may find some reason for modifying the opinions which, with greater reference perhaps to the needs of continuity of policy than to the exigencies of the existing situation, he has with so much ability continued to press upon his colleagues ever since this matter first attracted the attention of the Government of India."

That is the old Gregorian style. Mine is shorter:

"Sir E. Collen pleads for continuity of policy. I think it more important to cope successfully with the present case."

Opposition to the Viceroy's reforms.

Now I mention all this, not to argue that I am right and my critics or opponents wrong—for it is quite natural that my methods to their eyes should appear inquisitorial and abrupt—but to indicate to you that I am passing through the period of a slight and still uncrystallised antagonism which every reformer must experience, and from which I tell old Collen myself that I shall emerge with some scars but also with credit in about a year's time. I have to meet the opposition of ruffled serenity and of detected jobs. I also have to encounter the abnormal sensitiveness of the Anglo-Indian mind, which, to anyone trained in English public life, is a source of perpetual wonder. The *Standard* apparently published an article, which was telegraphed here a little while ago, saying that I proposed to bring out Kitchener to reduce the Military expenditure of India. Though it is obvious that there is no vacancy, and that, even if Collen went, Kitchener could not, under the law, succeed him, both he and Lockhart were, I believe, thrown into paroxysms of misery at the insinuation. When in my Memorandum on Noting I attacked and ridiculed the present Departmental system, old Collen, who has been a Secretary very nearly since his cradle, regarded it almost as a personal assault upon himself, and wrote me a long defence to show that he had always been a pioneer of reform, and that the Military Department here was spotless compared with the War Office in

Over-sensitiveness of officials.

The Commander-in-Chief and Sir E. Collen.

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Sir M. Young.

London. Similarly Sir M. Young, whom I overruled over Chamkanni and Gumatti, and who has twice lately been overruled, not by me but by the Governor General in Council, on some smaller administrative issue, complains that, during Lord Elgin's time, he was never overruled once, and that he objects to being humiliated in the eyes of his subordinate officers. He is a very nice fellow, but obstinate to a degree: and he has never recovered from the shock of being told by me that, when I take up the question of Frontier administration, I shall put the delays and the imperfect responsibility of the existing system in the forefront of my attack. I am fortunately in very intimate personal relations with all my foes (if they can be so called). I discuss the whole case with them frankly; tell them that omelettes were never made without breaking eggs; invite their personal assistance, but make it quite clear that—popularity or unpopularity—I am going through.

Attitude of Members of Council.

The way matters stand at present is accordingly as follows. First as regards Members of Council. The Commander-in-Chief is an old friend of mine, for whom I entertain a deep regard, and who, I think, would sooner in any matter take my side than go against me. But he hates being bothered, or questioned, or fussed, detests administrative business of any kind, and is miserable at meetings of Council, where he rarely utters. His opinion is in the custody of his Adjutant-General, Nicholson, who is said to write his minutes and despatches. He is moreover, like many shy and unassuming men, extraordinarily sensitive, although large-minded in every other respect. I hope, and I think, I shall keep in successfully with him. But rather skilful steering will sometimes be required, since there are voices at his elbow who must constantly murmur opposite things. Collen, as I have said, is courtly, but querulous, and is rather in a Cross Bench frame of mind. Dawkins is strong on my side, and is invaluable, both from his experience and common sense, and because he has opportunities of defending my case with his colleagues. Raleigh seems at present to show no aptitude for affairs outside of his own department, and can hardly be regarded as a factor on one side or the other. Gardiner is too new, and will be too short-lived in Council, to exercise much influence. Rivaz, therefore, rather holds the scales, with perhaps a slight inclination in my direction. I have fortunately not run counter to him in any respect: and he seems to me, though deficient in initiative, to take a level-headed and unprejudiced view of most questions. Lawrence, who knows all the old Indians personally, and is equally acquainted with their merits and their foibles, is very useful in keeping them in a good temper, and pouring in the opportune drop of oil. I am speaking here of personal relations only, since, as you will have seen, I have experienced little or no difficulty in carrying my policy through Council; which after all is in the long run more important.

Attitude of Secretaries to Government.

So much for Council. Now as regards Secretaries. I have flustered the Military Secretary (General Maitland) somewhat by the constant discovery of

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irregularities for which he, or rather I think the system, is partly responsible. But he is a sensible man; and I get on with him very well. Barnes works exceedingly hard, and shews both judgment and capacity. The other Secretaries are, I think, a very loyal body of men; and I am glad to say that they are enthusiastically on my side in the campaign against Departmental noting which, as you know, I have undertaken. Of course it may be said that their future to a large extent depends upon the Viceroy. This consideration, however, does not affect the fact that I derive from them very practical and willing assistance.

Attitude of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors.

Next as regards Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. I have had, as you know, my small explosion with Sandhurst. It may do a little good, but only a little. The evil is too deep-seated to admit of being cured by a single letter, or by an understanding between one Governor and one Viceroy. It will never be put right until Bombay is reduced to its proper place in the Indian firmament. The same is true of Madras. The abuse that results in the one case from the presence of a weak but amiable Governor, without administrative experience, is accentuated in the other by a Governor who has ruled a Crown Colony, where he was a petty king, and who has transplanted to Indian soil the theories of his former station. Of the other Lieutenant-Governors, Woodburn is a highminded and conscientious man, without strength of character or will, and is somewhat discomposed at the fate of his Municipal Bill, to which he had pledged himself with wholly superfluous emphasis. Of Mackworth Young I have already spoken. Both, I expect, squirm a little at the apparition of a youthful Viceroy, who asks questions, hazards doubts, and is not content to leave them alone. Sir A. MacDonnell runs his own show with great ability (and equal unpopularity), and keeps me carefully informed of what passes. Fryer is lazy and long past his prime. Of the others I need not speak.

I have now given you a bird's-eye view of the situation, and of the *dramatis personæ* on our Indian stage, which may both entertain you, and also be useful as explanatory of side-lights which may reach you from other quarters. If anything, I have perhaps exaggerated the little, scarcely perceptible, rifts in the lute. But it continues to give out no uncertain sound, and will, I suspect, manage to play out its tune to the end.

If Southport and Edinburgh, however, are to be premonitory of the General Election, another, and very leading actor, may, in two years' time, have to be introduced in your place into the cast at home. Who will he be, and how shall I get on with him?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 28b.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
June 28th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Pensions for Legal and Finance Members of Council.

Many thanks for your letter of June 2nd. I have two matters, untouched upon in my letter to the Secretary of State, upon which I desire to address you both. The first is your proposal of pensions for Legal and Finance Members of Council when recruited from home. The matter would naturally have come up here either in the Home or Finance Department; but the two Members, Rivaz and Dawkins, came to me and said that a very natural delicacy prevented them from noting upon it in the first instance, not because either is involved (for of course the reverse is the case), but because it is a matter affecting their colleagues. I talked over the matter with them at length, and my personal views, which I have submitted in a note to Council, are as follows:—

I accept the necessity for action, in the sense you indicate, as proven. I accept the suggestion of a pension of £1,000 after seven years' service. But inasmuch as this will mean, if it stands alone, that no candidate will accept nomination from the Secretary of State except upon the assurance that he is to be a seven years' man, and to be sure of his pension at the end; and inasmuch as in this way we may conceivably be landed with a disappointment or a failure (*capax imperii nisi imperasset*) with no power of getting rid of him for seven years, I propose that the appointment should be as now a five years' appointment, carrying a pension of £750 per annum at the end, with the power, upon invitation of the Viceroy and consent of the Secretary of State, to extend the term to seven years, carrying with it the full pension of £1,000.

Further, inasmuch as I think that in future both Legal and Finance Members are likely to be younger than they have hitherto been, and as it is very likely that a man returning home in the prime of life (Dawkins would be 46 if he were to stay here seven years) might, through his pension, remain a

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charge upon the Indian revenues for 30 or more years—in my opinion an excessive reward to him for so short a term of service, and a disproportionate burden upon the Indian taxpayer—I propose that the term of pension, except of course when terminated earlier by death, should be limited to 15 years. In this way the maximum that a retired five years' man would get would be £750 × 15, *i. e.*, £11,250, and a seven years' man £15,000.

I cannot say whether these proposals will commend themselves to my Colleagues, or be acceptable to you. But I give you my own suggestions for what they are worth.

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

Next as regards Dawkins' successor. The reasons why I am not disposed towards B. Smith are that a great part of the success of my *régime* here will depend not merely upon the co-operation, but upon the energetic backing, of my Finance Minister. Dawkins is already most useful to me, and his loss will be both a public and personal affliction. Now I cannot feel any certainty that I shall get the same sort of help from B. Smith. He has served himself, and been a prominent figure in an entirely different and wholly inconsistent *régime*. How can I possibly expect his enthusiasm in criticism or correction of methods in which he and his father-in-law acquiesced for five years? Already my vigorous interposition and over-hauling of Departments are producing faint but audible murmurs. The discontented spirits would naturally seek in him an ally: and with the utmost loyalty in the world, he might find it difficult, if his own prepossessions were in sympathy with them, to refuse. Again I have no doubt that he is too young and inexperienced for the post now. He would not carry the authority requisite for the big ventures that lie before us.

Chalmers, I am told, is not a gentleman, and we certainly cannot have him here.

I did not myself read Sanderson's letter about Law in the sense that the Secretary of State has done. "Suspiciousness and susceptibility" are faults anywhere: but there are much worse. What I want is a financier of experience, authority, and ability, who will, besides doing his own work well, be loyal to me, and help me to carry out my programme. I will condone faults of manner and even of temperament in order to get this. Of the candidates so far proposed Law is, in my opinion, the best. I think, too, that I could count upon his loyalty to myself.

I enclose for your perusal a private letter from Dawkins to Lawrence on the subject.

Punjab Land Alienation.

We take next week in Council the Punjab Land Alienation case, and I am inviting Sir M. Young to come and argue his case.

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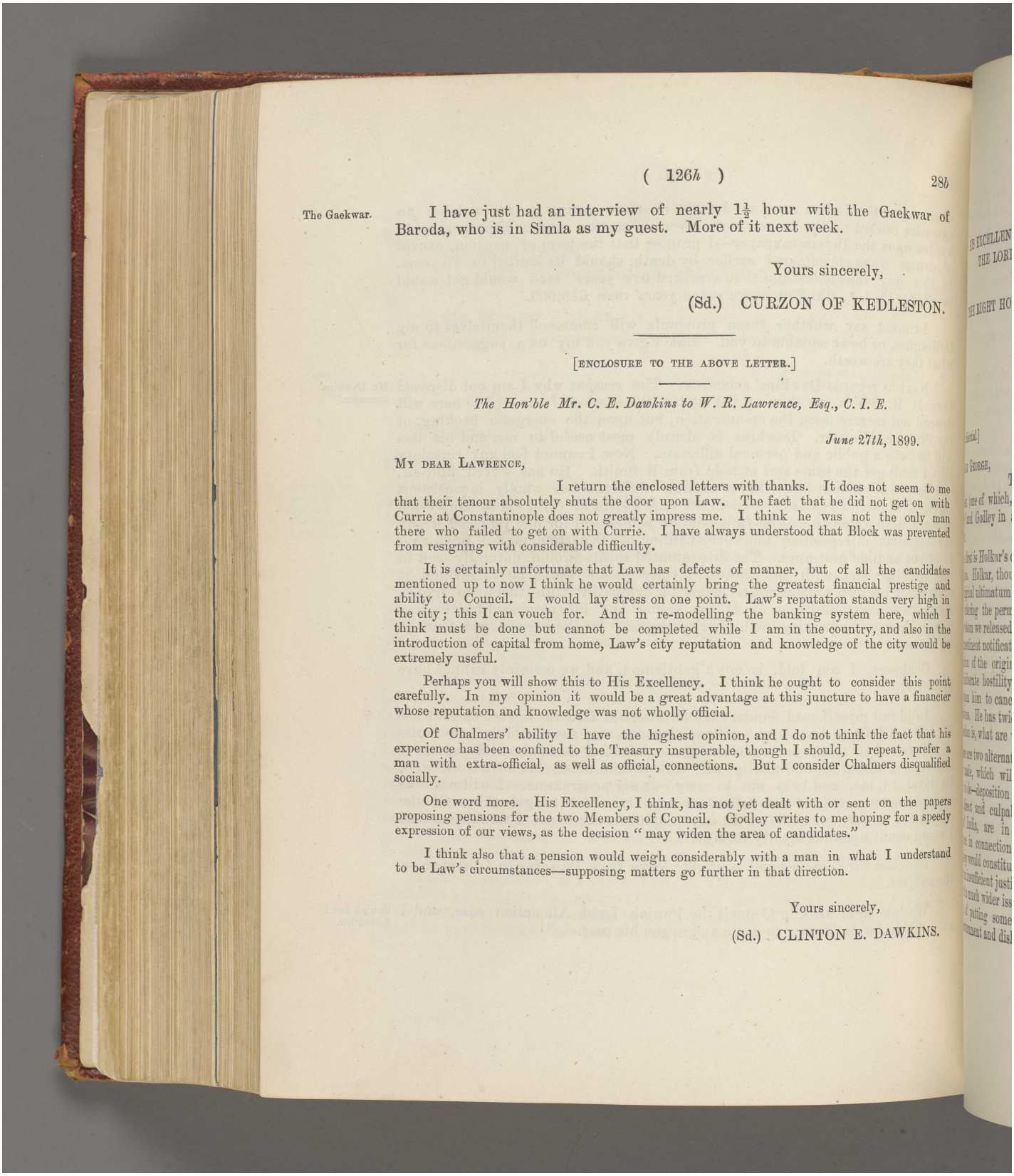

The Gaekwar.

I have just had an interview of nearly 1½ hour with the Gaekwar of Baroda, who is in Simla as my guest. More of it next week.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Dawkins to W. R. Lawrence, Esq., C. I. E.

June 27th, 1899.

My dear Lawrence,

I return the enclosed letters with thanks. It does not seem to me that their tenour absolutely shuts the door upon Law. The fact that he did not get on with Currie at Constantinople does not greatly impress me. I think he was not the only man there who failed to get on with Currie. I have always understood that Block was prevented from resigning with considerable difficulty.

It is certainly unfortunate that Law has defects of manner, but of all the candidates mentioned up to now I think he would certainly bring the greatest financial prestige and ability to Council. I would lay stress on one point. Law's reputation stands very high in the city; this I can vouch for. And in re-modelling the banking system here, which I think must be done but cannot be completed while I am in the country, and also in the introduction of capital from home, Law's city reputation and knowledge of the city would be extremely useful.

Perhaps you will show this to His Excellency. I think he ought to consider this point carefully. In my opinion it would be a great advantage at this juncture to have a financier whose reputation and knowledge was not wholly official.

Of Chalmers' ability I have the highest opinion, and I do not think the fact that his experience has been confined to the Treasury insuperable, though I should, I repeat, prefer a man with extra-official, as well as official, connections. But I consider Chalmers disqualified socially.

One word more. His Excellency, I think, has not yet dealt with or sent on the papers proposing pensions for the two Members of Council. Godley writes to me hoping for a speedy expression of our views, as the decision "may widen the area of candidates."

I think also that a pension would weigh considerably with a man in what I understand to be Law's circumstances—supposing matters go further in that direction.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CLINTON E. DAWKINS.

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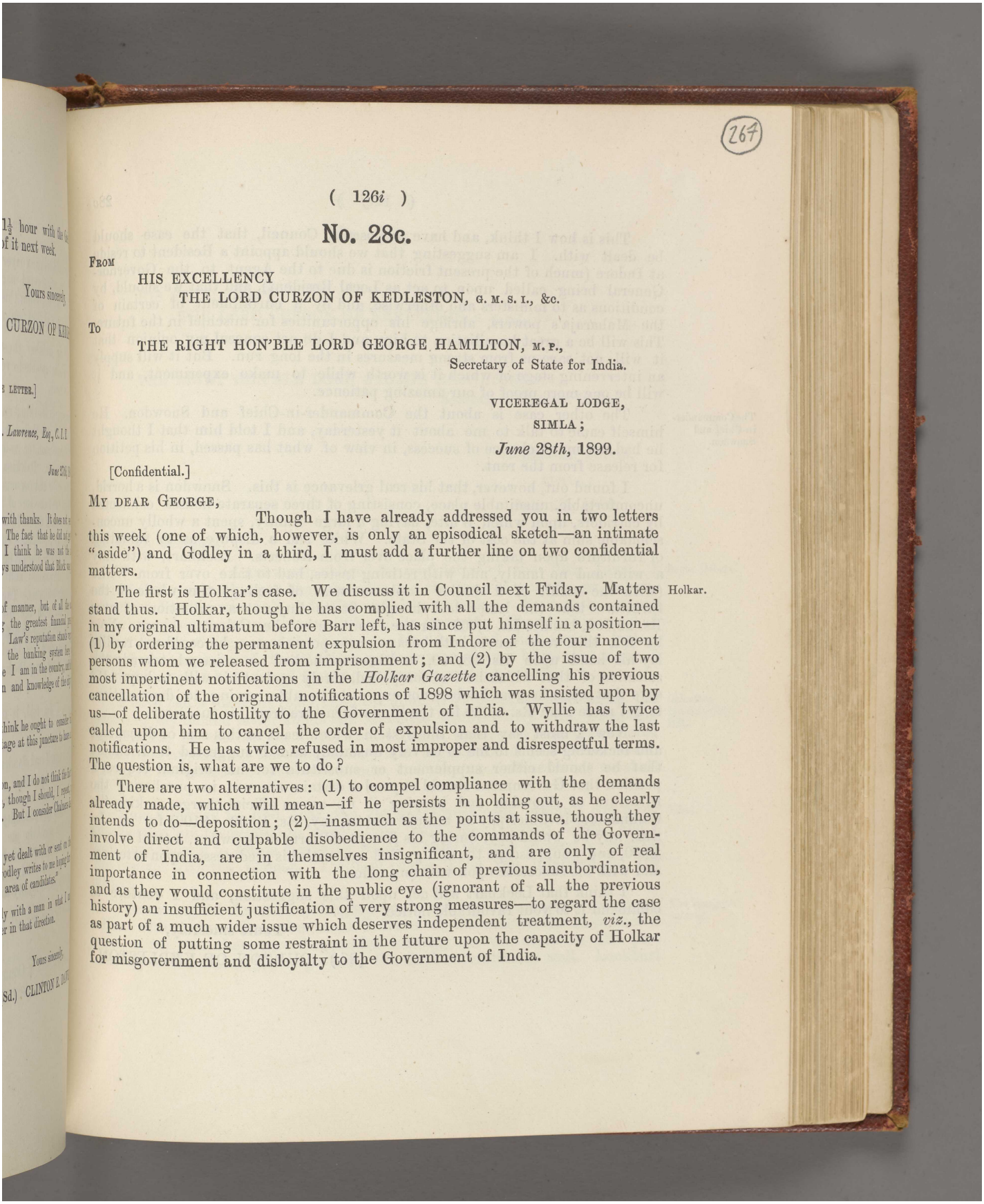

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No. 28c.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
June 28*th*, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Though I have already addressed you in two letters this week (one of which, however, is only an episodical sketch—an intimate "aside") and Godley in a third, I must add a further line on two confidential matters.

Holkar.

The first is Holkar's case. We discuss it in Council next Friday. Matters stand thus. Holkar, though he has complied with all the demands contained in my original ultimatum before Barr left, has since put himself in a position—(1) by ordering the permanent expulsion from Indore of the four innocent persons whom we released from imprisonment; and (2) by the issue of two most impertinent notifications in the *Holkar Gazette* cancelling his previous cancellation of the original notifications of 1898 which was insisted upon by us—of deliberate hostility to the Government of India. Wyllie has twice called upon him to cancel the order of expulsion and to withdraw the last notifications. He has twice refused in most improper and disrespectful terms. The question is, what are we to do?

There are two alternatives: (1) to compel compliance with the demands already made, which will mean—if he persists in holding out, as he clearly intends to do—deposition; (2)—inasmuch as the points at issue, though they involve direct and culpable disobedience to the commands of the Government of India, are in themselves insignificant, and are only of real importance in connection with the long chain of previous insubordination, and as they would constitute in the public eye (ignorant of all the previous history) an insufficient justification of very strong measures—to regard the case as part of a much wider issue which deserves independent treatment, *viz.*, the question of putting some restraint in the future upon the capacity of Holkar for misgovernment and disloyalty to the Government of India.

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This is how I think, and have proposed to Council, that the case should be dealt with. I am suggesting that we should appoint a Resident to reside at Indore (much of the present friction is due to the Agent to the Governor-General being called upon to act as Local Resident), and that we should, by conditions as to ministers and otherwise, and by a curtailment of certain of the Maharaja's powers, abridge his opportunities for mischief in the future. This will be a great humiliation to him, and I do not conceal my opinion that it will not save us from strong measures in the long run. But it will supply an intervening stage of which it is worth while to make experiment, and it will be one more proof of our amazing patience.

The Commander-in-Chief and Snowdon.

The other case is about the Commander-in-Chief and Snowdon. He himself came to talk to me about it yesterday, and I told him that I thought he had not much chance of success, in view of what has passed, in his petition for release from the rent.

I found out, however, that his real grievance is this. Snowdon is a horrid, uncomfortable, unsuitable place, consisting of three separate houses connected by corridors, upon which White, having a large family, spent a wholly unconscionable sum at the cost of the State. White had a dispute as to valuation of furniture upon taking the place over from Roberts. Lockhart, with only a wife and no family, and with retiring tastes, had to take over from White (with the result of a similar unpleasantness of feeling) the whole of the furniture that the latter had thought fit to buy, at a valuation of over Rs. 22,000, besides Rs. 6,000 for the furniture in the Calcutta house. Now he felt this very much, both because, as a poorish man, he could not readily lay his hand upon Rs. 28,000, and because he had no voice whatever in the selection of that which he was compelled, sorely against his will, to buy. He says that when he goes he does not expect to be able, owing to depreciation, to get more than Rs. 8,000 for the Simla furniture from his successor.

Now I must say that the system which leads to this sort of discontent and bickering seems to me to be very unsound, and I suggested to Lockhart that he should either supplement or substitute for his original request a petition that Government should expend a certain amount in purchasing the furniture of Snowdon and keeping it up as an official charge, making the Commander-in-Chief pay an annual rent of, say, Rs. 1,500 (£100) for it. In this way he would pay, during his five years' term of Snowdon, a total sum of £500, and would escape the undignified row with his predecessor upon entering, and with his successor upon vacating office.

I think that Lockhart will act upon this suggestion, and I venture to commend it to your favourable notice.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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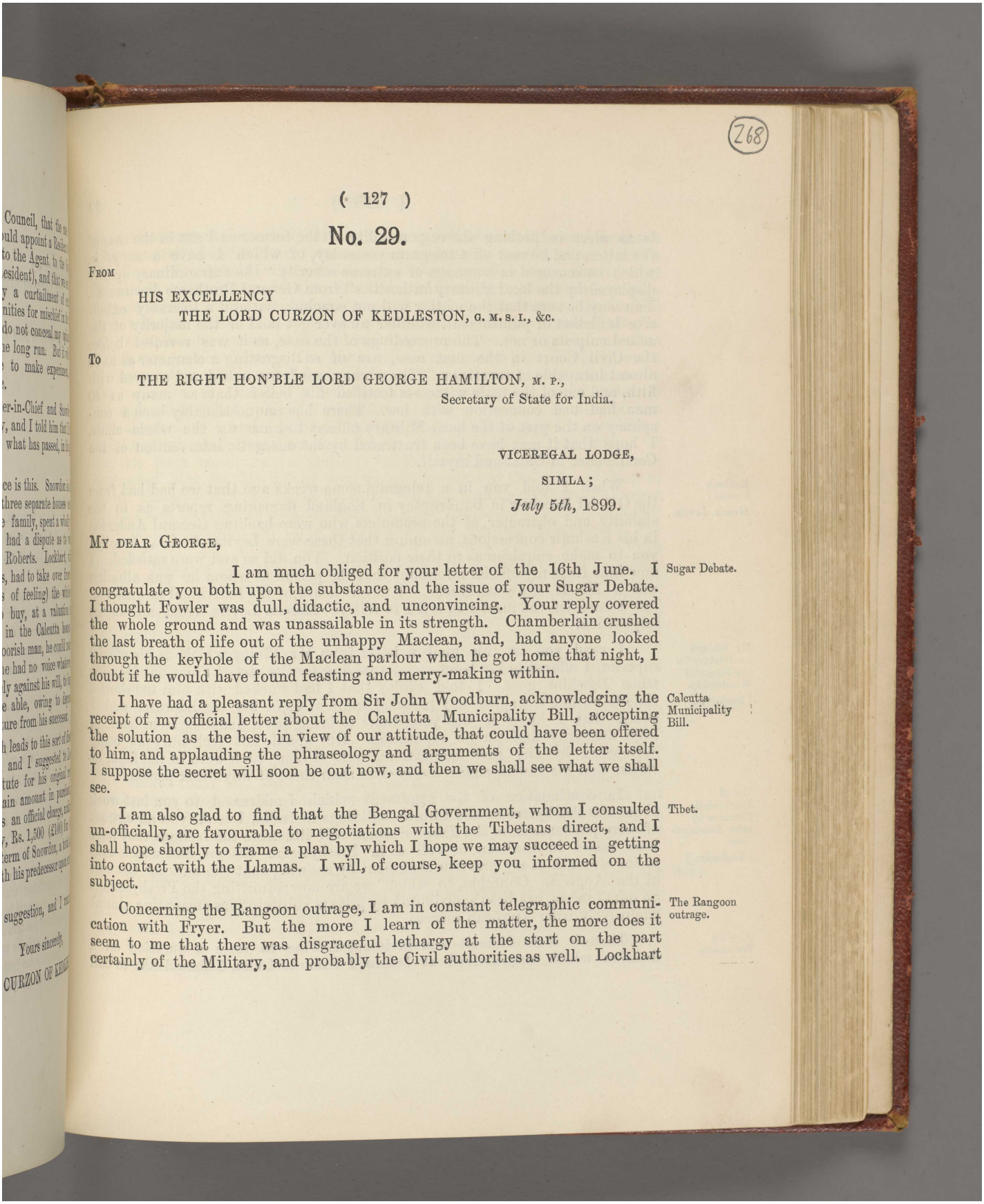

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No. 29.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
July 5th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am much obliged for your letter of the 16th June. I congratulate you both upon the substance and the issue of your Sugar Debate. I thought Fowler was dull, didactic, and unconvincing. Your reply covered the whole ground and was unassailable in its strength. Chamberlain crushed the last breath of life out of the unhappy Maclean, and, had anyone looked through the keyhole of the Maclean parlour when he got home that night, I doubt if he would have found feasting and merry-making within. Sugar Debate.

I have had a pleasant reply from Sir John Woodburn, acknowledging the receipt of my official letter about the Calcutta Municipality Bill, accepting the solution as the best, in view of our attitude, that could have been offered to him, and applauding the phraseology and arguments of the letter itself. I suppose the secret will soon be out now, and then we shall see what we shall see. Calcutta Municipality Bill.

I am also glad to find that the Bengal Government, whom I consulted un-officially, are favourable to negotiations with the Tibetans direct, and I shall hope shortly to frame a plan by which I hope we may succeed in getting into contact with the Llamas. I will, of course, keep you informed on the subject. Tibet.

Concerning the Rangoon outrage, I am in constant telegraphic communication with Fryer. But the more I learn of the matter, the more does it seem to me that there was disgraceful lethargy at the start on the part certainly of the Military, and probably the Civil authorities as well. Lockhart The Rangoon outrage.

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is as alert in probing the responsibility of the former as I am in the case of the latter, and he sent off a telegram yesterday, of which I have a copy, in which he censured in language of extreme severity "the extraordinary apathy displayed by the local Military authorities" from General Protheroe downwards. You may be sure that the matter will not conclude without a tolerably extensive infliction of punishment, whether we ever get hold of the majority of the actual culprits or not. The proceedings of the case, as it was revealed before the Civil Court in the first case, are of so disgusting a character as to be almost incapable of repetition. The woman was lying naked and covered with filth, and one of the male witnesses testified his belief that as many as 40 men had had connection with her. There has unquestionably been a conspiracy on the part of the local Military officers to hush up the whole affair. I hope that it may have been frustrated by the energetic intervention of the Commander-in-Chief and myself.

Kashmir Forests: Messrs. Levita.

When I told you in a telegram some weeks ago that we had had from the Official Receiver in Bankruptcy in England damaging reports as to the stability and character of the promoters who were backing General Anderson in his Kashmir concessions, assuming that these were Levita & Co., I asked you to make enquiries as to their position. You did so and were satisfied. I now hear from my official informant that the person to whom he was alluding was a Mr. T. Girdwood Macfie. I never heard of the individual in question, but I mention the matter in order to relieve Messrs. Levita from an unjust imputation.

Mr. Finlay's candidature for the Financial Membership. [Enclosure.]

I send you by this mail a letter from Mr. Finlay which, as his official superior, I offered to lay before you, applying for the post of Financial Member when Dawkins goes. I told Finlay that I had worked with him too short a time to be able to express any personal opinion upon his candidature, and I added that I knew it was your desire to bring out a financier from home of high authority and public reputation. He would not feel hurt at being superseded by any such competitor, but, if none such were in the field, he thinks that his Indian claims are greater than those of any other person.

Use of Established Churches by other denominations. [Enclosure.]

In continuation of the argument which I addressed to you last week about the Presbyterians and Church buildings in India, I send you an extract of correspondence from the *Pioneer* which will illustrate the feelings that have been raised in Anglican as well as in Presbyterian bosoms, and which adds to the strength of my previous argument by showing that the bulk of the cost of the Anglican Churches, to which we are now admitting the Presbyterians on equal terms, has been contributed by private subscriptions emanating almost exclusively from Anglican sources.

Akalkot Succession.

Though it is difficult and invidious for me to raise a question on a decision which was arrived at before I came to India, I should like to call

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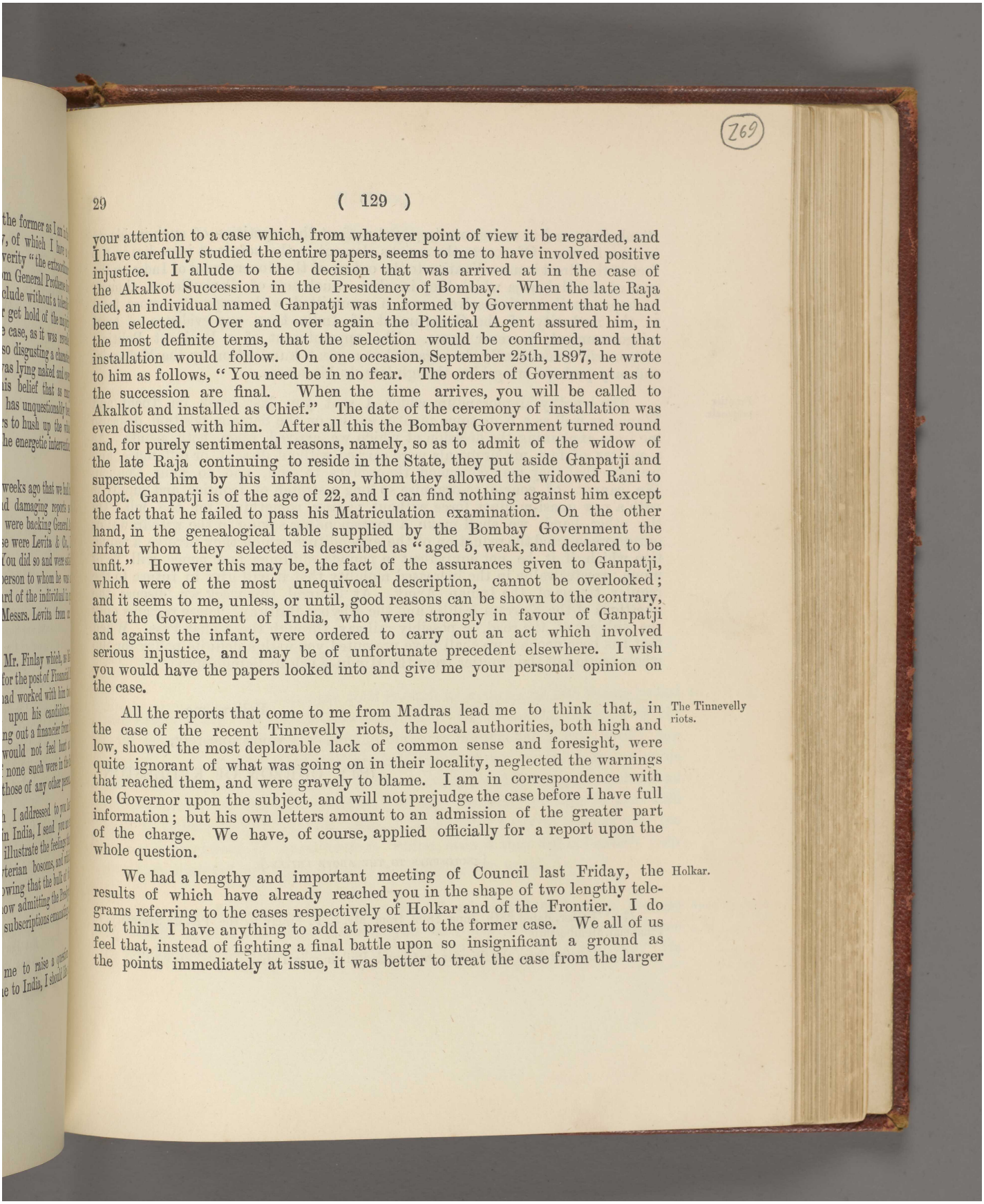

your attention to a case which, from whatever point of view it be regarded, and I have carefully studied the entire papers, seems to me to have involved positive injustice. I allude to the decision that was arrived at in the case of the Akalkot Succession in the Presidency of Bombay. When the late Raja died, an individual named Ganpatji was informed by Government that he had been selected. Over and over again the Political Agent assured him, in the most definite terms, that the selection would be confirmed, and that installation would follow. On one occasion, September 25th, 1897, he wrote to him as follows, "You need be in no fear. The orders of Government as to the succession are final. When the time arrives, you will be called to Akalkot and installed as Chief." The date of the ceremony of installation was even discussed with him. After all this the Bombay Government turned round and, for purely sentimental reasons, namely, so as to admit of the widow of the late Raja continuing to reside in the State, they put aside Ganpatji and superseded him by his infant son, whom they allowed the widowed Rani to adopt. Ganpatji is of the age of 22, and I can find nothing against him except the fact that he failed to pass his Matriculation examination. On the other hand, in the genealogical table supplied by the Bombay Government the infant whom they selected is described as "aged 5, weak, and declared to be unfit." However this may be, the fact of the assurances given to Ganpatji, which were of the most unequivocal description, cannot be overlooked; and it seems to me, unless, or until, good reasons can be shown to the contrary, that the Government of India, who were strongly in favour of Ganpatji and against the infant, were ordered to carry out an act which involved serious injustice, and may be of unfortunate precedent elsewhere. I wish you would have the papers looked into and give me your personal opinion on the case.

The Tinnevelly riots.

All the reports that come to me from Madras lead me to think that, in the case of the recent Tinnevelly riots, the local authorities, both high and low, showed the most deplorable lack of common sense and foresight, were quite ignorant of what was going on in their locality, neglected the warnings that reached them, and were gravely to blame. I am in correspondence with the Governor upon the subject, and will not prejudge the case before I have full information; but his own letters amount to an admission of the greater part of the charge. We have, of course, applied officially for a report upon the whole question.

Holkar.

We had a lengthy and important meeting of Council last Friday, the results of which have already reached you in the shape of two lengthy telegrams referring to the cases respectively of Holkar and of the Frontier. I do not think I have anything to add at present to the former case. We all of us feel that, instead of fighting a final battle upon so insignificant a ground as the points immediately at issue, it was better to treat the case from the larger

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standpoint, and to endeavour to guard against the repetition of such incidents in the future. Of course the serious element in the points at issue lies in the fact of the direct insubordination to the orders of the Government of India on the part of the Maharaja which they involve. Such acts of disobedience, though perhaps small in themselves, are, if committed with impunity, more fatal to the authority of the Government of India than any evidence of local misgovernment, however gross. The appointment of a Resident Political Officer will undoubtedly be regarded as a great humiliation by the Maharaja, and may perhaps bring him, though late, to his senses.

Frontier proposals.

The lengthy Memorandum which I sent you last week on Tochi and Wana, as well as a Note some months earlier on the Samana position, dispense me from explaining the decision at which we arrived upon both points. As a matter of fact my proposals were carried without dissent, or difference, and we hope that they may commend themselves to you, and to your Council. We cannot, of course, re-organise so long a stretch of frontier, and supply it with a new quasi-military force without paying something for the job. On the other hand, we shall make a corresponding saving in the withdrawal of our garrisons, and the reduction of the expenditure which they involve, a reduction which, if it be not equivalent in pounds, shillings, and pence, will be of much greater value in the increased mobility that it will give in future to the regular troops of the Indian Army. At Council this week we discuss the questions of the Kurram Militia and the Khyber Railway. There remains only the subject of the road, or possibly railway, through the Kohat Pass. When that has been decided we shall have presented you with a definite policy for the whole section of the frontier from the Hindu-Kush to Baluchistan.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

(1.) Letter, dated 28th June 1899, from Mr. J. F. Finlay to the Private Secretary, *re* Financial Membership.

(2.) Cutting from the *Pioneer*, *re* Church Buildings in India.

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No. 29a.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,

SIMLA;

July 5th, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Sir A. Godley.

You were good enough to write to me two letters by last mail (June 16th). Let me acknowledge both. Of course the contents of the more private one were a disappointment to me, though I can hardly say a surprise. It may be on general grounds that you can render more valuable service to India in Charles Street than in Calcutta; and I can quite understand the reluctance, nay the positive refusal, of any Secretary of State to part with such a colleague and adviser. But I must enter a caveat against your too modest depreciation of qualifications which, even if they did not satisfy your own high standard, would be greedily accepted by the world.

Appointment of Capt. P. Z. Cox to Muscat.

You asked a question about Cox. Yes, I selected him largely because he speaks Arabic. I hope perhaps you may see him while he is at home (where he ought by now to have arrived) and tell him what is required. He

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might be polishing up his languages while on leave. I shall, of course, send for him before he starts for Muscat and give him full instructions.

Telegraphic communication from Busrah regarding the Persian Gulf.

Colonel Loch has just been here on his way up to Nepal. I wanted to talk to him both about my contemplated visit to that State next February, and also about the Persian Gulf which he knows so well. Now that Wratislaw at Busrah is appointed by and is under the Foreign Office, instead of ourselves, and corresponds, therefore, with Baghdad, instead of Bushire, Loch says it is extremely important, in view of possible troubles at Koweit, that he should be instructed, in all matters affecting the latter place, to communicate directly with Meade at Bushire by the best means that he can adopt, and, in the last resort, should immediate action be called for, with the Government of India direct. He can cipher to us, but not, I gather, to Meade. Loch, however, indicates that a little personal understanding with the English telegraph clerk at Fao would probably result in a cipher message getting to Meade.

We need not however particularise. But I shall be glad if you will get the Secretary of State to write to the Foreign Office and persuade them to give Wratislaw general instructions without delay, in any matters of interest or importance affecting the Persian Gulf, and notably Koweit, to communicate direct with Meade by whatever means he thinks best [as well as (of course) to Loch], and, in any case of extreme urgency, with the Government of India direct. At present the message has to be conveyed up the river to Loch (3 days); for the Turks will not allow use of cipher on their land line. Then Loch has either to send it by ship to Meade—since he may not cipher to him—or to get it round to India by telegraphing it through O'Conor to London. This is both clumsy and circuitous, and might be attended with real danger to our interests.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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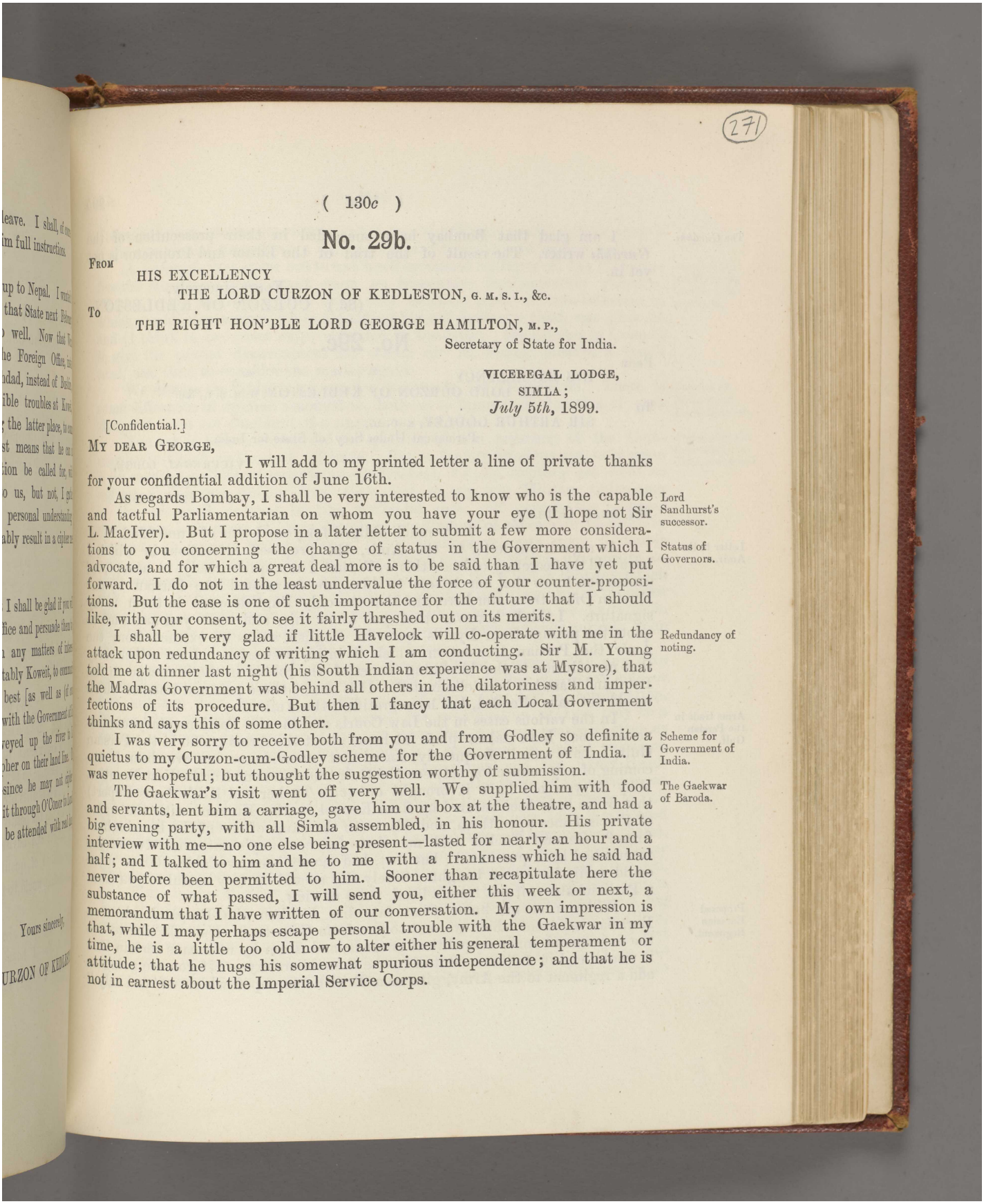

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No. 29b.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
July 5th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I will add to my printed letter a line of private thanks for your confidential addition of June 16th.

Lord Sandhurst's successor.

As regards Bombay, I shall be very interested to know who is the capable and tactful Parliamentarian on whom you have your eye (I hope not Sir L. MacIver). But I propose in a later letter to submit a few more considerations to you concerning the change of status in the Government which I advocate, and for which a great deal more is to be said than I have yet put forward. I do not in the least undervalue the force of your counter-propositions. But the case is one of such importance for the future that I should like, with your consent, to see it fairly threshed out on its merits.

Status of Governors.

Redundancy of noting.

I shall be very glad if little Havelock will co-operate with me in the attack upon redundancy of writing which I am conducting. Sir M. Young told me at dinner last night (his South Indian experience was at Mysore), that the Madras Government was behind all others in the dilatoriness and imperfections of its procedure. But then I fancy that each Local Government thinks and says this of some other.

Scheme for Government of India.

I was very sorry to receive both from you and from Godley so definite a quietus to my Curzon-cum-Godley scheme for the Government of India. I was never hopeful; but thought the suggestion worthy of submission.

The Gaekwar of Baroda.

The Gaekwar's visit went off very well. We supplied him with food and servants, lent him a carriage, gave him our box at the theatre, and had a big evening party, with all Simla assembled, in his honour. His private interview with me—no one else being present—lasted for nearly an hour and a half; and I talked to him and he to me with a frankness which he said had never before been permitted to him. Sooner than recapitulate here the substance of what passed, I will send you, either this week or next, a memorandum that I have written of our conversation. My own impression is that, while I may perhaps escape personal trouble with the Gaekwar in my time, he is a little too old now to alter either his general temperament or attitude; that he hugs his somewhat spurious independence; and that he is not in earnest about the Imperial Service Corps.

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The *Gurákhi*.

I am glad that Bombay have succeeded in their prosecution of the *Gurákhi* writer. The result of the trial of the Editor and Proprietor is not yet in.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 29c.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B.,
Permanent Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
July 12*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I am much obliged for your letter of June 22nd.

Letter to the Amir.

As regards our letter to the Amir, the proposed alterations in which I have told the Secretary of State this week that I am quite ready to accept, of course you know that our letters to him are translated into Persian by our Foreign Office translator here, and that the only English word in them is my signature. I think however that you know this, and that you mean me to quote the passage from Lyall's letter in English, so as to extract from the Amir the Persian translation which is in his possession. I am rather sorry that my allusion to the bleaching bones of the robber in the iron cage on the Lataband Pass has been eliminated. It is one of those personal touches which would not have offended, but have gratified, the Amir.

Arms trade in the Persian Gulf.

In the various cases in the Law Courts and in the Parliamentary controversies that have taken place at home about the Arms traffic in the Persian Gulf, I have seen it frequently stated that no evidence has ever been forthcoming of any connection between the Gulf trade and our North-West Frontier. Why do you not have it brought out (*vide* Tucker and Hill's Arms Report) that rifles have been secured by Roos Keppel in the Kurram with the name of Fracis Times upon them, and also with the name of one of the Birmingham firms? General Tucker told me that, for economy's sake, only two of the former had been purchased: but that, had money been available, 100 or more could easily have been bought. Surely this should be very useful to you from a Parliamentary, if not from a legal, point of view.

Proposed Eurasian Regiment.

Will you let me know what fate has befallen the Despatch about a Eurasian regiment which we sent to you from Calcutta? I should like to see the experiment made on political grounds, and I am by no means certain that it would end in failure. But of course the soldiers say—"If you are going to add a regiment to the Army, give us a British one, upon which we can rely."

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Collen, however, shares my views; and I would willingly sacrifice the money—if the experiment turned out a failure—for the advantage of having made it.

Outrages on the Peshawar frontier: disarmament.

A telegram that came out to us a week ago about outrages on the Peshawar frontier must have been based upon an inaccurate Parliamentary question. Of the cases mentioned five were only ordinary cases of rifle-thieving, in which a soldier or sentry, while defending himself against a thief, was shot at and (I think in two cases only) wounded by the latter. We decided in Council to give the partial disarmament for which Sir M. Young pleaded a year's trial, and then to consider the matter again.

Position of Finance and Legal Members.

We discuss on Friday your pension proposals for Councillors. There is some difference of opinion amongst us, both as to figures and duration of pension, and I am not confident of a unanimous decision.

Presence of the Commander-in-Chief in Council.

You ask if I have considered the question of the presence of the Commander-in-Chief in Council. I have. But so far my opinions rest only upon a six months' individual experience—individual, *i.e.*, as relating not only to myself as Viceroy during that time, but to my two Military Colleagues as the *dramatis personæ* in this particular case. Of course the popular assumption is that two Military Members on a Council of seven give the military element an undue preponderance. This assumption rests upon a double premise: (*a*) that the two side together, which is by no means universally, or even generally, the case (*e.g.*, our Despatch about the Khyber Railway which will come to you next week); (*b*) that in combination they are too much for the Viceroy, a proposition which may sometimes be, and as we know often has been, true; but the strength or weakness of which depends entirely upon the personality of the Viceroy for the time being.

I may put it in this way. If you have a strong Viceroy with any grip of politico-military affairs, it matters very little whether you have one or two military men, even if, in the case of two, they act in combination. If you have a weak or ignorant Viceroy, the combination of two may be a danger, although in practice I do not fancy that it occurs nearly as often as you might imagine. The fact is that there is a good deal of latent suspicion and even friction between the Military Department and the Army Head-Quarters, much as there used to be at home while the Duke of Cambridge sat enthroned at the Horse Guards, shaking his fist at the Secretary of State in Pall Mall. As long as the two Departments remain separate here (and it will need some strong military reformer—for I fear I have no time—to amalgamate them), I can conceive that a good deal of trouble and soreness would arise if the Military Member alone were admitted to Council and the Commander-in-Chief excluded.

There is also another point of view in respect of which our system differs from that in operation at home. When the Cabinet in England propose a big military expedition, *e. g.*, the Nile, they send for the Commander-in-Chief, and he advises them, usually, in the case of the present incumbent of that high office, wrong. But the case at home occurs very seldom, perhaps not more than once in each administration. Here the case, though of course on an

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infinitesimal scale, is constantly occurring; we are always more or less at war somewhere on the frontier. If not that, we are perpetually discussing questions of petty expeditions, frontier officers, raids, arms, &c. In all these cases the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, who is the practical soldier, with the experience and the frontier knowledge, is useful to us; and the Military Member, who, as a rule, has dangled his sword for the best part of a lifetime from an office stool, could not really take his place.

You will see that I have considered the case so far only in its personal aspect, and not from what I may call the constitutional point of view. My experience is not as yet sufficiently long to enable me to pronounce upon the latter.

Reform of the Bombay and Madras Governments.

Concerning Bombay, my suggestions to the Secretary of State were not so much for a successor to Sandhurst from home, as for a total reform in the Government. I want Bombay and Madras put upon the same level as Bengal and the Punjab. I do not much care whether the heads of the two first are lowered to Lieutenant-Governors, or the heads of the two latter raised to Governors. But I want them all put on exactly the same footing in relation to the Government of India and the Viceroy. Do not let them all necessarily be reserved for the Civil Service. Bring in an outsider from time to time if you like. But why Bombay and Madras should be the *corpora vilia* of this experiment alone, I never could understand. If you could still get, as you once did, really high class men for the posts, well and good. But when you have to come down to Wenlock and Sandhurst, I feel inclined to say *cadit quæstio*.

However, my argument needs more ample development than I am, or have been, able to give it, either here, or in my letters to the Secretary of State, who does not appear to agree; and I shall shortly return to the charge.

What perhaps you hardly see at home, but what I realise out here, is that, under the present system of comparatively ignorant Governors from the outside, suddenly placed over two administrations, the breath of whose nostrils is a sort of sham independence of the Government of India, to which they are in reality subordinate, the authority of the Viceroy over those Presidencies has become so attenuated as to be scarcely visible or tangible. It is decentralisation run riot. Decentralise as much as you like as regards administrative detail, but not as regards supreme executive authority.

Lord Sandhurst's successor.

Bombay wants pulling together: and it is not the slightest good sending out a worthy party man from home to do it. He will tumble into the hands of his Councillors at once. You want a man with experience of administration, or of Government. That is why I argued for a capable Civilian. MacDonnell is much the most capable; but his unpopularity is so great that his appointment would almost provoke an insurrection. Hence I suggested Lee-Warner; but the Secretary of State did not favour the idea. I will try and think of somebody else.

Meanwhile I must stop.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 30.

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
July 12*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I will first allude to a few of the subjects raised in your last letter of June 23rd, for which please accept my thanks.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

With regard to the Anglican Churches and the angry Scotchmen, it is, as you say, both curious and absurd that you and I, who are probably without a taint of religious bigotry, or even bias, in our joint compositions, should be under suspicion in the matter. My own desire certainly has been to let the Scotchmen have every advantage that it is possible for the utmost liberality to concede to them; but when one finds one's best intentions frustrated by an attitude of apparently deliberate misconstruction, one begins almost to despair of human nature. My inclination, if I were in your position, would be to say to the remonstrants: "Give the new rules a year's working, and see what happens. If there are any cases of illiberality or hardship, we will consider their alteration. In the meantime do not condemn without a trial." If you can persuade the Presbyterians to adopt this attitude, I think it very likely that, after the year has elapsed, we shall hear nothing more of the case. In the meantime I send you another rather pertinent letter from the *Pioneer*, [Enclosure.] which is in remarkable accordance with my argument of a fortnight ago.

The Rangoon outrage.

Next in order in your letter comes the case of the Rangoon outrage. I am still awaiting a reply from you to a long telegram which I sent two days ago, and in which I practically asked for your authority to override, in the interests of justice, the letter of the Military Regulations. I assume that you, in all probability, are taking legal advice before sending your opinion. We are all of us here willing and anxious that it should be done, and the Commander-in-Chief himself is quite ready to accept and act upon instructions in that sense. But, with the Military Regulations as explicit as they are, he naturally feels that, as the supreme Military authority, it is not for him, unless ordered, to set the example of contravening military rules. A phrase in one of my telegrams will have indicated to you that no sparing punishment will, in all probability, be inflicted upon the Regiment itself. It will very likely be sent for two years to Aden, which is the most disagreeable station that the Commander-in-Chief and I can think of, and all leave and indulgences

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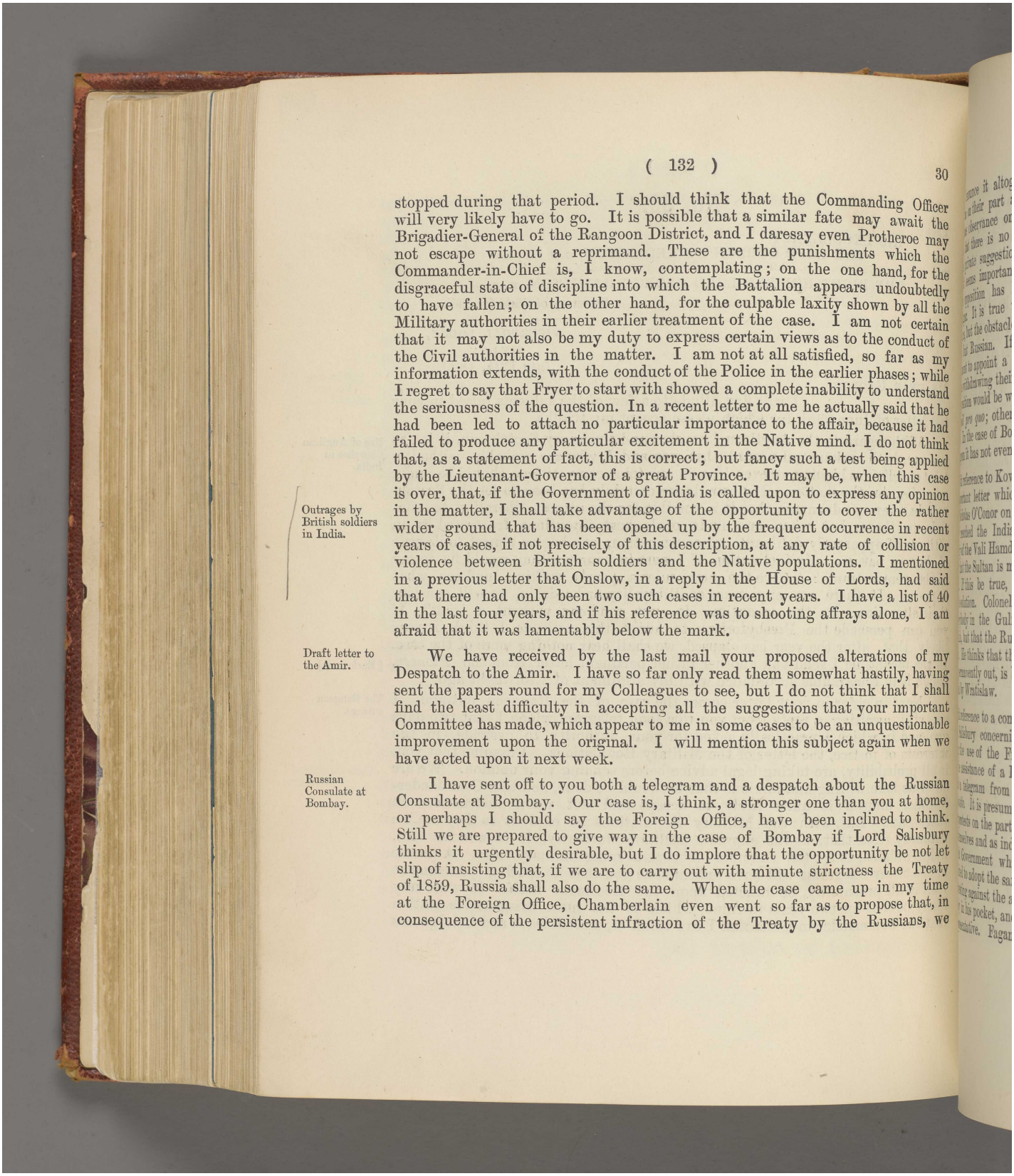

stopped during that period. I should think that the Commanding Officer will very likely have to go. It is possible that a similar fate may await the Brigadier-General of the Rangoon District, and I daresay even Protheroe may not escape without a reprimand. These are the punishments which the Commander-in-Chief is, I know, contemplating; on the one hand, for the disgraceful state of discipline into which the Battalion appears undoubtedly to have fallen; on the other hand, for the culpable laxity shown by all the Military authorities in their earlier treatment of the case. I am not certain that it may not also be my duty to express certain views as to the conduct of the Civil authorities in the matter. I am not at all satisfied, so far as my information extends, with the conduct of the Police in the earlier phases; while I regret to say that Fryer to start with showed a complete inability to understand the seriousness of the question. In a recent letter to me he actually said that he had been led to attach no particular importance to the affair, because it had failed to produce any particular excitement in the Native mind. I do not think that, as a statement of fact, this is correct; but fancy such a test being applied by the Lieutenant-Governor of a great Province. It may be, when this case is over, that, if the Government of India is called upon to express any opinion in the matter, I shall take advantage of the opportunity to cover the rather wider ground that has been opened up by the frequent occurrence in recent years of cases, if not precisely of this description, at any rate of collision or violence between British soldiers and the Native populations. I mentioned in a previous letter that Onslow, in a reply in the House of Lords, had said that there had only been two such cases in recent years. I have a list of 40 in the last four years, and if his reference was to shooting affrays alone, I am afraid that it was lamentably below the mark.

Outrages by British soldiers in India.

We have received by the last mail your proposed alterations of my Despatch to the Amir. I have so far only read them somewhat hastily, having sent the papers round for my Colleagues to see, but I do not think that I shall find the least difficulty in accepting all the suggestions that your important Committee has made, which appear to me in some cases to be an unquestionable improvement upon the original. I will mention this subject again when we have acted upon it next week.

Draft letter to the Amir.

I have sent off to you both a telegram and a despatch about the Russian Consulate at Bombay. Our case is, I think, a stronger one than you at home, or perhaps I should say the Foreign Office, have been inclined to think. Still we are prepared to give way in the case of Bombay if Lord Salisbury thinks it urgently desirable, but I do implore that the opportunity be not let slip of insisting that, if we are to carry out with minute strictness the Treaty of 1859, Russia shall also do the same. When the case came up in my time at the Foreign Office, Chamberlain even went so far as to propose that, in consequence of the persistent infraction of the Treaty by the Russians, we

Russian Consulate at Bombay.

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should denounce it altogether. We cannot surely continue to wink at this infraction on their part at the same time that we yield to the plea for scrupulous observance on our own. With reference to Rangoon I have argued that there is no case whatever for concession there. But here I have a private suggestion to make to you. One of the places in Asia where it seems important that we should have a British Consul, and where Russian opposition has hitherto stood in the way of our securing one, is Kashgar. It is true that Kashgar is in Chinese, and not in Russian dominions, but the obstacle to Macartney being recognised as a Consul is not Chinese but Russian. If Lord Salisbury got a pledge from the Chinese Government to appoint a British Consul at Kashgar in the event of the Russians withdrawing their opposition, and from the Russian Government that that opposition would be withdrawn, I should be happy to concede Rangoon as a *quid pro quo*; otherwise I see no cause for meeting the Russians on the matter. In the case of Bombay their case is largely a bogus one; in the case of Rangoon it has not even a supposititious existence.

Russian Consulate at Rangoon.

British Consulate at Kashgar.

With reference to Koweit I wish to call your attention to an interesting and important letter which was written by Wratislaw, our Consul at Basrah, to Sir Nicholas O'Conor on the 3rd June, and a copy of which has doubtless already reached the India Office. You will see that Wratislaw says, on the authority of the Vali Hamdi Pacha, with whom he appears to be on excellent terms, that the Sultan is most anxious to come to an agreement with us about Koweit. If this be true, it is significant, and may pave the way to an amicable solution. Colonel Loch from Bagdad was here last week. He says that everybody in the Gulf knows more or less about our agreement with the Sheikh, but that the Russians are still hard at work with intrigues upon the spot. He thinks that the only way to keep them, or any other foreign nation, permanently out, is by an agreement with the Turks of the character suggested by Wratislaw.

Koweit.

With reference to a complaint which was made by the French Ambassador to Lord Salisbury concerning the alleged action of Fagan at Maskat in disputing the use of the French flag on Maskat dhows, and in promising the Sultan the assistance of a British man-of-war to stop the practice, I have just had a telegram from him, which I shall repeat to you, denying the charge *in toto*. It is presumably an invention on the part of Ottavi. These constant protests on the part of the French Ambassador strike me as unreasonable in themselves and as indicating a temper and attitude on the part of the French Government which should not be accepted by us. I might, if I were inclined to adopt the same methods of procedure, telegraph to you once a week protesting against the attitude of Ottavi, who, practically, has the Sultan completely in his pocket, and who dictates every communication that he sends to our representative. Fagan's last communications include a letter from the

Maskat.

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Sultan deliberately refusing, no doubt upon Ottavi's advice, to employ a distinct Maskat flag in future, although this was one of the subsidiary conditions of the ultimatum presented by us in February. My own impression is that, in the course of the next six months, a smash will come, and that our unfortunate policy of the past half year will bring us face to face with a more serious issue than has yet been raised.

Publication of papers.

While touching upon Maskat, may I once more plead for the publication of the papers? The session is drawing to a close, you will soon be scattered to the four winds of heaven, and although, under the new rules which were introduced while I was at the Foreign Office, papers can be published in the Recess, I should like to have some sort of undertaking before Parliament rises that you will lay our case before the country. What is the present phase of negotiations between Cambon and Lord Salisbury I do not know. If the French were acting *bonâ fide*, I can see no reason why those negotiations should not long ago have terminated. Anyhow my claim is now, as it has been all along, that our Indian case should be heard, and that we should not remain under the unmerited slur of misconstruction or reproach. This is the more necessary if, as I think, the Maskat problem is not settled, but is likely to re-appear in other, and perhaps more disagreeable, forms. You will, I am sure, see that justice is done to us in this respect. I can scarcely think that the legitimate and continued appeals of the Viceroy in a matter so directly affecting Indian interests will be put on one side.

Despatch on Persia.

My Despatch about Persia is still upon the anvil, and I may not be able to send it to you for another two or three weeks.

Simla as the summer capital of the Govt. of India.

When you say that your Council are of opinion that Simla is not a proper site for the summer capital of the Government of India, I may reply that I am entirely in agreement with them; but unfortunately we can no more get away from Simla than the House of Commons can leave Westminster and sit alternately in Edinburgh and Dublin. You can have scarcely any conception of the money that has been sunk in permanently establishing the Government at this place. There is this enormous palace alone in which I am writing, and which is like a great English country-house, planted Belvoir-wise on the top of a lofty hill. There are four great separate blocks of buildings containing—although as I have told you most insufficiently accommodating—the Departments of the Government of India. The expense of moving elsewhere would be prodigious, and is not to be contemplated for a moment. Nor, I may add, is there anywhere to go; and I should like to see the face that would be pulled by your economical Councillors; if, acting upon your hint, I were to dismantle the public offices here and to apply for a grant of a crore of rupees—and in the long run it would amount to much more than that—for the creation of a new summer capital for the Government of India at Umballa or Delhi or Agra. On the other hand, if the

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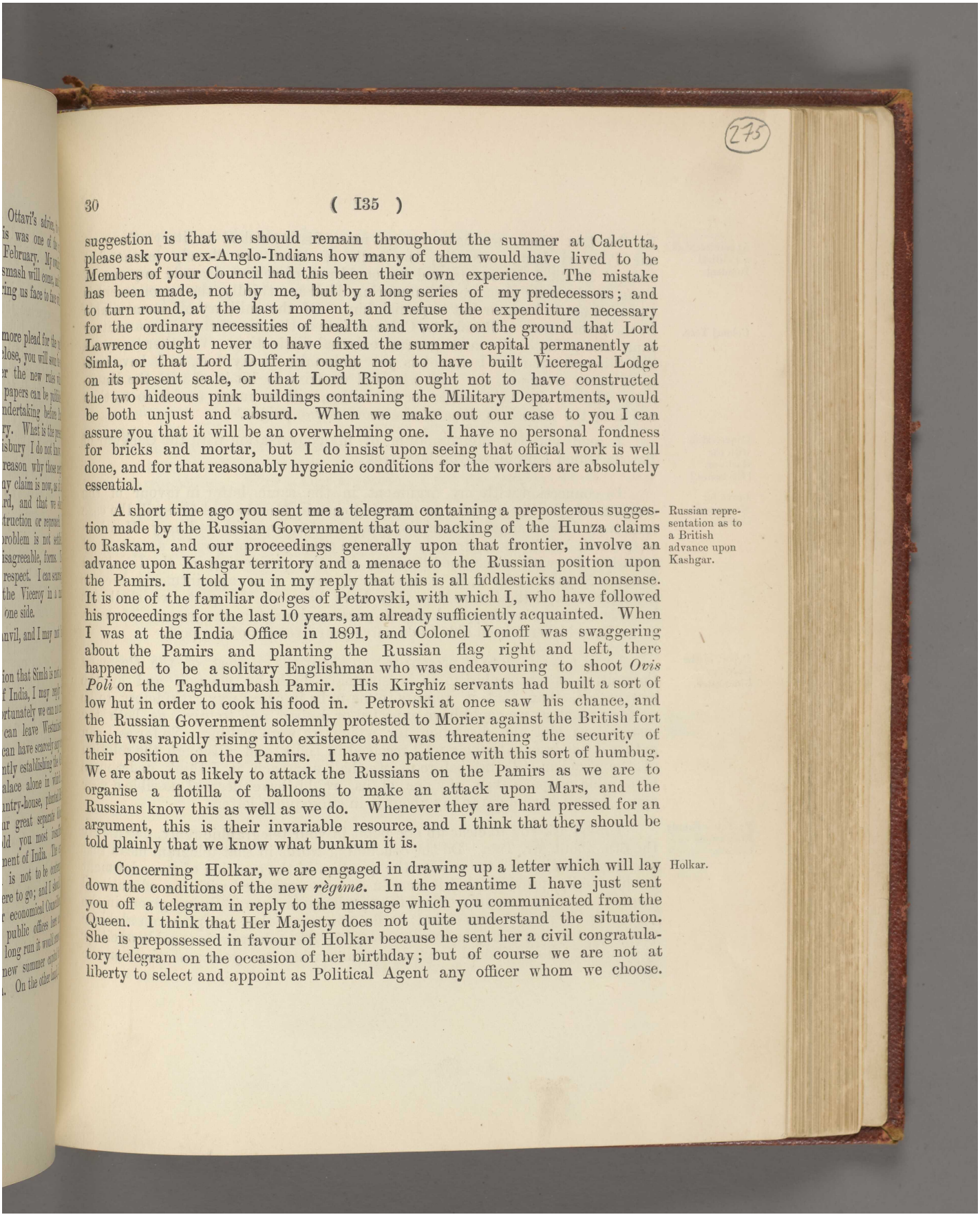

suggestion is that we should remain throughout the summer at Calcutta, please ask your ex-Anglo-Indians how many of them would have lived to be Members of your Council had this been their own experience. The mistake has been made, not by me, but by a long series of my predecessors; and to turn round, at the last moment, and refuse the expenditure necessary for the ordinary necessities of health and work, on the ground that Lord Lawrence ought never to have fixed the summer capital permanently at Simla, or that Lord Dufferin ought not to have built Viceregal Lodge on its present scale, or that Lord Ripon ought not to have constructed the two hideous pink buildings containing the Military Departments, would be both unjust and absurd. When we make out our case to you I can assure you that it will be an overwhelming one. I have no personal fondness for bricks and mortar, but I do insist upon seeing that official work is well done, and for that reasonably hygienic conditions for the workers are absolutely essential.

Russian representation as to a British advance upon Kashgar.

A short time ago you sent me a telegram containing a preposterous suggestion made by the Russian Government that our backing of the Hunza claims to Raskam, and our proceedings generally upon that frontier, involve an advance upon Kashgar territory and a menace to the Russian position upon the Pamirs. I told you in my reply that this is all fiddlesticks and nonsense. It is one of the familiar dodges of Petrovski, with which I, who have followed his proceedings for the last 10 years, am already sufficiently acquainted. When I was at the India Office in 1891, and Colonel Yonoff was swaggering about the Pamirs and planting the Russian flag right and left, there happened to be a solitary Englishman who was endeavouring to shoot *Ovis Poli* on the Taghdumbash Pamir. His Kirghiz servants had built a sort of low hut in order to cook his food in. Petrovski at once saw his chance, and the Russian Government solemnly protested to Morier against the British fort which was rapidly rising into existence and was threatening the security of their position on the Pamirs. I have no patience with this sort of humbug. We are about as likely to attack the Russians on the Pamirs as we are to organise a flotilla of balloons to make an attack upon Mars, and the Russians know this as well as we do. Whenever they are hard pressed for an argument, this is their invariable resource, and I think that they should be told plainly that we know what bunkum it is.

Holkar.

Concerning Holkar, we are engaged in drawing up a letter which will lay down the conditions of the new *règime*. In the meantime I have just sent you off a telegram in reply to the message which you communicated from the Queen. I think that Her Majesty does not quite understand the situation. She is prepossessed in favour of Holkar because he sent her a civil congratulatory telegram on the occasion of her birthday; but of course we are not at liberty to select and appoint as Political Agent any officer whom we choose.

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Appointment of a Political Resident.

Colonel Yate.

In the first place, we have not got many distinguished military officers on our Political List; secondly, the bulk of these are already in the first class of Political Residents, and we could not, of course, degrade any one of them for the mere pleasure of humouring Holkar; thirdly, the appointment is intended not to humour but to punish him. Of the military officers available in the second class of Residents, Colonel Yate is the one of the highest military rank and perhaps the most general external distinction. Whether he would suit this particular job I cannot as yet undertake to say, but, as I have indicated in my telegram, the man who will contrive to hit it off with the Maharaja, whether he be a soldier or a civilian, will be more useful to us than would be the victorious General of a score of campaigns.

Conversation with the Gaekwar. [Enclosure.]

I send you the Memorandum of my conversation with the Gaekwar of Baroda which I promised you last week.

Leave for Members of Council.

In connection with my argument in the same letter in favour of the revision of the leave rules as affecting certain Members of Council, the case for a more liberal adaptation of the present rules, even for ordinary Members of Council, will be more strongly felt if we adopt your proposals, as we shall probably do with some modification, for the pensioning of the Legal and Finance Members; for if, in consequence, seven year appointments become more frequent in the future than they have been in the past, we shall not be able to treat a seven years' man as parsimoniously in the matter of leave as we have hitherto been able to do a five years' tenant of the post.

Report of the Currency Committee.

I will not say more at present to you about the Report of the Currency Committee, as telegraphed to us in summary both by yourself and by the newspapers, than that it appears to me to be in every way satisfactory, to be quite as much as we could have expected or desired, and to give us both the instructions and the discretion for which we were looking. So far as I can gather it has been extremely well received in India, and although the solution of the problem still lies before us, we shall approach it, I think, under more favourable auspices than any one of us would have deemed possible a year ago. I shall have more to say about it in subsequent letters.

Mr. Tata's Family Endowment Scheme.

I must ask you to clear up one point in your telegraphic reply, dated July the 6th, about Mr. Tata. Do the concluding words in that telegram mean that you might be disposed to consider the question of the creation of an endowment for his family, provided that it were in no way connected with his educational bequest, and that you only object to any pledge or promise being given in the matter in the present connection; or do you mean that you place an absolute veto upon the idea of any endowment at all? The telegram is capable of either construction, and I should be glad to know what are your real views on the matter.

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Last week we had a three hours' discussion in Council, two of which were devoted to the consideration of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill. Sir Mackworth Young attended, and stated his views with much deliberation and force. He started by saying that, although he had been originally opposed to legislation at all in the direction proposed, and thought that undue prominence had been given to the evil, yet he not merely accepted the scheme of the Government of India, but, if it were confined to a range of operation which in his opinion was safe, he would much prefer a general to an enabling Act. This was somewhat of a surprise to us, but showed that compromise was in the air. He then proceeded to lay down his own views as to the measure of stringency which ought to be adopted in enforcing the Act. The Bill, as you will remember, proposed, putting aside exceptional cases, only to admit alienation as a general rule either to an agnate, or to an agriculturist in the same village. This, in his opinion, was much too narrow a restriction. After a long argument, I put the question whether there was not any area wider than the village, and yet smaller than the province, which could be adopted as a unit of exemption from the strict application of the Bill. Rivaz suggested the tribe, or in other words that any man should be permitted to alienate his land to any member of the same tribe in the Punjab, subject only to the sanction of the Revenue officer, who should merely have to satisfy himself as to the genuineness of the tribal claim. In any other case, that is in the case of proposed alienation to any one outside the tribe, a special enquiry and consent on the part of the Revenue officer would be required. This compromise was at once accepted by Sir Mackworth Young, as amply satisfying all that he had asked for, and as removing from the Bill the sting either of serious unpopularity, or of political danger. I hope, when we send it home to you, that it may have an equally favourable reception at the hands of the Members of your Council.

Punjab Land Alienation Bill.

The other two subjects that we discussed were my proposals as to the expansion of the present Kurram Militia with a view to the withdrawal of the regular troops, and the Khyber Railway. We are awaiting your general sanction of our new frontier proposals *en bloc* before addressing you at length on the proposed details; and I need, therefore, only say in passing that the Punjab Government are entirely in agreement with ourselves about the Kurram, as about the other sections of the frontier, and that the scheme is ready drawn up to be acted upon as soon as authority is given. As regards the Khyber Railway, whilst we were, with the single exception of Sir Edwin Collen, unanimous against persisting in the idea of constructing a railroad up the Pass, we were nearly evenly divided about the desirability of constructing the rival scheme of a railroad up the valley of the Kabul River up to formation level at the present time. The arguments *pro* and *con* are clearly stated in a Despatch which we shall send to you next week, and about which I have taken some trouble. I myself was in the majority that voted against the immediate

The Kurram Militia.

The Khyber and Kabul River Railway schemes.

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undertaking of this work, and my views are stated in my own language in the Despatch in question, so that I need not recapitulate them here. There is a good deal to be said on the other side also, and it will be interesting to learn what is the opinion of your advisers at the India Office on the subject. Here I think that the balance of argument, as also of votes, inclined in the negative direction, but there may be some of you at home who do not share these views.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

(1.) Cutting from the *Pioneer re* "Church Buildings in India."

(2.) Memorandum of the Viceroy's conversation with the Gaekwar of Baroda, dated 4th July 1899.

No. 30a.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HONB'LE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
July 19th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Mr. Dawkins' retirement

This is in answer to your private letter of June 30th. The rumour of Dawkins' appointment and impending retirement from India has leaked out here—it is perhaps surprising that it should have been kept secret for so long—and I have just given him authority to hand an official

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communiqué to the papers on the subject. I was myself desirous to postpone the announcement as long as possible, since, with public opinion a little anxious and perhaps somewhat apprehensive about the Currency proposals, I have been very much afraid that the news of Dawkins' intended departure might be construed as indicating dissatisfaction with the Committee's Report, or reluctance to face the responsibilities of the new situation. Dawkins, however, thinks that even greater harm might be done by the appearance of an incorrect or malicious version of the facts in the newspapers: and therefore we have decided to let the secret be known, in the manner best suited to our own purposes.

His successor.

As regards his successor, I have seldom read a higher testimony to one man by another than Brackenbury's to Law. It coincides almost exactly with what I know and have seen of Law myself. The independent and rather aggressive manner, the stubborn and almost adamantine personality— both of these I know, both I once hated, both I have learned to tolerate. I think that Law is already, and, if he came here, would all the more be bound to me by sufficient ties of loyalty to render these features of minor importance. Anyhow, I am prepared to incur the personal risk, feeling very strongly that the paramount need for the Government, when Dawkins goes, will be financial authority and experience of as high a standard as can be procured. If, therefore, you feel disposed to make the offer to Law, I shall be most happy to accept him. Should he take the post, I would suggest that the sooner the announcement is made the better. It will relieve public anxiety and tend to restore confidence.

I have not said much about Finlay, because, quite apart from his evidence before the Committee, of which I only know by hearsay, I do not think that he is possessed of the requisite authority or prestige. Nor does he impress me as having the quality of mind that would be of great service to Government.

I put Bisset out of Court because, not being a financier myself, the first desideratum is that I should have as Finance Member somebody who is.

Of Sir G. O'Brien I know nothing beyond what Godley said in a letter to Dawkins.

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Chief Justiceship of Madras.

I see a rumour in the papers that you are likely to send J. P. Rawlinson, Q. C., to succeed Sir A. Collins at Madras. He was at my house at Eton, and is a capable, hard-headed, high-minded man. He has done a good deal of work for us at the Foreign Office, and would honourably fill any such position.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 31.

FROM

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G. M. S. I., &c.

To

THE RIGHT HONB'LE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, M. P.,
Secretary of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA;
July 19*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Let me thank you for your letter of June 30th.

Pensions for the Legal and Finance Members.

Last week in Council we discussed your proposal to give pensions to the Legal and Finance Members. I am unable to explain why a despatch on the subject is not coming home to you this week, but I have sent to the Department to enquire. In my opinion every decision in Council that requires to be communicated to the Secretary of State in the form of a despatch should, unless there be circumstances in the case that call for further examination or that excuse delay, be sent to him by the succeeding mail. But such a proceeding does not appear to be in harmony with the dignified pace at which matters are accustomed to move in this country; and it needs the frequent ringing of my telephone-bell to energise the Departments up to the level of what would only be regarded as normal activity at home. In the meantime

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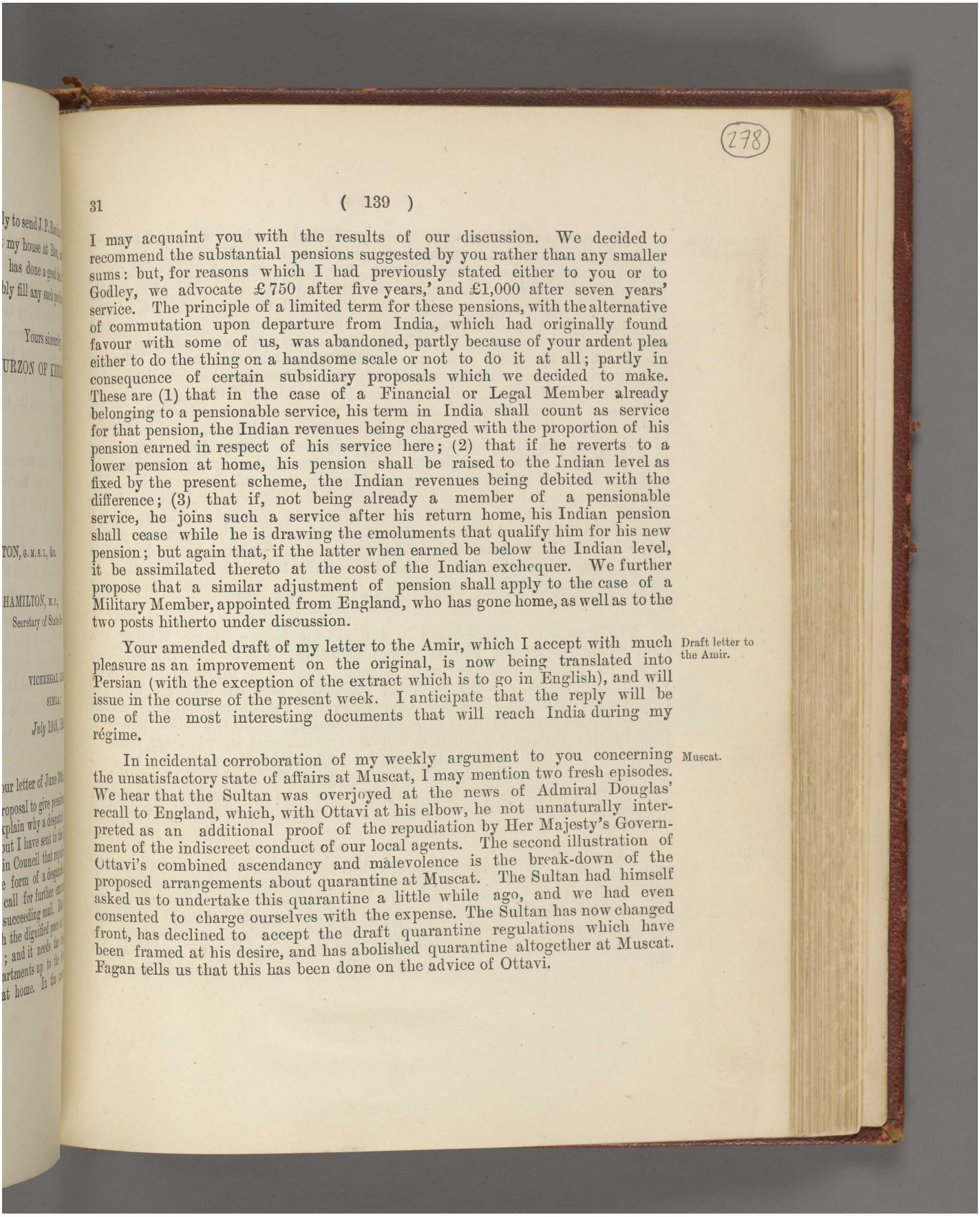

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I may acquaint you with the results of our discussion. We decided to recommend the substantial pensions suggested by you rather than any smaller sums: but, for reasons which I had previously stated either to you or to Godley, we advocate £750 after five years,' and £1,000 after seven years' service. The principle of a limited term for these pensions, with the alternative of commutation upon departure from India, which had originally found favour with some of us, was abandoned, partly because of your ardent plea either to do the thing on a handsome scale or not to do it at all; partly in consequence of certain subsidiary proposals which we decided to make. These are (1) that in the case of a Financial or Legal Member already belonging to a pensionable service, his term in India shall count as service for that pension, the Indian revenues being charged with the proportion of his pension earned in respect of his service here; (2) that if he reverts to a lower pension at home, his pension shall be raised to the Indian level as fixed by the present scheme, the Indian revenues being debited with the difference; (3) that if, not being already a member of a pensionable service, he joins such a service after his return home, his Indian pension shall cease while he is drawing the emoluments that qualify him for his new pension; but again that, if the latter when earned be below the Indian level, it be assimilated thereto at the cost of the Indian exchequer. We further propose that a similar adjustment of pension shall apply to the case of a Military Member, appointed from England, who has gone home, as well as to the two posts hitherto under discussion.

Draft letter to the Amir.

Your amended draft of my letter to the Amir, which I accept with much pleasure as an improvement on the original, is now being translated into Persian (with the exception of the extract which is to go in English), and will issue in the course of the present week. I anticipate that the reply will be one of the most interesting documents that will reach India during my régime.

Muscat.

In incidental corroboration of my weekly argument to you concerning the unsatisfactory state of affairs at Muscat, I may mention two fresh episodes. We hear that the Sultan was overjoyed at the news of Admiral Douglas' recall to England, which, with Ottavi at his elbow, he not unnaturally interpreted as an additional proof of the repudiation by Her Majesty's Government of the indiscreet conduct of our local agents. The second illustration of Ottavi's combined ascendancy and malevolence is the break-down of the proposed arrangements about quarantine at Muscat. The Sultan had himself asked us to undertake this quarantine a little while ago, and we had even consented to charge ourselves with the expense. The Sultan has now changed front, has declined to accept the draft quarantine regulations which have been framed at his desire, and has abolished quarantine altogether at Muscat. Fagan tells us that this has been done on the advice of Ottavi.

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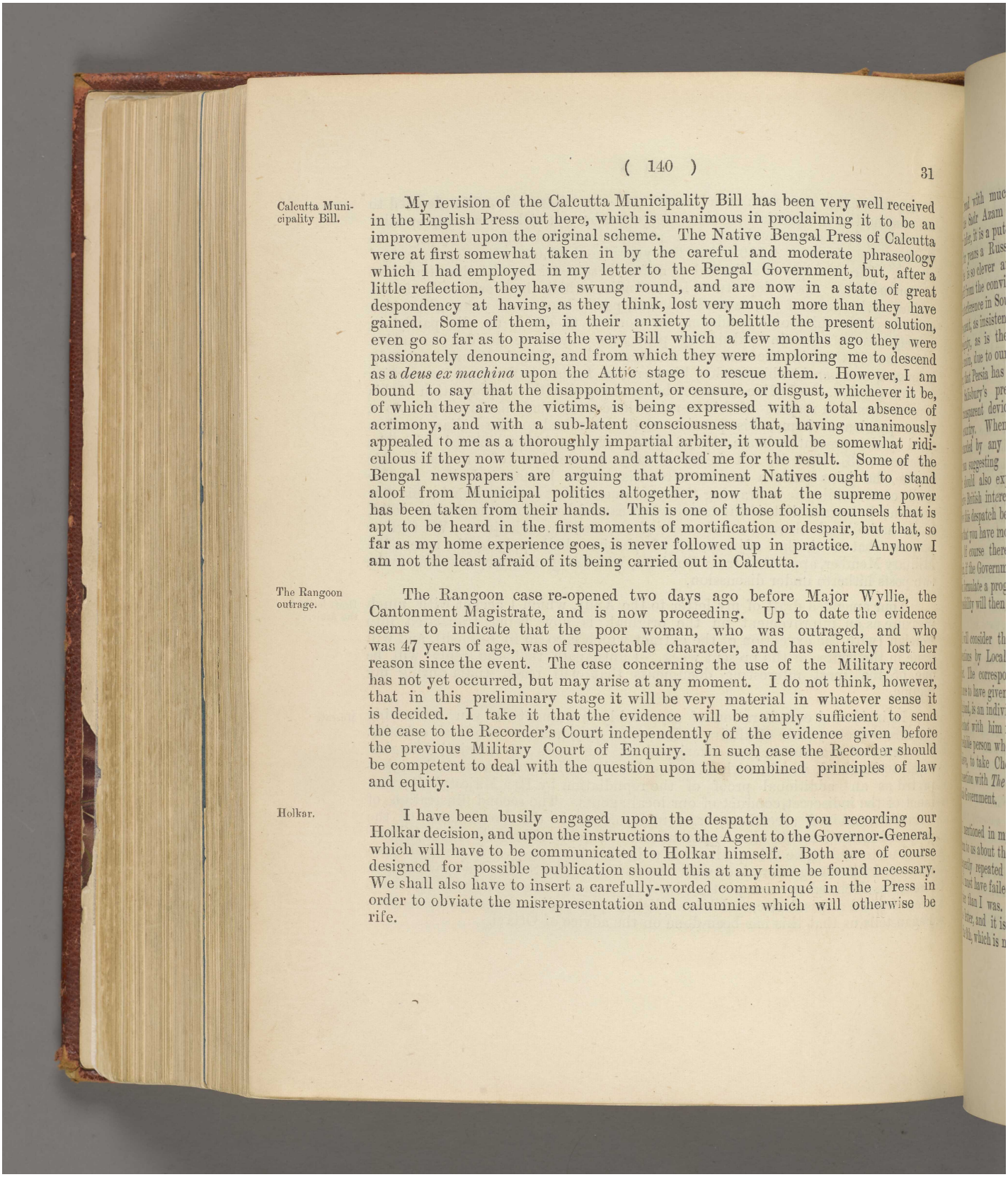

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

My revision of the Calcutta Municipality Bill has been very well received in the English Press out here, which is unanimous in proclaiming it to be an improvement upon the original scheme. The Native Bengal Press of Calcutta were at first somewhat taken in by the careful and moderate phraseology which I had employed in my letter to the Bengal Government, but, after a little reflection, they have swung round, and are now in a state of great despondency at having, as they think, lost very much more than they have gained. Some of them, in their anxiety to belittle the present solution, even go so far as to praise the very Bill which a few months ago they were passionately denouncing, and from which they were imploring me to descend as a *deus ex machina* upon the Attic stage to rescue them. However, I am bound to say that the disappointment, or censure, or disgust, whichever it be, of which they are the victims, is being expressed with a total absence of acrimony, and with a sub-latent consciousness that, having unanimously appealed to me as a thoroughly impartial arbiter, it would be somewhat ridiculous if they now turned round and attacked me for the result. Some of the Bengal newspapers are arguing that prominent Natives ought to stand aloof from Municipal politics altogether, now that the supreme power has been taken from their hands. This is one of those foolish counsels that is apt to be heard in the first moments of mortification or despair, but that, so far as my home experience goes, is never followed up in practice. Anyhow I am not the least afraid of its being carried out in Calcutta.

The Rangoon outrage.

The Rangoon case re-opened two days ago before Major Wyllie, the Cantonment Magistrate, and is now proceeding. Up to date the evidence seems to indicate that the poor woman, who was outraged, and who was 47 years of age, was of respectable character, and has entirely lost her reason since the event. The case concerning the use of the Military record has not yet occurred, but may arise at any moment. I do not think, however, that in this preliminary stage it will be very material in whatever sense it is decided. I take it that the evidence will be amply sufficient to send the case to the Recorder's Court independently of the evidence given before the previous Military Court of Enquiry. In such case the Recorder should be competent to deal with the question upon the combined principles of law and equity.

Holkar.

I have been busily engaged upon the despatch to you recording our Holkar decision, and upon the instructions to the Agent to the Governor-General, which will have to be communicated to Holkar himself. Both are of course designed for possible publication should this at any time be found necessary. We shall also have to insert a carefully-worded communiqué in the Press in order to obviate the misrepresentation and calumnies which will otherwise be rife.

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Persia.

I read with much interest, but with little surprise, the long telegram from the Sadr Azam to Lord Salisbury about Sir M. Durand. As you very justly infer, it is a put-up job from beginning to end. The Sadr Azam has been for years a Russian tool, and is, I more than suspect, in Russian pay. But he is so clever and plausible that Durand has never been able to free himself from the conviction that he is in possession of at least half his heart. Our interference in Southern Persia, I need hardly say, has been nothing like as frequent, as insistent, as direct, or as equivocal in its challenge of Persian sovereignty, as is the interference of Russia in the North. Moreover, it is, in the main, due to our influence, and to our loyal support of the Sovereign power, that Persia has not long ago lost the South altogether. I hope that Lord Salisbury's prejudices against Durand will not be fortified by this transparent device of the common enemies both of Durand and of this country. When our despatch to you goes, we shall certainly not be retarded by any such protests from explaining to you very clearly, or from suggesting that in certain eventualities Her Majesty's Government should also explain to the Persian Government, exactly what we conceive British interests in Southern Persia to be. Please wait till you receive this despatch before giving further rein to the somewhat despondent views that you have more than once lately expressed about the Persian situation. Of course there will be every cause for despondency, and even for despair, if the Government at home decide to do nothing, but at least I think I can formulate a programme, and if this be ignored and nothing be done, the responsibility will then be definite and unmistakable.

Press prosecutions: Repeal of Regulation of 1890.

I will consider the question of repealing the Regulation about Press prosecutions by Local Governments, and will let you hear again on the subject.

Times Correspondent at Allahabad.

The correspondent of *The Times* at Allahabad, who appears more than once to have given inaccurate or prejudiced information in his telegrams to England, is an individual named Park. I have never met him, and we have no contact with him from here. He is spoken of as an independent and not very reliable person who is under no control. He is shortly coming up to Simla, I believe, to take Chesney's place during the temporary absence of the latter in connection with *The Pioneer*. Chesney is a very loyal man, and well disposed towards Government. What Park may be I cannot as yet say.

Tata proposal.

Secretary of State's telegram.

I mentioned in my letter to you last week an apparent obscurity in your telegram to us about the Tata proposal which I asked you to clear up. I have subsequently repeated the same question in the form of a telegram, but I think I must have failed to express myself clearly since your reply leaves me no wiser than I was. The question is perhaps more plainly put in my last week's letter, and it is probable that I may find a reply to it in your letter of July the 6th, which is now on the seas.

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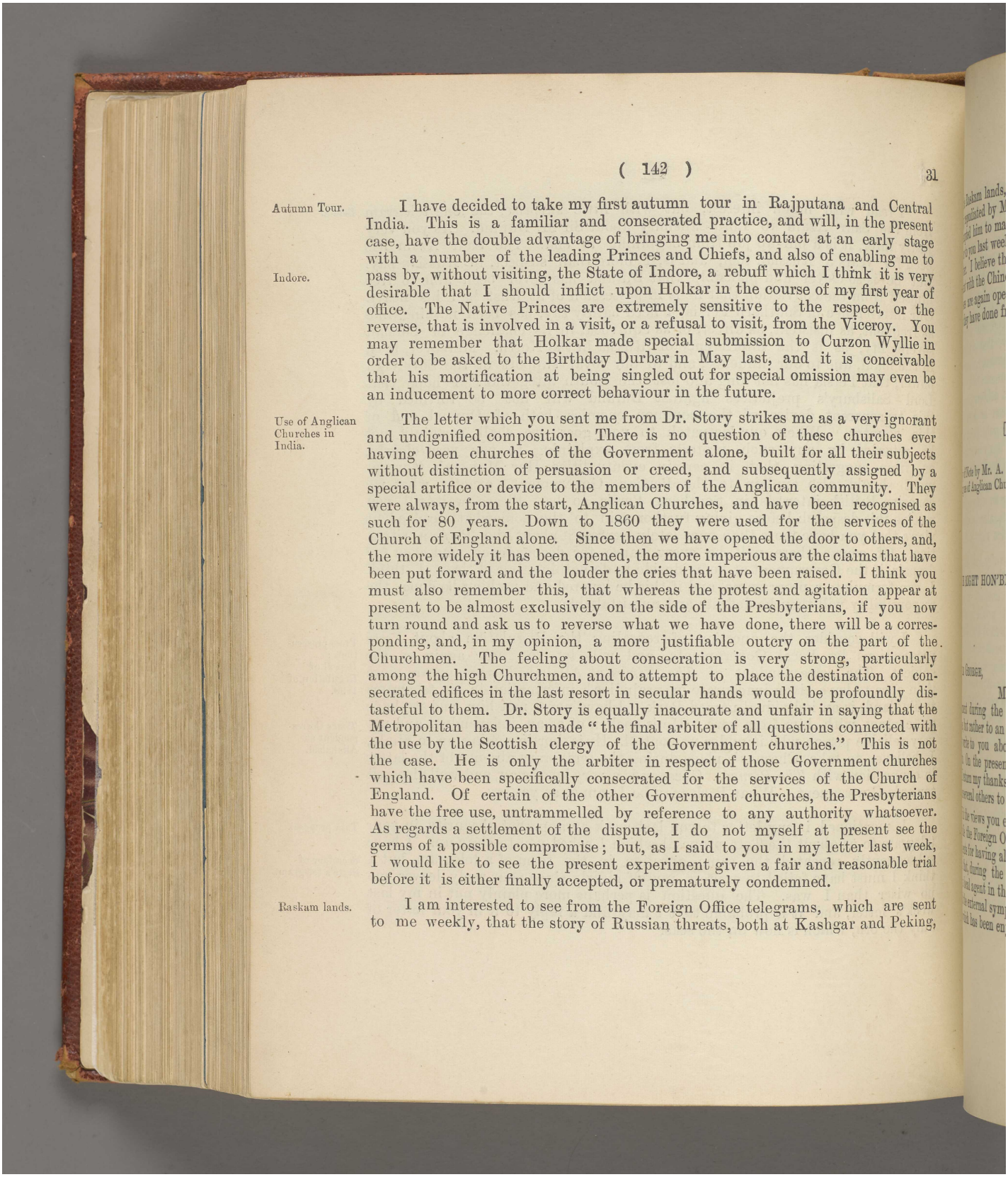

Autumn Tour.

I have decided to take my first autumn tour in Rajputana and Central India. This is a familiar and consecrated practice, and will, in the present case, have the double advantage of bringing me into contact at an early stage with a number of the leading Princes and Chiefs, and also of enabling me to pass by, without visiting, the State of Indore, a rebuff which I think it is very desirable that I should inflict upon Holkar in the course of my first year of office. The Native Princes are extremely sensitive to the respect, or the reverse, that is involved in a visit, or a refusal to visit, from the Viceroy. You may remember that Holkar made special submission to Curzon Wyllie in order to be asked to the Birthday Durbar in May last, and it is conceivable that his mortification at being singled out for special omission may even be an inducement to more correct behaviour in the future.

Indore.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

The letter which you sent me from Dr. Story strikes me as a very ignorant and undignified composition. There is no question of these churches ever having been churches of the Government alone, built for all their subjects without distinction of persuasion or creed, and subsequently assigned by a special artifice or device to the members of the Anglican community. They were always, from the start, Anglican Churches, and have been recognised as such for 80 years. Down to 1860 they were used for the services of the Church of England alone. Since then we have opened the door to others, and, the more widely it has been opened, the more imperious are the claims that have been put forward and the louder the cries that have been raised. I think you must also remember this, that whereas the protest and agitation appear at present to be almost exclusively on the side of the Presbyterians, if you now turn round and ask us to reverse what we have done, there will be a corresponding, and, in my opinion, a more justifiable outcry on the part of the Churchmen. The feeling about consecration is very strong, particularly among the high Churchmen, and to attempt to place the destination of consecrated edifices in the last resort in secular hands would be profoundly distasteful to them. Dr. Story is equally inaccurate and unfair in saying that the Metropolitan has been made "the final arbiter of all questions connected with the use by the Scottish clergy of the Government churches." This is not the case. He is only the arbiter in respect of those Government churches which have been specifically consecrated for the services of the Church of England. Of certain of the other Government churches, the Presbyterians have the free use, untrammelled by reference to any authority whatsoever. As regards a settlement of the dispute, I do not myself at present see the germs of a possible compromise; but, as I said to you in my letter last week, I would like to see the present experiment given a fair and reasonable trial before it is either finally accepted, or prematurely condemned.

Raskam lands.

I am interested to see from the Foreign Office telegrams, which are sent to me weekly, that the story of Russian threats, both at Kashgar and Peking,

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about the Raskam lands, has now been confirmed by the Yâmen, though officially repudiated by Mouravieff. I suppose it was his anger at this incident that tempted him to make the preposterous counter-charge which I riddled in my letter to you last week. I hope that the Foreign Office will stand firm in the matter. I believe that the Mir of Hunza has now signed and returned the agreement with the Chinese; and I suspect that, later in the autumn, when the passes are again open, he will probably send men to cultivate the Raskam plots as they have done from time immemorial.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Copy of Note by Mr. A. H. L. Fraser, dated 19th July 1899, on Dr. Story's letter regarding use of Anglican Churches in India.

No. 32.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
July 26th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Viceroy's work.

My presence at the alleged holiday resort of the Indian Government during the summer months does not seem to tend to any decrease, but rather to an increase of official business, and I appear to have more to write to you about week by week from Simla than when I was at Calcutta. On the present occasion your last letter of July the 6th, for which I return my thanks, in itself raises a number of interesting topics, while there are several others to which I shall also require to allude in reply.

Muscat.

With the views you express about Muscat, I am in general agreement. But while the Foreign Office are disposed to throw the entire blame upon our local Agents for having allowed the Sultan to get out of hand, it is only fair to remark that, during the last 6 months, when affairs have reached an acute stage, no local agent in the world could have carried out with success a policy in which the external symptoms of vacillation and surrender were so prominent as that which has been enjoined upon us by the Foreign Office at home.

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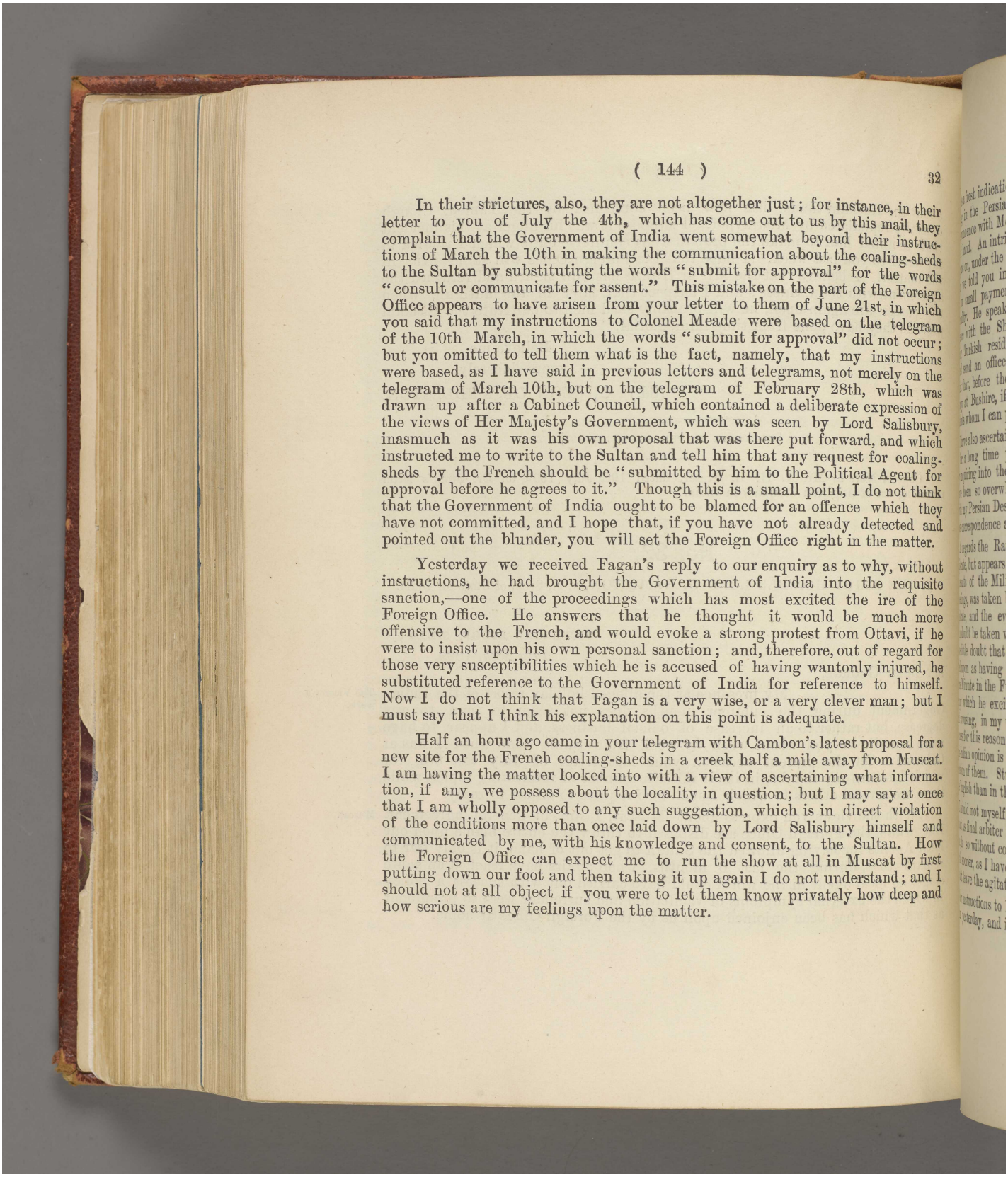

In their strictures, also, they are not altogether just; for instance, in their letter to you of July the 4th, which has come out to us by this mail, they complain that the Government of India went somewhat beyond their instructions of March the 10th in making the communication about the coaling-sheds to the Sultan by substituting the words "submit for approval" for the words "consult or communicate for assent." This mistake on the part of the Foreign Office appears to have arisen from your letter to them of June 21st, in which you said that my instructions to Colonel Meade were based on the telegram of the 10th March, in which the words "submit for approval" did not occur; but you omitted to tell them what is the fact, namely, that my instructions were based, as I have said in previous letters and telegrams, not merely on the telegram of March 10th, but on the telegram of February 28th, which was drawn up after a Cabinet Council, which contained a deliberate expression of the views of Her Majesty's Government, which was seen by Lord Salisbury, inasmuch as it was his own proposal that was there put forward, and which instructed me to write to the Sultan and tell him that any request for coaling-sheds by the French should be "submitted by him to the Political Agent for approval before he agrees to it." Though this is a small point, I do not think that the Government of India ought to be blamed for an offence which they have not committed, and I hope that, if you have not already detected and pointed out the blunder, you will set the Foreign Office right in the matter.

Yesterday we received Fagan's reply to our enquiry as to why, without instructions, he had brought the Government of India into the requisite sanction,—one of the proceedings which has most excited the ire of the Foreign Office. He answers that he thought it would be much more offensive to the French, and would evoke a strong protest from Ottavi, if he were to insist upon his own personal sanction; and, therefore, out of regard for those very susceptibilities which he is accused of having wantonly injured, he substituted reference to the Government of India for reference to himself. Now I do not think that Fagan is a very wise, or a very clever man; but I must say that I think his explanation on this point is adequate.

Half an hour ago came in your telegram with Cambon's latest proposal for a new site for the French coaling-sheds in a creek half a mile away from Muscat. I am having the matter looked into with a view of ascertaining what information, if any, we possess about the locality in question; but I may say at once that I am wholly opposed to any such suggestion, which is in direct violation of the conditions more than once laid down by Lord Salisbury himself and communicated by me, with his knowledge and consent, to the Sultan. How the Foreign Office can expect me to run the show at all in Muscat by first putting down our foot and then taking it up again I do not understand; and I should not at all object if you were to let them know privately how deep and how serious are my feelings upon the matter.

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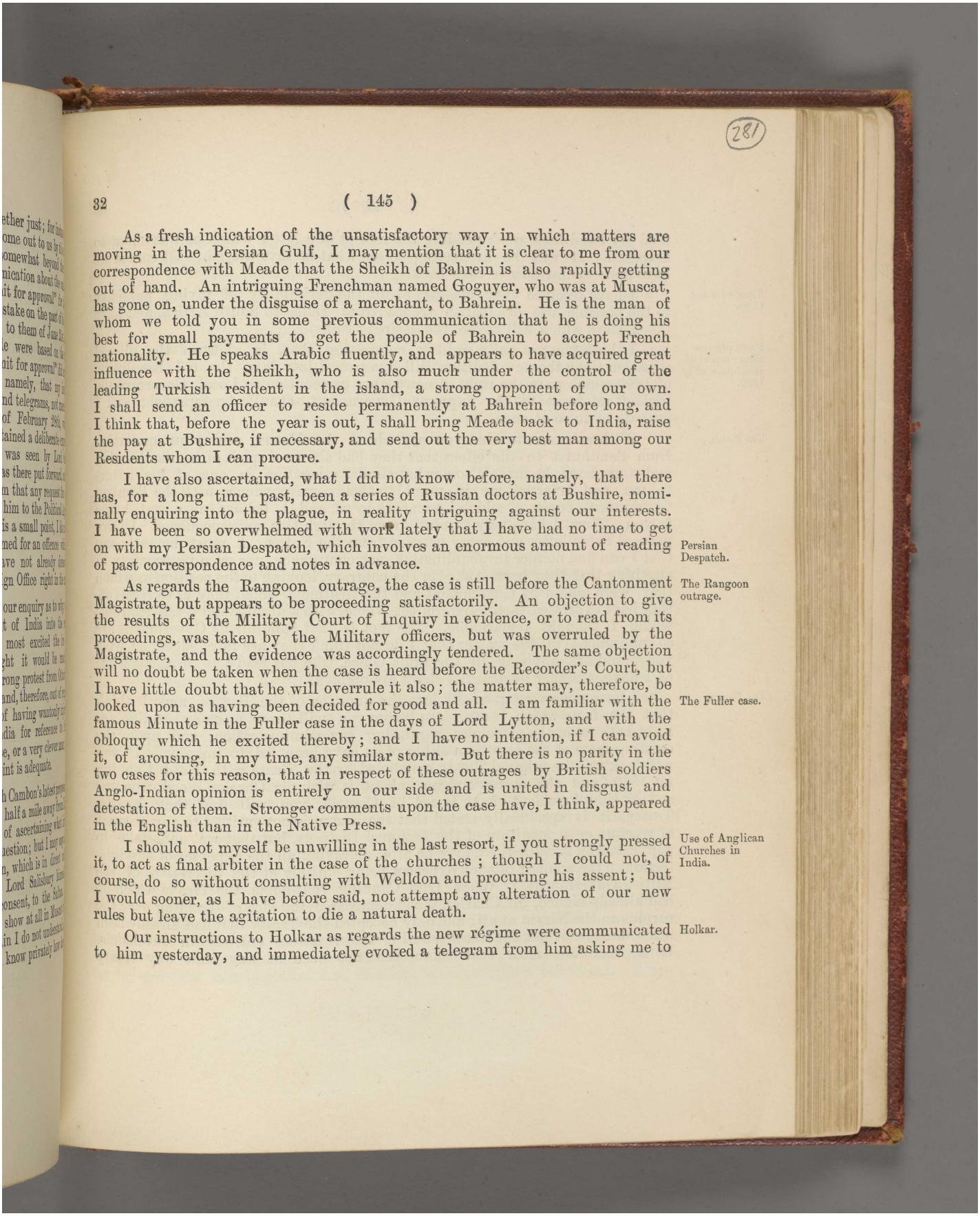

As a fresh indication of the unsatisfactory way in which matters are moving in the Persian Gulf, I may mention that it is clear to me from our correspondence with Meade that the Sheikh of Bahrein is also rapidly getting out of hand. An intriguing Frenchman named Goguyer, who was at Muscat, has gone on, under the disguise of a merchant, to Bahrein. He is the man of whom we told you in some previous communication that he is doing his best for small payments to get the people of Bahrein to accept French nationality. He speaks Arabic fluently, and appears to have acquired great influence with the Sheikh, who is also much under the control of the leading Turkish resident in the island, a strong opponent of our own. I shall send an officer to reside permanently at Bahrein before long, and I think that, before the year is out, I shall bring Meade back to India, raise the pay at Bushire, if necessary, and send out the very best man among our Residents whom I can procure.

I have also ascertained, what I did not know before, namely, that there has, for a long time past, been a series of Russian doctors at Bushire, nominally enquiring into the plague, in reality intriguing against our interests. I have been so overwhelmed with work lately that I have had no time to get on with my Persian Despatch, which involves an enormous amount of reading of past correspondence and notes in advance. Persian Despatch.

As regards the Rangoon outrage, the case is still before the Cantonment Magistrate, but appears to be proceeding satisfactorily. An objection to give the results of the Military Court of Inquiry in evidence, or to read from its proceedings, was taken by the Military officers, but was overruled by the Magistrate, and the evidence was accordingly tendered. The same objection will no doubt be taken when the case is heard before the Recorder's Court, but I have little doubt that he will overrule it also; the matter may, therefore, be looked upon as having been decided for good and all. I am familiar with the famous Minute in the Fuller case in the days of Lord Lytton, and with the obloquy which he excited thereby; and I have no intention, if I can avoid it, of arousing, in my time, any similar storm. But there is no parity in the two cases for this reason, that in respect of these outrages by British soldiers Anglo-Indian opinion is entirely on our side and is united in disgust and detestation of them. Stronger comments upon the case have, I think, appeared in the English than in the Native Press. The Rangoon outrage. The Fuller case.

I should not myself be unwilling in the last resort, if you strongly pressed it, to act as final arbiter in the case of the churches; though I could not, of course, do so without consulting with Welldon and procuring his assent; but I would sooner, as I have before said, not attempt any alteration of our new rules but leave the agitation to die a natural death. Use of Anglican Churches in India.

Our instructions to Holkar as regards the new régime were communicated to him yesterday, and immediately evoked a telegram from him asking me to Holkar.

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hold my hand for a week pending the receipt of a letter which he was about to despatch. It will be interesting to see what he says therein. Of course we have gone too far now to turn back.

Troops for the Cape.

I have received your telegram about the desirability of giving publicity to the possible use of British troops from India in South Africa, and have taken steps which will ensure the desired results.

Press prosecutions: repeal of Resolution of 1890.

I think you are quite right in suggesting that, in view of the altered situation since the new Sedition Bill was passed into law, the old Resolution of 1890 which gave the right of newspaper prosecution to Local Governments, without reference to the Supreme Government, should be repealed; and I propose to do so at once.

The Natus.

With reference to what you say about the Natus, and your quotation from Sandhurst to the effect that they had shown a spirit of insubordination and contumacy, he made a somewhat similar allegation in one of his letters to me, and referred me in proof to their correspondence with the Bombay Government, copies of which he sent up to us, and I believe also sent home to you. Now, I have very carefully read through this correspondence. I have perused every letter and every petition from the Natus. I must honestly say that I can find neither insubordination, nor contumacy, nor even impropriety in anything that they have said. On the contrary, looking to the position in which they were placed by Government and the treatment which they have received, they have expressed themselves, on the whole, with a dignity and a self-restraint which I thought remarkable. The fact is that Sandhurst's Government are so prejudiced in the matter that I do not think they are fair judges. I wish you would ask anybody in the India Office, who has read the correspondence as I have, whether he does not share my opinion.

The Berars.

I have gone very carefully into the question of the Berars, and I think that the facts which I can place before you will throw a somewhat different light both upon the principles regulating our administration, and upon the existing facts of the case than either of us have been led to imagine. If you will look up the original Treaty concluded by the Nizam with Lord Canning in 1860, and the correspondence about it with Sir Charles Wood, who was at that time President of the Board of Control, you will find that, by the Treaty, it is specifically stated that the Nizam is not entitled to any account of receipts or expenditure of the Assigned Districts, but that we undertake to pay him any surplus there may be after defraying all the expenses of administration, "the amount of such expenses being entirely at the discretion of the British Government." When Lord Canning sent home the Treaty which he had already signed, Sir Charles Wood deprecated the idea of handing over the surplus to the Nizam at all; and only accepted the Treaty that had already been made, because it left the free disposal of the revenues entirely in our hands. It is, therefore, clear that there has not been at any time any treaty

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obligation to produce a surplus; nor indeed any obligation at all, other than the moral obligation imposed upon us as the governing power, not to administer the districts in an extravagant or wasteful manner. Next, as regards the attempts that have been made to secure economy in administration. With that object in view the annual budgets are, as you know, supervised by the Finance Department. The Government of India proposed at one time, for economy's sake, to hand over the administration to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. But it was the Nizam who himself protested, and the proposal was accordingly withdrawn. Now, your letter to us has been written, in the main, upon the hypothesis that there was no surplus at all in 1897-8. This is true from the accounts as you have so far seen them. But, as a matter of fact, they turned out much better at the end of the year than had been anticipated; and a surplus of Rs. 4,72,291 was eventually paid over to the Nizam out of the revenues of that year. But the case becomes stronger still as we advance further; since, for the year 1898-9 there has been paid to him a surplus of no less than 18½ lakhs, or 5 lakhs in excess of the 20 years' average before 1892-3 which was quoted by you. The case, therefore, is, I think, far more satisfactory than either of us had been inclined to suppose. The chief increase appears to have been in the military charges, mainly owing, it is true, to the increased dearness of grain in 1897-8. However, I have ordered an enquiry into all the military charges, especially the non-effective charges which appear to have gone up at a somewhat rapid rate of speed.

Annual Railway Conference.

I have had to make up my mind what to do in respect of the annual Railway Conference, instituted by my predecessor, which is held at Simla in the early autumn. I find that this Conference appears very imperfectly to have answered the object with which it was first suggested by you to him, and that, in fact, it does not deserve the name of a Conference at all. It is a purely departmental meeting of certain officials of the Government of India with the Viceroy at their head. Every third year it has a work of great importance to do, because the programme of expenditure for the next three years is then fixed. But, in the intervening years, all that it does is to effect very slight re-adjustments in classification upon the advice of the Public Works Department, which is the real arbiter in the matter. None of the expected or promised advantages in respect of publicity have ensued. The promoters of different ventures are not invited up to Simla, or asked to state their case. The results are not published, the unsuccessful applicants are not informed of the fate of their applications, or of the reason for their rejection, and not until seven months later in the Budget debate, and in the statement then made by the Public Works Member, does the public get any inkling at all as to what decision the Conference has arrived at, or upon what grounds. Accordingly, as an attempt to conciliate public opinion, or to provide an opportunity for independent consideration and decision, the Conference has failed. From

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the departmental point of view it has been of service, but from no other. Before making any change, I propose to let the Conference meet in its usual form next month, and to take the chair myself, so as to ascertain from personal experience what actually happens. I shall then have our conclusions formulated in a suitable shape, and at once issued to the public. I propose also, following the lines of your original suggestion, to constitute a small Railway Commission, consisting probably of three members—the Public Works Member, the Secretary of the Department, or one of the Directors-General, and a competent and independent outsider recommended by the Local Government, and selected from the Chambers of Commerce, or some analogous bodies, which shall visit any part of India when there is a difficult and complicated case requiring decision, shall hear both sides, and shall submit a report to the Government of India, to help the latter in giving its final voice. This Commission would probably sit and do its work while I am on tour. If it is successful, and awakens public confidence, I should be rather disposed to expand it into a permanent institution and possibly to allow it to take the place of the present bogus Conference which, as I have told you, is not a Conference at all. These, however, are only the ideas that are floating in my mind; and they may of course be subject to modification later on.

Proposed Railway Commission.

I will devote my concluding paragraphs to the evergreen subject of Departmental mismanagement in the Government of India. I will enquire into the delays involved in the Raipur case, to which you have called my attention. As regards the case of your decision upon the claim of Ranjitsinhji, the delay is not our fault, but that of the Bombay Government, or rather of the Political Agent in Kathiawar. Your decision was communicated by us to him on April 27th, but apparently went no further. I have called for an explanation from him of this apparently inexcusable delay. I wish I were in a position to tell you that the case of misappropriation of funds for the acquisition of sites in the Tochi Valley to which I called your attention was a solitary or exceptional instance. I have, during the last two months, come across five or six cases of similar or cognate irregularity. The two Military Offices, *viz.*, the Army Head-Quarters and the Military Department, seem to me to be incapable either of business-like management, or of economical administration. Neither knows exactly what is going on in the other; and, owing to a series of rather masterful Commanders-in-Chief who have exercised more than their proper authority in determining the policy of Government, the Military Department has lost, or abandoned, its proper faculties as a board of audit and control, and has tacitly accepted, or acquiesced in items of expenditure which have been recommended by the Commander-in-Chief, often without the slightest examination into their merits or features. On the other hand, officers in outlying places have got into the habit of regarding the provisional allotment of sums for particular purposes in the budget estimates of the year as definite sanction to proceed with those objects, without

Departmental mismanagement.

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the submission of any plans or estimates at all; and I am continually finding cases in which our men are merrily at work upon the frontier, executing operations which have never been specifically sanctioned, and for which, when they are finished and done, we are called upon to pay enormous and exorbitant bills. I will give you two illustrations. Our Political Officer at Gilgit thought it would be a capital thing to construct a first-rate road to Chitral, and, accordingly, in his annual report to the Commander-in-Chief, he asked for a lakh and a quarter to conduct this operation. The Chief thought this was rather strong and cut him down to a quarter of a lakh. I was never informed at all. This, however, was only a provisional allotment in the estimates of the year, and, according to the regulations, no action could be taken upon it until deliberate proposals had been put forward, estimates furnished, and the sanction of the Government given. Nevertheless the Political Officer, dispensing with all these tedious arrangements, at once proceeded to make his contract, to engage his workmen, and to purchase his explosives and stores. And one day I suddenly found that the decision of this matter, which is one of considerable political moment, which had attracted the attention of Government and been formally discussed by us in Council, had already, weeks beforehand, been taken out of our hands and settled upon the spot by the irresponsible zeal of a petty Captain. I found that the same thing had taken place in Chitral. In order to set a sharp lesson to these offenders, and to let the Departments know that this sort of thing shall not go on in my time, I have, by telegram, ordered the contracts to be cancelled, the workmen dismissed and, if necessary, compensated, and the entire proceedings to be stopped pending the orders of the Government of India. The other case falls into a different category. For more than 3 years a discussion has been going on as to the provision of a proper water-supply for the cantonment at New Chaman on the hypothesis of its some day being required as a mobilisation camp. The estimate has been Rs. 95,000, and the Baluchistan Agency had consented to bear half this cost if it were allowed to use the surplus water for purposes of cultivation in the interim. Suddenly, in January of the present year, the Director of Military Works sent up a fresh proposal to the Military Department, involving an expenditure of nearly 2½ lakhs, the increase being due to a desire to bring up the requirements of this purely hypothetical camp, which for all we know, may never be occupied at all, to the highest standard of scientific proficiency. New sets of pipes, and all sorts of tanks and reservoirs were to be provided, to stand idly upon the Chaman plain until they got rusty and required to be replaced by others. Without the faintest attempt at enquiry, without reasons asked for or given, without a note, without reference to me, the Military Department straight away sanctioned this immense and ridiculous increase of expenditure, ordered all the stores and appliances from home, and then, when the whole thing was done, coolly turned round and asked the Baluchistan Agency through the Foreign Department to bear its moiety

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of the increased expense. I could give you quite a number of other illustrations, but I will not trouble you further at the present time. I propose to send the whole of these cases to the Finance Department to ask their opinion upon them from the financial point of view, and I expect that later on I shall, in all probability, have to appoint a committee to overhaul the system which under such scandals are possible.

Despatch on pensions for the Finance and Legal Members.

I have before now told you that one of my chief causes of surprise and regret is my inability to find in the Departments officers who have the least idea how to construct or write a despatch. I will give you an illustration. We are sending home to you this week our reply upon the suggestion of pensions for the Finance and Legal Members. This will of course require to be published later on. Our recommendation is one for which, if adopted, we shall be open to severe attack, and I daresay censure, from the Native, and possibly from the Anglo-Indian, Press. It is a case therefore in which it is, above all things, necessary that we should impress the public with a conviction that there is solid ground for our action, that we are fully conscious of our responsibility, that we have not hastily swallowed a suggestion put forward by you, but that we have carefully discussed the *pros* and *cons*, and have good and sound reasons for the solution at which we have ultimately arrived. Nevertheless, when the draft despatch came up to me from the Home Department, it consisted only of four bald and jejune paragraphs, narrating in precise departmental prose, without any attempt at argument or explanation, the formal conclusions at which we had arrived. I have had to re-write the entire despatch myself, and in circulating it to my Colleagues for signature have sent with it a minute explaining that while in ordinary cases, merely dealing with details of administration and not likely to be published, all that is required in a despatch is conciseness, grammar, and commonsense, in the more complex cases where a policy is stated or discussed, and where publication is certain to ensue, a despatch should assume a more careful, a closely argued, and, if possible, to some extent a literary form. Of course all this work adds enormously to my labours, but I hope that it may not be thrown away, and that I may gradually train up a school of writers to accept the new tradition. The value of a thoughtful and conciliatory statement is beyond measure greater in a country like India, which is dominated by sentiment, than it is in England, where heads are harder and passions more cool. The reception of our Calcutta Municipality proposals is a striking instance of the way in which resentment can be disarmed by the judicious choice and use of words.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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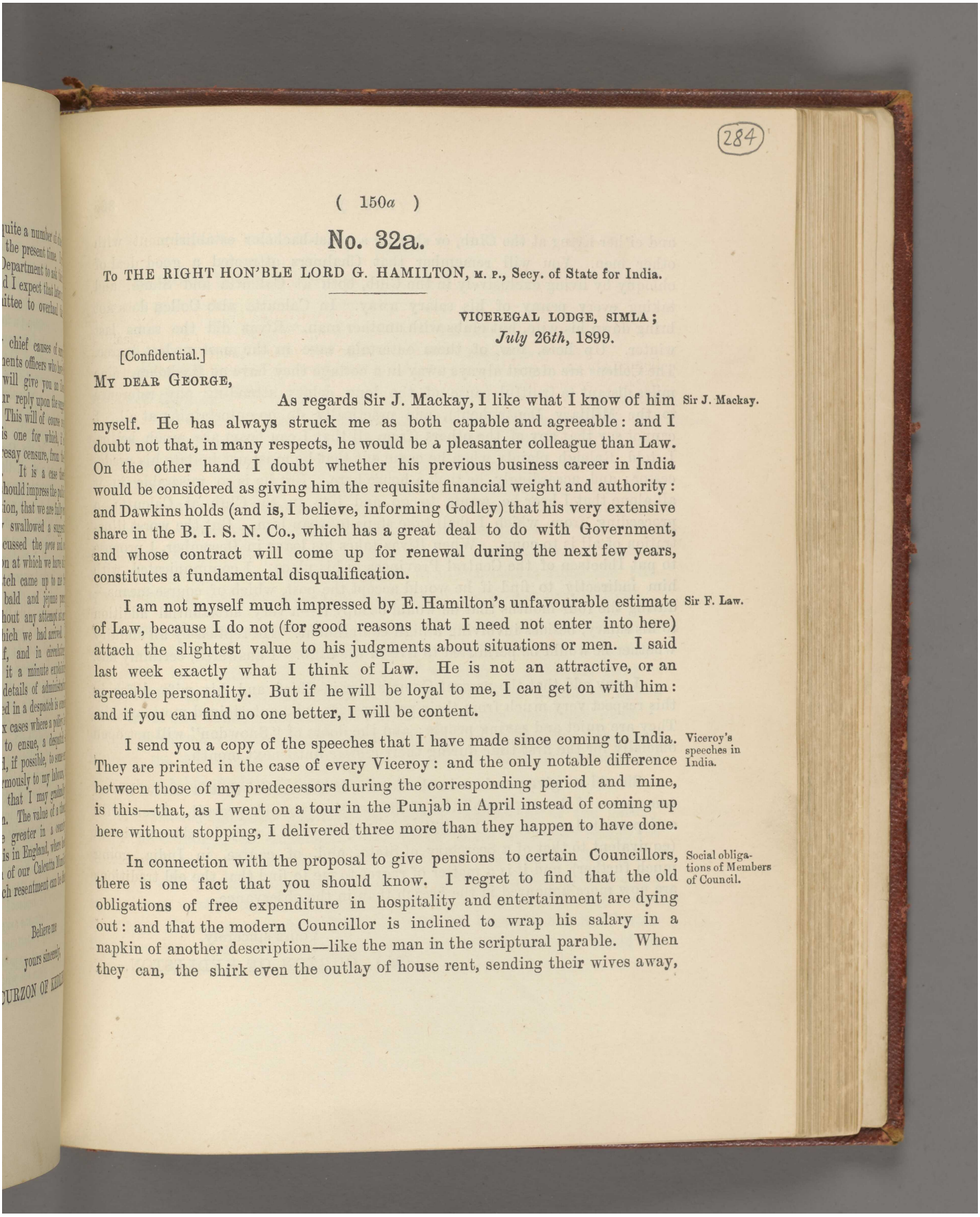

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No. 32a.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
July 26th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Sir J. Mackay.

As regards Sir J. Mackay, I like what I know of him myself. He has always struck me as both capable and agreeable: and I doubt not that, in many respects, he would be a pleasanter colleague than Law. On the other hand I doubt whether his previous business career in India would be considered as giving him the requisite financial weight and authority: and Dawkins holds (and is, I believe, informing Godley) that his very extensive share in the B. I. S. N. Co., which has a great deal to do with Government, and whose contract will come up for renewal during the next few years, constitutes a fundamental disqualification.

Sir F. Law.

I am not myself much impressed by E. Hamilton's unfavourable estimate of Law, because I do not (for good reasons that I need not enter into here) attach the slightest value to his judgments about situations or men. I said last week exactly what I think of Law. He is not an attractive, or an agreeable personality. But if he will be loyal to me, I can get on with him: and if you can find no one better, I will be content.

Viceroy's speeches in India.

I send you a copy of the speeches that I have made since coming to India. They are printed in the case of every Viceroy: and the only notable difference between those of my predecessors during the corresponding period and mine, is this—that, as I went on a tour in the Punjab in April instead of coming up here without stopping, I delivered three more than they happen to have done.

Social obligations of Members of Council.

In connection with the proposal to give pensions to certain Councillors, there is one fact that you should know. I regret to find that the old obligations of free expenditure in hospitality and entertainment are dying out: and that the modern Councillor is inclined to wrap his salary in a napkin of another description—like the man in the scriptural parable. When they can, the shirk even the outlay of house rent, sending their wives away,

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and either living at the Club, or sharing a quasi-bachelor establishment with other men. You will remember that Chalmers attracted a good deal of obloquy by living exclusively in the Club, both at Calcutta and Simla, and taking every penny of his salary away. In Calcutta also Collen does not bring down his wife, but clubs with another man. Rivaz did the same last winter. Up here, few of them entertain save in the most modest degree. The Collens are almost always away in a cottage they have at Mashobra, nine miles distant (a fruitful cause of the long delays attending any reference to the Military Department), and practically do no entertaining at all. I cannot say that any of the others (from all that I can hear) are much better. I told Raleigh plainly when he came out that he must not imitate his predecessor: and, accordingly, he took a house here. But he is so miserable in it all alone that I hear he wants to go and live in the Club at Calcutta, a proceeding from which I shall take steps to wean him. But the worst illustration of all is to come. When Rivaz takes his leave in December, I propose to put Ibbetson of the Central Provinces in his place. I communicated with him indirectly to find if he would accept the post, which of course means—during the four months that he would occupy it—a very substantial addition to his salary, besides involving a high compliment. He replied by an enquiry whether he would be permitted to live in the Club. I answered, certainly not.

I may add that the present Commander-in-Chief and his wife differ in this respect very much from their predecessors, who entertained most lavishly. They are quiet and saving people: and the doors of "Snowdon" will not open officially for the first time during their *régime* until next month.

Should we give pensions in the future, it is essential that a more liberal conception of the responsibilities of the position should prevail. Even with a depreciated rupee, a Councillor's salary is still a very handsome stipend (equivalent to that of a Secretary of State, and, of course, in India, going much further), and it is a matter of regret to me to find that the old traditions are now more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 32b.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
August 2nd, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have had a personal letter from Holkar saying that he bitterly and deeply feels the humiliation of the position which we have forced upon him, that he hopes I will visit him at Indore in the autumn, and that till then I will hold over our decision regarding his case. Of course I cannot meet him in any of these respects. He has studiously affronted and insulted the Government of India for many months, almost for years, past: and it is too late for him to escape by any show of deathbed repentance. I shall reply civilly to him declining to depart in any particular from the position deliberately taken up, with your approval, by the Government of India. Holkar.

In the meantime we hear of an attempt made by him to transfer a balance of 40 lakhs, in the Indore Treasury (which he asserts to be his private savings, but which have come from the revenues of the State) to a Bombay Bank, it is supposed with the intention of abdicating. He has given no hint of this in his letter to me. Should matters reach such a point, the conditions, financial and political, under which he might retire, would be a subject for discussion between the Government of India and himself, and could not be prejudged by any step taken by him in advance.

I mentioned last week that Ibbetson, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, is coming to Calcutta to take Rivaz' place in Council during the winter season, while the latter is absent on leave. At the end of this period Ibbetson will go on long leave himself. I propose to offer the officiating appointment in the Central Provinces to Fraser, my present acting Home Secretary. The greater part of his official life has been spent in the Central Provinces, and, apart from his deserts, which are considerable, it would be almost impossible to pass him over. Mr. Ibbetson as acting Member of Council. Mr. Fraser for Central Provinces.

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Mr. Hewett as Home Secretary.

Hewett would like the post. But I propose to take him back again as Home Secretary, and to reserve him (since he is one of our few really able men) for something bigger later on. Just now the Civil Service here is like the Diplomatic Service at home; good young men coming on, but a row of sticks on the sky-line.

Governorship of Bombay.

I am continually thinking about Bombay. Probably we shall address you officially on the matter of the Governorship of that Presidency; for I believe that my Council feel as strongly as I do on the subject. If, however, you are beating about for a strong, resolute, capable, single-minded man from home, I

Sir G. Goldie.

invite you to consider the name of Sir G. Goldie, late Governor of the Niger Company. He has rendered notable service to the country. He answers the above description. I know him well, and could trust his loyalty. He has the governing capacity in a very remarkable degree; and is also a man of agreeable manners and attractive personality. It will be of no use to send out to Bombay a worthy mediocre ex-M. P. The place wants not a figure-head but an administrator, and one of courage and mark.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 33.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
August 2nd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Sir Charles Wood.

In my letter to you of last week I made a slight mistake in speaking of Sir Charles Wood as President of the Board of Control.

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He had occupied that position, but of course in 1860, after the Government of India had been taken over by the Crown, he had become Secretary of State; and I should so have described him.

Medal for the Tirah Campaign.

I am very pleased to find that, in your latest letter, dated July 14th, you give so favourable a reception to my proposal about a medal for the Tirah Campaign. I will have a talk with Lockhart as to the desirability, from the Indian point of view, of including Malakand and Chakdara, and will let you know the result. You have not mentioned to me the result of your appeal to Lansdowne; but I hope that his Indian recollections and his general common-sense may induce him to acquiesce.

Troops for the Transvaal.

With regard to your telegram about the troops for the Transvaal and the desirability of letting the information leak out, I was in some difficulty for the following reason. The force that you had asked us to supply, and which we were willing to contribute, amounts only to between 5,000 and 6,000 men. But your later telegram mentions 10,000 men as the total for which you may desire to indent upon India. I am not certain that we could provide that number. However, for the purposes of the Press announcement I adopted a compromise, and spoke of the Government of India as being able to furnish, for temporary service, a force not far short of 10,000 men. Peace seems to be in the air; and I hope that they may not be required.

Lord Kitchener.

I think on the whole that I agree with what you say about Kitchener. A Military reformer is as much wanted here as ever he was in Whitehall; but he is wanted here not to conduct a campaign on the cheap, which, according to Lord Salisbury, was Kitchener's greatest achievement in the Soudan, but to re-model the entire Departmental system, and to redress the present lamentable lack of control. It is astonishing to me that Brackenbury, with his great ability, insight, and experience, should not have left more mark. But it may be that the abuses have grown to their present rank abundance in the main since he left.

Currency proposals.

Dawkins is in close and constant correspondence with Godley about the Currency proposals; and I will therefore add little myself. It is, I think,

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Crop prospects.

[Enclosure.]

unfortunately true that confidence in this country is, upon closer examination both of the Report and of the prospective conditions, not increasing but wavering. Confidence is anywhere a very sensitive plant; but in the financial garden it seems to be susceptible to influences almost imperceptible to the normal eye. On the top of this hesitation, or suspended judgment, comes the rather gloomy outlook for certain parts of India, which the daily meteorological returns are gravely impressing upon our notice. I hope, before closing this letter, to add a paragraph as to the latest information. But the situation may be summarised by saying that, both in Bombay and certain parts of the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, and in parts of the Madras Presidency, rain is urgently wanted, and the prospects are gloomy. On the Western sea-coast there is a deficiency in the rain-fall of between 20 and 30 inches since the 1st June, as compared with the average in the same period. In the Central Provinces there is a deficiency of from 10 to 20 inches; in Madras a deficiency of from 2 to 8 inches; in the Punjab of from 2 to 6. A week ago, in three districts of the Central Provinces, 6,300 persons were already in receipt of ordinary village relief; prices were rising; and a serious loss of cattle, as well as of the autumn rice crop, was feared. I begin to fear that we may be in for another period of serious scarcity—I do not like at present to use the word famine. On the other hand, in some parts of India, *e. g.*, Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, there has been a preposterous excess of rain, which could gladly have been spared to their distressful neighbours.

Borrowing for Currency purposes.

To revert for a moment to Currency, I quite understand the strong objections, Parliamentary and otherwise, that you entertain to the idea of a loan. As the House of Commons is about to rise, the question must, in any case, stand over for another six or seven months; and, by that time, we shall have a clearer idea of the elasticity or limitation of our resources. Dawkins is keen about the Bank, and I hope in a day or two to have an exhaustive talk with him about our projects for the future.

I see that you gave a pledge in Parliament the other day that the borrowing powers that you now possess should not be employed to support any Currency scheme. This I quite understand; but, if I remember right, the borrowing powers which were originally granted to you by Parliament were described as being for general purposes, and of course had no reference to Currency reform, or the introduction of a gold standard. I do not imagine that Dawkins, when he has pleaded for borrowing powers, ever meant to suggest that you should borrow under this sanction. Of course he understood that you would have to go to Parliament for special powers. His idea, I think, was that you would find it both easier and more expedient to take power to borrow before an emergency

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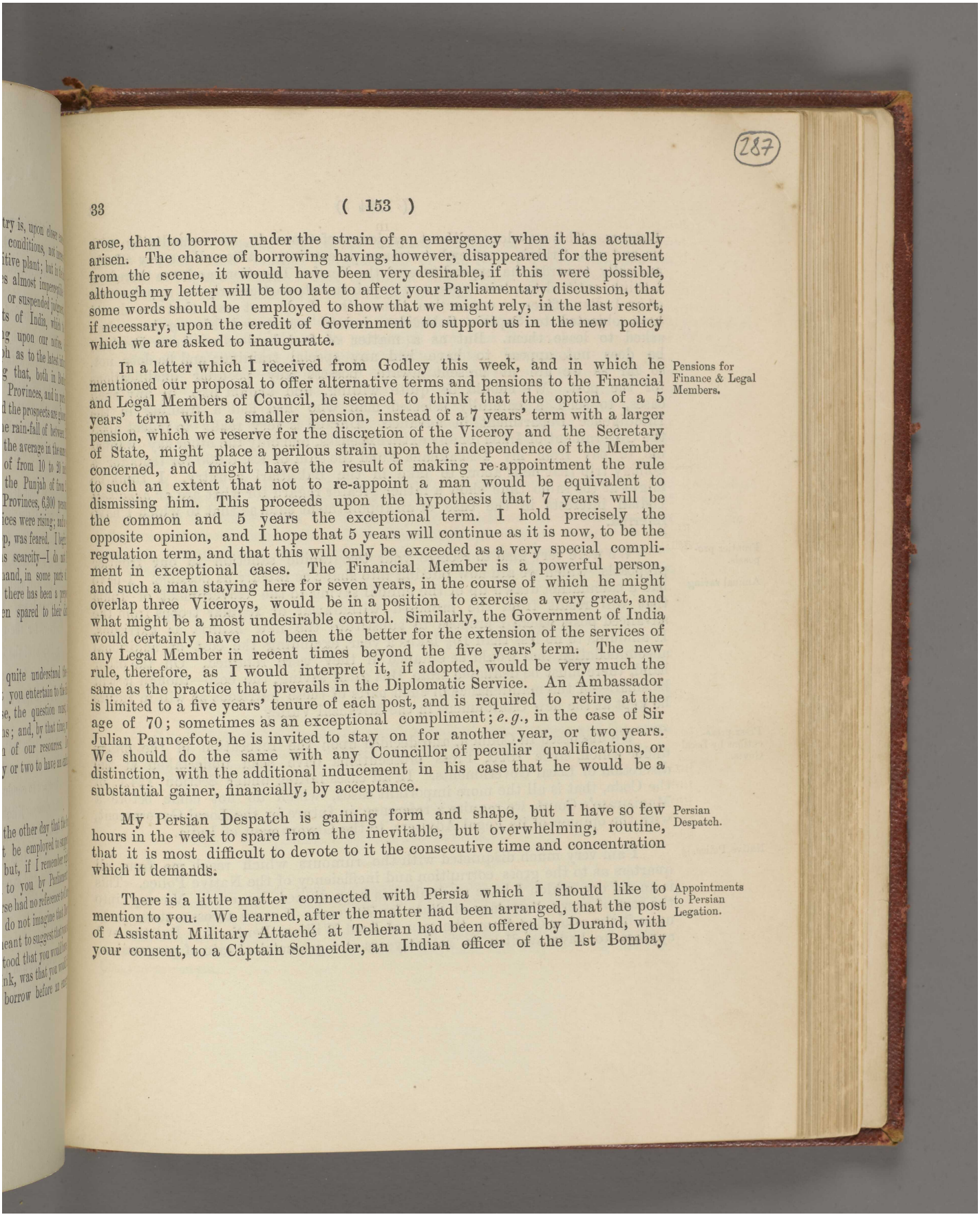

arose, than to borrow under the strain of an emergency when it has actually arisen. The chance of borrowing having, however, disappeared for the present from the scene, it would have been very desirable, if this were possible, although my letter will be too late to affect your Parliamentary discussion, that some words should be employed to show that we might rely, in the last resort, if necessary, upon the credit of Government to support us in the new policy which we are asked to inaugurate.

Pensions for Finance & Legal Members.

In a letter which I received from Godley this week, and in which he mentioned our proposal to offer alternative terms and pensions to the Financial and Legal Members of Council, he seemed to think that the option of a 5 years' term with a smaller pension, instead of a 7 years' term with a larger pension, which we reserve for the discretion of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, might place a perilous strain upon the independence of the Member concerned, and might have the result of making re-appointment the rule to such an extent that not to re-appoint a man would be equivalent to dismissing him. This proceeds upon the hypothesis that 7 years will be the common and 5 years the exceptional term. I hold precisely the opposite opinion, and I hope that 5 years will continue as it is now, to be the regulation term, and that this will only be exceeded as a very special compliment in exceptional cases. The Financial Member is a powerful person, and such a man staying here for seven years, in the course of which he might overlap three Viceroys, would be in a position to exercise a very great, and what might be a most undesirable control. Similarly, the Government of India would certainly have not been the better for the extension of the services of any Legal Member in recent times beyond the five years' term. The new rule, therefore, as I would interpret it, if adopted, would be very much the same as the practice that prevails in the Diplomatic Service. An Ambassador is limited to a five years' tenure of each post, and is required to retire at the age of 70; sometimes as an exceptional compliment; *e.g.*, in the case of Sir Julian Pauncefote, he is invited to stay on for another year, or two years. We should do the same with any Councillor of peculiar qualifications, or distinction, with the additional inducement in his case that he would be a substantial gainer, financially, by acceptance.

Persian Despatch.

My Persian Despatch is gaining form and shape, but I have so few hours in the week to spare from the inevitable, but overwhelming, routine, that it is most difficult to devote to it the consecutive time and concentration which it demands.

Appointments to Persian Legation.

There is a little matter connected with Persia which I should like to mention to you. We learned, after the matter had been arranged, that the post of Assistant Military Attaché at Teheran had been offered by Durand, with your consent, to a Captain Schneider, an Indian officer of the 1st Bombay

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Lancers. This was done without previous reference to, or consultation with us, and was, I think, a somewhat strange proceeding. After all we pay £7,000 annually towards the expenditure of the Persian Legation, and are therefore, I think, entitled to advise upon any appointment, particularly an appointment of an Indian officer, in connection therewith. I do not say that we should have objected to Captain Schneider; indeed we spared his services when asked to lease them. But as a matter of fact he does not know Persian; he does not appear to have had any special training; and he does not, so far as we are at present aware, possess any peculiar qualifications for the post. We should be quite willing, and should like, in any such cases, to send a carefully selected man who had had a training in the Intelligence Department in advance. Durand is very ready to indent upon the Government of India for any extra expenses, and only the other day wanted me to pay from my Toshakhana Fund the sum of Rs. 6,000 for tents for a holiday trip that he is about to take in the Bakhtiari country. I think he might at the same time show a rather greater regard for what are *ex hypothesi* Indian interests in the case of an appointment such as that to which I have referred.

Frontier proposals.

Annual saving.

We were very glad to receive your telegraphic sanction to our frontier proposals, which we are now putting into shape as rapidly as possible. I have had a calculation drawn up of the annual saving to the Government of India that will result from the proposed withdrawal of regular troops from the advanced posts where I propose to substitute the new Militia as garrisons. It amounts to no less than 16½ lakhs a year, excluding the cost of additional accommodation that would be entailed if they were retained. On the other hand, there must be deducted from this great saving, the cost—though it will be small—of the maintenance of such parts of these garrisons as will in future be kept at the new Cantonment in the Miranzai Valley.

Press prosecutions by Local Govts.

We discussed in Council, and decided upon the revocation of the orders under which, since 1890, Press prosecutions have been undertaken at the discretion of Local Governments. In all cases falling under Section 124A. of the Code, that is all the more important cases, which do not come before a Magistrate's Court, we require a reference in future by the Local Government, with the opinion of its Legal Advisers, to the Government of India.

Native Police.

I am very much disquieted with the rumours which reach me from all quarters as to the gross corruption and inefficiency of the Native Police. This is an old cry, which I have no doubt has been dinned by every Viceroy into the ears of every Secretary of State for 70 years. I came across a strong note upon it the other day from the pen of Lord William Bentinck. But the evil appears to have swollen in recent years at a geometrical rate of progression,

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and is rapidly becoming the great internal scandal of India. The Native Press is even more loud in denunciation of the Native Police than are the English newspapers, and I feel confident that I shall have, before long, to take it up and see whether any reforms are possible.

Petition from Raipur Zemindars.

I have enquired into the delays in connection with the Raipur case to which you referred in a recent letter. In paragraph 4 of your Despatch of September 1st, 1898, you expressed a doubt upon certain points. In communicating your orders to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces on October 3rd, we asked him for any remarks that he cared to submit upon those points. He has taken nine months to construct and to communicate these observations. While engaged upon the process of incubation, he entirely forgot to transmit your orders to the zemindars. This is how the good old Indian waggon rolls along. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

India and the Congress.

[Enclosure.

I send you an additional enclosure about the newspaper *India* and the Congress movement. It indicates what both are doing in the Province of Bengal; and it rather tends to confirm your suspicions as to the growing influence and circulation of Sir W. Wedderburn's pestilential organ. I note that, at present, I am, more or less, in its good books; but I foresee the truculence with which, when it gets the opportunity, it will round again upon an ancient foe.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

P. S.—In preference to adding anything about the monsoon and the crops, I enclose a rather obscure, and I fear, perhaps over-sanguine, note from our Meteorological Reporter.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Copy demi-official letter from Meteorological Reporter to Government of India to Officiating Secretary, Revenue and Agricultural Department, dated 2nd August 1899, on monsoon and crop prospects.

Copy confidential demi-official letter from Chief Secretary to Government of Bengal to General Superintendent, Thagi and Dakaiti Department, dated 18th July 1899, on *India* and Congress movement.

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No. 34.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
August 9th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Although, when you wrote me your last letter of July 19th, you were suffering from fever, the telegram which you sent me a little later relieved my apprehensions, and assured me that it was only a temporary attack, from which I hope that you have long ago recovered. To-day is Wednesday, and your Budget Debate must be just over; so that I expect your feelings are like those of a schoolboy on the eve of his holidays. No such agreeable sensation, so far as I can see, is likely to await me for the next five years.

Monsoon and Crop prospects.

I am still very nervous about the agricultural outlook. What we want are fresh monsoon winds, both from the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. So far as I can make out, the conditions under which these winds are developed are not unfavourable. The barometer is low in the Bay of Bengal; the wind is strengthening along the west coast; the meteorologists are confident that storms are brewing somewhere. Nevertheless, we wait on from day to day; there is always a blazing sun and a clear sky; and the much longed-for rain, which is always coming, never seems actually to arrive. The men of science do not seem to have much more to go upon than the analogy of previous years, in which the conditions have been somewhat similar. There have been occasions in which great dearth of rain in July has been followed by a corresponding abundance in August; and from this they argue that, although the month is one-third over, we may expect a plethora in the two-thirds fraction still remaining. I ardently hope that this may turn out to be the case; but I am somewhat disturbed by the analogy of the year 1876, when very similar conditions, both in the summer and early autumn, led up to the severe Madras famine of that winter.

The Secretary of State's Speech on the Budget.

Your telegram about the words which you proposed to use last night in the debate upon our financial prospects has just come in, and I have sent it over to Dawkins. For my own part, I think that the words you employed were exceedingly well chosen, and as explicit as we could have desired. The fluctuations of Government paper here are a matter which I am quite unable to understand; nor do I find anyone who can relieve my ignorance. Why a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government security should only stand at a fraction above par is

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a source to me of constant surprise. We had a discussion in Council last week upon the Committee's Report, and upon our own intentions; and the result was the telegram to which you have sent such a sufficient response.

Medal for the Tirah Campaign

I have talked to Lockhart about the Tirah medal. He is delighted that there is some prospect of its being granted; and he quite agrees that Malakand and Chakdara should be included as well.

Transport of Troops for the Transvaal.

With regard to the transport of troops, if needed for the Transvaal, I have ascertained upon inquiry that we should want about 20 ships; that they would take a fortnight to be prepared and fitted; that the first could leave on the fifteenth day, and the last on the twenty-first. I hope, however, that none of them may be required.

Holkar.

In reply to Holkar's personal appeal to me to postpone our sentence and to pay him a visit, I have written him a firm but civil letter, pointing out that I am unable to meet him in either respect, but that the extent to which what he calls his humiliation becomes known will be dependent entirely upon his own conduct; since, if he accepts the orders of the Government with composure, and acts up to them with loyalty, there is no reason why publicity should at present be given to any other fact than that a Resident has been appointed to his Court, similar to those attached to the Courts of all the leading Native princes.

Muscat.

I hope that my telegram to you reporting the facts about the latest French proposal at Muscat will have availed to relegate that ingenious but transparent device to the obscurity which it deserves. Please do not ask me once again to back down from a position which, under the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, I have taken up. Please also remember in relation to my telegram of the 6th August that Muttra, which the Riyam Cove would command, is the principal trading port of the State of Oman, and is a larger and more populous place than Muscat itself. The proposal, if carried out, would, therefore, mean joint French and British influence at Muscat, exclusive French ascendency at Muttra, with the ulterior results that you may easily imagine.

Alleged British designs on the Russian position in the Pamirs.

The Print that you sent us by the last mail contained two most interesting documents. One of these was the despatch recording Mouravieff's talk either with Hardinge or with Scott, I forget which, about our alleged designs upon the Russian position in the Pamirs. I have already told you how absurd those apprehensions are. But it is quite clear from the conversation that Mouravieff is ignorant of the elements of geographical knowledge about that part of the world, and that he had been gloriously gulled either by some designing military correspondent, or by Petrovski himself.

Control of the telegraph line to Fao.

The second document, to which I refer, was the very interesting letter about the negotiations being conducted with the Turkish Government for the

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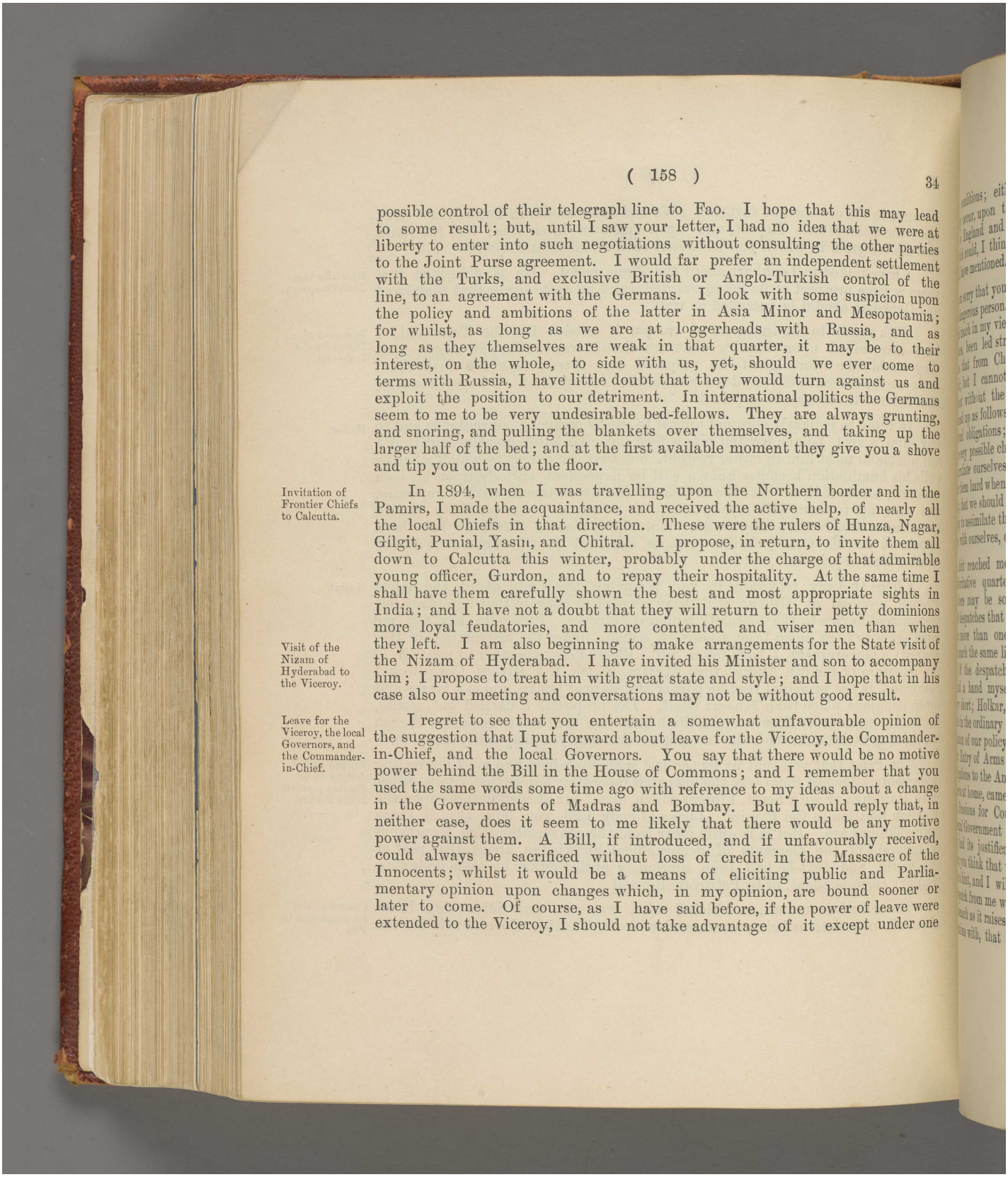

possible control of their telegraph line to Fao. I hope that this may lead to some result; but, until I saw your letter, I had no idea that we were at liberty to enter into such negotiations without consulting the other parties to the Joint Purse agreement. I would far prefer an independent settlement with the Turks, and exclusive British or Anglo-Turkish control of the line, to an agreement with the Germans. I look with some suspicion upon the policy and ambitions of the latter in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia; for whilst, as long as we are at loggerheads with Russia, and as long as they themselves are weak in that quarter, it may be to their interest, on the whole, to side with us, yet, should we ever come to terms with Russia, I have little doubt that they would turn against us and exploit the position to our detriment. In international politics the Germans seem to me to be very undesirable bed-fellows. They are always grunting, and snoring, and pulling the blankets over themselves, and taking up the larger half of the bed; and at the first available moment they give you a shove and tip you out on to the floor.

Invitation of Frontier Chiefs to Calcutta.

In 1894, when I was travelling upon the Northern border and in the Pamirs, I made the acquaintance, and received the active help, of nearly all the local Chiefs in that direction. These were the rulers of Hunza, Nagar, Gilgit, Punial, Yasin, and Chitral. I propose, in return, to invite them all down to Calcutta this winter, probably under the charge of that admirable young officer, Gurdon, and to repay their hospitality. At the same time I shall have them carefully shown the best and most appropriate sights in India; and I have not a doubt that they will return to their petty dominions more loyal feudatories, and more contented and wiser men than when they left.

Visit of the Nizam of Hyderabad to the Viceroy.

I am also beginning to make arrangements for the State visit of the Nizam of Hyderabad. I have invited his Minister and son to accompany him; I propose to treat him with great state and style; and I hope that in his case also our meeting and conversations may not be without good result.

Leave for the Viceroy, the local Governors, and the Commander-in-Chief.

I regret to see that you entertain a somewhat unfavourable opinion of the suggestion that I put forward about leave for the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and the local Governors. You say that there would be no motive power behind the Bill in the House of Commons; and I remember that you used the same words some time ago with reference to my ideas about a change in the Governments of Madras and Bombay. But I would reply that, in neither case, does it seem to me likely that there would be any motive power against them. A Bill, if introduced, and if unfavourably received, could always be sacrificed without loss of credit in the Massacre of the Innocents; whilst it would be a means of eliciting public and Parliamentary opinion upon changes which, in my opinion, are bound sooner or later to come. Of course, as I have said before, if the power of leave were extended to the Viceroy, I should not take advantage of it except under one

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of two conditions; either very serious illness, or possibly, should such a calamity occur, upon the death of my father. Men now frequently go from India to England and back on privilege leave in two months; and this is a risk which could, I think, be taken without detriment in any of the cases which I have mentioned.

The Viceroy's views on Frontier and Central Asian policy.

I am sorry that your Council think that I am a very Forward, and therefore, a dangerous person. As a matter of fact, I do not think that I have ever changed much in my views on Frontier and Central Asian policy. I have, sometimes, been led strongly to oppose and denounce suggestions of retreat, such as that from Chitral, which I thought to be unstatesmanlike and unsound; but I cannot recollect having ever advocated a purely forward movement without the strongest justifications. My views may, I think, be summed up as follows: firstly, that we should fulfil our treaty and other contractual obligations; secondly, that we should keep Russia out of India, closing every possible chink of entry; thirdly, that we should keep friends and ingratiate ourselves with the Frontier tribes if they will let us, but hammer them hard when they massacre, and plunder, and raid across our border; fourthly, that we should only take them into our system by slow degrees as we are ready to assimilate them; fifthly, that we should train them to the common defence, with ourselves, of their own country.

Length of Despatches & letters to Secretary of State.

A hint reached me last week from a well-informed, and I was told, an authoritative quarter, that my despatches home were too long. I think there may be some mistake in this; because, as you know, out of every 50 despatches that go home to the India Office, the Viceroy has not a hand in more than one; and I suppose that the remainder are written now on much the same lines, and at the same length, as those in preceding years. Of the despatches which I have either written, or in which I have had a hand myself, I can only recall the following:—Nushki, which was very short; Holkar, which was the same; Muscat, which was not a despatch in the ordinary sense of the term so much as a historical resumé, and justification of our policy there, written for Parliamentary publication at your request; Entry of Arms into Afghanistan, which was not long; Letter about our obligations to the Amir, which, after it had been pulled about by a number of experts at home, came back to me of almost precisely the same length as it left; Pensions for Councillors, of very moderate dimensions; and Letter to the Bengal Government about the Calcutta Municipality Bill, which has already had its justification in the reception with which it has met. If, however, you think that these, or any other despatches, have been too diffuse, give me a hint, and I will try to cut them down. It is true that one very long despatch from me will reach you before long, namely, that upon Persia. But inasmuch as it raises and discusses the whole question of our position in, and relations with, that country, of the shares of responsibility that should

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be borne by the Imperial and the Indian Governments, and the difficult problem of our future policy there, it should be a paper of more than ordinary importance. It occurs to me that the criticism I have quoted may apply to some of my Frontier Notes of which I have sent you copies. The one about Tochi and Wana was portentously long. My defence would, however, be that I have been actively engaged in laying down a new frontier policy, to which, in the first place, I required to win the assent, partly of my senior Colleagues, who had all of them previously signed despatches in the opposite sense, partly of new Colleagues, who knew nothing about the matter at all; and, secondly, that I conceived it indispensable, in the interests of continuity, that the broad principles of the new policy, as well as their particular application, should be clearly laid down for future guidance. After my first year, when the new policy in this as well as in other directions, is in working order, the application should become automatic, and the enunciation of principles should not call for repetition. Or, finally, the criticism may apply, and with some justice, to my weekly letters to you; and here I would ask you, with absolute frankness, to tell me what you would like in the matter. It is quite true that I include in my letters a great deal that I might very easily omit, and that you perhaps do not require to know. I could easily, if you sent me a hint to that effect, reduce them weekly by at least one-half. But my view has been that the Government of India can only be satisfactorily and harmoniously conducted by a perfect mutual understanding between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, and that my share in that arrangement consists, not merely in telling you what is a matter of official obligation, but in acquainting you, even at the risk of boredom, with all that is passing in my mind. Such a record is also, from time to time, useful, for personal reference, to myself. But, as I have said, I shall be quite happy to curtail it.

Cost of Eurasian Regiment.

As regards our estimate of the cost of a Eurasian Regiment, which you have been waiting to receive, before replying to our Despatch on the question, I find that it has been wandering round the different branches of the Army Head-Quarters for nearly six months, every one of these impossible officers writing, not upon it, but upon subsidiary and wholly disconnected details, such as method of recruitment, length of service, pensions, and so on. There it might have remained, but for Godley's reminder, till the end of time. What is one to do with such people, and with such a system?

Reports to the India Office.

May I remind you of a question asked in a previous letter, as to the number of reports, sent to the India Office by the subordinate Governments or by ourselves, which are really necessary to you, and the number which you could spare. I am waiting to take the matter up.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 35.

To SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
August 9th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

You were good enough to write me two letters by last mail. To the one about Pensions for Councillors I need not return a lengthy reply, since we dropped the idea of limiting the pension to 15 years, with the alternative of commutation; while your plea against our five years' proposal I answered by anticipation in a letter to the Secretary of State last week. It is strange that a case should present itself in such entirely opposite lights to two men. You argue that, under the system we have proposed, a Member will, in nine cases out of ten, hold for seven years. I believe, on the other hand, that if the system be properly administered, the seven years' tenure will only be (as it ought in my judgment only to be) the exception; while under your system it is clear to me that the seven years' tenure will be the invariable and unbroken rule. You want to attract good men by offering them a better financial prospect than is now possible: and how do you do it? By presenting them with a noble pension if they stay for seven years, but with no pension at all if, for any reason, they stay for less. Will not every candidate make it quite clear to the Secretary of State, as a condition of acceptance, that he is to be a full-term and pensionable man, and will you not, therefore, get a constant stream of seven years' men? You may think that this will be good for the Government of India. I emphatically do not. We are more likely to suffer from the prolonged retention of indifferent men under such a system than we are, under the present, from the premature loss of good men.

Pensions for Members of Council.

As regards the Viceroy, I am quite ready, if it be thought desirable, to eliminate the latter from the decision. Let the Secretary of State decide, at the end of the five years, whether he will ask a Member to continue. Of course he will only do so after consultation with the Viceroy, and will not be likely to impose a distasteful Colleague upon the latter. In practice, the result will be the same; although, even if our proposal be accepted and the Viceroy be kept in, I do not anticipate the subservience that you fear; since, as I have before pointed out, I would continue to treat five years (which is quite long enough) as the rule, and would only make seven years

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the reward of exceptional service or distinction. Why should there be a greater indignity in accepting a post under such conditions than there is in accepting any other five years' post, civil or military, in the public service, with the hope, in rare cases, of a prolongation of term?

The Secretary of State's salary.

I am horrified at what you say in the second letter about the idea of putting the salary of the Secretary of State upon the Estimates. Parliamentary control is essential to the good government of India: but Parliamentary interference, liable to be inspired by party spirit, and conducted by busybodies, would be a national danger. I hope that whatever the Committee may recommend in this direction, the Government will think twice, thrice, and more, before accepting it. "Keep India out of the House of Commons" is a motto that any well-wisher of this country should always have before his eyes.

By the time you receive this, you will be bicycling in Hampshire lanes. Ah me! how sweet!

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 36.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
August 16*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I must not intrude upon your holiday by any *menu* of excessive length; but I propose to serve you up a resurrection-pie, which will contain a good many odd scraps and morsels.

Railway Conference.

Yesterday we held the annual Railway Conference, composed as usual; and in opening it I made a short speech, upon the lines that I had foreshadowed to you in a previous letter, which will be published in the papers. It will indicate to the public both my views of railway policy in general, and the reforms which I propose to institute in regard to the Conference in particular; and I shall be surprised if it does not, on the whole, produce a favourable impression. We shall, of course, address you officially on the matter. I do not think I need further explain my proposals, which are made sufficiently clear in the speech. My views were unanimously accepted by the Conference, and will, I hope, meet with a similar reception at the

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hands of Council. Whether the existing Conference, or Committee, will be required to meet in future years, is a point which, for the moment, we have allowed to stand over.

Snowdon.

I was glad to note your favourable reception of my suggested compromise about Snowdon. The despatch containing the application of the Commander-in-Chief went off by last mail.

Appointment of Colonel Jennings to Indore.

I sent you a telegram yesterday, mentioning the fact that I am offering the new post at Indore to Colonel Jennings. He answers the requirements of Her Majesty, who has written a letter to me on the subject, in being a military man of sufficient rank. In some ways he is a curious creature, for, as the records which you have in the India Office will show, he is vain, rather impetuous, and does not get on with everybody. On the other hand, he is one of the few men I have come across whose apparently extravagant pretensions are based upon genuine ability, and who can actually perform a good many of the rather out-of-the-way feats which he boasts of being able to do. He is very keen to have an opportunity of distinguishing himself, likes the Natives, to whom he will talk for hours without stopping, and is the sort of man who is as likely as any one that we can find to get on the right side of Holkar, and to keep him in a good temper. Martindale and Barr concur in thinking the appointment the best that, under the circumstances, we could make.

Telegraph Rates.

I have been wondering what is going on in respect of the Telegraph Rates question, other than the negociations at Constantinople, to which I referred last week. Are you approaching the Companies, or do you propose to do so? Are they approaching you? Have public opinion, Parliamentary deputations, Henniker-Heaton, our arguments, or any of these, made any impression upon the stolid front of Beach? People are very earnest about the matter here, and there will be great and genuine disappointment, if Her Majesty's Government fail to extend to India the sympathy which they have shown to the Colonies.

Mr. Tata's University and Family Endowment Scheme.

You will be pleased, and perhaps surprised, to hear that a very charming letter has just come in from Mr. Tata, in reply to mine to him, saying that, in deference to the strong opinions that we have expressed, he is willing altogether to disconnect his University proposals from the Endowment scheme, and to submit the former independently upon its own merits. This ready acquiescence in our views indicates a liberality and unselfishness on his part for which I was hardly prepared, and may render us more willing to meet him upon the other matter later on.

Monsoon and Crop prospects.

Light showers continue to fall in parts of the country where rain was very much needed, and the conditions are more favourable, particularly in the Central Provinces, where the outlook, a fortnight ago, was decidedly bad. At the same time we are still painfully in arrears over enormous tracts; and I

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am doubtful whether we shall escape without serious scarcity in the winter. The meteorologists here seem to me to be the most hopeless people. They have scarcely made a prophecy since I came to India which has been fulfilled.

The Viceroy's reforms.

I cordially accept the advice that you offer me about caution in the pursuit of reforms. One has to remember that one is dealing with human beings and not with inanimate mechanism; and that the person who enjoys being reformed has never yet been born. On the other hand, I have behind me the pressure of very strong individual support amongst many of my Colleagues, and of the whole of public opinion, both English and Native, in India. There is not, I can assure you, the slightest danger, by any interference from head-quarters, of destroying the initiative and self-reliance of Local Governments; on the contrary, the consciousness that the eye of the Viceroy is upon them will, in my opinion, act as a stimulus, and develop an initiative of which at present I see no signs. What I complain of is that administration in India has got into a rut; that men are content to drive the same old plough in the same old furrow; and that vigour, and zest, and ideas, have been driven out of them by the mechanical routine of their lives. I should like to endow them with a novel initiative; to inspire them with bigger ideals; to enable them, in fact, to cope with the emergency, should it ever arise, when, as you justly remark, a Viceroy will require in his subordinates, beyond anything else, the qualities of independence, courage, origination, and power to act.

Appointments to Persian Legation.

In connection with what I said in my letter of August 2nd about the appointment of Captain Schneider to the British Legation at Teheran, I find that Durand consulted Lockhart privately by telegram about the matter. The Government of India, however, were never informed, and knew nothing of it, and I think we ought certainly to have been told. But there is a more striking case still. Picot, who is an Indian officer, was re-appointed by the Foreign Office, a short time ago, for a second term as Oriental Secretary and Military Attaché (the latter being surely an appointment which intimately affects ourselves), without any consultation either with the Government of India, or with yourself. I see that the Foreign Office subsequently apologised to you in a letter, dated February 18th, 1899, but I should be glad if you would ask them to show a little more consideration to our opinion in these cases in the future.

Lieut.-Colonel M. J. Meade.

Speaking of Durand, I may mention that, in a recent letter to me, he passed a glowing eulogy upon Meade, and said that the latter was very much disappointed at not having been decorated for his services in the Persian Gulf during the past year. I believe Meade to be an active, well-meaning, and conciliatory person; but I do not feel clear that our Gulf policy has prospered very greatly in his hands.

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Muscat.

In the Foreign Office communications which have reached us by the last mail, there are two memoranda handed by M. Cambon to Lord Salisbury on the subject of Muscat, both of which contain statements inconsistent with the facts. The Ambassador's information about Abdul Aziz is all wrong. If you will refer to my telegrams of March 14th, 17th, and 21st, you will find that we have actual evidence that Abdul Aziz was in the paid service of the Sultan from 1895 to 1898, long after he had entered Ottavi's service. M. Cambon is also wrong about the location and capacity of our coal-sheds. We have none now in the town of Muscat itself. I see that M. Cambon gave to Lord Salisbury, on July 19th, a very explicit repudiation on the part of his Government of any political designs at Muscat and in the Persian Gulf. I will not contest the *bona fides* of this assurance. All I will say is that it is quite inconsistent with the action of their Vice-Consul at Muscat, and with the entire proceedings connected with Bunder Jisseh and the Riyam Cove. Whatever may be the policy or the intentions of the Quai d'Orsay, it is beyond dispute that the local French agents are animated by political motives, and are agitating for political ends.

Sir Howard Melliss.

For nearly ten years past an officer, named Sir Howard Melliss, has filled the post of Inspector-General of the Imperial Service Troops. Although he has done good work in his day, he has long since ceased to be fitted for the post, for the exertions and travels connected with which he is also physically incapacitated. Nevertheless, owing to no limit of time having been placed upon the appointment when originally made, the Government of India has not been able to dispense with his services, of which he himself has shown no anxiety to relieve us. An opportunity, however, has lately arisen of making a bargain with him in connection with the good service pension, for which he stands next on the list, but for which the Commander-in-Chief was anxious to pass him over. I am recommending him for the pension, to which I think he is justly entitled, but have at the same time secured an engagement from him that he will retire at the end of the present cold season. We shall make the post a five years' appointment, and then apply this rule retrospectively to him; so that he will retire without loss of dignity in the forthcoming spring. I hope to get a more active and suitable officer in his place.

Plague in the Bombay Presidency.

Poor Sandhurst is still being grievously afflicted with plague. The statistics of Belgaum, and still more of Poona, are quite shocking; and no amount of precaution, no extent of outlay, no segregation, or inoculation, or anything else, seems in any degree to mitigate the severity of the pest when once it has taken firm hold.

Punjab system of Frontier administration.

I have, as you may have observed, already followed in one particular your advice not to take up too many things at the same time. The future government of the Punjab must stand over till next year. I literally have

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not time to go on with it now. The longer I wait, however, and the greater experience I get, the stronger, in my judgment, is the case for the change to come. Scarcely a week passes without some evidence reaching me of the inability of a Local Government to manage a frontier, or to carry out a foreign policy; while, on the other hand, the sensitiveness of its high officials to anything in the nature of a criticism, a correction, or a command, is so hysterical as, in itself, to constitute a sufficient condemnation of the system.

Personal. I suppose you are either at North Berwick, engaged in the pursuit which was described by a cynical wag as "putting little balls into little holes with implements quite unfitted for the purpose," or are at your marine castle, drinking in the breezes of the Channel.

Lady Salisbury. I am desperately sorry to hear about the state of poor Lady Salisbury, in whom I have always found a most warm-hearted and affectionate friend.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Speech by the Viceroy at the Railway Conference on Tuesday, 11th August 1899.

No. 36a.

To SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B., Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
August 16th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I add this line to you to my dictated letter to the Secretary of State, in answer to manuscript letters by the mail of July 28th from both of you.

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I cannot fail to be somewhat disturbed at the chorus of uneasy, if not openly unfavourable, rumour that you report to me about Law. Lord Cromer's opinion, however, would be more valuable did it rest upon personal knowledge, which it admittedly does not, or did he dislike the brother less. Dawkins tells me that the Treasury are always suspicious and critical of anyone who is not one of themselves: and that he has never known an outsider to get on with them, or to impress them with his abilities. Mr. Dawkins' successor.

Nevertheless, I quite recognise the features in Law's character and exterior which have provoked the rather damaging opinions that you have quoted; and I have not gone further myself than to indicate my general willingness to run the risk, should the Secretary of State be convinced that he is the best man.

In the meantime, as Mackay's name seems to be emerging in rather bolder relief, I am making very private enquiries as to how his appointment would be received by the mercantile community in general, and by Calcutta in particular. From what I have so far heard, he did not leave in India an impression at all comparable with that which he has produced in the India Office at home. I will let you hear the results of my enquiry at a later date.

I am much obliged to you for having made the desired communication to the Foreign Office about our Consul at Basrah. Consul at Basrah.

Colonel Gardiner has been in some respects a useful Colleague to me. He is a man of independent character and judgment, and has not been a cipher in Council. The changes which I announced in my speech at the Railway Conference yesterday (copy enclosed with my letter to the Secretary of State) have been worked out in consultation with him. I doubt if I should have derived equal assistance from the Colleague for whom he is acting. On the other hand, in the Department he has allowed his E. I. R. connections and prepossessions sometimes to get the upperhand of his judgment; and I have more than once had to put my foot down very firmly upon attempts to wrest a decision in favour of his old clients. Colonel Gardiner.

I enclose a letter from a Mrs. Galbraith concerning her son, and from Sir A. MacDonnell concerning his claim. Will you kindly submit both to the favourable consideration of the Secretary of State? Mr. Galbraith. [Enclosure.]

I should have mentioned in my letter to the latter that I wrote a letter to Sir J. Woodburn the other day, suggesting to him that, if he desired to Calcutta Municipality Bill.

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make any small concession to the Natives in respect of the Municipality Bill, he might, out of the so-called European section of 25 members, which we have left intact, and which is composed of 15 Government nominees and ten representatives of commercial bodies, give four or five seats to Native associations. It would make very little, if any, difference in the complexion of the 25, since, as it is, there are usually seven or eight Natives among them, mainly among the Government nominees: while it need make no difference in the new constitution, provided that Sir J. Woodburn makes careful provision for proportional representation in the choice of the General Committee. I have not heard whether he will accept the suggestion. In his speech in the Bengal Legislative Council the other day upon the amended Bill, he did not behave quite loyally to me, or to the Government of India: for he spoke of himself and the Natives as having both appealed to us, and both been overruled (thereby suggesting that he and they had been throughout on the same side); and he spoke of the Government of India as having gone further than Sir A. Mackenzie, thereby suggesting that our solution was even less liberal and more hostile to Native claims. Considering that the solution we ultimately recommended was suggested to me by Sir J. Woodburn himself, I think that his attitude has been somewhat disingenuous.

Sir J. Woodburn's attitude.

I remarked somewhere, after I came out to India, that I gave my popularity with the Native Press a six months' life. I send you for your amusement the first note of disillusionment that I have yet seen struck. I should perhaps add, however, that the article is written by one of the two Babus upon whom I turned the tables by taking the Bombay precedent from their Note of Dissent on the Municipality Bill.

The Native Press. [Enclosure.]

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Letter, dated 20th July 1899, from Mrs. Galbraith to Private Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, with letter from Private Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor to Mr. Lawrence, dated 10th August, regarding a nomination for Mr. Galbraith as an Indian Cadet to Sandhurst.

Newspaper extract on the Calcutta Municipality Bill.

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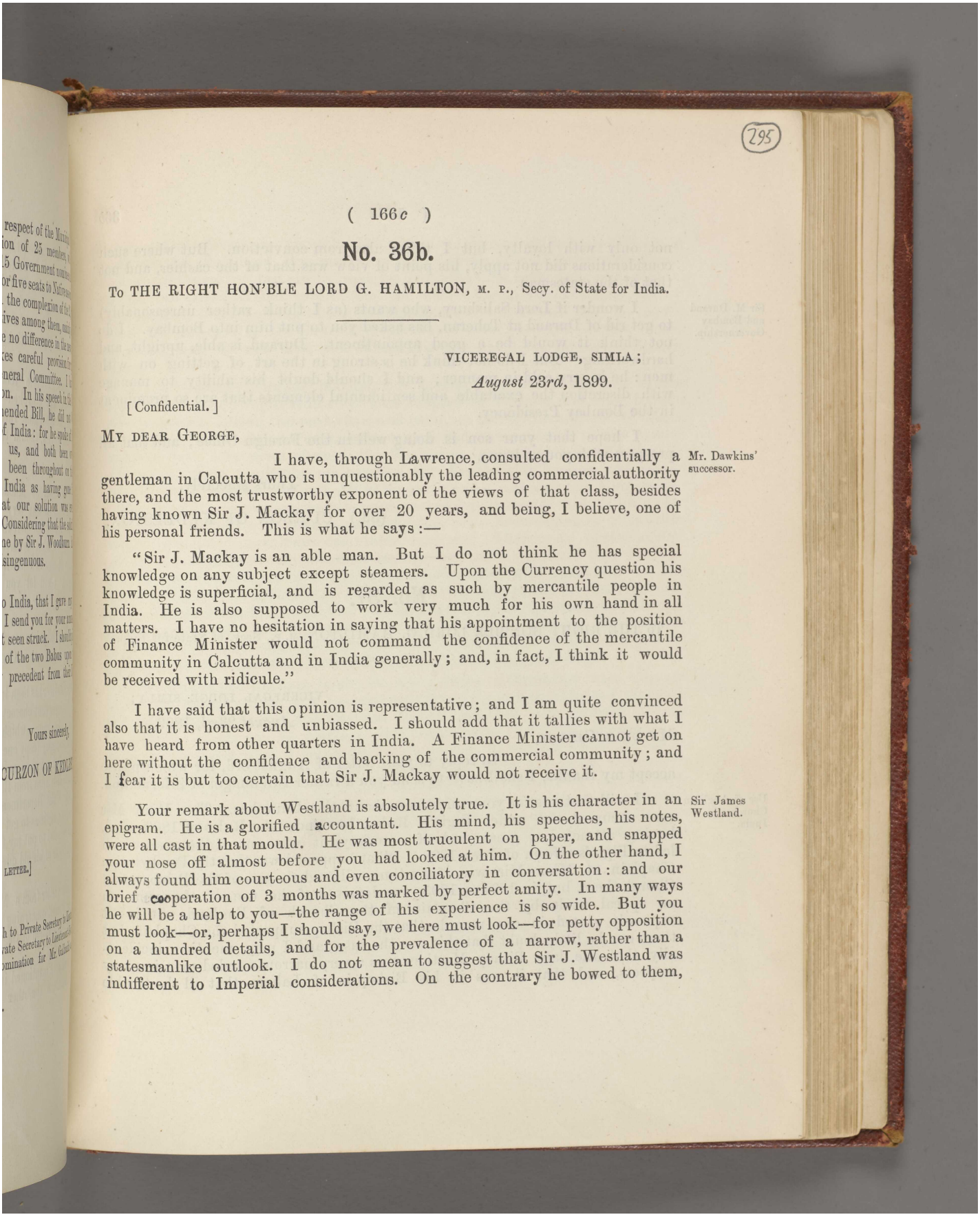

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No. 36b.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
August 23*rd*, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have, through Lawrence, consulted confidentially a gentleman in Calcutta who is unquestionably the leading commercial authority there, and the most trustworthy exponent of the views of that class, besides having known Sir J. Mackay for over 20 years, and being, I believe, one of his personal friends. This is what he says :— Mr. Dawkins' successor.

"Sir J. Mackay is an able man. But I do not think he has special knowledge on any subject except steamers. Upon the Currency question his knowledge is superficial, and is regarded as such by mercantile people in India. He is also supposed to work very much for his own hand in all matters. I have no hesitation in saying that his appointment to the position of Finance Minister would not command the confidence of the mercantile community in Calcutta and in India generally; and, in fact, I think it would be received with ridicule."

I have said that this opinion is representative; and I am quite convinced also that it is honest and unbiassed. I should add that it tallies with what I have heard from other quarters in India. A Finance Minister cannot get on here without the confidence and backing of the commercial community; and I fear it is but too certain that Sir J. Mackay would not receive it.

Your remark about Westland is absolutely true. It is his character in an epigram. He is a glorified accountant. His mind, his speeches, his notes, were all cast in that mould. He was most truculent on paper, and snapped your nose off almost before you had looked at him. On the other hand, I always found him courteous and even conciliatory in conversation: and our brief cooperation of 3 months was marked by perfect amity. In many ways he will be a help to you—the range of his experience is so wide. But you must look—or, perhaps I should say, we here must look—for petty opposition on a hundred details, and for the prevalence of a narrow, rather than a statesmanlike outlook. I do not mean to suggest that Sir J. Westland was indifferent to Imperial considerations. On the contrary he bowed to them, Sir James Westland.

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not only with loyalty, but I think also from conviction. But where such considerations did not apply, his point of view was that of the cashier, and not that of the statesman.

Sir M. Durand and Bombay Governorship.

I wonder if Lord Salisbury, who wants (as I think rather unreasonably) to get rid of Durand at Teheran, has asked you to put him into Bombay. I do not think it would be a good appointment. Durand is able, upright, and hardworking. But I do not think he is strong in the art of getting on with men: he is very cold in manner; and I should doubt his ability to manage with discretion the excitable and sentimental elements that are so prominent in the Bombay Presidency.

I hope that your son is doing well in the Foreign Office; and that all prospers with you at home.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 37.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;

August 23rd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

In reply to your letter of August 3rd, for which please accept my thanks, I shall have to send you a rather full budget of information.

Use of Anglican Churches in India.

I will first answer your questions about the Churches. The Mian Mir case occurred not under Elgin's Rules, but under the Rules of 1860; and, having attracted a great deal of notoriety, it was one of the cases which led to Elgin's reform of June 1898. What happened was that the Presbyterian Chaplain at Mian Mir was, for a time, allowed the use of the Presbyterian Church there, but, in 1894 or 1895, was deprived of the use of the same on an appeal made by the Chaplain of the Church of England. It is not expressly stated in our records that the Bishop supported the Chaplain, but there can be little doubt that this was the case; and I may mention incidentally that the late Bishop Matthew was a very narrow-minded man in many respects, and that it was in his Bishopric of Lahore that all the trouble

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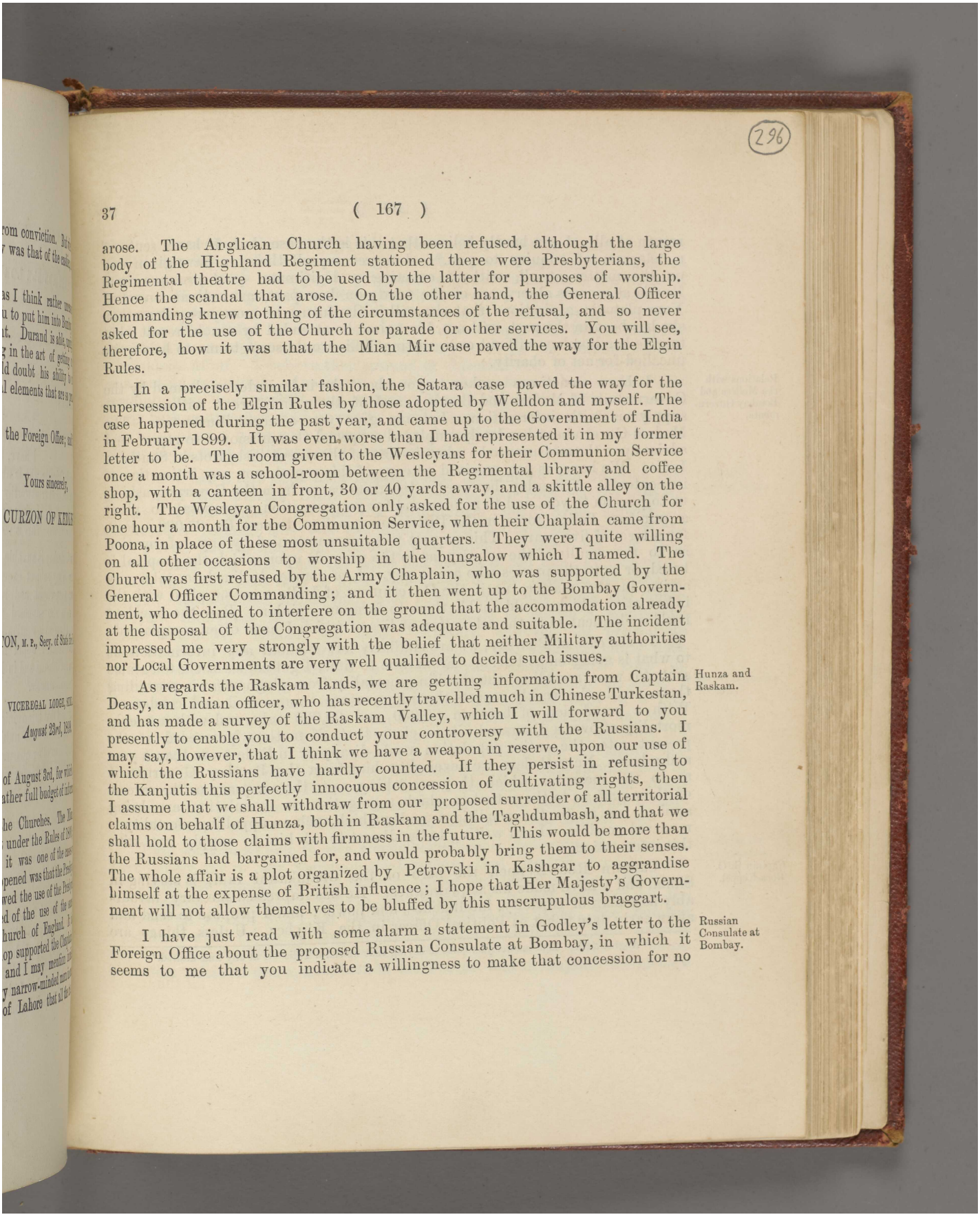

arose. The Anglican Church having been refused, although the large body of the Highland Regiment stationed there were Presbyterians, the Regimental theatre had to be used by the latter for purposes of worship. Hence the scandal that arose. On the other hand, the General Officer Commanding knew nothing of the circumstances of the refusal, and so never asked for the use of the Church for parade or other services. You will see, therefore, how it was that the Mian Mir case paved the way for the Elgin Rules.

In a precisely similar fashion, the Satara case paved the way for the supersession of the Elgin Rules by those adopted by Welldon and myself. The case happened during the past year, and came up to the Government of India in February 1899. It was even worse than I had represented it in my former letter to be. The room given to the Wesleyans for their Communion Service once a month was a school-room between the Regimental library and coffee shop, with a canteen in front, 30 or 40 yards away, and a skittle alley on the right. The Wesleyan Congregation only asked for the use of the Church for one hour a month for the Communion Service, when their Chaplain came from Poona, in place of these most unsuitable quarters. They were quite willing on all other occasions to worship in the bungalow which I named. The Church was first refused by the Army Chaplain, who was supported by the General Officer Commanding; and it then went up to the Bombay Government, who declined to interfere on the ground that the accommodation already at the disposal of the Congregation was adequate and suitable. The incident impressed me very strongly with the belief that neither Military authorities nor Local Governments are very well qualified to decide such issues.

Hunza and Raskam.

As regards the Raskam lands, we are getting information from Captain Deasy, an Indian officer, who has recently travelled much in Chinese Turkestan, and has made a survey of the Raskam Valley, which I will forward to you presently to enable you to conduct your controversy with the Russians. I may say, however, that I think we have a weapon in reserve, upon our use of which the Russians have hardly counted. If they persist in refusing to the Kanjutis this perfectly innocuous concession of cultivating rights, then I assume that we shall withdraw from our proposed surrender of all territorial claims on behalf of Hunza, both in Raskam and the Taghdumbash, and that we shall hold to those claims with firmness in the future. This would be more than the Russians had bargained for, and would probably bring them to their senses. The whole affair is a plot organized by Petrovski in Kashgar to aggrandise himself at the expense of British influence; I hope that Her Majesty's Government will not allow themselves to be bluffed by this unscrupulous braggart.

Russian Consulate at Bombay.

I have just read with some alarm a statement in Godley's letter to the Foreign Office about the proposed Russian Consulate at Bombay, in which it seems to me that you indicate a willingness to make that concession for no

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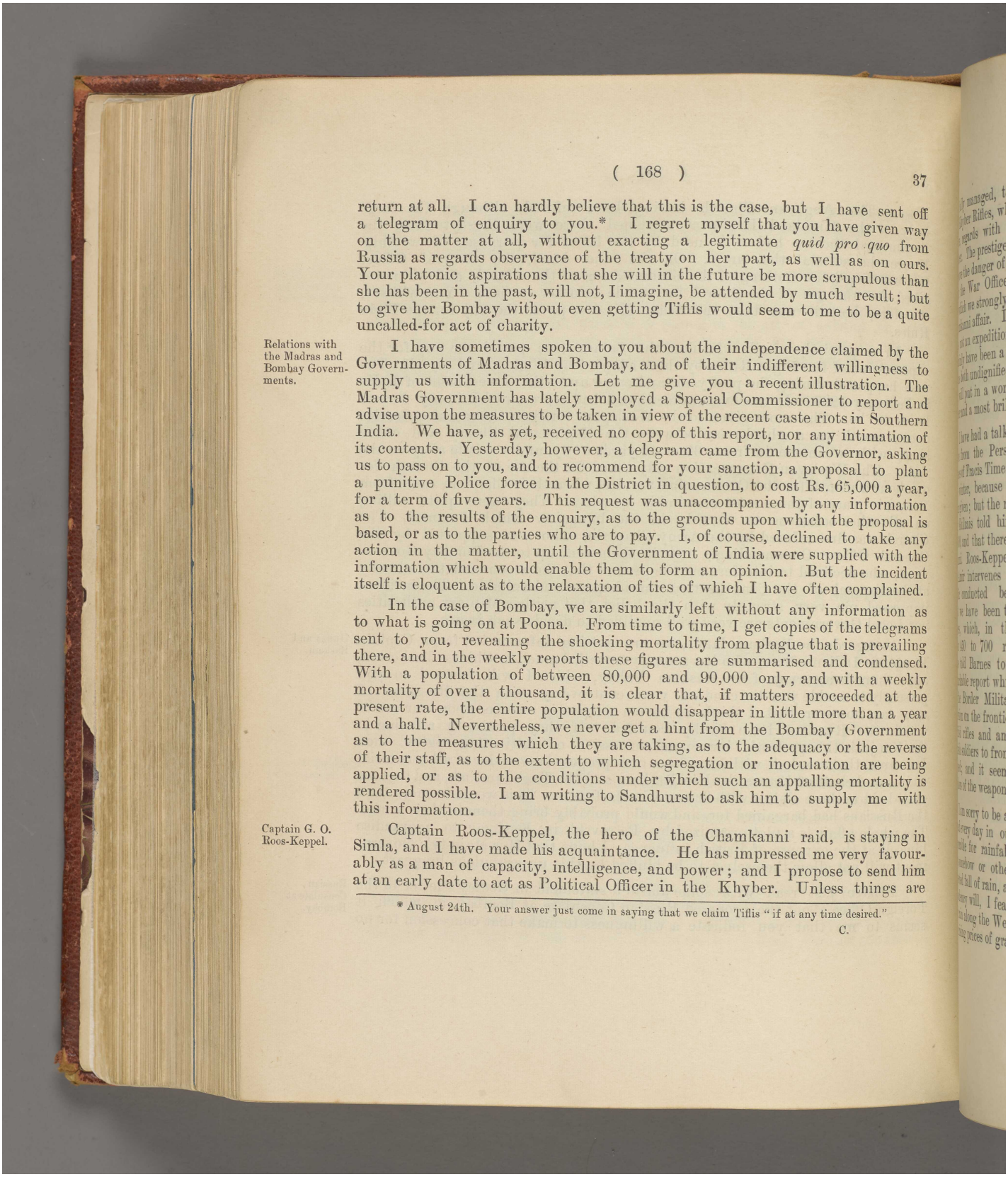

return at all. I can hardly believe that this is the case, but I have sent off a telegram of enquiry to you.* I regret myself that you have given way on the matter at all, without exacting a legitimate *quid pro quo* from Russia as regards observance of the treaty on her part, as well as on ours. Your platonic aspirations that she will in the future be more scrupulous than she has been in the past, will not, I imagine, be attended by much result; but to give her Bombay without even getting Tiflis would seem to me to be a quite uncalled-for act of charity.

Relations with the Madras and Bombay Governments.

I have sometimes spoken to you about the independence claimed by the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and of their indifferent willingness to supply us with information. Let me give you a recent illustration. The Madras Government has lately employed a Special Commissioner to report and advise upon the measures to be taken in view of the recent caste riots in Southern India. We have, as yet, received no copy of this report, nor any intimation of its contents. Yesterday, however, a telegram came from the Governor, asking us to pass on to you, and to recommend for your sanction, a proposal to plant a punitive Police force in the District in question, to cost Rs. 65,000 a year, for a term of five years. This request was unaccompanied by any information as to the results of the enquiry, as to the grounds upon which the proposal is based, or as to the parties who are to pay. I, of course, declined to take any action in the matter, until the Government of India were supplied with the information which would enable them to form an opinion. But the incident itself is eloquent as to the relaxation of ties of which I have often complained.

In the case of Bombay, we are similarly left without any information as to what is going on at Poona. From time to time, I get copies of the telegrams sent to you, revealing the shocking mortality from plague that is prevailing there, and in the weekly reports these figures are summarised and condensed. With a population of between 80,000 and 90,000 only, and with a weekly mortality of over a thousand, it is clear that, if matters proceeded at the present rate, the entire population would disappear in little more than a year and a half. Nevertheless, we never get a hint from the Bombay Government as to the measures which they are taking, as to the adequacy or the reverse of their staff, as to the extent to which segregation or inoculation are being applied, or as to the conditions under which such an appalling mortality is rendered possible. I am writing to Sandhurst to ask him to supply me with this information.

Captain G. O. Roos-Keppel.

Captain Roos-Keppel, the hero of the Chamkanni raid, is staying in Simla, and I have made his acquaintance. He has impressed me very favourably as a man of capacity, intelligence, and power; and I propose to send him at an early date to act as Political Officer in the Khyber. Unless things are

* August 24th. Your answer just come in saying that we claim Tiflis "if at any time desired."

C.

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skilfully managed, there may be some friction there; for the Commandant of the Khyber Rifles, which is now a much more important and highly organised force, regards with some jealousy his necessary subordination to the Political Officer. The prestige of Roos-Keppel will, however, I hope, be sufficient to remove the danger of friction in this particular case. I am very sorry to hear that the War Office at home have refused Roos-Keppel the Brevet-Majority for which we strongly recommended him, as a reward for his conduct of the Chamkanni affair. I believe their ground of objection was that the incident was not an expedition. Inasmuch as it saved us from what would almost certainly have been a costly, and perhaps a bloody expedition, this plea seems to me both undignified and unworthy; and I hope, if you agree with me, that you will put in a word with Lansdowne on behalf of a singularly meritorious officer and a most brilliant and dashing episode.

Arms with Frontier tribes

I have had a talk with Roos-Keppel about the arms on the frontier that come from the Persian Gulf. He only bought two rifles marked with the names of Fracis Times & Co., and the Birmingham Small Arms Factory, in the winter, because this was the limit for which Government sanction had been given; but the native intermediary who purchased them for him from the Ghilzais told him that the latter had offered to sell him any number up to 500, and that there was a great abundance of the arms in question in Ghazni. Roos-Keppel thinks that, even now, he could buy some 200, unless the Amir intervenes to stop the trade, which is of course a contraband traffic conducted behind his back. Already, however, the precautions that we have been taking upon the frontier have had a marked effect upon prices, which, in the case of a new Martini-Henry, have gone up from 450 to 700 rupees. In connection with the question of arms, I have told Barnes to send on to Lee-Warner an advance copy of a very remarkable report which has just been written by Mr. Waterfield, an officer of the Border Military Police, who was recently detached to examine this question on the frontier. Let me invite your attention to it. It shows that British rifles and ammunition have, for some time past, been steadily sold by British soldiers to frontier Pathans. I had no idea that such a state of affairs existed; and it seems to me a poor look-out if our own men are corrupt vendors of the weapons which are to be used later on to take British lives.

Mr. Waterfield's Report.

Monsoon and Crop prospects.

I am sorry to be able to give you no better report concerning the Monsoon. I read every day in our meteorological reports that pressure conditions are favourable for rainfall in the districts where the latter is most required; but, somehow or other, a fall in the barometer is not followed by the expected fall of rain, and I am beginning rather to lose hope. The Bombay Presidency will, I fear, be the heaviest sufferer. There has been scarcely any rain along the West Coast; we hear from every side of withering crops, and rising prices of grain, and, both in the Deccan and in Gujerat, the menace

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of scarcity is becoming serious. The outlook in the Central Provinces is also gloomy, although light rains have fallen in that part. The excessive rain in some districts renders it doubtful whether the misfortunes of one area will be balanced by the prosperity of another; and although there is still hope that we may escape from famine, it is almost certain that we shall have great distress.

Transfer of the West Kent Regiment to Aden.

I have had to consider whether the despatch of the West Kent Regiment from Rangoon to Aden should be postponed until the trial is over. The date for removal is fixed for September 24th, and the trial begins before the end of this month. It is certain to last a very long time, since the men are to be tried either singly, or in batches, and since one of them is so ill in hospital as to be unable at present to be tried at all. There is just the off chance that some revelations may be made, by some one turning informer, or otherwise, which may inculpate fresh persons, but this does not now seem very likely; and as I found that the entire trooping arrangements, both in India and at home, depended upon adherence to the programme already laid down, and that great inconvenience and expense would be caused by departing from it, I have decided to let the Regiment go upon the date fixed, detaining, of course, at Rangoon the 25 or 30 military witnesses who will be required.

Sir F. Fryer's proposal for a frontier expedition.

Sir Frederic Fryer recently sent up to us a proposal for a frontier expedition in the forthcoming winter into the unknown mountainous country between Upper Burma and China. This expedition was to revenge certain outrages of a rather dubious character committed by the hill tribes, and to acquire geographical and scientific information about the country. I have disallowed it, because I thought the provocation insufficient, and the probable results incommensurate with the outlay and risk, but most of all because it seemed quite clear to me that the expedition could only result in an extension of our administrative and political responsibilities, and in putting a burden upon the revenues of Burma which they are hardly fitted to bear. The Burmese Government is a little inclined to run the Government of India into frontier expeditions on the specious ground that it is only a matter of Police. We have no great Power threatening on that quarter—since it is almost absurd to call China a Power at all—and I cannot see the least necessity for pushing ahead, so long as we can, with dignity and safety, hold back.

Calcutta Municipality Bill.

In my letter to Godley last week I mentioned that I had written to Sir John Woodburn suggesting to him a slight concession to Native sentiment in respect of the position of the so-called European wing in the reformed Corporation. He has replied saying that he much prefers not to accept it, and that he trusts the Bill will pass as it now stands. His reason for refusing it is that it might offend the British mercantile community, upon whose support he

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largely depends. Of course, therefore, I shall not press it. It is, however, a somewhat peculiar feature of the Lieutenant-Governor's attitude throughout the case, that in his letters to me he poses as a champion of the British element in Calcutta, without whose cordial co-operation he says he cannot govern the city, whereas in his speeches in the Bengal Legislative Council he appears as the strenuous and sympathetic friend of the Natives, prevented from rendering them all the assistance that he would personally desire by the fiat of a more powerful and imperious tribunal.

The Viceroy's tour.

In the course of my forthcoming tour, unless it be stopped or curtailed by famine, I shall either visit or see the whole of the Rajput Chiefs. I then pass on to the North-Western Provinces, where I shall have a camp for some days at Agra, and where Sir Antony MacDonnell is most anxious that I should hold a Durbar for the Oudh Talukdars at Lucknow. They have had none since Lord Ripon was there in 1882. I have replied that I am willing to hold the Durbar if it is the emphatic desire of the Talukdars that I should do so, but that otherwise I have no desire to put the parties concerned to the inevitable expense.

Confidential Reports on Military Officers.

A curious feature of Military administration in India came before me the other day. It appears that here, and I daresay also in England, a report is submitted once every year upon every Staff Officer in the British and Native Army, by his superior officer, or officers. If the report is unfavourable it has to be shown to the individual criticised; otherwise it is passed on to head-quarters. The consequence is that the reports are a stream of fulsome and almost ludicrous panegyric. I must have looked through the accounts of at least 200 or 250 officers; everyone of them was smart, zealous, intelligent, and capable, fitted to fill any position to which he might be called. Anyhow, to judge from what I read, our Army must be officered entirely by Moltkes and Wellingtons. Some of these verdicts were given by General Officers Commanding upon men whom they admitted, in the course of the report, that they had only seen for three or four minutes in their lives. I drew the attention of the Commander-in-Chief to this phenomenon, and I think he will take steps to modify the full blast of encomium that has hitherto always been blown. Thank Heaven we have no such nonsense in the Civil Service, either here, or at home. How ever should we get on, if every Ambassador or Minister in Europe had to send a confidential report once a year to Lord Salisbury on everybody in his Embassy or Legation, subject to the condition that, unless it was all praise, the report must be seen by the party criticised? As a matter of fact when a post is vacant, or a campaign occurs, the Commander-in-Chief here does not go and fish out this paper from his pigeon-holes; he selects the men whom he knows and can trust himself, or who are recommended to him by others whom he both trusts and knows; and I believe the entire procedure to be almost useless, as well as farcical.

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Tirah Medal.

I am much obliged for your telegram about the Tirah decoration. The Commander-in-Chief thinks that it would have to take the form of a bronze or other star, like the star given for Roberts' troops for the march from Kabul to Kandahar. We will address you officially on the subject.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 38.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
August 30th, 1899.

My dear George,

I hope you have shaken off the weakness and depression, to which you were evidently to some extent a victim when you wrote your last letter on August 9th. Perhaps they were to be attributed to the natural reaction at the end of a long and tedious Session culminating in a heavy debate. Anyhow, I trust that the golf links, or the Kentish coast, whichever you have been affecting, may have set you right.

The Budget Debate. Sir H. Fowler's speech.

I have not yet had time to study very closely your Budget Debate; but its satisfactory nature seems to have been in inverse proportion to the number of Members who were present. Fowler made one of those speeches, crushing, ponderous, and patriotic, for which he may always be relied upon. There is no one so conservative as your Radical, when once he has acquired the traditions or the inspiration of a high office; there is no one so official as the outsider who, in the evening of a professional career, has climbed up to official eminence. When I hear or read these Indian speeches of his, proclaiming that our government of India is the best in the world, both in this country and at home, I am always rather reminded of the man who walks in front of one of the regiments of Guards with an enormous drum attached to his stomach, behind which he is almost concealed from view. You see nothing but the waving of his arms; while the crash and thunder of the big drum extinguishes every neighbouring sound.

Monsoon and crop prospects.

I am afraid that Sandhurst's native astrologer, whom he seems to have quoted to you with approbation, has turned out, like most astrologers, ancient

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or modern, a hopeless fraud. A dry July has not been followed in the Bombay Presidency, or anywhere else, by a wet August. The rain-fall on that coast is still between 30 and 40 inches in deficit of the average rain-fall from the 1st June to the end of August; and I fear that the various pressures and gradients and depressions, and all the daily humbug that I read in the terminology of our Meteorological experts, have not brought us one drop of the moisture which is so sorely needed. On the other hand, there have been light rains in the Central Provinces, and in Central India, and as these seem to be moving in a westerly direction, I hope they may carry on as far as Rajputana and parts of the Deccan. It is still, I think, too early to talk of famine, for it is possible that September rains may yet save us from that extreme calamity; but the autumn harvests have irretrievably suffered, and it is certain, I fear, that in many parts cattle will die by thousands. Our officials in all the threatened districts are already making preparations, in which, of course, we shall turn to good account the experience of recent years. In the Central Provinces, where, till lately, we have felt the greatest apprehension, village relief organisation is being rapidly completed, so that actual distribution may commence the moment the necessity arises. Settlement operations have been suspended in the affected districts; additional officers have already been appointed, and the districts are being split up into relief circles. Gratuitous relief is already in full swing in many places; and a series of excellent instructions have been issued to all the officers to acquaint them with their duties as soon as, and even before, the emergency occurs. We have telegraphed for definite information from all the imperilled parts of India to be forthcoming by September 1st; we shall then be able to address to any particular Province or locality the instructions or the admonitions that may be required.

Famine precautions.

You may have read in the papers that a sudden and murderous attack has been made, probably by trans-border Pathans, upon a brewery just outside Quetta. Barnes thinks that the perpetrators were probably men from Shorawak in the territory of the Amir. Two-thirds of the trouble that we now have upon that frontier, and of the outrages and robberies that occur, are the result of an injudicious and weak-kneed concession that appears to have been made by Elgin in the demarcation of that part of the frontier. For the greater part of the distance the line follows the crest of the mountains which are a continuation of the Khwaja-Amran Range; but a little to the south-west of Quetta a diversion was made in order to humour the Amir, and a tongue of land, containing certain *karezes*, on our side of the mountains, was foolishly handed over to him. There appears to have been no one in the Foreign Department at the time to advise as to the real nature of the demand, which was conceded, like so many other blunders that we have committed in many parts of the world, out of a combination of political weakness and

Attack on a Brewery near Quetta.

Unwise frontier concession to the Amir.

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geographical ignorance. The consequence is that this tongue of land, projecting into Beluchistan, has become an Alsatia which is filled with the *badmashes* and villains of the entire neighbourhood.

Frontier delimitation.

In this connection let me say that I firmly hope that neither here, nor in any future capacity, may I ever be called upon to authorise, or to undertake, a frontier delimitation. I know of no case in which we have not come off second best in such an operation, whether it was conducted on our own behalf, or on behalf of others. We alienated Amir Shir Ali of Afghanistan by the Seistan award of 1872, which gave the greater part of that district to Persia. I have often complained to you of the troubles and vexations which we have been caused by the premature and unnecessary Frontier Agreement of Sir Mortimer Durand. I have very little doubt that the Pamir Frontier Convention of 1895 will be provocative of dispute in the future, in connection with the Tagdumbash and the Sarikol. Captain McMahon not only made the blunder that I have just described, upon the Beluch-Afghan Frontier, near Quetta; but further to the west, near Seistan, another stupid mistake was made by which our trade route is now compelled to pass through Persian instead of exclusively British territory; this mistake again being, to some extent, the consequence of an earlier mistake made by Goldsmid in 1872. Further to the south, Sir Thomas Holdich demarcated the Perso-Beluch boundary in the most haphazard and careless way, from which we are certain to suffer someday. If I turn to my Foreign Office experience, I remember well that the greater part of our Niger troubles with France arose out of the clumsy and unscientific way in which we had drawn the frontier line between the French and British spheres between the Niger and Lake Chad; and, looking ahead, I venture to predict that the latest African Agreement, which the Cabinet concluded but a little while ago with France, will be the source of similar friction in the future. The fact is that the official negotiator, or the local demarcator, whichever he be, is anxious above all things to come to terms, in order sometimes to conclude the business, sometimes to get his decoration. On the other hand, the head-quarter offices, overwhelmed with work, imperfectly acquainted with geography, and ill supplied with maps, are apt to give away, without due consideration, what may ultimately turn out to be of extreme value.

Persia.

I have finished my despatch about Persia, which I hope may be a document useful to the Government of India, both here and at home, for many years to come. Some little time will be required in consulting the Finance Department about the various proposals that I make, and the despatch will have to be sent round to, and seen by, all my Colleagues. A fortnight, therefore, will probably elapse before it finally leaves by the mail. But it will be in London to greet your Councillors and yourself before you return from your holiday in October.

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Relations with the Madras and Bombay Governments.

It will not surprise you to learn that I have heard nothing from Sandhurst about his proposal to you once again to have recourse to the Regulation of 1827. I presume that, after your hint, he will consult me upon the subject if he carries the idea any further; but, although I have written to him twice during the last month upon questions of some importance, I have not as yet had any reply. Very likely his energies have been taken up partly by plague duties at Poona, partly by preparation for his annual Budget debate, which came off last week. I am in correspondence with his brother Governor of Madras about several points of interest to the latter Presidency. He thinks that the Government of India interfere far too much with him; and I think that we interfere much too little. Or perhaps I should better express our own position by saying, as I have often done to you before, that Madras has been allowed to push its independence to lengths so extravagant that, whenever their Government requires to be pulled up, there is something of a row. Havelock, however, is a capable and agreeable controversialist, and I enjoy my correspondence with him. I fancy that the abuses of delay in his Government are almost more rife than in any other; and only the other day I had experience of a casual illustration. I saw something in a paper about the treatment of the Chitrali prisoners who are kept at Ootacamund. I telegraphed to the Madras Government for information on August 2nd. Although they themselves were stationed at Ootacamund at the time, and the means of replying to me could have been procured in an hour, I did not get an answer till August 20th, having had to telegraph a reminder twice in the interim. Such negligence I believe to be characteristic, though it was admitted by the Governor to be without justification.

Troops for the Cape.

Prospects of War.

Our Military authorities are very busy in drawing up estimates, and making preparations for the South African Contingent, which it now appears more likely than not will have to go. The telegrams are very barren and uncommunicative, but they suggest the impression that the time for *pour parlers* is past, and that we have no alternative but to act. I shall be very sorry if war occurs with a people whom really we have no desire to fight, and whom we want to get on our side, and to live at peace with, in the future. At the same time I fully realise the Imperial character of the problem, and am aware that much more than the franchise is at stake. My own feeling all through has been that matters would reach a point at which we should have to send an army, and at which the army might even land; but that the Boers would give way, after putting us to a great deal of trouble and expense, before the first shot had been fired.

Move of the West Kent Regiment to Aden.

When I first discussed with Lockhart the desirability of removing the West Kent Regiment from Rangoon, I had no idea, nor do I think had he, that the departure would take place before the trial had been completed. It was only later that I heard that the general trooping arrangements required

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the removal to take place at a particular date at the end of September. Had I known earlier, I think I should have pressed that they should be kept on until the trial was over. This could not be done without great cost and inconvenience, after all the arrangements affecting England as well as India had been made. The idea, however, that the Regiment is being punished before its guilt has been proven has not been taken up by any one out here. In the first place, quite apart from the outrage, the general state of indiscipline in the Regiment, of which the outrage was itself an illustration, was sufficient to justify some punitive measure; secondly, it was desirable, on many grounds, to get the Regiment away as quickly as possible from Rangoon.

Leave Rules.

Now that I have finished Persia, I am going to take up the question of Leave Rules and their pernicious effect upon the continuity of our administration. I will let you know well in advance what changes we are likely to recommend in the matter. The problem is one of the highest importance; for you can scarcely have an idea of the extent to which, under the existing system, the efficiency of our provincial government has been impaired, and dislocation of business caused in almost every department of administration.

Over Report-writing.

I also want, before I leave Simla, to deal with the question of over Report-writing in every branch of Government. I have, I think, in previous letters asked you, and even sent a reminder, as to the views of the India Office on the matter. I have little doubt that you are getting the information prepared for me. What I want to know is how many of the reports, and surveys, and reviews, that we send home to you annually are wanted by you, or by Parliament, and how many you regard as a superfluity with which it would be possible to dispense.

Holkar.

You will, perhaps, see in the papers that go home my letter to Holkar, and the subsequent letters from Wyllie to us. The Maharaja seems to be in a more reasonable frame of mind, although I am afraid that previous experience affords little ground for the hope that this will be of long duration.

Hunza and Raskam.

I congratulate you and the Foreign Office upon having persuaded the Russians to give way about the Raskam lands. As my letter last week will have shown, I think they are wise in their generation to have done so; for persistence in an attitude of unfriendliness on their part would have entailed the revival of claims on ours which might, later on, have been used to their detriment, and to which they evidently entertained the strongest objection.

Alleged appointment of a Turkish Harbour Master at Koweit.

I have not telegraphed to you anything about the alleged appointment of a Turkish Harbour Master at Koweit, mentioned by Wratislaw in a letter or telegram, inasmuch as I presume that, if Lord Salisbury thinks that action is required, he will take it. In any case I should doubt the Sheikh accepting the Harbour Master, should the latter appear upon the scene.

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Muscat.

I note that in a despatch received by the last mail you hinted at a renewal of our subsidy to the Sultan of Muscat at no distant date. What he has been doing without the money all this time none of us can imagine. I think it not unlikely that Ottavi may have been supplying him with rupees. I am quite willing that Cox should go to Muscat with the possibility of renewal as a card up his sleeve. I had a vague indication the other day that the Sultan is becoming anxious to get back into our good graces, for a letter from Fagan enclosed a complimentary Kharita from him to me which there was nothing in the present or in recent circumstances, to call for or to explain.

Kohat Road.

Some months ago I told you of our intention to take up the question of the Kohat Road, and open, by a friendly agreement with the tribes, and payment of a moderate additional subsidy to them, that section of the road, their treaty obligations to construct which they have for years been most unaccountably allowed to evade. It does not seem that we shall have any difficulty in the matter; but the question has been for a time complicated and delayed by the suggestion that the proposed railroad to Kohat, instead of being built from the Indus, should run through the Kohat Pass from Peshawar. Our authorities, both Military and local, differ materially both as to the relative advantages of these schemes and as to the reception that the Kohat Pass Railway would meet with from the tribes. Personally, I am inclined to prefer the Khushulgarh-Kohat line to the Kohat Pass, but I have suggested to the Punjab Government that, when the matter of the road is talked over with the tribal jirga, the latter should be consulted about a railway, and asked to express their opinions, being assured, if necessary, that we have no desire to build a railway without their consent.

Mr. Beresford. [Enclosure.]

I enclose a letter* from Sir Mackworth Young, putting forward the application of Mr. Beresford, who, for three years, has been head of the Irrigation Department in the Punjab, for the impending vacancy at Cooper's Hill College. I met Mr. Beresford while at Lahore in April, and he accompanied me on my tour to the Chenab and to Lyallpur. He seemed to me to be a conciliatory and competent personage, although of course my experience was not long enough to enable me to say more.

Expenditure at Gilgit.

I have for some time been of opinion that we are spending a good deal more at Gilgit than is required. Originally, while we were fighting Hunza, and before we had taken over Chitral, Gilgit was the pivot of the Hindu-Kush Frontier. Ever since 1895, it has ceased to occupy that position, and is now not more important than a score of stations along our lengthy frontier.

* Dated the 26th August, enclosing, in original, a letter, dated the 25th idem from Mr. J. S. Beresford, Chief Engineer, Punjab Irrigation Department, soliciting a recommendation from His Excellency the Viceroy for the appointment of President of Cooper's Hill College.

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Nevertheless, the establishment has been kept up upon a scale even in excess of that which was demanded in more troublous times. I hope, before long, to acquaint you that we are able to effect substantial reductions.

Mrs. Besant; and Hindu College for the N.-W. Provinces.

I will write to you, in a later letter, about the communication which you have sent me from Mrs. Besant. I had some correspondence with her shortly after my arrival at Calcutta on the subject of her new College, upon which I expressed myself with extreme caution, as I had reason to believe that my supposed sympathy with the movement was being improperly used. I had a talk about the matter with MacDonnell, when he was staying with me at Government House, and he gave me some reasons, which I do not now very clearly remember, for thinking that though Mrs. Besant herself had not political motives, many of those with whom she was acting were not merely active, but disloyal, politicians. It did not occur to me, nor did I gather from his conversation, that he had any religious prejudices against her, or against the movement. I will, however, find out what is at the bottom of the dispute between them, and endeavour to advise you as to the answer that should be returned.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 38a.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
August 30th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have a few observations to make in answer to your confidential letter of August 10th.

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I am in some difficulty about offering an opinion as between Law and O'Brien, since I know absolutely nothing of the latter beyond what you and Godley have told me. I will have a further talk with Dawkins, and write to you about it next week. I do not regard Bisset as a financier: and a financial expert I think that we must have. From every other point of view, he would be a charming Colleague. Mr. Dawkins' successor.

I telegraphed to the Principal of the Fergusson College my congratulations upon the brilliant distinction of their pupil, since, Mr. Paranjpe being away in England, and no answer having at that time been returned by the Bombay Government to my request for the address of his father, I did not know whom else properly to congratulate. I was aware of the doubtful reputation of the College, and of the fact that Professor Gokhale had been one of its teachers. But I did not conceive that a congratulatory telegram to its official head upon the achievements of a former alumnus, could possibly be interpreted as an approval or condonation of alleged political inclinations; nor do I see how any sensible man could draw such an inference from my act. Sir Mancherji's wealthy Natives must either have been very reluctant donors, or great donkeys. Mr. Paranjpe. Message to the Fergusson College.

Somebody told me that Ridgeway was pressing hard to get Bombay. I hope you are not thinking of him. He has been a most unpopular Governor in Ceylon: and is not suited to Bombay. His wife is not suited to either place. Governorship of Bombay.

I am trying to get our estimate for a Eurasian Regiment out of the Military Department; but when a paper or file gets into the hands of the Hon'ble Member, it is apt to repose there for weeks, and sometimes for months. He slumbers away the greater part of his time in a country retreat about 9 miles from Simla, and ambles in once a week on a staid pony for Meetings of Council. It is a striking illustration of an intelligence and a character flattened out and attenuated by a quarter of a century of officialism. The consequence is that in that Department matters move at a snail's pace, and it is very difficult to accelerate the rate of speed. Eurasian Regiment.

I look forward to the future of my work with occasional misgiving. Dawkins, my real stand-by, is going. I do not know what sort of man will The Viceroy's work and Colleagues.

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take his place. My two Military Colleagues, though amiable and courteous, are of no use to me for government. Raleigh is sensible, but does little outside of his special work. Trevor, though a man of ability, is a departmental nagger, and no longer has the freshness or the ideas of youth. Rivaz will probably go sooner or later to some Local Governorship. I sigh for a strong and capable and vigorous man, who will help me with a burden, the weight of which, even if it becomes easier, never becomes less.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 39.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
September 6th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Monsoon and Crop prospects.

I have not very much to add to what I wrote to you last week about the agricultural and climatic outlook. During the last day or two, light rain has fallen in a few parts of Rajputana which have hitherto not had a drop of moisture; and to-day's reports describe the skies there as clouded, and the humidity as on the increase. There would seem, therefore, to be some slight hope for that part of the country. On the other hand, no re-assuring news has lately reached us from Bombay. Tales of distress come up from Kathiawar and Ahmedabad. Some of the crops are dead; others are dying. In Baroda the cattle are said to be perishing of starvation; and the prices of food-grains are steadily rising in the affected parts of the Bombay Presidency. If the worst is to come, it looks as if poor Bombay would once

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more have to bear the brunt, and as if Sandhurst would have to retire under the cloud which has so unhappily enveloped the greater part of his administration.

The Viceroy's projected tour.

I am going next week on a short tour into the hills, to get a breath of air and a transient holiday, and while I am away, I propose to send my Military Secretary down to Rajputana to find out the state of affairs there, and advise me, upon my return, as to what to decide about the projected tour. I have had a request from the Maharaja of Jeypore on no account to change my plans in consequence of the anticipated famine; mainly on the ground that my visit to the various Native States would stimulate their Rulers to a more active consciousness of their duties and responsibilities in respect of relief, and would therefore be an alleviation, and not a hardship, to the suffering people. There is something in this; but perhaps the advice is not altogether disinterested, inasmuch as Jeypore is not one of the States that is likely to be gravely afflicted. My own idea is, if at the end of the month I find that the autumn rains have not fallen, and that the distress is likely to be widespread or serious, to abandon altogether my tour as a ceremonial pageant, and to proceed, with my Private Secretary and a very small surrounding, on a private tour of inspection to all the suffering localities, whether in Rajputana, Bombay, or Central India. This would put heart into the workers, and would enable me to acquire a good deal of useful knowledge. I could then return to the North-Western Provinces, where the conditions are far more favourable, and could carry out there the latter part of my tour on the usual scale as originally planned. All this, however, is still in the air, and I shall not have to give a decision for three weeks.

Financial position as regards famine expenditure.

I have been looking into the question of the capacity of our financial resources to meet the strain of a famine in the forthcoming winter, and particularly as to how much famine expenditure we could meet from our cash balances up to the end of the year, without asking you to reduce your drawings of Council Bills, or requiring the spending departments to reduce their outlay below the Budget grants. The amount is estimated at 1½ crores, or possibly, with a careful management of the balances, 2 crores. The only doubtful point in the details of this estimate is the loss of revenue which the famine may involve. That we take at 50 lakhs, and it is possible that it might amount to more, though, as far as we can see at present, it is unlikely that so large a sum as 1½ crores will be required for famine expenditure up to the end of December. Hence we still hope that we shall not be forced either to reduce your drawings, or to insist on a restriction of the Budget programme of expenditure.

Foreign Office policy.

In your letter of August 17th, which came by the last mail, there was a paragraph which stated with perfect accuracy the position of affairs in the Foreign Office at home. We live in that institution, as a 'three years'

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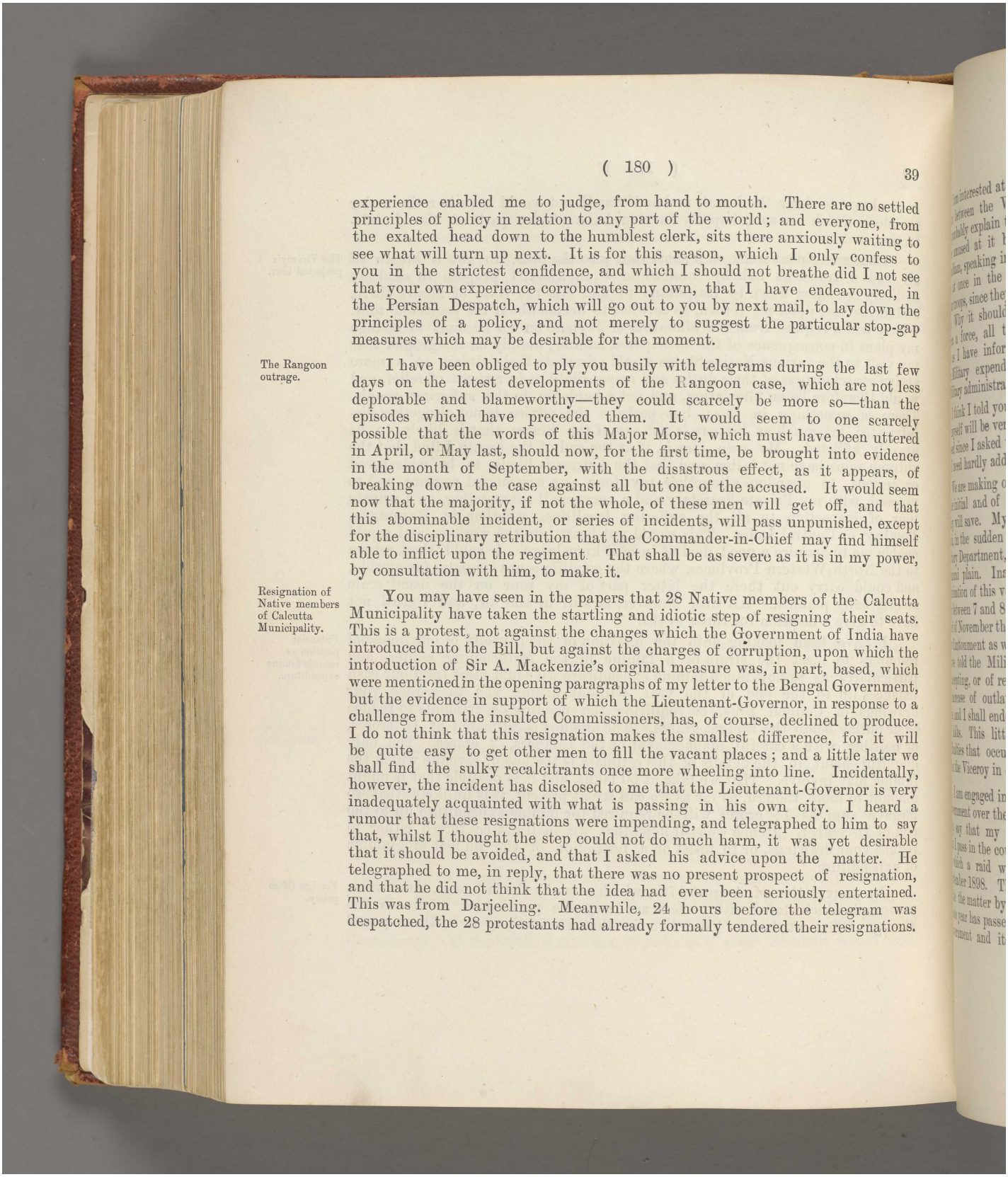

experience enabled me to judge, from hand to mouth. There are no settled principles of policy in relation to any part of the world; and everyone, from the exalted head down to the humblest clerk, sits there anxiously waiting to see what will turn up next. It is for this reason, which I only confess to you in the strictest confidence, and which I should not breathe did I not see that your own experience corroborates my own, that I have endeavoured, in the Persian Despatch, which will go out to you by next mail, to lay down the principles of a policy, and not merely to suggest the particular stop-gap measures which may be desirable for the moment.

The Rangoon outrage.

I have been obliged to ply you busily with telegrams during the last few days on the latest developments of the Rangoon case, which are not less deplorable and blameworthy—they could scarcely be more so—than the episodes which have preceded them. It would seem to one scarcely possible that the words of this Major Morse, which must have been uttered in April, or May last, should now, for the first time, be brought into evidence in the month of September, with the disastrous effect, as it appears, of breaking down the case against all but one of the accused. It would seem now that the majority, if not the whole, of these men will get off, and that this abominable incident, or series of incidents, will pass unpunished, except for the disciplinary retribution that the Commander-in-Chief may find himself able to inflict upon the regiment. That shall be as severe as it is in my power, by consultation with him, to make it.

Resignation of Native members of Calcutta Municipality.

You may have seen in the papers that 28 Native members of the Calcutta Municipality have taken the startling and idiotic step of resigning their seats. This is a protest, not against the changes which the Government of India have introduced into the Bill, but against the charges of corruption, upon which the introduction of Sir A. Mackenzie's original measure was, in part, based, which were mentioned in the opening paragraphs of my letter to the Bengal Government, but the evidence in support of which the Lieutenant-Governor, in response to a challenge from the insulted Commissioners, has, of course, declined to produce. I do not think that this resignation makes the smallest difference, for it will be quite easy to get other men to fill the vacant places; and a little later we shall find the sulky recalcitrants once more wheeling into line. Incidentally, however, the incident has disclosed to me that the Lieutenant-Governor is very inadequately acquainted with what is passing in his own city. I heard a rumour that these resignations were impending, and telegraphed to him to say that, whilst I thought the step could not do much harm, it was yet desirable that it should be avoided, and that I asked his advice upon the matter. He telegraphed to me, in reply, that there was no present prospect of resignation, and that he did not think that the idea had ever been seriously entertained. This was from Darjeeling. Meanwhile, 24 hours before the telegram was despatched, the 28 protestants had already formally tendered their resignations.

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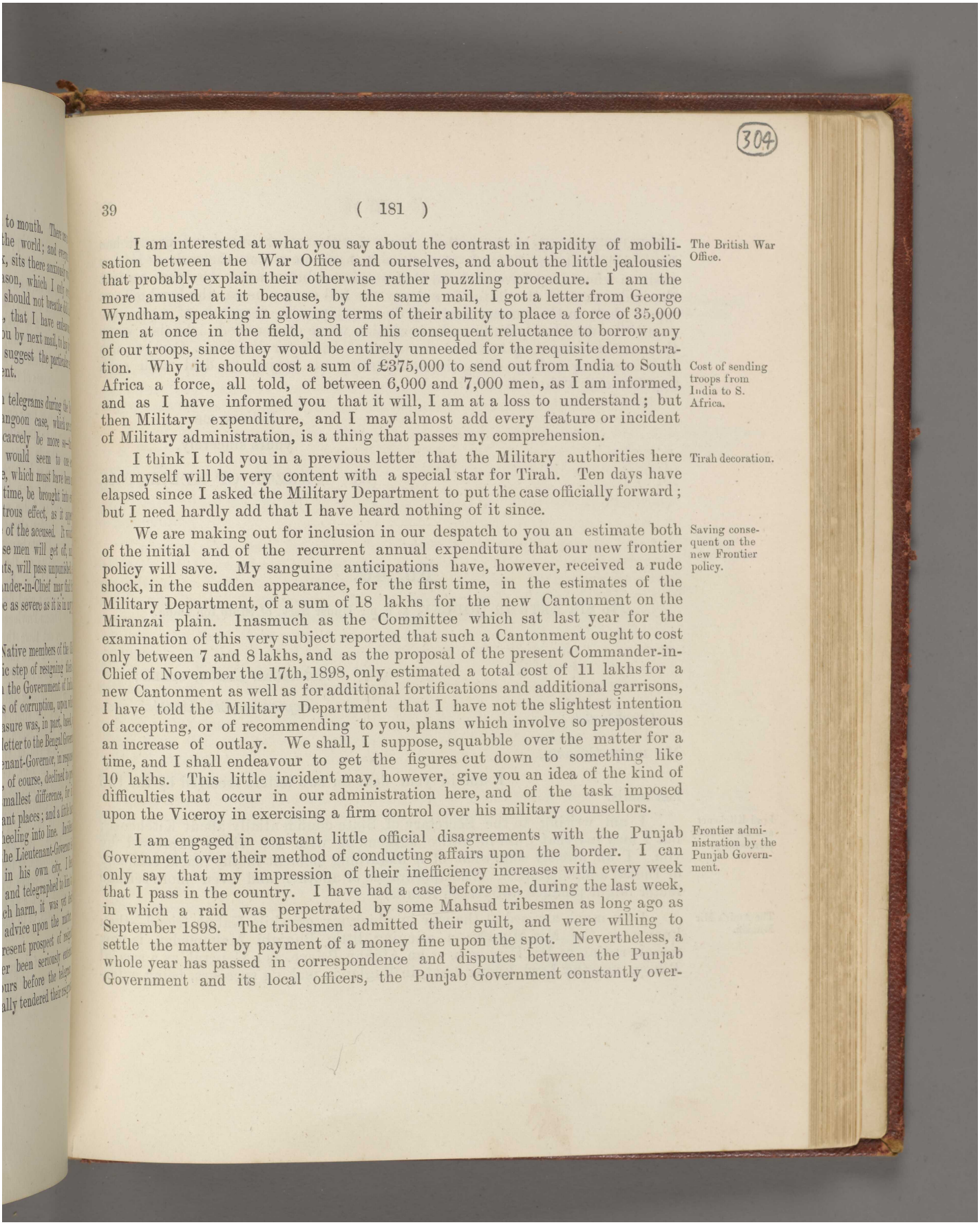

The British War Office.

I am interested at what you say about the contrast in rapidity of mobilisation between the War Office and ourselves, and about the little jealousies that probably explain their otherwise rather puzzling procedure. I am the more amused at it because, by the same mail, I got a letter from George Wyndham, speaking in glowing terms of their ability to place a force of 35,000 men at once in the field, and of his consequent reluctance to borrow any of our troops, since they would be entirely unneeded for the requisite demonstration.

Cost of sending troops from India to S. Africa.

Why it should cost a sum of £375,000 to send out from India to South Africa a force, all told, of between 6,000 and 7,000 men, as I am informed, and as I have informed you that it will, I am at a loss to understand; but then Military expenditure, and I may almost add every feature or incident of Military administration, is a thing that passes my comprehension.

Tirah decoration.

I think I told you in a previous letter that the Military authorities here and myself will be very content with a special star for Tirah. Ten days have elapsed since I asked the Military Department to put the case officially forward; but I need hardly add that I have heard nothing of it since.

Saving consequent on the new Frontier policy.

We are making out for inclusion in our despatch to you an estimate both of the initial and of the recurrent annual expenditure that our new frontier policy will save. My sanguine anticipations have, however, received a rude shock, in the sudden appearance, for the first time, in the estimates of the Military Department, of a sum of 18 lakhs for the new Cantonment on the Miranzai plain. Inasmuch as the Committee which sat last year for the examination of this very subject reported that such a Cantonment ought to cost only between 7 and 8 lakhs, and as the proposal of the present Commander-in-Chief of November the 17th, 1898, only estimated a total cost of 11 lakhs for a new Cantonment as well as for additional fortifications and additional garrisons, I have told the Military Department that I have not the slightest intention of accepting, or of recommending to you, plans which involve so preposterous an increase of outlay. We shall, I suppose, squabble over the matter for a time, and I shall endeavour to get the figures cut down to something like 10 lakhs. This little incident may, however, give you an idea of the kind of difficulties that occur in our administration here, and of the task imposed upon the Viceroy in exercising a firm control over his military counsellors.

Frontier administration by the Punjab Government.

I am engaged in constant little official disagreements with the Punjab Government over their method of conducting affairs upon the border. I can only say that my impression of their inefficiency increases with every week that I pass in the country. I have had a case before me, during the last week, in which a raid was perpetrated by some Mahsud tribesmen as long ago as September 1898. The tribesmen admitted their guilt, and were willing to settle the matter by payment of a money fine upon the spot. Nevertheless, a whole year has passed in correspondence and disputes between the Punjab Government and its local officers, the Punjab Government constantly over-

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ruling the proposals made by the latter. In the meantime not a penny has been paid, and the Punjab Government have now got themselves into a position where they have declared that a flying column must be sent against the tribesmen if the latter do not pay the full sum, whereas the local officers report that, in the present state of the country, the despatch of a punitive expedition would only be to make confusion worse confounded. At this stage the matter comes up to the Government of India for decision. Can you not understand my feelings of legitimate irritation at having to deal with such a system and with such men?

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 40.

To SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
September 6th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I am in your debt for two letters received by the two last mails.

Lord Kitchener and the Military Membership.

I am writing to the Secretary of State confidentially about Kitchener; but I may say that I am in entire agreement with the views expressed by you. I am already somewhat of a disturbing element in the placid economy of Indian administration. The appearance of another and even more seismic factor might produce unforeseen results.

The Amir's Mir Munshi.

I am much amused at the way in which my erewhile Kabul friend—then known as the Mir Munshi—a cringing little Punjabi Mahomedan, is now masquerading as His Highness, as an Afghan Prince, as a General, as a special Envoy, as—the Lord knows what, in England; making speeches, being enter-

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tained as an honoured guest, and in general playing upon the immeasurable gullibility of the British people. Why does not some well-informed correspondent write and expose this colossal imposture in the *Times*?

Government Securities.

The fall in Government paper here may surprise you, as it never ceases to astonish me. I am informed however that, apart from a natural depression arising from prospect of famine, Transvaal alarms, and other temporary causes, the phenomenon is in the main due to financial and mercantile operations, connected with the season of the year, and the movements of trade. We heard also from Calcutta that it is accentuated by a recent declaration of the Hindu astrologers that the stars are unfavourable to Government Securities.

Sir S. Northcote named as Governor of Bombay.

I saw in a Home paper that the Government were likely to send out Sir S. Northcote as next Governor of Bombay. He is in some respects a shrewd and capable little man; and is a hardworking and upright politician. But he is painfully lacking in the power to impress or to move human sympathies, which are the two faculties most wanted in the governing hierarchy in this country.

Posting of Native Civilians.

I want to say a word to you, which, perhaps, you will pass on to the Secretary of State, about the posting of Native Civilians who pass the open competition in England, to particular provinces in India. There are now seven such in the Punjab Commission. Five of them are men of good family in the Punjab, and have with propriety been sent to their own province. But the two last who have been sent there, Tek Chand, and Sheikh Asghar Ali, are, respectively, the son of an Aligarh money-lender, and a Jullundar Cantonment shopkeeper. The former, *mirabile dictu*, was sent to the Frontier to look after Pathans, where he has not unnaturally come to some grief. The latter has come into collision with some British officers in a railway carriage. Such men, or rather men of such origin, should be carefully sent to some locality, where they will be more in harmony with their surroundings, and where their antecedents will be less well known, *e. g.*, to the Central Provinces or North-Western Provinces.

Death of Mr. Theodore Beck.

Poor Theodore Beck, of the Aligarh College, died here a few days ago. His loss is a very great one—to the College in particular, and to Mahomedan education in general. I attended his funeral as a mark of respect to a man who truly sacrificed his life to India, quite as much as though he had been killed on the field of battle. Do the Natives who attack us for our insolence, our pride, our want of fellow-feeling, ever think of the scores and hundreds of Englishmen who have given their lives without a murmur in India's service?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 40a.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
September 6th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I need only add a few confidential words to my more official letter.

Lord Kitchener and the Military Membership.

I have no hesitation in replying that it is not worth while selecting a Finance Member from the Civil Service now, for the *beaux yeux* of Kitchener later on. It would mean Finlay or Bisset. The former is not, in my opinion, equal to the post. But it would be desperate hard lines to supersede him by Bisset, who is not a financier at all.

Then, as regards Kitchener, while I have a personal regard for him, and an admiration for his inflexibility of purpose, and while I should like to see him in India, as Lieutenant-General Commanding one of the Armies, and perhaps ultimately as Commander-in-Chief, I feel that it is not as Military Member that he would help us most, or render best service to the Indian Army. In the first place, Lockhart and he would find it extremely difficult to get on; and I doubt if the former would stay. Reform is prodigiously needed in our Military administration; but it will only be successfully applied by an experienced intelligence cooperating with a conciliatory hand. Kitchener is the man to drive through a campaign with relentless energy. You have only to go to Lord Cromer or to the Foreign Office to ascertain what is the effect that he produces, when let loose in administration. Moreover, if my views in this respect be exaggerated or mistaken, it yet remains, I think, indisputable that it is more important to us to get a first-rate financier in succession to Dawkins now, than a first-rate organiser of victory in succession to Collen later on. It will be very easy, if an outsider be appointed to the financial post, to explain to Kitchener that a bar is placed by Statute to his succeeding to the

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Membership of Council, when it falls vacant. We must decide by the exigencies of the present moment, not of a future contingency.

If you agree with these views, the issue remains between Law and O'Brien. I know nothing of the latter: and the appointment would be a big experiment. Against Law are the unfavourable reports that you have cited, and his somewhat acrid and imperious temper. In favour of him are his unquestionable financial reputation, Brackenbury's testimonial, and the fact that he has already served under me, would know that he owed his nomination in large measure to me, and might therefore be expected to run straight. Mr. Dawkins' successor.

With these observations I remit the decision to your hands, assuring you that I shall gladly acquiesce in either appointment, and do my best to get on with your nominee.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 41.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
September 13th, 1899.

My dear George,

I am much obliged for your two letters of August 24th, which I will answer in a single communication.

We had our Currency debate last week, or rather I cannot call it a "debate," for it consisted only of two speeches from Dawkins and myself in introducing our Bill. He spoke upon the details of the proposal; I enlarged upon its general policy and scope. Just now Lawrence had a letter from a friend in Calcutta who is in a position to quote the sentiments of the mercantile Currency legislation.

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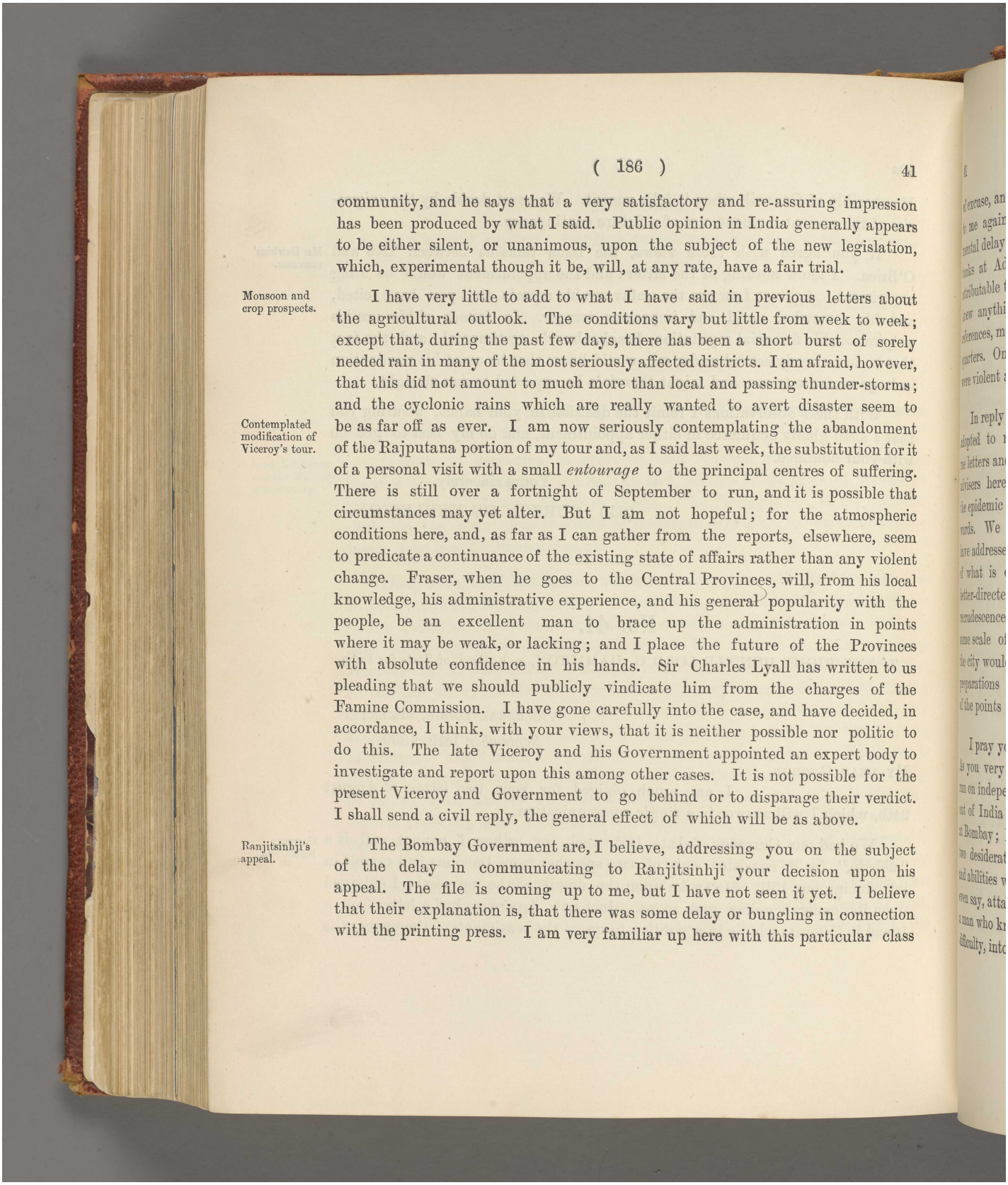

community, and he says that a very satisfactory and re-assuring impression has been produced by what I said. Public opinion in India generally appears to be either silent, or unanimous, upon the subject of the new legislation, which, experimental though it be, will, at any rate, have a fair trial.

Monsoon and crop prospects.

I have very little to add to what I have said in previous letters about the agricultural outlook. The conditions vary but little from week to week; except that, during the past few days, there has been a short burst of sorely needed rain in many of the most seriously affected districts. I am afraid, however, that this did not amount to much more than local and passing thunder-storms; and the cyclonic rains which are really wanted to avert disaster seem to be as far off as ever. I am now seriously contemplating the abandonment of the Rajputana portion of my tour and, as I said last week, the substitution for it of a personal visit with a small *entourage* to the principal centres of suffering. There is still over a fortnight of September to run, and it is possible that circumstances may yet alter. But I am not hopeful; for the atmospheric conditions here, and, as far as I can gather from the reports, elsewhere, seem to predicate a continuance of the existing state of affairs rather than any violent change. Fraser, when he goes to the Central Provinces, will, from his local knowledge, his administrative experience, and his general popularity with the people, be an excellent man to brace up the administration in points where it may be weak, or lacking; and I place the future of the Provinces with absolute confidence in his hands. Sir Charles Lyall has written to us pleading that we should publicly vindicate him from the charges of the Famine Commission. I have gone carefully into the case, and have decided, in accordance, I think, with your views, that it is neither possible nor politic to do this. The late Viceroy and his Government appointed an expert body to investigate and report upon this among other cases. It is not possible for the present Viceroy and Government to go behind or to disparage their verdict. I shall send a civil reply, the general effect of which will be as above.

Contemplated modification of Viceroy's tour.

Ranjitsinhji's appeal.

The Bombay Government are, I believe, addressing you on the subject of the delay in communicating to Ranjitsinhji your decision upon his appeal. The file is coming up to me, but I have not seen it yet. I believe that their explanation is, that there was some delay or bungling in connection with the printing press. I am very familiar up here with this particular class

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of excuse, and have taken good care that on no occasion is it to be presented to me again. I have gone myself very carefully into another case of Departmental delay which you have asked us to elucidate, in connection with oil tanks at Aden. Here the case, as I have telegraphed to you, has been partly attributable to ordinary official procrastination, partly to the fact that nobody knew anything about the problem under discussion, and that all sorts of references, many of them quite superfluous, were made in a number of different quarters. On the other hand, the charges against us made by the firm interested were violent and excessive.

Oil tanks at Aden.

In reply to my enquiries as to the methods and system that are being adopted to meet the appalling outbreak of plague at Poona, Sandhurst wrote me letters and also sent me an official report, which, in the opinion of my advisers here, showed an almost total lack of preparedness and foresight when the epidemic began, and a succession of weak and ill-judged measures afterwards. We are writing to him officially on the subject, and, meanwhile, I have addressed him in polite and friendly terms, giving him a sort of warning of what is coming, and asking him to turn the energies of his people into better-directed channels. There seems to be no reason why a similar shocking recrudescence of plague should not attack Bombay, and if anything like the same scale of devastation and consequent mortality were reproduced there, the city would be practically ruined. We have no hint from him of any preparations to meet, or to avert, such a catastrophe; and this again is one of the points which we are bringing to his notice.

Plague measures at Poona.

I pray you not to lose sight of the name and recommendations of Goldie. As you very justly say, he is a one power man, and his Government would be run on independent lines. In my judgment, if you are going to select a man out of India for the post, that is exactly what we now want. Independence at Bombay; loyal dependence upon the Government of India; these are the two desiderata to which I attach the highest value. Goldie's character and abilities would ensure the first; his close acquaintance with, and, I may even say, attachment to myself, ought to give us the second. We want either a man who knows the business and the place already, and will drop, without difficulty, into the routine, or a man who will shape both to the dictates of

Lord Sandhurst's successor.

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a master mind. Our Despatch on the larger question I shall hope to get off in a fortnight.

Colonel Thurburn's candidature for Cooper's Hill College.

Colonel Thurburn, whom we recently sent up to report upon fortifications in Chitral, writes to me that he is also a candidate for the post of President at Cooper's Hill College. I have said that I would mention his candidature in my letter to you. I have no knowledge of his services except upon this single occasion, but believe that he is thought well of by the Commander-in-Chief.

Holkar.

A most curious letter from Holkar to Colonel Wyllie has just come in, which reveals signs, alternately, of considerable intellectual acuteness, and positive mental aberration. He declares that British troops have lately marched into his State with a view to attacking him; and the other day he ordered his Palace guard to be armed with ball ammunition, because soldiers from Mhow were coming to shoot him. In his letter he declares that the Government of India regard him as a pick-pocket and a dacoit; and he then perpetrates a somewhat ingenious pun by observing that his chances of justice are small "when such heavy boulders and *bars* have *barred* his way." He has a particular dislike to Bunniahs and Brahmans, and the other day a story reached us that he dressed up two sweepers in the costumes of those classes, and publicly paraded them through the streets of Indore.

Tirah decoration.

I have succeeded, with some difficulty, in at last extracting from my Military Member the despatch to you about the Tirah Star, which you have so kindly signified your willingness to help us in getting. I have had practically to rewrite the despatch, which, in the form that he submitted it, consisted of an elaborate comparison between Lockhart's and Kitchener's campaigns, which I saw at once would exasperate the War Office at home, if they ever heard of it, to the highest degree, and would greatly prejudice our chances of a favourable hearing. However, as you may know, Kitchener and the Soudan Campaign are the *bête noire* of the Indian soldier, and it is with the utmost difficulty that he keeps disparaging remarks about both out of his writings or conversation.

Persian Despatch.

On Friday we discuss in Council, and I hope shall accept, my Persian Despatch. My Colleagues have been so much impressed with its importance, that they have favoured me with voluminous notes upon the subject, testifying to a considerable ignorance of it, both in its political and diplomatic aspects. One wants us to take up a strong position in Northern Persia; another to prepare for a military advance into Southern Persia; a third wants a campaign of roads and railroads. I hope I shall succeed in quieting all these anxieties, and in inducing my Councillors to deal, not with hypothetical or impossible changes, but with the actual situation. In that case, the despatch will go off to you by next mail.

Revision of the Leave Rules.

Having got this off my mind, the next big question upon which I have now embarked is that of a revision of the existing Leave Rules, which, as I

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have before told you, are disastrous in their effect upon the continuity of administration, and are, as I believe, at the present moment the most conspicuous removable blot upon the surface of our Indian system. In consultation with the Home Department, I have formulated a series of proposals which are going round to the Local Governments, and we shall hope to address you upon the subject probably about November next.

Report-writing.

I also have in hand the question of Report-writing to which I have several times alluded, and the evidence as to which, that I am steadily accumulating, leaves me in amazement at the extent which the evil has been allowed to assume.

Calcutta Municipal Bill agitation.

I have had from Calcutta a number of letters of a most gratifying character with reference to the agitation about our alteration of the Municipal Bill. The showy resignation of 28 of the Commissioners, which was simply done as a *coup de théatre* to influence public opinion here, and possibly Parliamentary opinion at home, is now, I gather, bitterly repented of by its authors themselves. They are continuing for the same reason to make a brave show of opposition to the amended Bill in its passage through the local Council, but they are quite conscious of their defeat and aware that no sympathy can now be excited on the other side; and Woodburn tells me he has little doubt that the bulk of the men who have now resigned will come forward again and stand for election in March next. Similar opinions have reached me from Mr. Bright, the Chairman of the Corporation, who discounts altogether the revived agitation, and warmly approves the changes which we introduced into Mackenzie's measure, and which he thinks have converted it from a genuine danger into a valuable safeguard for the future municipal administration of Calcutta.

Mrs. Besant and a Hindu College for the N.-W. P.

[Enclosures.]

In reply to the question which you addressed to me some time ago about Mrs. Besant's Hindu College at Benares, I have made private enquiries from a quarter, independent of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and at the same time, thoroughly qualified to pronounce. I send you an extract from the answer which I have received. I think you will probably decide in consequence not to move at present in the matter. The Lieutenant-Governor's term of office will expire in little more than a year, and any prejudices that he may feel will, perhaps, not be shared by his successor. On the other hand, there will be time in the interval to find out whether the institution has, or has not, any intrinsic vitality of its own. My own impression is that it has not any great force of Native sentiment, and, what is perhaps more important, of Native money, behind it, and that it will probably die a natural death. I doubt if the Hindu mind is prepared for this sort of adaptation of a purely European idea. Since writing the above I have come across a letter in to-day's *Pioneer*, the very anxieties displayed in which point to a precarious future. I send it for your perusal.

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Trip into the hills.

On Friday, after Council, I am going out for a short trip of 9 days into the hills, the first holiday of any kind that I have allowed myself since landing in December last. My next letter, therefore, will be in manuscript and will be short.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

1. Memorandum on the proposed Hindu College for the North-Western Provinces.
2. Letter signed "Lynas" in *Pioneer* of 13th September 1899, on same subject.
3. Papers relating to a request by Mrs. Besant on same subject (returned).

No. 42.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

BAGHI FOREST;

September 19*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Trip to Baghi.

The conditions under which I am writing bear this superficial resemblance to yours, that I am at last on holiday. It is only for nine days, it is true; and I am not separated from offices, pouches, and papers by more than a few hours of a runner's speed, and by only 50 miles of distance. Nevertheless, the change is a very genuine and delightful one. We ride along through exquisite forests, or amid grand mountain scenery all the day long, pausing to shoot wild bear, or partridges, or the various kinds of

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Himalayan pheasant. The hillmen turn out in hundreds to beat; and the mountain sides re-echo for miles to their wild hurrahs.

A week of this sort of thing would set you up at once, if you have not already been restored, as I hope may have been the case, by the Channel breeze.

Publicity to famine-preventive measures.

I will certainly bear in mind what you have said in your last letter (August 31st) about giving publicity to our famine-preventive measures. I do not consider such publicity to be advertisement: I regard it as a prudent and necessary re-assurance of public opinion. I cannot say much about the prospects this week, since I have not access to the latest telegraphic reports. But I am still hopeful of escaping very dire calamity.

The Viceroy's despatches, letters, &c.

I am much gratified and encouraged by what you have said about my letters, minutes, memoranda, and despatches home. I am, perhaps, a little disposed in arguing any policy or proposal, to give all the reasons for, and to rebut all the reasons against. At home this is not necessary, because Parliamentary debates take the place of literary discussion or demonstration. Here we have no such alternative; and in a Government, all of whose decisions are couched in a literary form, and where, beyond any other system that I know, the *litera scripta manet*, and will be brought up, times without number, for the information or guidance of future Viceroys, I have thought it very important to place on record the grounds upon which the various changes in policy have been based; and to make clear the principles of action, instead of leaving my successors to disentangle them from the maze of individual instances.

Persian Despatch.

Perhaps, however, your toleration will hardly extend to the Persian Despatch which goes home to you by this mail, and which will take you a long time to digest. I venture to hope that you may, notwithstanding, regard it as a document of some utility. I cannot find anywhere in the records of our administration here, and there certainly was not in the Foreign Office records at home, any attempt to lay down, as the basis of common action, what our interests in Persia are, or what they demand; nor have I ever come across any one who could tell me either what our policy towards Persia is, or what it should be. I have endeavoured to supply both deficiencies, utilising a knowledge which is perhaps singular, in so far as it rests upon some acquaintance with Persia itself, as well as upon experience both of the India Office, the Foreign Office, and now of the Government of India. Do not, therefore, please, lightly put it on one side, or drop it into the limbo of the forgotten; and, if you find yourself able to do so, kindly commend it to the friendly interest of the Foreign Office and of Lord Salisbury, whose idiosyncrasies and point of view I have throughout kept in view while writing it.

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I humoured my Colleagues by the introduction of two or three sentences emphasising the views to which they attached importance; and the despatch was accepted by them without any other alteration. The only one who would have liked something stiffer was Collen. His mind, and temperament, and knowledge, all date from an obsolete time; and he is ready, on every occasion, with the formulas of an almost prehistoric age. In the present case he would like me to have recommended a vigorous Forward Policy in Northern Persia, with the object of shaking Russia at Meshed, of threatening the Trans-Caspian Railway, and of permanently keeping her away from Herat. All this is an anachronism. We have let matters go too far.

I am by no means sanguine myself of the success of the sphere of interest policy which we have unanimously recommended. Russia would, in my opinion, have more to lose than to gain by its acceptance. On the other hand, the Emperor may perhaps order his Ministers to acquiesce as he did in North China. Should it fail, however, or should Her Majesty's Government decide not to try it, then I plead that you do not give the go-by to the other alternative, and relapse into do-nothing. If Russia declines to surrender her vague ambitions of access through Central and Southern Persia to the Gulf, then let us tell her plainly that we know where we both are, and that as she has refused to meet us, we shall protect our interests, present and prospective, by every means in our power. Above all, let us get away from the fatal old policy of Drift, which has such an incurable fascination for British Governments, and which has during the last 7 years planted Russia at Port Arthur and Peking.

Morison's "Imperial Rule in India."

I will get hold of Theodore Morison's book. I must confess, from what I have read of it in reviews in the newspapers, that it seemed to me to contain a good deal of nonsense; while poor Beck, who died here a fortnight ago, and whom Morison succeeds at the Aligarh College, told me that it consisted of rather pretentious deductions from rather hazy premises. Your high testimony to the book leads me to think that I must have been unjust.

Mr. T. Beck.

I went to poor Beck's funeral. He sacrificed his life for India; and such noble though silent service needs all the recognition that the highly-placed can give it.

Reports to the India Office.

What I mean in my appeal to you for information about reports is this: In going through all the reports that come up to our various Departments from the Local Governments and from other sources, I find that a great many, that we do not want ourselves, and consider a waste of labour and time, are prescribed by the Secretary of State, and have to be sent up to us, in order to be sent on to you. I fancy that a great many are used for the compilation of the Moral and Material Progress Report at home. What I want to get at is—whether you could dispense with any of these, whether you want the statistics, reports, reviews of reports, and reviews of the reviews of reports, or

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whether many or any of these are superfluous, whether you could do with shorter returns generally, and so on.

Instructions to Captain Cox.

I have had Cox up at Simla, and have coached him carefully for Muscat. My advice has been summed up in this precept—Make the Sultan understand that every consideration of policy, of prudence, of past experience, of future hopes, compels him to be on our side—not necessarily against anybody else, but to recognise that his interests are bound up in loyalty to Great Britain.

Frontier Despatch.

Our despatch to you about the new Frontier arrangements has been delayed, because I could not agree with the Military Authorities about the Miranzai Cantonment. When we originally discussed, and when I accepted it, there was no question of a greater cost than 7-8 lakhs. When they submitted their final plans and estimates to me the other day, the minimum estimate was 18 lakhs, the Director-General of Military Works (a bureaucratic "heathen who rages very furiously" in India) said 23 lakhs, and Collen wanted 25. I declined to sign any despatch that recommended an outlay of more than 10 lakhs. Finally, as we have (I believe) never planted a Frontier Cantonment anywhere that has not subsequently been discovered to be entirely the wrong site (I may instance Kohat, Fort Sandeman, Bunnu), and as three successive bodies of military experts have all recommended different sites in the Miranzai plain, I suggested to the Commander-in-Chief that we should be content for a while with a frontier camp instead of a cantonment, in which our men should be comfortably hutted, instead of building permanent barracks, and where we should, in the course of the next two years, acquire the experience that will enable us to decide upon the really best site, as well as upon the essential military requirements. This compromise he has very graciously accepted.

Bombay and Madras Governorships.

Next week I hope to say something to you about the Bombay and Madras Governorships in supplement to our despatch. But I may mention in advance that you will get what no Secretary of State has ever received before,—*viz.*, a unanimous recommendation of the change that I advocate—from the Government of India. We are all, civilians, soldiers, and outsiders, equally strong about it.

Frontier Administration.

I may also have something else to tell you about my fruitless efforts to manage a frontier, and to conduct what is really a foreign policy, through an agency which I do not appoint, which I can only imperfectly command, and which is extravagantly impatient of control. I would not for anything in the world, continue to work with the same system for five years.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 43.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
September 27th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Personal.

When you last wrote on September the 6th, you were still suffering from throat and chest troubles, which I hope that your next letter may tell me that the peaceful life which you have been leading has long ago removed.

Persian Despatch. Illness of Sir W. Lockhart.

I have sent you a telegram to-day to explain that it was only by accident that Lockhart's name was omitted from the signatures to our Persian Despatch. Directly after the Council at which we passed it, he retired to bed with a violent chill, and a few days later, while I was away in the hills, developed an internal inflammation which, for two days, I believe, was very alarming. He is, as you know, a very big man, and looks a little flabby. However, I am glad to say that he has shaken off the malady, and is now on the high road to recovery.

Status of the Madras and Bombay Governorships.

In the same telegram I told you that we are sending off by to-morrow's mail our Despatch upon the status of the Governorships of Madras and Bombay. I venture to think that we have presented you with a powerful case, the strength of which you may have been inclined to under-estimate when you wrote to me some months ago on the subject. There was one argument which you then used which I have not mentioned in the despatch, because I cannot think that it would be found upon examination to be one to which much value ought to be attached. You said, I think, that the change which we recommend would be unpopular with the Congress Party. But surely the whole of our case against that party is this, that it is in no sense a representative national body, as it claims to be, and that, if not actively disloyal to the British Government in this country, it is, at any rate, far from friendly towards it. One might even go so far as to say that if the Congress people really prefer, as head of a Province, a Governor appointed from home to a Lieutenant-Governor selected from the Indian Civil Service, it is not an unreasonable assumption from such a preference that they recognise that a man who knows the country and people would be better able to keep a watch upon them, and to check their machinations, than a man having no personal knowledge or experience of either. But, as a matter of fact, I very much doubt whether

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your estimate of what the Congress might think, or say, is a correct one. I have seen strong arguments in the opposite direction in the Native Press; and I have never heard that the Congress has anywhere, or at any time, expressed a desire that Bengal, which is really much more its home than is Madras or Bombay, should be converted into a Governorship, and administered by an Englishman brought from England. In the same letter you said that the expenses of maintenance at Bombay and Madras might deter men from accepting office if those posts were reduced to the lower level. I meet this point in our despatch by suggesting the continuance of a higher scale of emolument in both cases. But, as a matter of fact, the expenses of Bengal are, at the present time, unquestionably greater than those of Madras, and not less than those of Bombay; and yet I have never heard of any reluctance on the part of a Civilian to accept the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal on the score of expense. The real gist of the whole matter is that the privileges of Madras and Bombay are the obsolete survivals of an entirely vanished day, and that they are now a positive nuisance and embarrassment, instead of a relief, to the Supreme Government. Your other arguments I have dealt with in the despatch, which I wrote in the intervals of bear and pheasant shooting in the hills, and which I have endeavoured to divest of the polished truculence that would probably have robbed Lord Lytton's proposal in 1880, had it been seriously considered, of much chance of success.

Punjab Land Alienation Bill.

At our meeting of the Legislative Council this morning we also introduced the Punjab Land Alienation Bill. Rivaz made a long prefatory statement narrating the growth of the evil, and the proposals, or attempts, to deal with it, and carefully explaining the steps by which we had arrived at the Bill in its present shape. The Lieutenant-Governor added a few words of concise and hearty approval; and I made a short speech emphasizing the serious responsibility, as well as the anxious circumspection, of Government in the matter. The Bill will, of course, not be proceeded with till we are in Simla again next year; and in the interim we shall have plenty of time to find out what public opinion thinks of it.

The Punjab system of frontier administration.

I am reminded of your suggestion to me that we should occasionally forward you despatches containing instances of the procedure and delays of the Punjab Government, so as to prepare the minds of your Council for any changes that may be afterwards proposed, by the fact of a long conversation which I had with Sir Mackworth Young after Council this morning. It is impossible that the present system should continue; and I believe we both candidly recognise it. The late Viceroy interfered very little in frontier affairs, and almost uniformly (sometimes with disastrous results) accepted the advice of the Punjab Administration. I cannot, on the other hand, sit quietly by, while I see the policy for which I shall be held exclusively responsible in England muddled, contradicted, upset, or delayed, by the traditions

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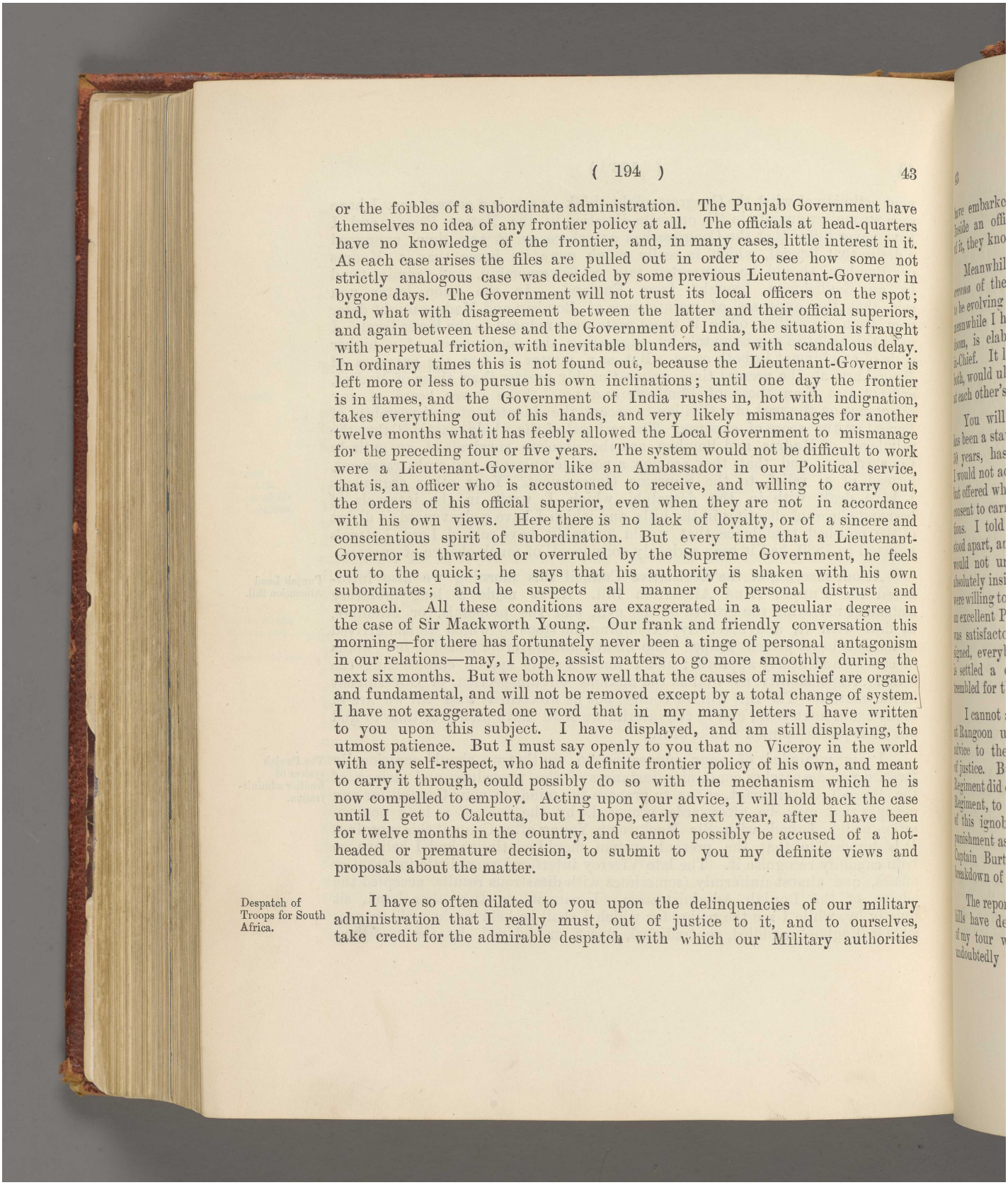

or the foibles of a subordinate administration. The Punjab Government have themselves no idea of any frontier policy at all. The officials at head-quarters have no knowledge of the frontier, and, in many cases, little interest in it. As each case arises the files are pulled out in order to see how some not strictly analogous case was decided by some previous Lieutenant-Governor in bygone days. The Government will not trust its local officers on the spot; and, what with disagreement between the latter and their official superiors, and again between these and the Government of India, the situation is fraught with perpetual friction, with inevitable blunders, and with scandalous delay. In ordinary times this is not found out, because the Lieutenant-Governor is left more or less to pursue his own inclinations; until one day the frontier is in flames, and the Government of India rushes in, hot with indignation, takes everything out of his hands, and very likely mismanages for another twelve months what it has feebly allowed the Local Government to mismanage for the preceding four or five years. The system would not be difficult to work were a Lieutenant-Governor like an Ambassador in our Political service, that is, an officer who is accustomed to receive, and willing to carry out, the orders of his official superior, even when they are not in accordance with his own views. Here there is no lack of loyalty, or of a sincere and conscientious spirit of subordination. But every time that a Lieutenant-Governor is thwarted or overruled by the Supreme Government, he feels cut to the quick; he says that his authority is shaken with his own subordinates; and he suspects all manner of personal distrust and reproach. All these conditions are exaggerated in a peculiar degree in the case of Sir Mackworth Young. Our frank and friendly conversation this morning—for there has fortunately never been a tinge of personal antagonism in our relations—may, I hope, assist matters to go more smoothly during the next six months. But we both know well that the causes of mischief are organic and fundamental, and will not be removed except by a total change of system. I have not exaggerated one word that in my many letters I have written to you upon this subject. I have displayed, and am still displaying, the utmost patience. But I must say openly to you that no Viceroy in the world with any self-respect, who had a definite frontier policy of his own, and meant to carry it through, could possibly do so with the mechanism which he is now compelled to employ. Acting upon your advice, I will hold back the case until I get to Calcutta, but I hope, early next year, after I have been for twelve months in the country, and cannot possibly be accused of a hot-headed or premature decision, to submit to you my definite views and proposals about the matter.

Despatch of Troops for South Africa.

I have so often dilated to you upon the delinquencies of our military administration that I really must, out of justice to it, and to ourselves, take credit for the admirable despatch with which our Military authorities

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have embarked the South African Contingent from Calcutta and Bombay. Inside an office, our soldiers seem to me to be incurable bunglers; outside of it, they know their business, and act like men.

Rival Military schemes.

Meanwhile I hear that a novel and local storm is slowly brewing in the *arcana* of the military bureaux themselves. The Commander-in-Chief is said to be evolving a scheme for the abolition of the Military Department; and meanwhile I hear that the Military Member, all unconscious of his impending doom, is elaborating a counter-scheme for the extinction of the Commander-in-Chief. It looks as if I, who am a consistent, though amicable, antagonist of both, would ultimately have to step in to save them from mutual destruction at each other's hands.

Kohat Road.

You will be glad to hear that the question of the Kohat Road, which has been a standing disgrace to British prestige upon the frontier for nearly 50 years, has been satisfactorily settled upon the lines which I laid down. I would not accept the exorbitant terms suggested by the Punjab Government, but offered what I thought was a reasonable reward to the tribes for their consent to carry out what are, after all, only long neglected treaty obligations. I told them that the questions of a railway and of a telegraph stood apart, and had nothing to do with the present negociations, and that we would not undertake either without prior consultation with them; but I absolutely insisted upon the road, with their assent and cooperation, if they were willing to give them; if not, without. Mainly owing to the tact of Donald, an excellent Police officer on the border, whom I know personally, the matter was satisfactorily carried through, the pledges were given, the document signed, everybody went off in the highest of spirits, and thus, at last, I hope, is settled a question at which the Government of India has shuddered and trembled for the best part of half a century.

Rangoon Outrage case. Major Morse's conduct.

I cannot answer your question about the motives of Major Morse's conduct at Rangoon until we get further information. I can hardly believe that his advice to the men was consciously given with the idea of defeating the ends of justice. But I have not a doubt that the majority of the officers of the Regiment did conspire in a most unsoldierlike and culpable manner to shield the Regiment, to screen the guilty, and to hush up the whole affair. The threads of this ignoble conspiracy we shall have to unravel, in order to inflict such punishment as is possible upon the real offenders. One of the worst was a Captain Burt, who, I think, did deliberately go out of his way to produce a breakdown of the prosecution.

Modification of the Viceroy's tour.

The reports which I have received from Rajputana on my return from the hills have decided me, without the least hesitation, to abandon that portion of my tour which was to be devoted to that Province. My visit would undoubtedly cause great expense, would bring together immense crowds of

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people who could ill be provided for, would put a severe strain upon the resources of the various States, and would interfere with the work of the local officials, who ought to be looking after the suffering population and conducting relief works. Instead of doing anything else, I propose to devote the month which I shall thus have upon my hands to short visits, in a private capacity, and with a very small surrounding, to the principal centres of distress in Northern and Southern India. I am writing to Sandhurst to offer myself at Kathiawar and in Gujerat, and even as far south as Bombay, Poona, and Belgaum. I shall only be a day or two at each of these places, looking about, seeing what is going on, and encouraging the workers. I shall then probably rush off to the Central Provinces, and do the same thing there. Finally, I shall take up the latter part of my tour, as originally designed, at Bhopal and Gwalior, and shall devote the last three weeks to the North-Western Provinces, where there is no cause for anxiety, and where it is decided, at the request of the people, that I am to hold a durbar at Lucknow.

Native Princes and the Congress. [Enclosure.]

I enclose you some papers containing further information about the contributions of Native Princes and leading men to the Congress movement.

The Tinnevelly riots.

I forget if I have told you in any previous letter that the reports sent us by the Madras Government upon the question of the Tinnevelly riots prove the most discreditable incapacity and gross mismanagement on the part of the local officers. Largely owing to the constant changes in district posts—which seem to be worse in Madras than in any other part of India—the local officials were completely out of touch with the people, and with their work; they scorned the most obvious warnings, and, from beginning to end, seem to have muddled the whole affair. You will, perhaps, think this strong language, but I invite you, when it reaches the India Office, to read Mr. Hammick's report, which will more than sustain every adjective that I have employed.

Disaster at Darjiling.

I have repeated to you to-day a telegram which I sent to the Queen, in response to an enquiry from her with regard to the shocking disaster at Darjiling. I know nothing at present beyond what I have told you, except that the railway is completely swept away in places, and that the catastrophe appears to have covered a wide area.

Bishop Welldon.

Welldon is coming to stay with us for a fortnight in two days' time, and it will be a great pleasure to see him again after six months' absence. After an uninterrupted spell of most tactful speech and conduct, he is alleged, in a recent sermon at Calcutta, to have given mortal offence to the Roman Catholics. What he said I do not know, but I must repeat to you an incomparable telegram which I received only last night from the French Consul, who is a ferocious sort of patriot, at Calcutta.

Protest from the French Consul, Calcutta.

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"I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I address him through the Foreign Office Secretary a letter of official protest about a sermon preached at the Calcutta Cathedral by his Lordship the Bishop of Calcutta Metropolitan of India and Ceylon and which contains injurious comments against France and a French Court and an act of hostility against France."

It almost looks as if, while you are squashing Kruger, I shall have to take by storm Pondichery and Chandernagore.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

P. S.—I send you the calculations which were made out by Dawkins as to the economy that would result from the proposal to put Madras and Bombay upon the same financial footing as the Lieutenant-Governorships. Madras and Bombay Governorships. [Enclosure.]

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

1. Letter from Mr. C. S. Bayley, dated 18th September 1899, enclosing further papers from the Bombay Special Branch on the financial support given by leading natives to the Congress and *India*.

Letter from Mr. C. S. Bayley of 21st September 1899, reporting that apparently none of Rajputana Chiefs or leading natives are contributing to same objects.

2. Report from the *Englishman* of September 26th, 1899, of Bishop Welldon's sermon at the Calcutta Cathedral on the Dreyfus case.

3. Return by Mr. Dawkins (26-9-99) showing comparative expenditure of Governorships of Madras, Bombay, and Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal.

No. 43a.

To SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
September 27th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I have not written to you lately; and will now only—after a very hard day's work of Legislative Council, Executive Council, long jaw with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, letter to the Secretary of State, and three hours of papers and files—7½ hours in all—add a few lines.

You ask me in your last whether I think the fact that O'Brien is a 'Colonial' is a serious drawback. No, I would not use so strong a word. I Mr. Dawkins' successor.

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think that it is to some extent an objection, and might, if he were appointed, produce some heart-burning among the Civilian candidates here, who had been passed over. But I do not attach much importance to that. I am only somewhat doubtful as to whether O'Brien has sufficient financial prestige to compensate for his abduction from another Service, and to give confidence to the very sensitive factor of public opinion in India. Of course, in the long run, a man of real ability or power justifies himself: and premature apprehensions are forgotten. As to his ability, you and the authorities at home, and not I, are in a position to judge.

Procedure as to retirement of Viceroys and Members of Council.

With reference to your letter of August 31st about Councillors and their term of office, in which you say that, as matters now stand, they know that they are expected to resign at the end of five years, unless invited to stay on, will you let me know, as a matter of fact, whether this is ever done? Did Lansdowne, or Elgin, or any one who has served his full time, ever send in a written resignation? Is it the custom for Councillors to do so? Or is not the unwritten law so uniformly acted upon that men go away without really ceasing to be Councillors at all? Of course you could recall a man, or stop his pay: but, supposing a Viceroy did not resign, and you felt reluctant to take either of those steps, how would you get rid of him?

Holkar.

Some time ago I mentioned to the Secretary of State that Holkar was getting hold of as much money as he could, and transferring it to Bombay for use in the eventuality of abdication. So long as he does this on a moderate scale, or with monies that can conceivably be claimed as a part of his private savings, I agree with the Secretary of State that we had better not interfere. But he has now ordered his Minister to transfer over 1½ *crores* of the State balances from the Government account to his own. This is, I think, rather too strong: and I have told him that the Government cannot allow the appropriation of this money. He is really trying to abstract from Indore a horde that would, in the event of his retirement, provide him with an annual income of £40,000—£50,000 a year. This we cannot permit.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 44.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
October 4th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your last letter of September 14th contains some interesting items of information about the situation with the Transvaal. I am always glad to receive these. You have it in your power to tell me many confidential and engrossing things; whereas I, in my replies, am necessarily restricted to a narrow and somewhat monotonous field. The latest telegrams seem to indicate that war can now hardly be avoided; whilst it is more than likely to be precipitated by the foolish or impulsive action of some parties of Boer soldiers on the frontier. I am very glad that the Government is summoning Parliament; because if you get, as I take it that you will, a very strong, and all but unanimous, expression of support, it will not be in the power of the House of Commons, or of the country, at a later date, to turn round upon you and say that you rushed to extremities without their knowledge or consent. I am very sorry for the war, not merely for the reason that all war is hideous, and that one loses relations and friends; nor for the reason that it will leave behind it a smouldering flame of race hatred in South Africa, since I am disposed to think that this particular result has been very much exaggerated in anticipation; but for the reason that, while we are at war in one part of the world, all our rivals will be making hay while the sun shines in others. There is an inevitable dislocation in general policy when the whole energies, and a good deal of the resources, of a nation are concentrated upon a particular issue. The Government at home is worried, and has not time to attend to smaller affairs; questions are shelved, or forgotten; and all over the world, the governor, the ambassador, the minister, or the consul, feels that he is hardly likely to get much attention for his own cases. A great change must have come over Milner's views, or he must have found it difficult to resist the environment in which he is placed; for Dawkins has been telling me that, when he parted from him in February, he was all for a steady policy of patience and conciliation, and deprecated, at every hazard,

The Transvaal.

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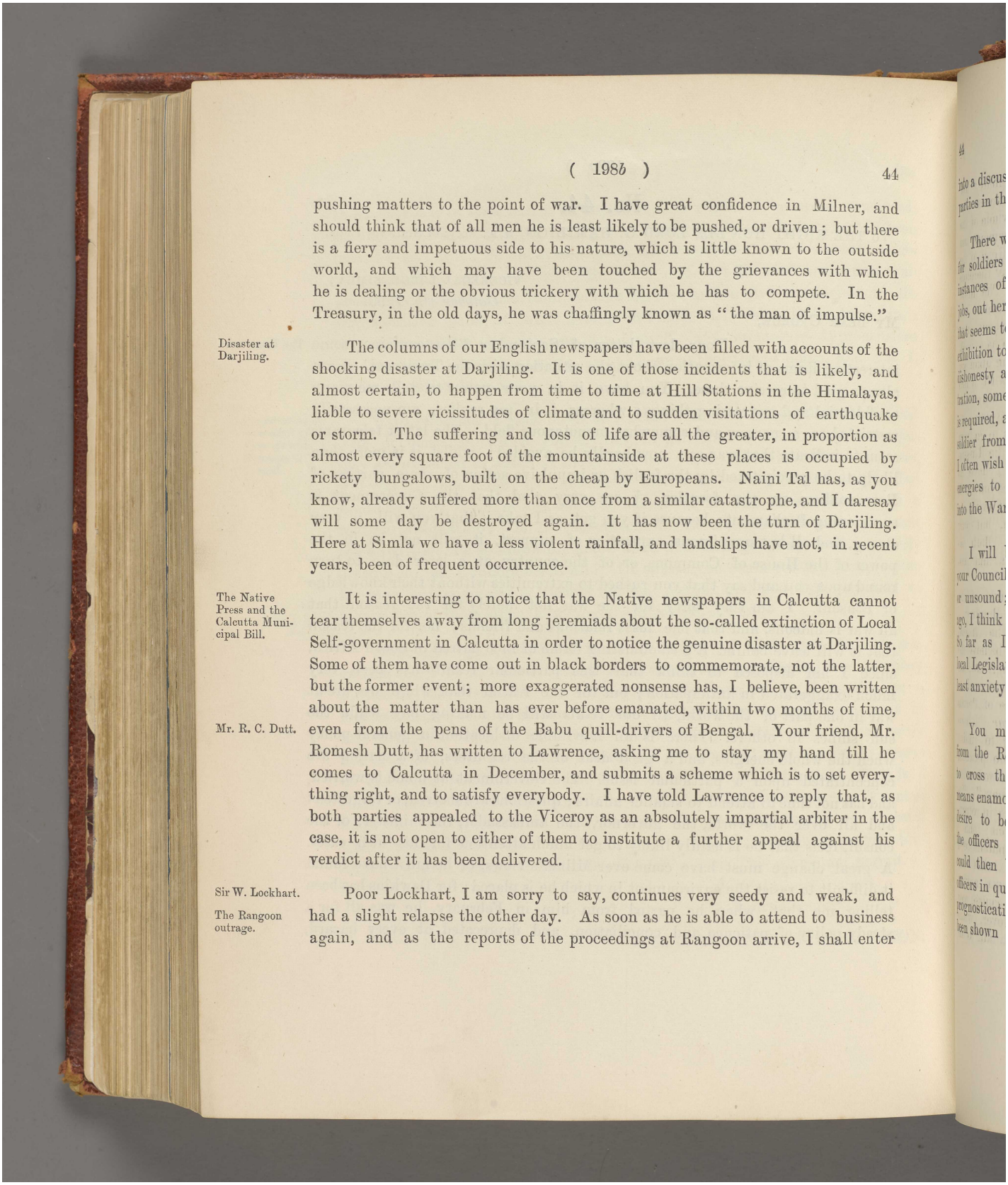

pushing matters to the point of war. I have great confidence in Milner, and should think that of all men he is least likely to be pushed, or driven; but there is a fiery and impetuous side to his nature, which is little known to the outside world, and which may have been touched by the grievances with which he is dealing or the obvious trickery with which he has to compete. In the Treasury, in the old days, he was chaffingly known as "the man of impulse."

Disaster at Darjiling.

The columns of our English newspapers have been filled with accounts of the shocking disaster at Darjiling. It is one of those incidents that is likely, and almost certain, to happen from time to time at Hill Stations in the Himalayas, liable to severe vicissitudes of climate and to sudden visitations of earthquake or storm. The suffering and loss of life are all the greater, in proportion as almost every square foot of the mountainside at these places is occupied by rickety bungalows, built on the cheap by Europeans. Naini Tal has, as you know, already suffered more than once from a similar catastrophe, and I daresay will some day be destroyed again. It has now been the turn of Darjiling. Here at Simla we have a less violent rainfall, and landslips have not, in recent years, been of frequent occurrence.

The Native Press and the Calcutta Municipal Bill.

Mr. R. C. Dutt.

It is interesting to notice that the Native newspapers in Calcutta cannot tear themselves away from long jeremiads about the so-called extinction of Local Self-government in Calcutta in order to notice the genuine disaster at Darjiling. Some of them have come out in black borders to commemorate, not the latter, but the former event; more exaggerated nonsense has, I believe, been written about the matter than has ever before emanated, within two months of time, even from the pens of the Babu quill-drivers of Bengal. Your friend, Mr. Romesh Dutt, has written to Lawrence, asking me to stay my hand till he comes to Calcutta in December, and submits a scheme which is to set everything right, and to satisfy everybody. I have told Lawrence to reply that, as both parties appealed to the Viceroy as an absolutely impartial arbiter in the case, it is not open to either of them to institute a further appeal against his verdict after it has been delivered.

Sir W. Lockhart.

The Rangoon outrage.

Poor Lockhart, I am sorry to say, continues very seedy and weak, and had a slight relapse the other day. As soon as he is able to attend to business again, and as the reports of the proceedings at Rangoon arrive, I shall enter

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into a discussion with him as to the punishment to be meted out to the guilty parties in the West Kent Regiment.

Incompetence of Military men for administrative work.

There would appear to be some mysterious law that makes it impossible for soldiers to be decent administrators. My letters to you are full of instances of their blunders, and, I might sometimes add, of their attempted jobs, out here. Your letters to me contain a pitiable account of the chaos that seems to reign supreme in Pall Mall. France has just given a melancholy exhibition to the world, not merely of military incompetence, but of positive dishonesty and crime. I imagine that, either for government, or for administration, some previous training in the principles by which both are regulated is required, and that this is why you cannot take even the most capable soldier from his tent, and expect of him even moderate abilities in an office. I often wish that Chamberlain, instead of devoting his somewhat dangerous energies to foreign, or quasi-foreign affairs, had been turned at an early date into the War Office, with instructions to clean it out from top to bottom.

Land legislation.

I will bear in mind what you have said to me about the sensitiveness of your Council in respect of land legislation. I see in it nothing unreasonable or unsound; for in all such matters, as I said in my speech in Council a week ago, I think we shall do well in India to proceed with the utmost caution. So far as I remember, MacDonnell was anxious to introduce his Bill in the local Legislative Council by a particular date; there certainly was not the least anxiety on our part to hurry the matter up here.

Visit of Russian officers to India.

You may remember some time ago submitting to me a request from the Russian Government for permission for some Russian officers to cross the Northern frontier of India; and that, although by no means enamoured with the suggestion, I endeavoured to meet Lord Salisbury's desire to be polite by suggesting a modified programme, under which the officers selected could come down by way of Hunza to Gilgit, and could then be passed through India on their way home. The two Russian officers in question are now on their way down; and how just were my original prognostications of the probable character and objects of their visit, has been shown by the programme which, upon arrival at Srinagar, they have

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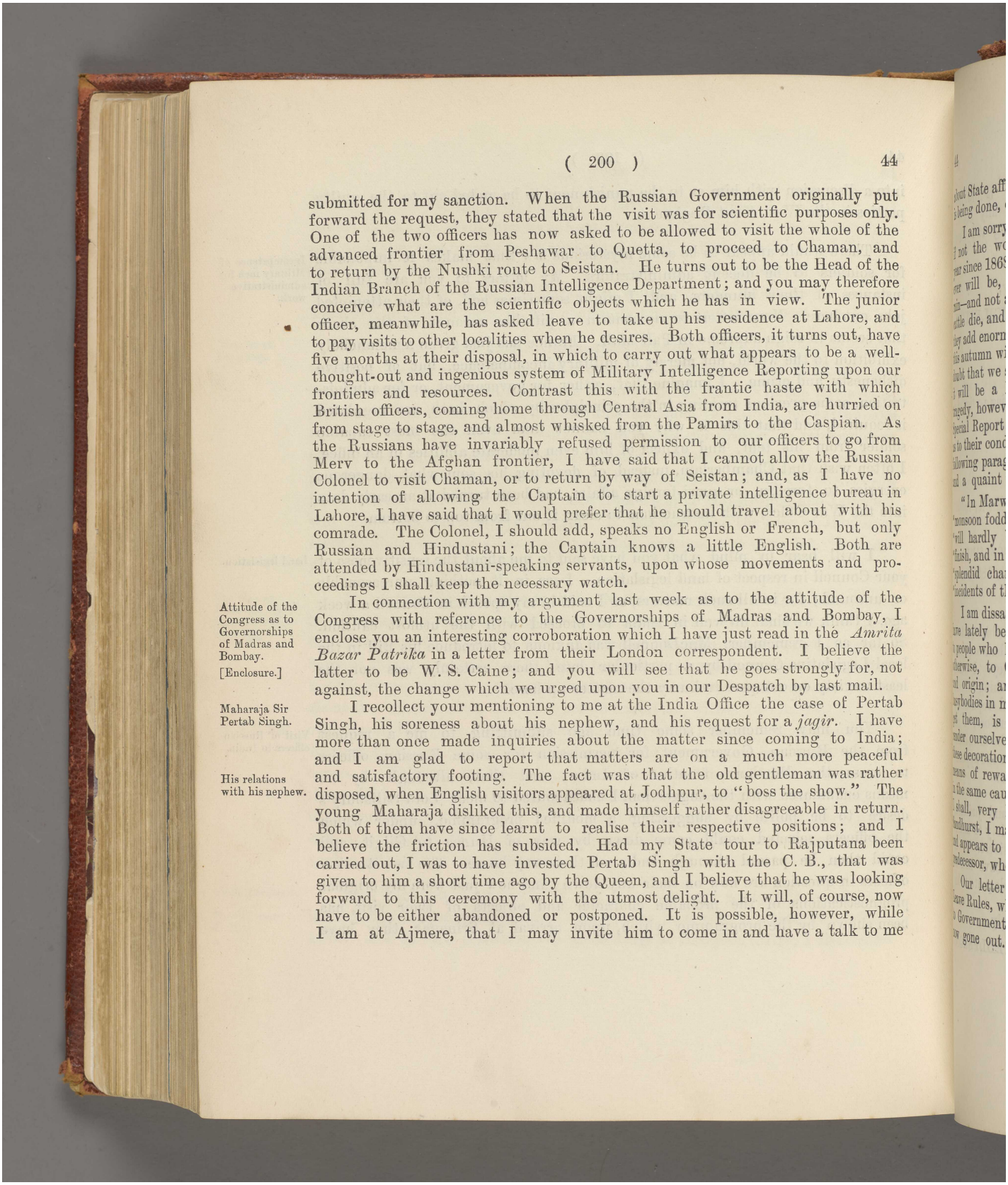

submitted for my sanction. When the Russian Government originally put forward the request, they stated that the visit was for scientific purposes only. One of the two officers has now asked to be allowed to visit the whole of the advanced frontier from Peshawar to Quetta, to proceed to Chaman, and to return by the Nushki route to Seistan. He turns out to be the Head of the Indian Branch of the Russian Intelligence Department; and you may therefore conceive what are the scientific objects which he has in view. The junior officer, meanwhile, has asked leave to take up his residence at Lahore, and to pay visits to other localities when he desires. Both officers, it turns out, have five months at their disposal, in which to carry out what appears to be a well-thought-out and ingenious system of Military Intelligence Reporting upon our frontiers and resources. Contrast this with the frantic haste with which British officers, coming home through Central Asia from India, are hurried on from stage to stage, and almost whisked from the Pamirs to the Caspian. As the Russians have invariably refused permission to our officers to go from Merv to the Afghan frontier, I have said that I cannot allow the Russian Colonel to visit Chaman, or to return by way of Seistan; and, as I have no intention of allowing the Captain to start a private intelligence bureau in Lahore, I have said that I would prefer that he should travel about with his comrade. The Colonel, I should add, speaks no English or French, but only Russian and Hindustani; the Captain knows a little English. Both are attended by Hindustani-speaking servants, upon whose movements and proceedings I shall keep the necessary watch.

Attitude of the Congress as to Governorships of Madras and Bombay. [Enclosure.]

In connection with my argument last week as to the attitude of the Congress with reference to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, I enclose you an interesting corroboration which I have just read in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in a letter from their London correspondent. I believe the latter to be W. S. Caine; and you will see that he goes strongly for, not against, the change which we urged upon you in our Despatch by last mail.

Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh.

His relations with his nephew.

I recollect your mentioning to me at the India Office the case of Pertab Singh, his soreness about his nephew, and his request for a *jagir*. I have more than once made inquiries about the matter since coming to India; and I am glad to report that matters are on a much more peaceful and satisfactory footing. The fact was that the old gentleman was rather disposed, when English visitors appeared at Jodhpur, to "boss the show." The young Maharaja disliked this, and made himself rather disagreeable in return. Both of them have since learnt to realise their respective positions; and I believe the friction has subsided. Had my State tour to Rajputana been carried out, I was to have invested Pertab Singh with the C. B., that was given to him a short time ago by the Queen, and I believe that he was looking forward to this ceremony with the utmost delight. It will, of course, now have to be either abandoned or postponed. It is possible, however, while I am at Ajmere, that I may invite him to come in and have a talk to me

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about State affairs in Jodhpur, and that I may even look in there to see what is being done, on my private journey through the famine-stricken areas.

The situation in Rajputana.

I am sorry to say that Rajputana is likely to be one of the worst spheres, if not the worst, of all. The conditions there are more serious than in any year since 1868-9. The country is not one in which it has ever been, or ever will be, possible to do much in respect of irrigation. When there is no rain—and not a drop has now fallen there for months—the crops wither, the cattle die, and the people migrate in thousands to neighbouring districts where they add enormously to the already existing local distress. The worst spheres this autumn will be Ajmere, Jodhpur, Bikanir, and Jeysulmere. I have little doubt that we shall have to come, somehow or other, to their relief; and that it will be a long time before Rajputana holds its head up again. Even tragedy, however, has its comic, or incongruous, aspect in the East, and, in a Special Report which has been sent up to us from each of the Rajput States, as to their condition and prospects, that from Jodhpur concludes with the following paragraph, which is a characteristic illustration of native style, and a quaint testimony to the sport-loving proclivities of the race.

"In Marwar pigsticking is the chief sport. With the entire failure of the "monsoon fodder for the pigs is scarce, and consequently when chased they "will hardly be in their proper condition and form to exhibit an exciting "finish, and in their buoyant spirits to show a bold front and to make a "splendid charge, which form the interesting, the lively and amusing "incidents of this manly sport."

Native titles for plague or famine service.

I am dissatisfied as to the manner in which, especially in Bombay, we have lately been shovelling out Native titles, with little or no discrimination, to people who have rendered some small service in respect of plague, or otherwise, to Government. These titles are aristocratic in nomenclature and origin; and to distribute them pell-mell among a lot of secondrate busybodies in municipalities and towns, many of whom only work in order to get them, is seriously to depreciate their value, and I think also to render ourselves somewhat ridiculous at the same time. While we shower these decorations for plague or famine service upon natives, there exists no means of rewarding the splendid exertions of English soldiers and civilians in the same cause. I am discussing the matter with Sandhurst; and think I shall, very likely, submit to you some recommendations on the subject. Sandhurst, I may say, is in entire agreement with myself on the subject, and appears to have made unsuccessful representations about it to my predecessor, who held different views.

Leave Rules. Letter to Local Governments.

Our letter to the Local Governments about our proposed changes in the Leave Rules, which, I may add, ought to result in decided financial economy to Government as well as in a great impetus to administrative efficiency, has now gone out. We have asked for their replies before the end of the month;

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and I hope that our proposals may be in your hands long before the close of the year. It will not fall to my lot to submit to you any set of propositions, more important in their ulterior consequences, during the time that I may remain in India.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Extract from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of September 29th, 1899, containing portion of a letter from their London correspondent.

No. 45.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
October 4th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Mr. Dawkins' successor.

In reply to your private letter of September 14th, I do not think that I have anything to add to what I have more than once said in private letters to you (notably on July 19th), and to Godley. I would gladly work either with Law or with O'Brien. But I know nothing of the latter, and something of the former; whose general financial reputation, moreover, stands unquestionably higher. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that these advantages may be held to outweigh the drawbacks of cold manner and somewhat austere personality; and if you offer the appointment to Law, I will do my best to make our cooperation a success.

I am very glad to hear that you are picking up.

Bishop Welldon.

Welldon is staying with me. He preached an eloquent and judicious sermon in the church on Sunday, in which he gave Simla Society to understand (without offending it) that social frivolity is not good business. He is, of course, much the most considerable personality that they have had as Metropolitan in India for years. But the field of action is inadequate to his powers.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 46.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
October 11*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Transvaal.

It is now 6-30 P. M. If Reuter's telegram is correct, saying that the ultimatum of the Boers was to expire at 5 o'clock this afternoon, I presume that Great Britain is now at war. The issue seems for some weeks past to have been inevitable, and, however much we may regret it, I do not myself protest or complain. There are things worse than war; and there are occasions when war cannot be avoided, except at the cost of national honour. I hope that we may now effectually extirpate, or reduce to impotence, this nest of obsolete rural oligarchs, and may send President Kruger to pass the evening of his days in the peaceful seclusion of his European motherland.

Indian Contingent.

I was very glad, and the offices here were delighted, to receive your congratulations, and those of the Secretary of State for War; and I believe I may say with truth that our ability to help you in the first place, and the promptitude of our mobilisation, have gone far to secure the safety of Natal. I hope, however, that the war may not be of long duration; for I must tell you frankly that, without any challenge to the Imperial character of the present emergency, there is a strong feeling, in English as well as in Native quarters in India, that the strength of the British forces here should not be even temporarily reduced. An urgent plea on the matter has reached me from Sir Antony MacDonnell, who is typical of mature Anglo-Indian experience, as well as being a man of great ability; and I feel myself that the practice of indenting at all freely upon the military resources of India, even for the needs of the Empire, is one that requires to be carefully watched, and may be easily abused.

Strength of British Garrison in India.

Famine measures.

While you will be fighting the Boers, we are engaged in our own campaign against the more chronic and formidable enemy of famine. Our plans for relief are well advanced, or in actual operation, in every case. In Rajputana, which, I think, will be the hardest hit of all the Provinces, I have sent Holderness, the Secretary of the Revenue and Agricultural Department, and a member of the former Famine Commission, down to Ajmere to advise the local officers, and to report to me upon their operations. I have also borrowed a special

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officer from the Punjab, who distinguished himself in the last famine in that Province, and have attached him to Rajputana throughout the present distress. I have telegraphed to Jodhpur, offering to take one of their regiments of Imperial Service Cavalry, and plant and keep them in a British Cantonment at our own expense during the famine. We shall probably have to give loans in Rajputana as well. However, I will not further dilate upon what we are doing there or elsewhere, because, acting upon your hint, I propose to draw up a telegram, giving a full account of our actual or contemplated proceedings in all the affected parts of India, and this you will doubtless read, long before my letter reaches you, through the medium of Reuter, in the columns of the *Times*.

The Viceroy's tour.

My amended tour is taking final shape; and there will be few centres of serious suffering in Northern or Central India, or in Bombay, which I shall not visit. I am also going to Kathiawar, where the distress is very great and where no previous Viceroy, in times either of plenty or affliction, has ever been. I shall be inoculated here with Haffkine's serum before I start for Bombay and Poona, and those of my Staff who are to accompany me will go through the same process. In a country like India, I daresay that the knowledge of this may advance the cause of inoculation more than could any actual or local demonstration of its efficacy. Wherever I can, upon my tour, I shall visit localities at short notice, and, so to speak, by surprise; for when long notice is given of the visit of a Viceroy everything is apt to be swept and garnished; and if there be a sepulchre in the vicinity it has a very white outside. Besides which, I do not want to disturb officers at their work, or to dislocate the measures that are proceeding, but simply to see what is being done with my own eyes, to encourage the toilers, and to show sympathy with the people.

Proposed Indian Public Service Order.

In connection with plague and famine, I shall send you by next mail definite proposals for the institution of some sort of medal with which to reward services in combating these two scourges, whether rendered by Europeans or Natives. The Queen spoke to me upon this matter before leaving England, and it is one upon which I solicit your influence and interest with her. At the present moment we are very poorly off for the means to reward services of the character which I am describing. The Order of the Red Cross can only be given to women and that for attending sick and wounded soldiers or sailors. The Order of St. John of Jerusalem is applicable to plague, and is conferred upon both sexes, but it cannot be given to Natives. The only means we have so far discovered of rewarding the latter has been by giving them Native titles; and the number of these, notably in Bombay, is now becoming so prodigious, that the value of the honour has been seriously discounted, and I shrink greatly from a continuance of the process at the present rate. Hitherto, moreover, there has been no means of rewarding the admirable services rendered

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by English officers and soldiers in combating the plague. I am proposing, therefore, an Order of Indian Public Service, with two classes of medal, a gold and a silver, to be conferred either upon Europeans or Natives, and for services in respect either of plague or famine, or for civil merit of other description. I believe that it will supply a much needed want, and I beg of you to help me with your energies in passing it through.

The Rangoon Outrage case.

In the course of the ensuing week, I shall send you a telegram for Parliamentary use about our proposed action in respect of the Rangoon case. The Commander-in-Chief, who is slowly getting better, but is not yet out of his bed room, is considering its disciplinary aspect, in conjunction with the Adjutant-General, after a perusal of all the papers, which have now arrived. I am to see him at the end of the week, and I hope to be able to announce to you a decision which will be unmistakable in significance, as well as trenchant in operation. I have also called by telegraph for a special report from Fryer as to the conduct of the Civil Authorities and the Police in the case; and, if censure or punishment be required, there also I shall show no hesitation in meting it out. Finally, I have for some time been considering the desirability of issuing some pronouncement on behalf of the Government of India on the subject; and the paragraph in your last letter relating to the matter came with singular opportuneness, inasmuch as I had already just composed the draft of an Order in Council upon the subject. Orders in Council, I believe, are not ordinarily used for this purpose. But inasmuch as the Governor General in Council is invested by law with supreme control of the British Army in India, I am entirely of opinion that we cannot afford to allow so revolting and abominable a crime to pass by without notice. Meanwhile, I have also been looking up the question of affrays and collisions in general between Europeans and Natives, and, as I before hinted to you, the information which I have collected does not in the least support the over sanguine attitude twice taken up by Onslow in the House of Lords, and corroborated on the second of these occasions by Kimberley and Lansdowne. I propose to send you a despatch upon the question, which, I am afraid, may somewhat flutter the dovecote in which your Under Secretary resides. I mention the question now, because I am not certain whether it will be desirable to pass an Order in Council relating to the Rangoon outrage alone, or to make it of a more general character applicable to the wider issue which I have described as being raised by the investigations I have lately made. I have drawn up two alternative drafts, one with the smaller, and the other with the wider reference; and I shall consult my Colleagues as to which of the two they think it desirable in the circumstances to issue.

Collisions between Europeans and Natives.

Relations with the Madras Government.

I read with interest the paragraph in your last letter—that of September 20th—upon Madras. What Havelock means when he talks about the system of centralisation pursued by the Secretaries of our Departments as being

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fatal to all initiative and originality in local administration, I have not the ghost of an idea. I have been making enquiries in the Departments; and no one can tell me to what he refers. As I have often told you, the Madras Government jogs quietly along in its oldfashioned way, without any interference at all, except when it tries, in vindication of its fictitious independence, to execute some little plan, which is either in conflict with Imperial policy, or in definite contravention of existing regulations. Then we have to intervene; but, inasmuch as every one of these cases is bound by rule to be brought before me, I am fully acquainted both with their number and character. They occur, perhaps, on an average, about once in a month or six weeks, or at the rate of about a dozen a year.

Sir A. Havelock's charge of delays by the Government of India.

As to the alleged delays, no one, as you will know, is more willing than myself to admit the culpability of the Government of India, and its various Departments, in this respect; but, with reference to the case which you have mentioned in connection with the Bill to amend the Madras District Municipalities Act, and in which, as it happened before my time, I have no personal interest, I find, on looking into the papers, a note from Elgin to the following effect, which throws a somewhat different light upon the matter from that which your letter suggests. It is as follows :—"Sir A. Havelock in writing to me admitted that the delays had been on both sides, and I think it is a pity that he allowed the question to be raised officially. I have pointed out to him in reply that the delay in sending the letter of February 25th was at least as inconvenient and unreasonable as our delays, and I should be disposed to let the matter rest here." It was a great surprise to Elgin, and to the Government of India, that, after this private admission of mutual delinquencies on the part of the two principals, the Government of Madras, in their official letter of the 17th July 1896, should have reverted, in rather invidious terms, to the charge; and should thereby have elicited from you the concluding sentence of your letter to the Government of India of October 22nd in the same year. Inasmuch, however, as our little friend, Havelock, is so sensitive on the subject of delays, I may inform you, in connection with the discussion that we have long been having with him on the subject of the Provincial Contract, that we addressed him an official letter, enclosing correspondence with you, on October 7th, 1898; and that although he is constantly representing this matter as being dear to his own heart, and vital to the success of his administration, he did not favour us with a reply until July 7th, 1899. When, however, you say that the great mass, if not almost the entirety, of the work of the Madras Government is of so routine and prosaic a character as hardly to necessitate reference to higher authorities, and that your own difficulty is in finding material for letters to Madras and Bombay at all, are you not in reality giving away the case for the continued correspondence of those Governments with the Secretary of State, and conceding the greater part of the contention of our recent Despatch?

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Somali Land.

I conclude from the recent telegrams that the so-called Mahdi of Berbera has collapsed, and that the whole affair has fizzled out. I am rather glad that we have not to send Indian troops out of India at the same time as British.

Major Fagan on Muscat affairs.

Major Fagan is up here, and he is coming to dinner with me to-morrow. From his conversations with Barnes and Lawrence I gather that, while the Sultan of Muscat himself is suspicious, addicted to intrigue, and convinced that the only method of escaping a British Protectorate is to rely upon the frail assistance of the French, and to play them off against us, the prestige of this country is, since the events of last spring, immensely in the ascendant, and that Ottavi himself was so humiliated in local estimation, that for two months he never emerged from his house except at night. In a later letter I shall be able to give you the results of a personal conversation with Fagan.

Despatch on Frontier Policy.

I have finally been able to agree with the Military Department as to the estimates and calculations which will be embodied in our long delayed Frontier Policy Despatch. It will leave not by this, but by next mail, and will sum up, I hope to your satisfaction, and certainly with financial results which you will not despise, the new departure upon which we have embarked. Will you tell me in some letter whether you propose, either now or in the future, to publish any papers in respect of these frontier decisions? I saw that Fowler asked for them in the House of Commons, and I should be glad to know what you propose to do in the matter. I have no personal feelings one way or the other.

Punjab system of Frontier administration.

In pursuance of your suggestion that we might, from time to time, send you Despatches containing some illustrations of the manner in which the Punjab Government conducts its work, and of the difficulty that we experience in managing the Frontier through that agency, I propose to give you, in the course of the next month or six weeks, a series of communications which I think may be useful for the purpose intended.

Sir C. Paul's retirement and successor.

In a paper the other day I saw a notice to the effect that Sir Charles Paul, or the old Apostle, as I used irreverently to describe him in my earlier letters, had actually resigned from the date of the termination of his leave. Will you let me know if anything has been done in this respect, and at what moment you desire that the announcement as to Woodroffe's substantive appointment should be made?

Sir F. Law to succeed Mr. Dawkins.

I received a telegram from you the other day saying that you were about to offer the Finance Membership of Council to Law. I am much obliged to you for having shown so much deference to the views which I have ventured to express throughout; and I hope that, if he accepts, neither of us may have cause to regret it.

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Incompetence of the Punjab Native Police.

In a recent letter I spoke to you about the increasing deterioration and incompetence of the Native Police. Perhaps the worst case that I have come across is that of the Punjab. The state of affairs there, as revealed in their last Annual Report, gives food for serious reflection. Let me acquaint you with a few figures. In the Bannu District, which is the worst in the whole Province, and which is the best illustration that I can find of the incapacity of a Local Government to manage the border, the annual average of murders, which from 1881 to 1889 was 25, rose from 1890 to 1897 to 40, whilst the total in 1898 was no less than 64. In one of the districts of the Rawal Pindi Division, murders rose in the past year from 22 to 32, and cases of attempted murder and culpable homicide, from 15 to 44. In the inability of the Local Administration to supply adequate police protection, or to give security to life and property, instances of popular justice—a sort of Indian equivalent to lynching in the Southern States of America—are rapidly increasing. In 1898 the number of Lee-Metford rifles stolen in the Punjab was no less than 38, of which only 6 were recovered; the number of Martini Henry carbines stolen was 25, of which only 3 were recovered. The Police appear to be powerless to find any trace of the criminals who abound in many districts and villages; and the decay of the prestige, and the decline in the social status, of the force, are becoming fraught with positive danger to British administration in the Province.

Calcutta Municipal Bill.
Mr. Apcar's views.
[Enclosure.]

Mr. Apcar, of Calcutta, is an Armenian gentleman who is well known for playing both to the gallery and for his own hand. He sent a long letter to Lawrence at the same time that he wrote to Lansdowne, Harris, and yourself. I enclose, on the chance that it may be useful, the reply which I instructed Lawrence to send. That Mr. Apcar's views on the subject are at all generally shared by Europeans in Calcutta I believe to be absolutely false; and a very different impression is conveyed by Mr. Bright, the Chairman of the Corporation, who happens to be in Simla at the present moment. As you may be called upon at a later date in Parliament to vindicate the action which we have taken, I will venture, while the matter is still fresh in my memory, to recapitulate the main points in the following form—

Recapitulation of the case.

(1.) The old Corporation broke down hopelessly and irredeemably. The helm had been seized and worked in their own interests by a clique of Bengali Hindus. The remaining Native interests were only represented by virtue of the powers reserved to Government. The European and mercantile interests, which have made Calcutta what it is, were overridden and swamped, and were being steadily driven out of municipal life. There was general apprehension that, if plague should break out in Calcutta, there would be an utter and ruinous collapse of the civic administration. All these facts are now ignored by the Babu party, who argue as though we were upsetting a system without taint or blemish.

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(2.) Sir A. Mackenzie introduced his Reform Bill to meet these evils; and everybody—Government of India, Secretary of State, and, later on, his successor, Sir John Woodburn—rather hastily accepted it, either out of deference to, or from confidence in, him.

(3.) As the Bill proceeded, it was found to contain fundamental defects of principle and structure which would almost certainly have defeated its future operation.

(4.) The Native Members were loud in their denunciation of these defects, and implored the Government of India to step in and correct them. At this moment I arrived in India. All parties appealed to me as an absolutely impartial and unprejudiced umpire. This appeal came equally from Calcutta, and from the House of Commons (*vide* Fowler in the Debate on the Address). I was asked to save Calcutta from the certain warfare of factions with which it was threatened, and from the destruction of Local Self-government by the supersession of the elected 50 by the nominated 12. All this has now been forgotten by the Native Press, who, in their anxiety to curse my solution, have almost begun to bless the original Bill.

(5.) I devoted the most anxious and thoughtful consideration to the whole matter, in regard to which I was in this difficult position. I did not start with a *tabula rasa*. I could not sacrifice the labours of the Bengal Council, and of its Select Committee, for an entire year. I could not, for an indefinite period, leave Calcutta without a Municipal constitution, or with a Municipal constitution already condemned. I had to find a settlement which would (*a*) redress the anomalies, without destroying the main fabric, of Mackenzie's Bill; (*b*) be acceptable to Sir John Woodburn; (*c*) not deprive the European community of that voice in the reformed government of the City which they had been publicly guaranteed; (*d*) make for the harmonious and efficient administration of Calcutta in the future.

(6.) My solution you know. It has been accepted by Sir John Woodburn, by the entire European community, by public opinion in India, by everyone except the Babu party, who were the loudest in their appeals to my arbitrament, but who are annoyed at having lost their former dominion.

(7.) They talk about the extinction of Local Self-government in Calcutta. I have left to the rate-payers one-half of the total Corporation by Ward election; that is, the Hindus are certain, according to Apcar, to have an equal voice with that of all the other interests combined. If the Bengal Government and European commercial bodies could, with safety, give to the Native community 7, 8, or 9 seats out of the nominated 25, at a time when the elected proportion stood at 50, are they less likely to do so because the latter has been reduced to 25? In other words, I have assured to the Native party a secure and permanent majority in the Corporation. In

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these circumstances, the resignation of the 28 was a mere display of petulance, and to speak of the death of Self-government is a farce.

These men are, however, wanted for the future administration of the City. If their own protests of patriotic interest are sincere, let them come back and play their part. They will find that they have as much influence as they can possibly desire; and that Native interests are better off under good government than they formerly were under bad.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Letter from Mr. W. R. Lawrence to Mr. J. G. Apcar, dated September 5th, 1899, regarding the Calcutta Municipal Bill.

No. 47.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
October 18*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Transvaal.

Reuter tells us that you have already had your first division in the House of Commons, and that the minority by which you were opposed was pitifully small. Although public opinion in England hardly seems to require the stimulus of Parliamentary example, nevertheless the emphatic consensus of both Parties in testifying to the bitter necessity of the war, and in supporting the Government, must produce a great impression in foreign countries, and may conceivably have some influence on the result in the Transvaal. The news which we receive here from the latter quarter is painfully meagre; and is likely to be made the more so by the censorship which, in accordance with your telegraphic suggestion, we have instituted at Aden. I may remark in passing that I telegraphed to Selborne rather than yourself, because the suggestion intimately concerned his own Department; and I hardly liked to put it forward officially, since I thought it scarcely possible that action had not already been taken in the proposed sense at home. My object as regards India was to prevent the circulation in this country, not of statements of facts, which, even if they be unfavourable, are certain to be made public sooner or later, but to prevent the sort of exaggerated inference deducible from facts which is liable to be so dangerous in an Oriental country. I only hope that the war may not be of long duration, because of the fear

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which I have before expressed that, as long as it lasts, our rivals will be up and doing in every other quarter of the globe.

Russian designs on Bunder Abbas.

This reflection leads me to note upon a telegram received yesterday from Sir Mortimer Durand, in repetition of one sent to you, concerning the alleged Persian engagement to hand over Bunder Abbas to Russia within ten years. This statement, if true—and, as you know, it has now been confirmed from a number of quite independent sources—is a striking confirmation of a good deal of the argument in my recent Despatch, and may, I hope, fortify the Foreign Office in the bold line, which, as I understand from the confidential telegrams, they are not unprepared to take. Personally, I can imagine nothing worse for Russia than that she should at all prematurely translate into action such an agreement if it has been made. For were I in a position to decide what should be done, I should not have the least hesitation, in the event of Russia taking any such step, or endeavouring in any way to acquire a positive foothold, *viâ* Persia, in the Persian Gulf, in seizing Bunder Abbas, Bushire, and Mohammerah with British ships, and holding them with British forces. Russia would be absolutely powerless. The utmost that she could do would be to advance upon Meshed or Tabreez; and thus, so far from interfering with our policy or plans, she would merely precipitate that internal disruption of Persia which is, in any case, almost certain to come, and which I doubt if anything that we could do will indefinitely postpone. If the Bunder Abbas story be true, it is one more illustration of the peculiar resemblance borne by Mouravieff to a well-known character in the Acts of the Apostles.

Resignation of Calcutta Commissioners.

In reply to a question which you asked in your last letter of September 28th, with reference to the action of the 28 Calcutta Commissioners who resigned because of the charge of corruption, I think that it might have rather an unfortunate effect were you so entirely to dissociate yourself from the charge, as you are inclined to suggest. I think a preferable line of defence would be as follows:—That Sir Alexander Mackenzie was responsible for the charge, and that in making it he no doubt relied upon evidence within his own knowledge, or his own possession, but that the charge itself had nothing whatever to do with the attitude of the Government of India, as at present constituted, in amending his Bill, or with your own attitude in approving that amendment; that the Government of India, in their letter to the Bengal Government, did not either repeat or endorse the charge; but that all they did in this respect was, in an historical summary of the proceedings which had led up to the present juncture, to recapitulate, as a statement of fact, the principal grounds for the introduction of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Bill, not as accepted by the Government of India at the time, or as accepted by us now, but as summarised by Sir A. Mackenzie himself; and that the present Government of India had confined itself exclusively to an amendment of the new constitution, in the form in which it had passed from a Select Committee of the local

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Council, with sole regard to the future interests of good government in Calcutta, and without reference to the feelings, objects, or motives, which Sir A. Mackenzie may have had in his mind when he first wrote to the Government of India on the subject on June 17th, 1897. If you will read my letter to the Bengal Government of the 17th June 1899, you will see that the phraseology employed, which I was most careful in selecting, will entirely support the line of defence that I have recommended.

The Rangoon outrage.

From a telegram which I sent you yesterday, you will have gathered some hint of the difficulties and anxieties in which I am involved in regard to the Rangoon case; and I will not conceal from you that I have passed, and am still passing, through a period of great mental perturbation upon the subject. On the one hand, I feel, as you know, very strongly the enormity of the scandal, and the urgent necessity for interference in the cause of justice and morality on the part of the Government. From this point of view, no expression from us can well be too strong; no punishment of the guilty parties can well be too severe. On the other hand, the public, acquainted only with the rough outlines of the case, and regarding it as an instance of bestial depravity on the part of a few private soldiers alone, is probably quite unaware of the lamentable delinquencies of almost all the officers, military and civil, from the highest to the lowest, who were concerned, and will in all likelihood be completely taken aback by the apparent severity of the sentences that we propose to pass. For I regret to have to inform you that the report of the Lieutenant-Governor, which I called for, and which has just arrived, throws a scarcely less lurid light upon the apathy of the Civil authorities, including himself, and of the Police, than that which a review of the military proceedings has already cast upon the conduct of most of the Military officers involved. I cannot see how, consistently with justice, we are to punish the military men so sternly, and altogether let the civilians off. The degree, and also the kind, of culpability in the case of the latter are of course different, since with them it was a case rather of utter neglect to elucidate, than of deliberate conspiracy to conceal. At the same time, the culpability is so serious, that I am afraid we cannot ignore it. It may, therefore, well be that, when these joint sentences are made public, there will be a great outcry on the part of the services against the apparent harshness of the verdict, and even a formidable attack upon myself. Of course it would be easy to cover the attacking party with confusion, and amply to vindicate the conduct of Government, by publication of papers later on. But this would reveal such an appalling tale of incapacity in high places, and of unconcealed sympathy with crime, that it is a solution which no patriotic Englishman can look forward to with pleasure. In the meantime, if we pass an Order in Council on the matter on Friday, concerning which I have not yet received the views of my Colleagues, it will probably have direct and scrupulous reference to this incident alone, and will be careful to avoid any suggestion that such cases are either of ordinary

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occurrence or are symptomatic. I have gone very carefully into all the details of the famous Fuller case, and of the action of Lytton's Government thereupon; and I have throughout felt rather like someone standing on the brink of the roaring crater of Vesuvius, with justice and honour imperiously thrusting him forward, and circumspection and self-interest more cautiously pushing him back. In reply to your particular question about the conduct of Major Morse, I have formed the opinion that he suggested the particular line of defence to the soldiers, by which they ultimately secured acquittal, because it was the line of defence which he consistently adopted from beginning to end, and which vitiated and condemned his entire proceedings. From the start, he himself admitted in evidence that he regarded the woman as a prostitute; and it was with the same idea in his head that he subsequently suggested to his men the plausible and convenient theory of which he had already satisfied himself. His conduct throughout was, in my opinion, most blameworthy, and he has been included by the Commander-in-Chief in his proposed sentence. Though the fact does not yet seem to be at all widely known, the whole of the men who were under trial at Rangoon have already been discharged from the Army, and attention will be recalled to this fact when the sum total of our punitive action is published in the Press.

Outlook in Rajputana.

I have just had a long letter from Holderness, whom, as I told you last week, I had sent down to Rajputana, to advise and report upon the Famine. He says that things are going much better at Ajmere, in the main because steps have been taken to check the previously unrestricted immigration of thousands of poor, destitute creatures from the neighbouring States, and especially from Jodhpur. They are all of them being sent back to their own districts; which of course imposes upon us the additional responsibility of seeing that life and soul are kept in them, when they get there. Of the whole of Rajputana, he says that the outlook is very serious indeed, and that the drought is the worst which has been experienced in that part of India in the present century.

Visits of the Viceroy and Members of Council.

My own visit to Ajmere, in a fortnight's time, will be followed at a short distance by visits both from Dawkins and Rivaz, the former of whom will consult with the Native Durbars as to the loans which we are making to them, and as to the conversion, in some cases, of their local currency; while the latter, with Holderness, will again visit all the more suffering tracts, and will generally supervise what is going on.

Punjab Frontier administration system.

In compliance with your suggestion, I am sending you by the present, and by future mails, quite a number of communications which will throw a very interesting light upon the Frontier administration of the Punjab. In addition to the case to which you referred in your last letter, and which concerned the tribe of Guri Khels, let me call your attention to some papers about Waziri outrages in general. On the 17th October 1898, we invited the Punjab Government to consider by what methods they could bring to account the offending parties in a great number of cases. During the year that has elapsed,

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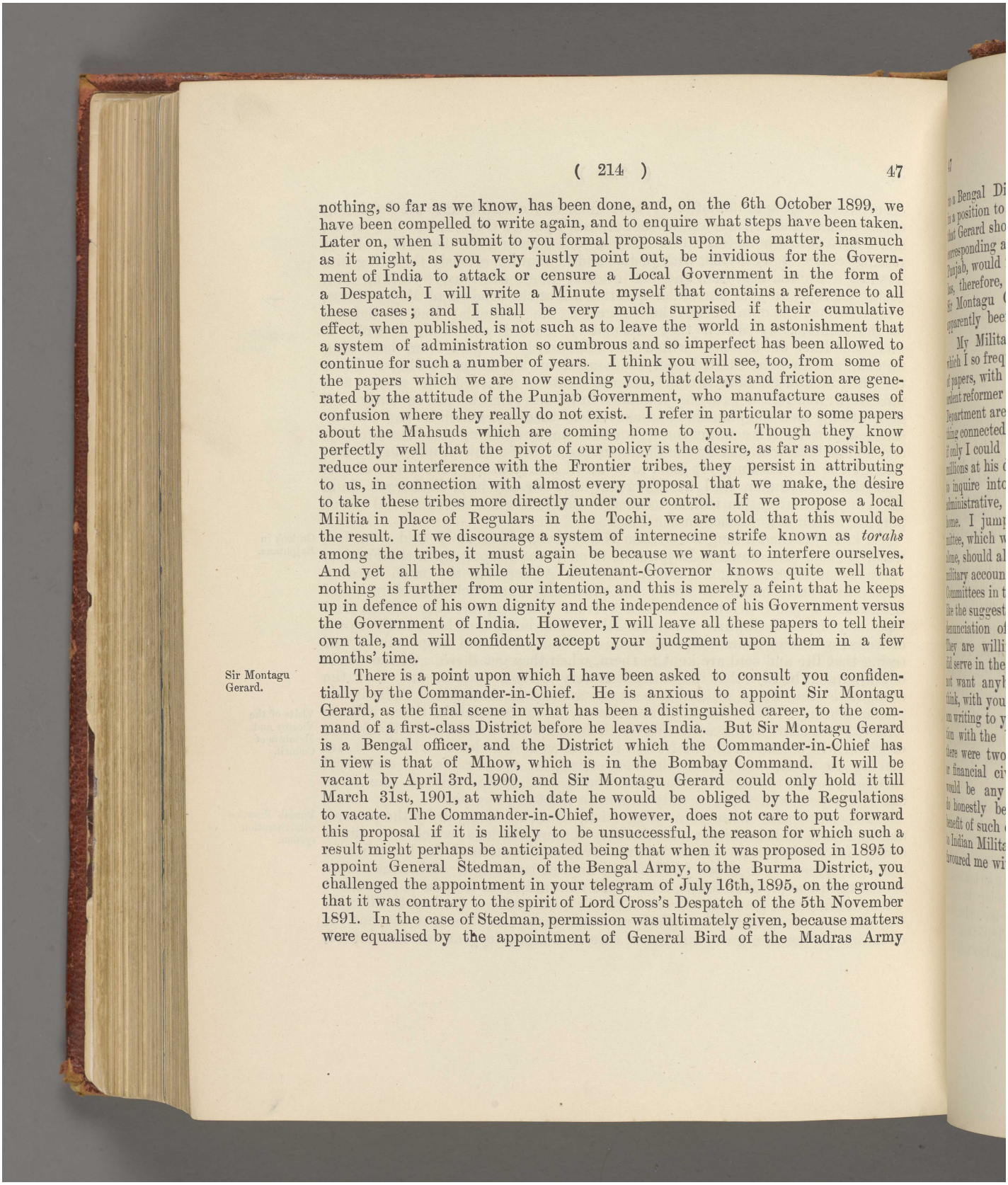

nothing, so far as we know, has been done, and, on the 6th October 1899, we have been compelled to write again, and to enquire what steps have been taken. Later on, when I submit to you formal proposals upon the matter, inasmuch as it might, as you very justly point out, be invidious for the Government of India to attack or censure a Local Government in the form of a Despatch, I will write a Minute myself that contains a reference to all these cases; and I shall be very much surprised if their cumulative effect, when published, is not such as to leave the world in astonishment that a system of administration so cumbrous and so imperfect has been allowed to continue for such a number of years. I think you will see, too, from some of the papers which we are now sending you, that delays and friction are generated by the attitude of the Punjab Government, who manufacture causes of confusion where they really do not exist. I refer in particular to some papers about the Mahsuds which are coming home to you. Though they know perfectly well that the pivot of our policy is the desire, as far as possible, to reduce our interference with the Frontier tribes, they persist in attributing to us, in connection with almost every proposal that we make, the desire to take these tribes more directly under our control. If we propose a local Militia in place of Regulars in the Tochi, we are told that this would be the result. If we discourage a system of internecine strife known as *torahs* among the tribes, it must again be because we want to interfere ourselves. And yet all the while the Lieutenant-Governor knows quite well that nothing is further from our intention, and this is merely a feint that he keeps up in defence of his own dignity and the independence of his Government versus the Government of India. However, I will leave all these papers to tell their own tale, and will confidently accept your judgment upon them in a few months' time.

Sir Montagu Gerard.

There is a point upon which I have been asked to consult you confidentially by the Commander-in-Chief. He is anxious to appoint Sir Montagu Gerard, as the final scene in what has been a distinguished career, to the command of a first-class District before he leaves India. But Sir Montagu Gerard is a Bengal officer, and the District which the Commander-in-Chief has in view is that of Mhow, which is in the Bombay Command. It will be vacant by April 3rd, 1900, and Sir Montagu Gerard could only hold it till March 31st, 1901, at which date he would be obliged by the Regulations to vacate. The Commander-in-Chief, however, does not care to put forward this proposal if it is likely to be unsuccessful, the reason for which such a result might perhaps be anticipated being that when it was proposed in 1895 to appoint General Stedman, of the Bengal Army, to the Burma District, you challenged the appointment in your telegram of July 16th, 1895, on the ground that it was contrary to the spirit of Lord Cross's Despatch of the 5th November 1891. In the case of Stedman, permission was ultimately given, because matters were equalised by the appointment of General Bird of the Madras Army

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to a Bengal District. In the present case the Commander-in-Chief is not in a position to offer any such method of equalisation, for he only proposes that Gerard should hold the Bombay appointment for one year, whilst the corresponding appointment of a Bombay officer to a district in Bengal, or the Punjab, would introduce inequality by reason of its five years' duration. He has, therefore, asked me to find out whether you would be willing to treat Sir Montagu Gerard's case as an exception to the principle which has apparently been laid down.

Schemes for Army reform.

My Military Colleague, in response to the doubts and suspicions with which I so frequently assail his administration, is showering upon me a mass of papers, with interminable Notes by himself, to prove that he has been an ardent reformer from the beginning of time, and that the bureaux of the Military Department are bursting with schemes for the reform of everybody and everything connected with the Army, which could at once be successfully carried out if only I could persuade the Financial Department to place the requisite millions at his disposal. Among these schemes is his suggestion of a Committee to inquire into the decentralization of army business, both financial and administrative, which I believe to be even more wanted here than it was at home. I jumped at this suggestion, and proposed that the suggested Committee, which was to consist, according to Collen's plan, of Indian officers alone, should also contain one or two financial experts, who were familiar with military accounts, and had perhaps served on the Decentralization and other Committees in the War Office at home. The Commander-in-Chief and he did not like the suggestion at all, and old Collen, in reply, has embarked upon a savage denunciation of "all the Queen's Army and all the Queen's men" at home. They are willing that General Burnett, who has Pall Mall experience, and did serve in the English Decentralization Committee, should join, but they do not want anybody else. I am not inclined, however, to drop my idea, and I think, with your concurrence, that I shall insist upon it. In the meantime I am writing to you, confidentially, to find out whether you can, in consultation with the War Office, find one, or possibly two, first-rate men (for if there were two, they would back each other up), either military accountants, or financial civilians, of the Sir Ralph Knox type. I do not think there would be any good in sending us anything but first-class men. But I do honestly believe that a strong and capable Committee here, with the benefit of such outside assistance, might result in reforms of lasting benefit to Indian Military administration. I will keep the case back until you have favoured me with a reply.

Suggested Committee on Army Decentralization.

Believe me

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 48.

To SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B., Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
October 18*th*, 1899.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Bombay Governorship.

Let me thank you for your letter of September 26th. As my telegram to the Secretary of State recommending Goldie for Bombay will have shown, I am in entire agreement with you as to the need of drastic reform, and a resolute reformer, in that Presidency. The whole machinery there has run down, and is out of gear: and we want some one to screw it up. Northcote, though not a bad engineer for a machine in good working order, is not the sort of man to repair one that has gone to pieces, or to generate a fresh supply of steam. If I am given Goldie, I think I can undertake to keep him in order, particularly if you subordinate him directly to the Government of India. If Northcote comes, on the other hand, I doubt not that our relations will be placid, even if the effect in Bombay be not invigorating.

Letter from the Amir.

I send you an advance copy of the Amir's reply to our official letter, which has just arrived. I have only just had time to glance through it; but I may say that I am less favourably impressed by it, than I have been by any previous sample of the same master's style. It is inordinately long-winded and diffuse; it contains frequent repetitions; it quibbles about words and particles; and it is surprisingly clumsy and inartistic in its efforts to confuse the issue, and to evade the real point. I think I shall suggest a very brief reply, the important parts of which I shall telegraph to the Secretary of State in advance for his approval.

Major Fagan on Muscat affairs.

I have had one talk with Major Fagan and am to have another. He is not at all the type of swashbuckler that I had anticipated. He describes the present situation in Muscat as inseparable (1) from the historical sequence of events; (2) from the nominal Treaty equality between England and France; (3) from the idiosyncrasies of the Sultan. I will not repeat what he has said in a Final Report written just before he left Muscat, which is going home to you by this mail. But it all comes to this—that the Sultan has been alienated ever since we allowed his town to be knocked about his ears in 1895: and that since Ottavi has put him up to playing off France against us, and has told him

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that this is the only way to escape a British Protectorate, the estrangement has developed into positive hostility.

France and Muscat.

In the meantime what are the French about, and when is the vexed question of the coal-sheds to be finally settled?

Departmental reforms.

I have had the printed files—arranged under the new system of Noting, Printing, &c.—sent up to me from every Department, in order to see how my reforms are going on. I am gratified to find that they have been very uniformly and successfully carried out; and the saving, in writing to begin with, and in printed matter later on, is already enormous. Meanwhile replies from the Local Governments as to the extent to which they are able to adopt the new rules, have nearly all come in; and within six months of inaugurating the change here, I believe that it will be in operation through the greater part of British India.

Education.

The next big question I have to take up is that of Education. I have seen enough to know that, in its desire to decentralise, Government has surrendered its control to a very dangerous degree; and that the Local Governments, inspired by this attractive example, have also forfeited a good deal of their necessary authority. In fact, the management of Education has gradually drifted into the hands of committees or bodies, upon which Englishmen are often in a numerical minority, and who exercise their power in mischievous independence of Government. More about this at some later date.

Tours of Members of Council.

Another point in which I am trying to brace matters up a little is in respect of the Autumnal Tours of Members of Council. Hitherto, as soon as the Viceroy has disappeared upon Tour, all these eminent men have vanished also upon expeditions, which have been, for the most part, of a pleasure-seeking character, and from which the public interest has derived little, if any, gain.

I think that we all of us ought so to arrange our tours as to do some business, if business is capable of being done. The spectacle of Councillors travelling about in state in their private railway carriages, and doing nothing but amuse themselves, does not set a good example.

Accordingly, I have taken my Colleagues into my confidence with regard to my own movements, and have discussed with them theirs. The results will, I hope, be salutary. Trevor I am going to employ upon our new travelling Railway Commission, both in Bombay, Kathiawar, and Madras. Rivaz is going to visit famine districts in Rajputana. Dawkins is going to consult Native States about loans and currency. Collen is off to Burma. Raleigh proposes to visit Law Colleges and Universities. The poor Commander-in-Chief will, I am afraid, not get through much touring, since he is only slowly recovering from his recent attack.

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I and those of my staff who are going south with me to Bombay and Poona are going to be inoculated this week. If you do not hear from me for a little while, you must set it down to a swollen arm.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

P. S.—The enclosed extract from the *Pioneer*, relating to North-Western Provinces, will give you an indication of the effect produced upon his leading officers by four years of the present Lieutenant-Governor.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Advance copy of letter from the Amir, dated 27th September 1899.
Extract from the *Pioneer*.

No. 49.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
October 25th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Simla season.

In less than 36 hours I shall have left this place, and my first experience of what I described, upon arrival, as the Simla workshop will be at an end. Without taking too much credit to myself, I believe I may say that the output from it during the past seven months has exceeded anything that has been known for many years, and that the workmen have been kept to their task in a style which has been novel, if not always agreeable. Nevertheless, I can truthfully say that I have, in most cases, found an ardent response to the calls which I have made, and which I have honestly endeavoured to stimulate by the force of example; and whatever be the blunders and the bungles of Indian administration, it has the merit of at least being conscientious, and of being permeated by a strong sense of discipline. Not much will be done now till I get to Calcutta in the middle of December;

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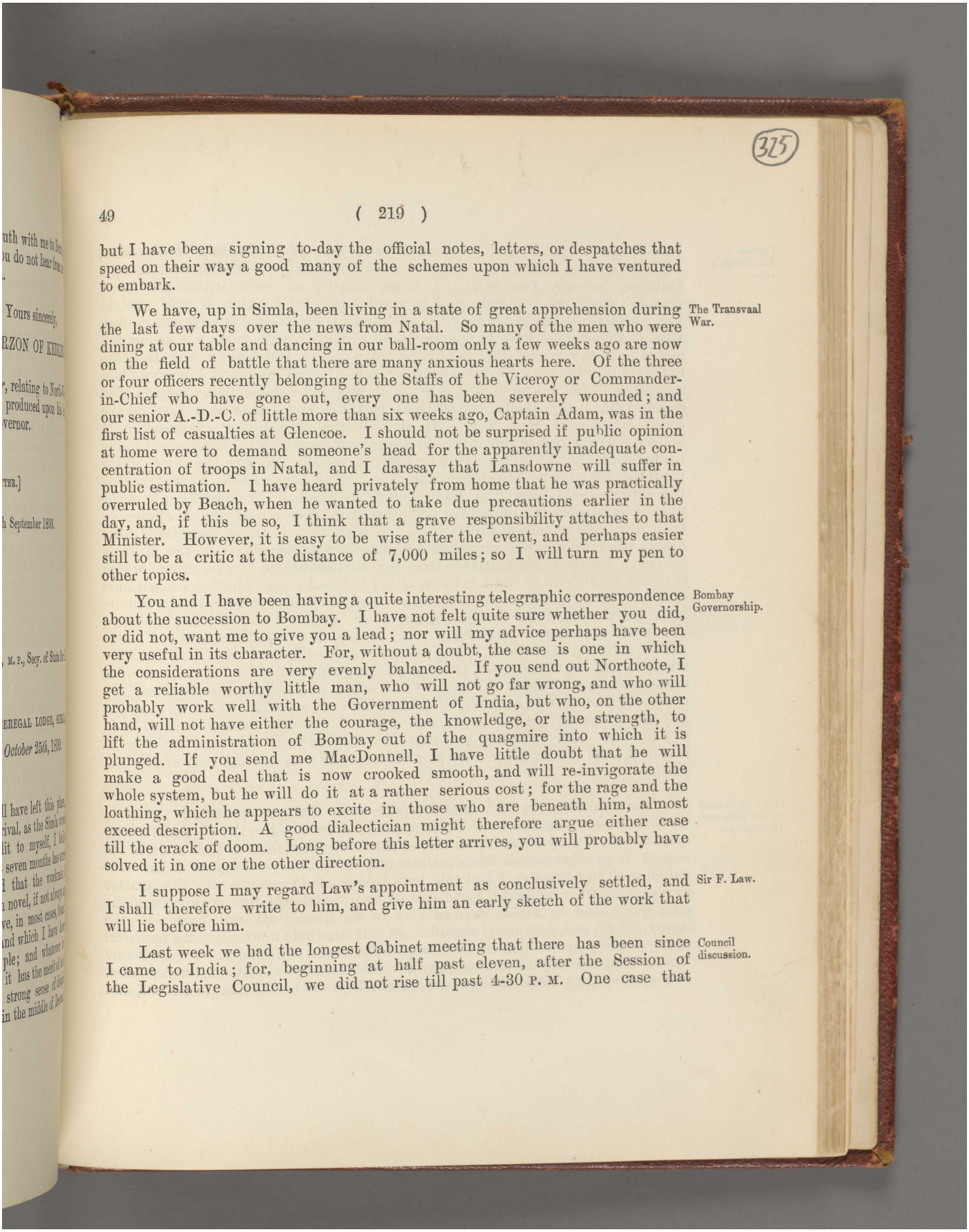

but I have been signing to-day the official notes, letters, or despatches that speed on their way a good many of the schemes upon which I have ventured to embark.

The Transvaal War.

We have, up in Simla, been living in a state of great apprehension during the last few days over the news from Natal. So many of the men who were dining at our table and dancing in our ball-room only a few weeks ago are now on the field of battle that there are many anxious hearts here. Of the three or four officers recently belonging to the Staffs of the Viceroy or Commander-in-Chief who have gone out, every one has been severely wounded; and our senior A.-D.-C. of little more than six weeks ago, Captain Adam, was in the first list of casualties at Glencoe. I should not be surprised if public opinion at home were to demand someone's head for the apparently inadequate concentration of troops in Natal, and I daresay that Lansdowne will suffer in public estimation. I have heard privately from home that he was practically overruled by Beach, when he wanted to take due precautions earlier in the day, and, if this be so, I think that a grave responsibility attaches to that Minister. However, it is easy to be wise after the event, and perhaps easier still to be a critic at the distance of 7,000 miles; so I will turn my pen to other topics.

Bombay Governorship.

You and I have been having a quite interesting telegraphic correspondence about the succession to Bombay. I have not felt quite sure whether you did, or did not, want me to give you a lead; nor will my advice perhaps have been very useful in its character. For, without a doubt, the case is one in which the considerations are very evenly balanced. If you send out Northcote, I get a reliable worthy little man, who will not go far wrong, and who will probably work well with the Government of India, but who, on the other hand, will not have either the courage, the knowledge, or the strength, to lift the administration of Bombay out of the quagmire into which it is plunged. If you send me MacDonnell, I have little doubt that he will make a good deal that is now crooked smooth, and will re-invigorate the whole system, but he will do it at a rather serious cost; for the rage and the loathing, which he appears to excite in those who are beneath him, almost exceed description. A good dialectician might therefore argue either case till the crack of doom. Long before this letter arrives, you will probably have solved it in one or the other direction.

Sir F. Law.

I suppose I may regard Law's appointment as conclusively settled, and I shall therefore write to him, and give him an early sketch of the work that will lie before him.

Council discussion.

Last week we had the longest Cabinet meeting that there has been since I came to India; for, beginning at half past eleven, after the Session of the Legislative Council, we did not rise till past 4-30 P. M. One case that

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Captain Lethbridge's case.

caused us a good deal of trouble was that of a Captain Lethbridge, son of our old friend Sir Roper Lethbridge. I will not here recapitulate its features, because you will find them detailed at sufficient length in a despatch which we are sending off to you by this mail. But I may explain the grounds, both for my original vote and for my refusal to give the casting vote, as follows:—I have very little doubt myself that the man is a scoundrel, and is unfit to remain either in Civil employ or in the Army; but, to some extent, my views as to his character are affected by what I know of him independently of the particular case which was under our notice. He has been engaged in many shady transactions in India, and had to be warned off the Simla race-course this year. As regards the case under examination, I believe that the man was guilty. His transactions with Fazl Illahi seem to me to be incapable of explanation or defence, nor do I believe the story, which his father does his best to corroborate, that he had any reason to think that the latter would send him the money from England. I, therefore, hold the man to be absolutely unfitted for Civil employ, and I feel much sympathy with the Commander-in-Chief when he says that, if we so regard and treat him in the Civil Service, why should he take any different view in the Military Service. On the other hand, the case against Lethbridge is one upon which it would be difficult to get a verdict, either before a Court Martial, in a Court of Law, or in the House of Commons; and, knowing, as I do, the backstairs activity and capacity for intrigue of the father, I did not feel justified in placing you, without your full knowledge and consent, in a position where you might have to defend a case which, if ingeniously presented in the House, and carefully whipped up for in advance, it might be difficult to defend. Then, when we came to an even division of votes, I felt I could not assume the responsibility of forcing back upon Lockhart, by my casting vote, an officer whom he regarded as unfit to remain in the Army, and whom I myself regard as unfit to be in any service. We, therefore, remitted the case to you, who will be able to regard it from the Parliamentary point of view, as well as from that of abstract justice.

Order in Council on the Rangoon Outrage case.

The second matter that detained us for long was my proposed Order in Council about the Rangoon Outrage case. Here I did not receive the assistance which, if they agreed with me, as they said they did, I had a right to expect from the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member. I had consulted both in advance; I had told both that I would not move in the matter except with their consent; I had said to both that I would only proceed if the consequences of my action were such as to do good, and not harm, in the Army. Both had previously signified, in private, their unquestioning approval of my course; but neither of them would put down on paper, or express by word of mouth, anything more than a cautious and semi-reluctant acceptance. *Per contra*, Rivaz, full of the sensitive timidity of the old Anglo-Indian, and

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incapable of running a risk of any description, was strongly against taking any steps at all. He had previously got at Dawkins, who was in a somewhat balancing frame of mind. Raleigh went strongly for the moral duty of issuing the Order, and for the particular phraseology suggested. Rivaz and his party had told me, for days in advance, that the Order could do no good, and would only start a wave of racial animosity in India which would probably develop into a torrent. How this could be the result I was utterly at a loss to imagine, for I was merely asking Government to condemn what had already been condemned by every English newspaper in India. Moreover, I insisted upon the overwhelming moral obligation resting upon Government in a country where the Government is alien from, instead of being homogeneous with, the population, and more particularly so in a case which was not merely exceptional and revolting in itself, but in regard to which there had been a lamentable failure of justice. I said that I was willing to take the whole responsibility myself, and indeed, whether I took it or not, it was pretty certain to fall upon my shoulders. Well, to cut a long story short, the Order was passed; it was published in the Gazette next day; it has been welcomed by every English newspaper that has so far commented upon it; and where the rising wave of antagonism and racial antipathy is to come from I have yet to learn.

Censure of General Protheroe.

With regard to this case, I should add, in supplement to telegrams which I have sent to you, that I have asked Lockhart to send home to you, and not to the Secretary of State for War, who has nothing to do with Indian officers, the papers concerning Protheroe; and I shall be grateful for your advice as to the publication or not of the censure that has been passed upon the latter. In my opinion he was not merely guilty of disgraceful indifference throughout; but his concluding letter is written in a light-hearted and trivial vein utterly unworthy of an officer in his position. Our civil censure covers all the Civil authorities concerned, who were equally apathetic and culpable, from the Commissioner downwards; and it will be my duty to convey to Fryer, as considerately as I can in a private letter, that the Government of India do not consider him altogether blameless. As a matter of fact his slackness in the preliminary stages, until he became frightened by telegrams from me, was as reprehensible as that of his subordinates.

Military Department schemes.

The third question, or group of questions, which consumed a great deal of our time, will result in a perfect flood of Military Despatches that will continue to pour in upon you for some time to come. There had been a long-standing squabble going on between Collen and Dawkins as to the schemes of the Military Department. Collen, as I have before told you, is absolutely bursting with all sorts of plans and reforms, all of which he declares to be, and many of which I believe are, absolutely necessary to the efficiency of the Army. As each one of these went to the Financial Department, Dawkins declined to

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look at it until he knew what part it played in the wholesale scheme of proposals from the Military Department involving financial expenditure. A somewhat acrimonious correspondence then ensued between the two Hon'ble Members, which always, in the long run, found its way to me. I solved the difficulty by giving orders to the Military Department to draw up a schedule containing the whole of their proposed demands, and I indicated to both my Colleagues my willingness to spend a whole day in discussing these, item by item, and putting them into order of preference. This is what we did. Dawkins only wanted us to send home that part of the proposals for which he can afford to find money during the forthcoming financial year. I felt that, on the other hand, it was not fair that our two Military authorities should be denied the opportunity of stating what they declared, with a full consciousness of their responsibility, to be absolutely necessary for the safety of the military position. The way in which matters ended was thus:—We agreed to send you a despatch, enclosing the whole schedule, and giving you the order of preference as fixed by Council. This has been written, I am afraid, in rather a longwinded and platitudinous vein, by Collen, and has been revised by myself. Then we send you another Despatch, indicating for which of these proposals, and to what extent in each case, Dawkins anticipates being able to provide in the next Budget. Finally, we shall approach you, later on, with a statement of our opinion as to whether the large outstanding outlay required should be met by instalments spread out over a number of years, or whether we may not be called upon to borrow for the purpose. The result was that everybody went away quite happy, particularly old Collen, who had anticipated defeat, and had never thought that he would be allowed an opportunity of presenting his case in its entirety at all.

Frontier Despatch.

Our Frontier Despatch finally goes off to you by this mail; and thereby hangs a curious tale. It has been in print for at least two months, and has been delayed, partly by the discussion concerning the substitution of a temporary Camp for the proposed Cantonment on the Miranzai plain, partly by the attitude taken up by my Military Colleague, who wrote a long Note criticising almost every word and phrase of the Despatch, and vindicating his own consistency in having, in the course of six months, voted for two frontier policies, the superficial features of which are, to the ordinary gaze, entirely different. These anxieties on his part finally culminated in a lengthy Minute of Dissent, which he asked me to attach to the Despatch, the latter being issued, according to this plan, without his signature. I said that I really could not allow a Member of Council, after agreeing to an entire scheme of policy without a word of dissent, that policy itself having been placed before Council by the Viceroy in the exact form, and almost in the exact phraseology now adopted in the Despatch, to turn round two months later,

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cancel his assent, and criticise, word by word, the very proposals to which he had formerly agreed. I did not in the least wish to impugn his consistency, and I had personally modified the Despatch in many particulars with a view to vindicating it. The result has been that, after a prolonged reflection, the old gentleman, very grateful to me, I believe, for the support that I gave to his military manœuvres last Friday, has asked to withdraw his Minute, and the Despatch goes out to you in precisely the same shape as the decisions which it records that we arrived at, namely, with the unanimous consent of Council.

Visit of Russian officers to Simla.

During the last few days we have had the Russian officers in Simla. I took rooms for them at the hotel, and entertained them at the expense of Government, and gave them a big dinner here. The senior officer, a Colonel Polozoff, is, I fancy, rather a crafty individual, and is bent upon picking up all that he can. The junior officer, Captain Sneesareff, is a more ingenuous youth, and has not, I imagine, any particular inclination or aptitudes for acting the spy. Notwithstanding, when he asked leave to be allowed to settle down in Lahore, and live in the bosom of an English family, I felt compelled to refuse him. The original request of the Russian Government has, as I pointed out to you last week, been entirely forgotten; the small excursion for scientific purposes across the frontier is no longer paraded; and our two travellers are very much hurt that I do not allow them comfortably to settle down in any part of India that they like for the next two or three months. I have been obliged to remind them that such permission has never been granted to a British officer travelling in Russian Central Asia; that such officers have always been hurried on with extreme rapidity from place to place; and that only the other day Colonel McSwiney was not even allowed to stop at Merv and Charjui.

Letter to the Amir.

I sent last week to Godley an advance copy of the Amir's reply to our official letter concerning arms and our respective obligations. When it has reached you, and you have had time to look at it, I will send you by telegram the answer that I propose to send, which will be exceedingly short. I told Godley that I thought it the weakest letter from the Amir that I had ever seen, and a brief reply will be both more dignified and more convincing.

Telegraph line to Fao.

I was very glad to hear from you to-day by telegraph that, the negotiations with Turkey about the line to Fao having broken down, as they were certain to do, you are now moving definitely in the direction of the proposals that we laid before you last May. This is a subject about which I may have something more to say to you when I get to Calcutta.

Leave Rule reforms.

The Leave Rule reforms, which we are circulating for the opinion of the Local Governments, do involve in some respects a positive curtailment of existing privileges, although they are privileges which, in my opinion, ought never to have been conceded, and which, to some extent, have grown up in abuse,

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or in contradiction, of the very principles upon which the system of leave is based. But, on the other hand, we have proposed certain compensating advantages by way of redressing the balance. These proposals have leaked out more or less, and are being a good deal denounced by interested parties in the Anglo-Indian Press. Much of the attack, however, is based upon misapprehension, and I shall take plenty of time to consider all the objections before formulating our final proposals and sending them up to you.

Evasion of responsibility at Army Head-quarters.

Let me give you a casual illustration of the slack way in which things are done at Army Headquarters. In my opinion the entire success of our Frontier Militia scheme will depend upon the character, experience, and capacity of the young officers whom we select to command these Native Corps. I had impressed this most strongly upon the Commander-in-Chief, and had written a Note upon the subject for the guidance of all the officers concerned. The other day came up to me the Commander-in-Chief's recommendation for the command of the South Waziri Militia at Wana. He had simply passed on to me the nominee of the Lieutenant-General Commanding in the Punjab, who had sent up a list out of which he had picked the first. Upon my inquiring what were the qualifications or service of this officer, no one was able to tell me, and after a reference, upon which I insisted, to the Punjab, it has since transpired that the officer in question had no frontier experience, or knowledge, at all, while the man whose name had been placed below his upon the list, and who is of superior military rank, had actually commanded for two years at Wana, where he had gained great distinction. Does this not seem to you to show a painful shirking of responsibility at Headquarters?

Tour.

During the next two months I shall have a very heavy strain placed upon me, particularly during the first four weeks that I devote to visits to plague hospitals, segregation camps, poor-houses, famine relief works, and the like. My letters will, probably, only be short and sketchy; but I hope, at some time or other, to find leisure to revert to a topic upon which I once before promised to address you, namely, the twelve urgent measures which I want to push on while in India, and with many of which substantial progress has already been made during the past six months.

Pending measures of reform.

Inoculations for plague.

All of us, who are going to Bombay, were inoculated with Haffkine's serum last week, and have suffered very much in consequence. It is nothing like vaccination. They pump into your arm the best part of a wine-glass of disgusting fluid, which inflames the whole limb, gives you fever, causes you acute agony for 24 hours, and, in some cases, leaves you miserably seedy for four or five days later.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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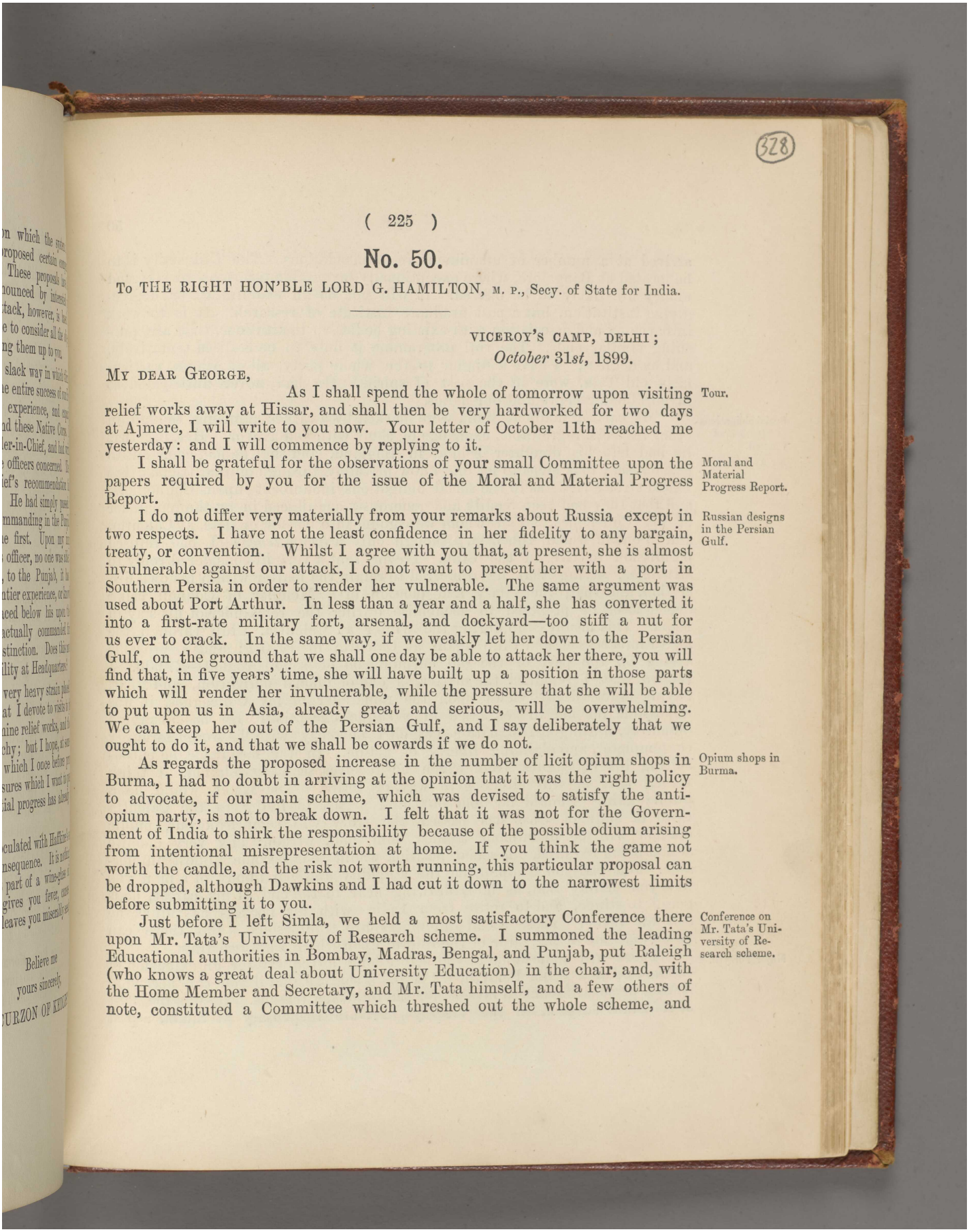

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No. 50.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP, DELHI;
October 31*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Tour.

As I shall spend the whole of tomorrow upon visiting relief works away at Hissar, and shall then be very hardworked for two days at Ajmere, I will write to you now. Your letter of October 11th reached me yesterday: and I will commence by replying to it.

Moral and Material Progress Report.

I shall be grateful for the observations of your small Committee upon the papers required by you for the issue of the Moral and Material Progress Report.

Russian designs in the Persian Gulf.

I do not differ very materially from your remarks about Russia except in two respects. I have not the least confidence in her fidelity to any bargain, treaty, or convention. Whilst I agree with you that, at present, she is almost invulnerable against our attack, I do not want to present her with a port in Southern Persia in order to render her vulnerable. The same argument was used about Port Arthur. In less than a year and a half, she has converted it into a first-rate military fort, arsenal, and dockyard—too stiff a nut for us ever to crack. In the same way, if we weakly let her down to the Persian Gulf, on the ground that we shall one day be able to attack her there, you will find that, in five years' time, she will have built up a position in those parts which will render her invulnerable, while the pressure that she will be able to put upon us in Asia, already great and serious, will be overwhelming. We can keep her out of the Persian Gulf, and I say deliberately that we ought to do it, and that we shall be cowards if we do not.

Opium shops in Burma.

As regards the proposed increase in the number of licit opium shops in Burma, I had no doubt in arriving at the opinion that it was the right policy to advocate, if our main scheme, which was devised to satisfy the anti-opium party, is not to break down. I felt that it was not for the Government of India to shirk the responsibility because of the possible odium arising from intentional misrepresentation at home. If you think the game not worth the candle, and the risk not worth running, this particular proposal can be dropped, although Dawkins and I had cut it down to the narrowest limits before submitting it to you.

Conference on Mr. Tata's University of Research scheme.

Just before I left Simla, we held a most satisfactory Conference there upon Mr. Tata's University of Research scheme. I summoned the leading Educational authorities in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, and Punjab, put Raleigh (who knows a great deal about University Education) in the chair, and, with the Home Member and Secretary, and Mr. Tata himself, and a few others of note, constituted a Committee which threshed out the whole scheme, and

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arrived at a number of unanimous recommendations. The University is to be located at Bangalore, where exceptionally favourable terms as to site and money are likely to be offered. It will not be an examining, or degree-giving institution, but a post graduate institute of research. It is to work in harmony and association with existing bodies, or institutions, that are pursuing similar ends. The full programme is only to be realised tentatively, and by degrees. I gave a dinner to the whole party, all of whom, particularly old Tata, were in the best of spirits. He had never anticipated so favourable a reception at our hands.

Social obligations of Members of Council. Sir A. Trevor.

My parting hours at Simla were marked by a rather amusing, though, in other respects, regrettable, exchange of shots with old Trevor. Hearing that he had left his daughter behind in England, and that he had come out to economise, I took steps to let him know privately, through mutual friends, that I held strong views as to the social obligations incumbent upon Councillors, and that they had been readily and generously acquiesced in by the remainder of my Colleagues, all of whom were going into houses, or flats, at Calcutta, and to one of whom, Ibbetson, although only a *locum tenens*, I had refused permission to live in the Club. Trevor sent a very ill-considered reply to Lawrence, saying that he preferred to retain the matter within his own discretion, and that, the salary and pension of a Member of Council being inadequate, he proposed to economise during the remainder of his stay in India. This meant Club during the winter at Calcutta, Club through the next Simla season, and Club again at Calcutta in 1900-1; and a probable saving on the part of the old curmudgeon of some £6,000—£7,000. I replied that I regarded the matter as one of official obligation, and that, having enforced my views upon the remainder of my Colleagues, it was impossible for me to acquiesce in a single exception. He has answered obscurely, hinting at resignation (which I devoutly wish he would seriously contemplate), and claiming liberty of action. In the meantime he is consulting his colleagues, from whom he receives scant consolation. I think myself that he will either give way, or retire. The latter would be a public gain. Should he hold out, and persist in living in the Calcutta Club in spite of what has passed, the story will soon leak out, public opinion will be unanimous against him, and, without any very definite action being required, his social position would soon become almost intolerable. But can you comprehend the stupidity and parsimony of a man who tells you plainly that, as he is drawing near to the end of his career, he is going to stinge, and to retire from India with his pockets as full as he can fill them? These social differences are troublesome. But there can be no question of the value of the reform upon which I am insisting.

Major Forsyth.

There will come home to you before long a request for an extension of the service of a Major Forsyth, I. S. M. D. I shall be glad if you can accede to it, as a personal favour to myself, for the following reasons. He fills the post of Assistant Surgeon in the Viceroy's Private Dispensary at Simla, a post

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which is always given to an officer of the Subordinate Medical Department; in other words, to a man who is not a gentleman, and who, in 19 cases out of 20, is a Eurasian. Should the Viceroy's Surgeon be away, *e.g.*, with the Viceroy on tour, he is the man who, at an emergency, has to attend upon the Viceroy's wife and children. Forsyth is a Eurasian, but is a very respectable and tactful old fellow, who has, more than once, discharged these rather delicate duties to our satisfaction. As he has reached his limit, the question of a successor was brought up: and the candidate recommended by the Medical Department as their best available man came up to me to be looked at. He was a very dark-skinned Eurasian soldier, of the Sergeant type, with no pretence to be anything but a Tommy, either in appearance, manner, or conversation. Now, whatever his skill, I really cannot allow such a man to come in to my wife's or children's bedroom, and look after them in an emergency. It would be intolerable. Nor can I solve the situation by sending for the Civil Surgeon in Simla; for he is a busy man, has an extensive charge, and may be miles away at the very moment when he is wanted. I have, therefore, applied for an extension of old Forsyth's services. I cannot put forward in defence any urgent public necessity; but the private and personal grounds are of the strongest, and I hope you will consider it not unreasonable that the Viceroy should have some voice in the appointment, or retention, of so important, though subordinate, a member of his own household.

Berar surplus: Revenue available for the Nizam. [Enclosure.]

I enclose a Note which I have written on the Berar file. Since I mentioned the matter to you, I have had the most careful investigation made into the case in the Finance Department. Our Treaty position, as I told you, is clear, and has not been departed from. But I have very little doubt that the administration has been wasteful, and imperfectly controlled; and that the result, though technically free from reproach, is open to criticism on grounds both of equity and economy.

You will see that I put forward two solutions: and, as to these, I shall be grateful for your opinion, more especially as to the second, which would solve the Berar question for all time. Under it, I should hand back to the Nizam those districts of Berar which most nearly touch Hyderabad. He would get from them, all told, a revenue of, I believe, 20—25 lakhs per annum from land, and 10 lakhs from other sources; say 30 to 40 lakhs in all, immeasurably more (after deducting cost of administration) than he ever receives from us in the form of surplus. In return, the whole of the remainder of Berar would be handed over to us in perpetuity, and would be incorporated in the Central Provinces. We should gain a valuable territory, put the Hyderabad Contingent on a more satisfactory footing, and save the expensive machinery at Hyderabad. Would you object to my sounding the Nizam, before, or when he comes to see me at Calcutta, as to whether he would care to submit any proposal in the above direction? If not, then I strongly advocate my other plan, *viz.*, to give him a fixed annual sum, quinquennially revised,

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and to make the Resident, who would have the whole remainder of the revenue, cut his coat according to his cloth.

The present system is, I think, indefensible, and should not be maintained.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

Sir S. Northcote as Governor of Bombay.

P. S.—I rather expected that your choice would ultimately fall upon Northcote for Bombay. I should myself have preferred the other choice; since I rate the interests of administrative reform in Bombay higher than the satisfaction of the Service. Northcote's appointment has been received with a very tepid acquiescence by the Anglo-Indian Press. I have written to him by this mail, strongly urging him to have a frank talk with yourself and Godley about the relations of the Bombay Government to the Government of India. I have little doubt that he will be a conciliatory and tactful lieutenant.

Sir F. Law.

I have also written at length to Law, whose appointment is well received.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Copy of a Note by His Excellency the Viceroy; dated 28th October 1899, on the subject of the expenditure of the Berars.

No. 51.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP;
November 2nd, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Honours.

I enclose a list of the names which I have to ask you to submit to Her Majesty in connection with the distribution of Honours which usually takes place on the New Year's Day.

The Memorandum which accompanies the list gives the necessary information about the persons recommended, and I need not therefore make any observations here.

I shall be obliged if you will direct a telegram to be sent to me when the list is finally approved by the Queen, so that the Gazette may be published simultaneously at home and in India.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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HONOURS.

NEW YEAR'S DAY GAZETTE, 1900.

[*As originally submitted to the Secretary of State and with the changes subsequently made.*]

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

K. C. S. I.

HIS HIGHNESS THAKUR SAHIB BHAVSINGHJI TAKHTSINGHJI, of Bhavnagar.

[*This name was subsequently omitted. See telegraphic correspondence with Governor of Bombay and Secretary of State.*]

C. S. I.

RICHARD GILLIES HARDY, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Commissioner of the Lucknow Division of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

K. C. I. E.

THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR S. SUBRAMANIYA AIYAR, C.I.E., Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort St. George.

[*The above name was subsequently added. See correspondence with Secretary of State.*]

THE HONOURABLE MR. EDWARD SPENCE SYMES, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma for making Laws and Regulations.

C. I. E.

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. JOHN STURROCK, Indian Civil Service, First Member of the Board of Revenue, and Commissioner of Land Revenue and Inam Commissioner, Madras, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George for making Laws and Regulations.

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2. THE HONOURABLE MR. JOHN STUART BERESFORD, M. E., M. I. C. E., Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Public Works Department (Irrigation Branch), and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for making Laws and Regulations.

3. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MALCOLM JOHN MEADE, Indian Staff Corps, Political Resident in the Persian Gulf.

4. EDWARD LOUIS CAPPEL, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Acting Commissioner of the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency.

CAPTAIN WALTER SOMERVILLE GOODRIDGE, Royal Navy, Director of the Royal Indian Marine.

[*This name was subsequently omitted. See telegraphic correspondence with Secretary of State.*]

5. LANCELOT HARE, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Magistrate and Collector in Bengal.

6. CAPTAIN GEORGE OLOF ROOS-KEPPEL, Indian Staff Corps, Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab, on Special Duty in Kurram.

7. GEORGE MOSS HARRIOTT, ESQUIRE, A. M. I. C. E., Executive Engineer in the Public Works Department, Central Provinces.

8. ALEXANDER MARTIN LINDSAY, ESQUIRE, Deputy Secretary and Treasurer of the Bank of Bengal.

MAUNG SHWE WAING, A. T. M., Extra Assistant Commissioner, Burma.

[*This name was inserted in error, and that of Maung On Gaing substituted. See telegraphic correspondence with Secretary of State.*]

9. MAUNG ON GAING, A. T. M., Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Rangoon.

10. KHAN BAHADUR SARDAR MUHAMMAD YAKUB *WALAD* SHAIKH ISMAIL, Deputy Collector and Magistrate in the Bombay Presidency.

[*The following three names were finally added by Secretary of State. See telegraphic correspondence with him.*]

11. FREDERICK GEORGE BRUNTON TREVOR, ESQUIRE, Director of Funds, India Office.

12. FRANCIS WHITMORE SMITH, ESQUIRE, Assistant Secretary, Military Department, India Office.

13. RAI BAHADUR KALIKA DAS DATTA, Diwan of the Kuch Behar State.

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For Knighthood.

1. THE HONOURABLE Mr. WILLIAM MACPHERSON, Indian Civil Service, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR S. SUBRAMANIYA AIYAR, C.I.E., Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort St. George.

[*Was subsequently gazetted a K. C. I. E., his place for a Knighthood being taken by Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Venbakam Bashyam Aiyangar, C. I. E. See correspondence with Secretary of State.*]

2. THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR VENBAKAM BASHYAM AIYANGAR, C.I.E., Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George.

3. BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA BHATAWADEKAR, Esquire, L. M., Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay.

MEMORANDUM.

HONOURS.

NEW YEAR'S DAY GAZETTE, 1900.

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

K. C. S. I.

HIS HIGHNESS THAKUR SAHIB BHAVSINGHJI TAKHTSINGHJI, of Bhavnagar.—His Highness assumed the *gadi* and succeeded his father in 1896, and is one of the five original first class Chiefs in Kathiawar. He is one of the most enlightened of the new generation of Chiefs which has grown up since the starting of the Raj Kumar College. He is giving every sign of being an excellent ruler, and has courage and determination. He has lately been very active in moving about his State in regard to scarcity. Lord Sandhurst speaks very highly of him.

[*See Explanation on page* 229.]

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C. S. I.

RICHARD GILLIES HARDY, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Commissioner of the Lucknow Division of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.—He holds one of the most difficult posts in the North-Western Provinces, and has been throughout his service of 28 years, all of which has been spent in district work, an officer of the highest character. He held the second most onerous post in his province during the famine of 1897, and has since maintained his high reputation.

ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

K. C. I. E.

THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR VENBAKAM BASHYAM AIYANGAR, C. I. E.

[*See Explanation on page* 231.]

THE HONOURABLE Mr. EDWARD SPENCE SYMES, C. I. E., Indian Civil Service, Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma for making Laws and Regulations.—Mr. Symes has been Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma since the 15th April 1887 with an interval between the 6th December 1888 and the 2nd April 1890, when he was a Commissioner in Upper Burma, and another interval of two years from the 27th of July 1894, when he was on furlough. He was recommended for this distinction by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, when Chief Commissioner of Burma, and by Sir Frederic Fryer on several occasions. He has well merited the promotion by many years' excellent service in a difficult position.

C. I. E.

1. THE HONOURABLE Mr. JOHN STURROCK, Indian Civil Service, First Member of the Board of Revenue, and Commissioner of Land Revenue and Inam Commissioner, Madras, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George for making Laws and Regulations.—Mr. Sturrock is the Senior Member of the Madras Civil Service, and will retire in November 1899 after completing 35 years' honourable and valuable service. He was passed over for the office of Member of Council in a vacancy that arose last year, probably as he was too near his retirement to make it convenient to place him in the Council.

2. THE HONOURABLE Mr. JOHN STUART BERESFORD, M. E., M. I. C. E., Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Public Works Department (Irrigation Branch), and a Member of the Council

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of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for making Laws and Regulations.—Mr. Beresford is one of the principal Engineers who have been connected with the new projects since 1877-78, notably the Sirhind and Chenab Canals. As he is near his retirement, this seems a fitting opportunity for a recognition of the part he has taken in promoting the development of Punjab Irrigation. He is recommended both by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Public Works Department of the Government of India.

3. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MALCOLM JOHN MEADE, Indian Staff Corps, Political Resident in the Persian Gulf.—He is an active, well-meaning, and conciliatory official of whom Sir Mortimer Durand speaks very highly. His services in the Persian Gulf are well-known.

4. EDWARD LOUIS CAPPEL, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Acting Commissioner of the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency.—He has conducted two very arduous campaigns against plague, one as Collector of Dharwar, 1898, and the other as President of the Belgaum Plague Committee, 1899. It is owing to his energy that inoculation has made such strides in that part of the country, and the statistics collected under his supervision have done much to promote the treatment elsewhere. Mr. Cappel's service, extending over 21 years, has been mostly in the districts.

CAPTAIN WALTER SOMERVILLE GOODRIDGE, Royal Navy, Director of the Royal Indian Marine.—For services in connection with the embarkation and despatch of troops to South Africa.

[*Subsequently omitted.* *See Explanation on page* 230.]

5. LANCELOT HARE, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Magistrate and Collector in Bengal.—Sir John Woodburn mentions Mr. Hare as the best representative of the type of persons who may be rewarded for honest and unassuming district work. As a District Officer, Mr. Hare has won himself an excellent reputation—energetic, firm, and judicious.

6. CAPTAIN GEORGE OLOF ROOS-KEPPEL, Indian Staff Corps, Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab, on Special Duty in Kurram.—Captain Roos-Keppel has done excellent work in the Kurram Valley. He displayed great promptitude and skilfulness in his dealings with the Chamkanis lately, and was recommended for a Brevet-Majority, which, however, was refused by the War Office.

7. GEORGE MOSS HARRIOTT, Esquire, A.M., I.C.E., Executive Engineer in the Public Works Department, Central Provinces.—In 1893 he was entrusted with the task of the formation of a special establishment to deal exclusively with Public Works in Feudatory States, and in Zamindari estates under management in the Chhatisgarh Division. It is to his energy and tact, and to his power of gaining the confidence

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of men so jealous of Government interference in their States as these Chiefs naturally are, that the fact is due that the Central Provinces Feudatory States compare favourably in the matter of Public Works with any other States in India. Sir Charles Lyall acknowledged his excellent work during the Famine.

8. ALEXANDER MARTIN LINDSAY, Esquire, Deputy Secretary and Treasurer of the Bank of Bengal.—He is believed to possess the strongest influence in the Bank of Bengal with which the Government may have much to do in any scheme of Banking reform. Although his specific proposal for establishing convertibility of the rupee was discarded by the Currency Committee, his evidence was extremely full, clear, and interesting, and was the result of years of work and study. Mr. Dawkins, who recommends him, states that no witness shed so much light upon the commercial, financial, and banking systems and requirements of India as Mr. Lindsay.

MAUNG SHWE WAING, A. T. M., Extra Assistant Commissioner in Burma.—This Burman gentleman has been Superintendent of Stamps and Stationery in Rangoon for many years, and is a very trustworthy and efficient officer. No Burman official has as yet received any but a Burmese Order, and Sir Frederic Fryer thinks that the bestowal of a C. I. E. upon this gentleman would be much appreciated.

[*See Explanation on page* 230.]

9. MAUNG ON GAING, A. T. M., Honorary Magistrate and Commissioner of Rangoon Municipality.

10. KHAN BAHADUR SARDAR MUHAMMAD YAKUB *WALAD* SHAIKH ISMAIL, Deputy Collector and Magistrate in the Bombay Presidency.—He entered Government service in 1876, and was appointed a Deputy Collector in Sind in 1889. His services include zealous and energetic work in connection with irrigation in 1889; famine relief operations in 1892; suppression of outlawry in Thar and Parker in 1896; plague operations in Karachi in 1897; settlement of boundary disputes in the Kohistan of the Karachi districts; suppression of a fresh outbreak of dacoity while acting as Deputy Commissioner, Thar and Parker; and a second period of plague duty in Karachi in 1898. Lord Sandhurst strongly urged this suggestion as an encouragement to the Provincial Service, and a very good move as regards the Mussalmans.

11. FREDERICK GEORGE BRUNTON TREVOR, Esquire, Director of Funds, India Office.

12. FRANCIS WHITMORE SMITH, Esquire, Assistant Secretary, Military Department, India Office.

13. RAI BAHADUR KALIKA DAS DATTA, Diwan of the Kuch Behar State.

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For Knighthood.

1. THE HONOURABLE Mr. WILLIAM MACPHERSON, Indian Civil Service, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.—He has for many years been a Judge of the High Court, and is highly esteemed by all classes in Calcutta.

THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR S. SUBRAMANIYA AIYAR, C.I.E., Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort St. George.—He was first employed in the Public Service in 1888 as Acting Government Pleader; for a short time as Judge of the High Court in 1891-92; and again as Government Pleader from 1892—94. In May 1895 he was permanently appointed Judge of the High Court, and has officiated as Chief Justice for a short time. In respect of literary and legal attainments, of personal character, of public estimation, as well as of social and official position, Mr. Subramaniya Aiyar holds the first place among the educated Natives of Madras.

[*See Explanation on page* 229.]

2. THE HONOURABLE DEWAN BAHADUR VENBAKAM BASHYAM AIYANGAR, C.I.E., Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George.

3. BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA BHATAWADEKAR, Esquire, L.M., Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay.—His services have been of the greatest value throughout the three plague campaigns in Bombay. He has been Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, and was President of that body in 1898; successive Municipal Commissioners have spoken in high terms of his value as a citizen and an individual. He is a firm believer in, and promoter of, inoculation; and is believed to be the leading Native medical practitioner in Bombay.

No. 52.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

AHMEDABAD;
November 4th, 1899.

My dear George,

I have just arrived here from Ajmere: and in the interval before my baggage comes from the station I sit down to begin my

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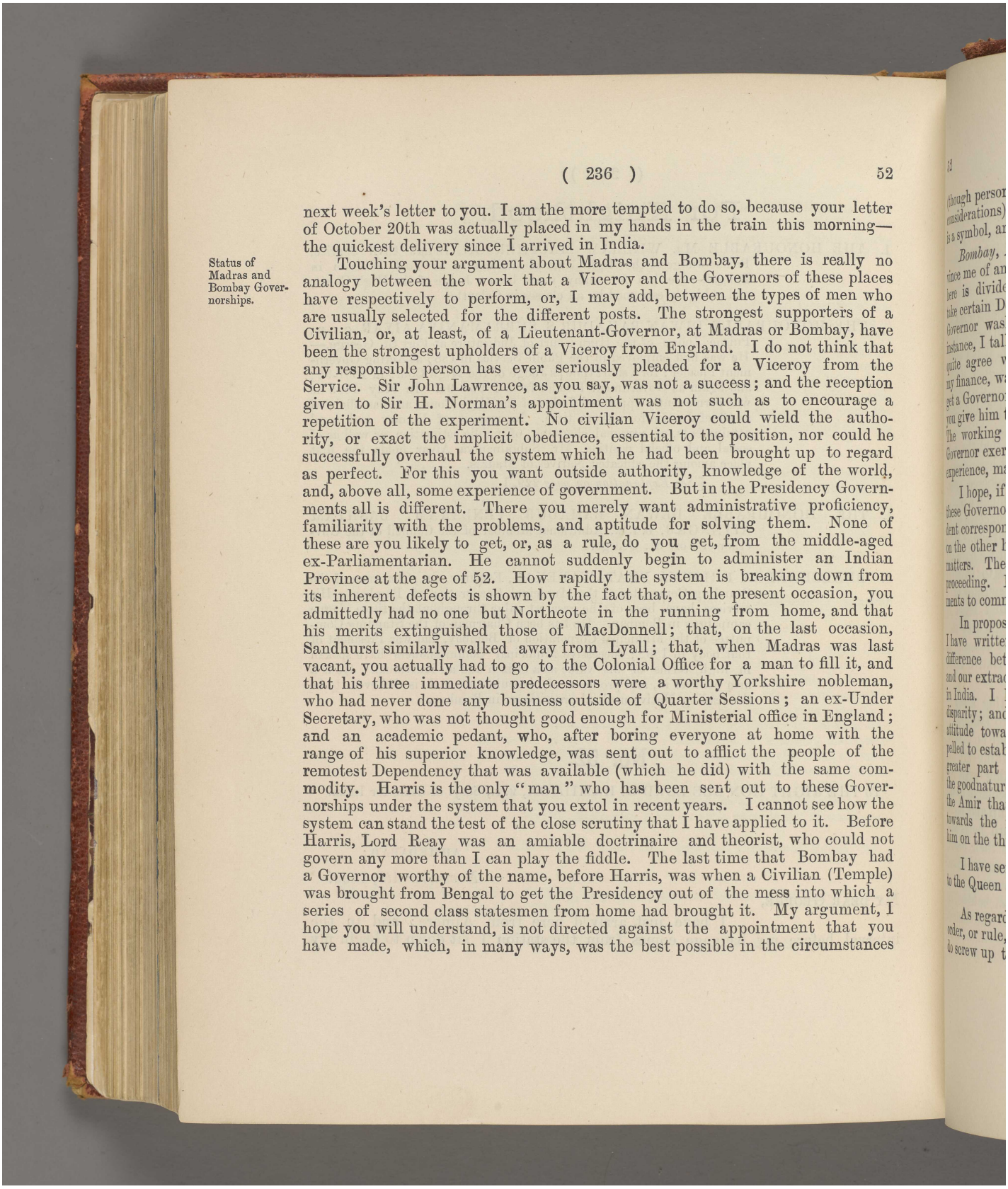

next week's letter to you. I am the more tempted to do so, because your letter of October 20th was actually placed in my hands in the train this morning—the quickest delivery since I arrived in India.

Status of Madras and Bombay Governorships.

Touching your argument about Madras and Bombay, there is really no analogy between the work that a Viceroy and the Governors of these places have respectively to perform, or, I may add, between the types of men who are usually selected for the different posts. The strongest supporters of a Civilian, or, at least, of a Lieutenant-Governor, at Madras or Bombay, have been the strongest upholders of a Viceroy from England. I do not think that any responsible person has ever seriously pleaded for a Viceroy from the Service. Sir John Lawrence, as you say, was not a success; and the reception given to Sir H. Norman's appointment was not such as to encourage a repetition of the experiment. No civilian Viceroy could wield the authority, or exact the implicit obedience, essential to the position, nor could he successfully overhaul the system which he had been brought up to regard as perfect. For this you want outside authority, knowledge of the world, and, above all, some experience of government. But in the Presidency Governments all is different. There you merely want administrative proficiency, familiarity with the problems, and aptitude for solving them. None of these are you likely to get, or, as a rule, do you get, from the middle-aged ex-Parliamentarian. He cannot suddenly begin to administer an Indian Province at the age of 52. How rapidly the system is breaking down from its inherent defects is shown by the fact that, on the present occasion, you admittedly had no one but Northcote in the running from home, and that his merits extinguished those of MacDonnell; that, on the last occasion, Sandhurst similarly walked away from Lyall; that, when Madras was last vacant, you actually had to go to the Colonial Office for a man to fill it, and that his three immediate predecessors were a worthy Yorkshire nobleman, who had never done any business outside of Quarter Sessions; an ex-Under Secretary, who was not thought good enough for Ministerial office in England; and an academic pedant, who, after boring everyone at home with the range of his superior knowledge, was sent out to afflict the people of the remotest Dependency that was available (which he did) with the same commodity. Harris is the only "man" who has been sent out to these Governorships under the system that you extol in recent years. I cannot see how the system can stand the test of the close scrutiny that I have applied to it. Before Harris, Lord Reay was an amiable doctrinaire and theorist, who could not govern any more than I can play the fiddle. The last time that Bombay had a Governor worthy of the name, before Harris, was when a Civilian (Temple) was brought from Bengal to get the Presidency out of the mess into which a series of second class statesmen from home had brought it. My argument, I hope you will understand, is not directed against the appointment that you have made, which, in many ways, was the best possible in the circumstances

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(though personally I should have attached greater weight to the opposing considerations), but is directed against the system of which the appointment is a symbol, and which is assuredly destined to disappear.

Evils of Presidency system illustrated by Bombay Government.

Bombay, November 10th. My conversations with Sandhurst here convince me of another blot in the Presidency system. The work of government here is divided between himself and the two Members of his Council. They take certain Departments, and appear to do with them what they please, the Governor washing his hands of responsibility for their work or decisions. For instance, I talked to Sandhurst about some point of Famine finance. "I quite agree with you," was his reply, "but unfortunately Nugent, who does my finance, was of the opposite opinion." That is what happens when you get a Governor from the outside who knows nothing of government, and when you give him two engine drivers who have spent their lives on the engine. The working of the locomotive is in practice handed over to them, the Governor exercising only such general supervision as his temperament, or experience, may suggest.

Correspondence between Governors and the Secretary of State.

I hope, if the Cabinet do not favourably consider our proposals about these Governorships, that you will seriously examine the question of independent correspondence with the Secretary of State. I have no objection to offer, on the other hand, to your telegraphing direct to the Governors on local matters. There may be Parliamentary and public convenience in such a proceeding. If you did so, it would be easy to require the Presidency Governments to communicate your enquiry and their reply to us.

Position of the British Agent at Kabul.

Letter to the Amir.

In proposing the name of a new British Agent at Kabul to the Amir, I have written him a very frank letter, detailing seriatim the points of difference between his mean and ignoble treatment of our Envoy at Kabul, and our extraordinarily, and almost foolishly, liberal treatment of his Agent in India. I have told him plainly that I can no longer acquiesce in this disparity; and that, unless he is able to adopt a more generous and reasonable attitude towards the new Agent, whom I am about to send, I shall be compelled to establish equality by curtailing his representative in India of the greater part of the advantages which he now enjoys. It is an illustration of the goodnatured, and almost feeble, amiability with which we have treated the Amir that we have allowed him for years, without protest, to behave towards the representative in Kabul of the Power that placed, and that keeps him on the throne, as though he were a prisoner of war, and a detected spy.

Queen's enquiry as to Famine surplus.

I have sent to Simla for the information that will enable me to reply to the Queen about the famine surplus raised by subscriptions.

Arrears of Land Revenue.

As regards arrears of land-revenue, it is impossible to issue any general order, or rule, on the subject. My impression is that the Local Governments do screw up the collection too tightly; and that arrears are rarely, if ever,

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written off. Such is the recuperative power of the country that, under normal conditions, this probably does not involve injustice. If, however, there occurs a second visitation soon after the first, it may well be that the *rayat* is in a condition of complete impoverishment when he meets it. I will consult the various Governors and Commissioners whom I meet on the point, and will let you hear more at a later date.

The Viceroy's handwriting.

I was rather flabbergasted at Her Majesty's presumed reflections upon my calligraphy, because, while I think that my handwriting, even when I am writing as now, very hurriedly, is up to the average of legibility, if not above it, when I write to her I am very careful to do so in bold and legible characters. I should doubt if among the officials whose duty it is to correspond with her, there are any whose productions it is more easy for her (or more probably her Secretary) to read.

Rangoon Outrage case.

I hope I have made it clear in my various telegrams to you that the only point upon which the Commander-in-Chief is bound to refer, and has referred, to the War Office in connection with the Rangoon case, is the proposed treatment of the officers of the West Kent Regiment. Their conduct was so criminal in its conspiracy of apathy and suppression that I can conceive of no palliation being suggested, from interested motives, at Headquarters. With Protheroe and Rolland the War Office have nothing to do, and we have not consulted them. I have merely had the papers sent to *you* to have the advantage of your personal advice as to the publication of the censure upon the former. Please read the light-hearted and self-congratulatory letter in which he summed up the entire concern. None of the dire consequences that were anticipated by the croakers from my Order in Council have ensued. It has been unanimously approved both by the English and the Native Press, and has produced exactly the effect that I hoped and desired.

Inspection of famine areas. Sirsa and Hissar.

Ajmere.

I have spent a very busy and hardworking fortnight in visiting areas of suffering in the Punjab, Rajputana, and Bombay. First I went to Delhi, and, from there, visited some outlying places named Sirsa and Hissar, where no Viceroy has ever been, riding out to the relief-works, and minutely examining all the arrangements. Then I went to Ajmere, where I did the same thing with the works in Merwara. I can assure you that it is a wonderful spectacle to see some 5,000—10,000 people at work upon a great tank, swarming up and down the embankment, all working in orderly gangs, the men with picks and mattocks digging up the soil, the women carrying it in baskets on their heads, and emptying it on the *bund*, both sexes beating and hammering it down. Hard by are kitchens, where the food is cooked, hospitals for the sick, huts where hundreds of children are fed, and encampments made of boughs, or strawmatting, to accommodate the workers at night. The whole sight must be wonderfully like that of the children of Israel toiling at the Pyramids as described in Exodus.

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Great care is wanted to keep bogus claimants from coming on the works to prevent these from being swamped, to ensure a proper, but not excessive, minimum wage, to regulate the labour, and to prevent the people from being swindled, both in the distribution of wages, and in the purchase of food and grain. Somewhat different systems prevail in different Provinces: and my sight of many now enables me to make useful suggestions, and to introduce a greater uniformity of system.

Kathiawar. Then I went to Kathiawar, a most interesting country, also unvisited by any previous Viceroy, where I saw most of the Chiefs, and where I drove 50 miles across the worst belt of country, visiting and examining the various relief-works (tanks) on the way. I was delighted with Kathiawar. There is a flavour about it of an old-time semi-feudal society, which has crystallised into a new shape under British protection, retaining many of its oldfashioned and aristocratic features, alongside of almost startling adaptations of the modern. It is one of the few places in India, or, I imagine, anywhere in the East, where there is corporate action between the various Chiefs, who actually seem to prefer acting together to squabbling.

Bombay. Finally I have been for two days in Bombay, where I have spent long hours on each day in visiting laboratories, camps, hospitals, inspecting sheds, and all the paraphernalia of the anti-plague campaign. I have had to make speeches, to endure repeated photographing, and to be enwreathed with countless garlands. I honestly believe that the people, as well as the Governor, are delighted at my coming; for nothing can exceed the warmth of the reception which both have given me.

In half an hour, I leave for Poona, to repeat the same experiences there. It is very hard and exhausting work; but I keep my health wonderfully.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 53.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP, ELLORA;
November 16th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Tour. In the interval between my visit to the Bombay Presidency and my approaching tour through the Central Provinces, I am spending two quieter days at this out-of-the-way spot, the site of the most famous rock-temples in India. I am the guest of the Nizam of Hyderabad, in whose territories this place is situated.

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Plague centres and plague work.

My visit to Bombay, Poona, Ahmednagar, and Nasik—all of them recent plague centres—coincided with a marked decline in the virulence of the disease. In consequence I found the hospitals and camps to a large extent empty, and the machinery in existence for a very much more severe strain than that which is now being experienced. It is clear to me that our officers have learned much by experience. I fancy that almost everywhere we began wrong. In those days it was all science, and compulsion, and evacuation at the point of the bayonet. Wisdom has since been learned. You cannot do this sort of thing with large aggregations of Asiatics. Instead conciliation, persuasion, the employment of volunteer agency, the institution of private committees, the relaxation of former rules—are everywhere being practised. My impression is that there is still a want of uniformity in the system; and that each place, as it is smitten, falls a victim to the haphazard experiments or resources of the civil officer who happens to be in charge. If he is tactless or domineering, there is a row. If he is slack or apathetic, everything goes by the board. Of course the Plague Commissioner or Officer especially detached by the Bombay Government for plague work, ought to unify all this in no time. He should be about everywhere, giving to each place the experience of the whole. In Woodburn (younger brother of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) the Bombay Government have got an amiable and conciliatory but, it struck me, a timid and self-obliterating sort of man. I believe that my visit gave great pleasure to the Natives, who certainly assembled in thousands everywhere, and showed extraordinary enthusiasm; and I know

Lord Sandhurst.

that Sandhurst was gratified. I had opportunities of praising his sympathy, his sincerity, and hard work; and could afford to observe a discreet silence about his administration. He is a curious mixture of almost childish simplicity, charming manners, anxiety to do the right thing, and complete administrative incompetence. Many of the questions affecting his Government he knows nothing about at all, and as all his palaces are at the distance of several miles from the Secretariat, and as the latter appears to be always on the move between the three capitals of Bombay, Poona, and Mahableshwar, it is not surprising that there is imperfect connection between the Governor and his subordinates. Edgerley, his Political Secretary, told me that if a paper came into his Department, it took, in the ordinary course, six weeks before it had passed through the lower stages of departmental routine, and reached him.

The Natus.

One of the things that Sandhurst and I talked about was the case of the Natus. Judge of my astonishment when he proceeded to recapitulate to me, as his own, all the arguments which I have been vainly applying to him for the past nine months, and ended by proposing to let out the two brothers before the end of the year! I have more than once told you that I could not discover sufficient ground for keeping them in. There was the suspicion of complicity with the original murder-conspiracy. No evidence has ever been forthcoming for this. And there was the fear arising from the disaffected state of Poona.

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For this plea something was to be said: and I certainly have never questioned Sandhurst's right to lay stress upon it. But at present the state of feeling in Poona is unquestionably better than it has been at any time since the Rand and Ayerst murders; the reclaimed prodigal Gokhale (who made an excellent speech at one of my meetings) is about to defeat Tilak in a contest for a vacancy in the Legislative Council; and I am of opinion that the release of the prisoners would come better from Sandhurst, who imprisoned them, than from his successor, who would be suspected of courting popularity by a philo-native step in the opening days of his *régime*. When Sandhurst refers the matter to you I hope, therefore, that you may see your way to sanction his proposal; though I shall always continue to chuckle as I think of his solemn repetition to me of my own phrases and arguments, which were so cavalierly treated by him a few months ago.

Akalkot Succession.

While at Poona I had a talk about the Akalkot Succession case, concerning which I wrote to you a little while ago. All that I heard confirmed my previous opinions. I have not a doubt that, on the plea of political expediency, a positive injustice was done to the recognized and semi-admitted heir; and I am going to make it up to the latter in some way or other. Sandhurst and Edgerley both told me that they were never more surprised than when you supported them and overruled the Government of India: and they both hinted to me not obscurely (though this observation is for your own ear only, and must go no further) that had not certain influences been brought to bear upon Lee-Warner, and had not Sir P. Hutchins also been interested, different advice might have been given to you in the matter. Had I been in Elgin's place, I am afraid that I should have been a good deal more obstinate.

Professor Haffkine.

I have no idea at all what is at the bottom of Dr. Haffkine's nervous apprehensions about his own position and prospects. Godley mentioned the matter to me some time ago. He seems convinced that there is a plot to degrade and oust him. I hope that my telegram from Poona may have enabled you to calm his susceptibilities: and I really wish he would keep quiet, and not go running round, and prodding up his scientific friends at home to save him from altogether imaginary rebuffs.

Public Service Order.

Decorations for plague workers.

While I was in Bombay I received a telegram from the Queen expressing her strong approval of the scheme for a new decoration which was officially submitted to you a fortnight ago. I hope that this may strengthen your hands, and may facilitate the speedy putting through of the proposal. Inasmuch, however, as some few weeks may be required, I have not withheld, but am forwarding, by the present mail, a proposal which was submitted by Sandhurst six weeks ago for some St. John of Jerusalem decorations for plague services. These belong properly to the year that is passing away. I should like to inaugurate the new system with the new year: and to hold over

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the usual cataract of Native titles on New Year's Day (in so far as they are given for plague services) and to substitute for them nominations to the new Order.

Holkar.

Holkar is off on the rampage again. Here have I been—my original tour abandoned because of plague and famine, my projected visits given up, and my travelling party reduced to three Europeans and a few Native servants; and yet Holkar, a week ago, announced his intention of making a tour, nominally on the plea of ill-health, really in order to be absent from Indore when I visit the neighbouring States, and of proceeding with a retinue of 100 persons to Ajmere, Ahmedabad, and Bombay—the worst areas of suffering! Colonel Barr, from a desire I suppose not to reopen the old quarrel, weakly assented: and I was never informed until five days later. Meanwhile Holkar had been told, according to the invariable practice, that he could not start until permission had been received from the Government of India. Thereupon he took French leave, ordered a special train, and is now starring somewhere about the North-Western Provinces. I certainly will not have him anywhere where there is famine: and will turn him back summarily if he tries. But the incident is an illustration of the petty insubordination and whimsical wrong-doing of the man. I have no doubt he thinks he has done a very smart thing by giving us the slip.

Punjab system of Frontier Administration.

I am sending home to you one or two more batches of correspondence with the Punjab Government. I commend to your notice one in particular that relates to the question of *torahs*. We sent, in August last, a short letter to them, dissuading these butchering expeditions in general terms, but leaving the Lieutenant-Governor ample discretion to apply our ruling where he thought proper. It was one of the subjects that he then brought up before me in our final conversation before he left Simla. I told him precisely what I felt: and the matter was, I thought, closed. Nevertheless, he could not resist sending in a long and disputatious argument, filling (I speak from memory) 8 to 10 pages of print, which is simply a piece of superfluous worry from beginning to end. My dear George, I cannot work a Government under this system. I cannot spend hours in wordy argument with my Lieutenant-Governors as to the exact meaning, purport, scope, object, character, possible limitations, conceivable results, of each petty aspect of my Frontier Policy. If they deliberately refuse to understand it, and haggle and boggle about carrying it out, I must get some fairly intelligent officer who will understand what I mean, and do what I say.

Berar.

We are also sending home to you a preliminary letter which I have had written to Sir T. Plowden about Berar—independently of the private suggestion which I made to you, and which of course at this stage I withhold from him. I thought it best to be perfectly frank with Plowden, and to let him know that the present wasteful system cannot continue.

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My new Travelling Commission is holding its first session, under Sir A. Trevor, at Bombay, to enquire into a railway that is pressed for by the Port Trust. I nominated Mr. Allan Arthur as the independent member; and the enquiry is attracting great attention in the Press. — Travelling Railway Commission.

I send you the first two sheets of a letter which Lawrence has received from a Mr. Roy, District Judge of Bankura in Bengal, whose son, a very clever young fellow, took a high place for the second time in the recent Civil Service Examination in London, but who has been rejected, also for the second time, by the medical examiners. You will see what the father says. It is really a very hard case. It was a plucky and remarkable feat for the young man to go twice to England for the examination, and twice to emerge victorious. It may well be also that his health will stand the test of the Indian climate better than it did that of the London doctors. Can you do anything to give him a chance? If not, I shall do my best to find him some job out here. — Mr. Jotindra Nath Roy. [Enclosure.]

Rumours of Russian activity and intentions in Central Asia pour in upon us. I greatly hope that the Amir will not provide a pretext. I should not like a Russian move upon Herat just now. — Russian activity in Central Asia.

I hope you will remember the desirability of not keeping away our Indian troops too long. Every month that passes is an additional argument for the permanent reduction of the British garrison. The telegrams seem, however, to suggest that we are now in the lull before the storm, *i.e.*, Buller, finally bursts: and I still hope that he may be in Pretoria before the end of January. — British troops from India in S. Africa.

I am much obliged for the copy of Brackenbury's letter about Law. The best advice he can give him is to support the Viceroy. Viceroy and Finance Member can practically govern India in unison. If they fall out, there is friction and delay. — Sir F. Law.

In reply to a remark in your last letter (October 27th), you will see that I have been careful not to say one word in public or in print of the nature of the punishments proposed to be inflicted upon the soldiers for Rangoon. — Rangoon Outrage.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Extract (in original) from a letter from Mr. K. N. Roy, dated 7th November 1899, regarding the case of his son.

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No. 54.

27 A.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP;
November 17*th*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Decorations for plague workers.

I forward a list of plague workers who have been selected for distinguished service and recommended for admission to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. My recent visit to the plague centres convinces me that every honour and encouragement should be given to the Nurses and Officers who devote themselves to this very trying and irksome work, and, after consultation with Lord Sandhurst, I think it advisable to send in this list irrespective of the scheme which I have put forward for the grant of a medal. The services which it is here proposed to reward were rendered some time ago, and the recommendation from Lord Sandhurst was submitted as far back as the beginning of October. If these recommendations are approved, I shall be glad if you will telegraph in time to allow of the appointments being gazetted in the New Year's Gazette.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Printed copy of a letter from Lord Sandhurst to Viceroy, dated 6th October 1899.

No. 55.

Viceroy to Marquess of Salisbury.

Telegram, 21st November 1899, 7-15 p. m.

Mary and I send deep sympathy. We can never forget her many acts of affection.

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No. 56.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP, JUBBULPUR;

November 22nd, 1899.

My dear George,

I quite agree with your request, received by telegram, for the text of my entire proposed reply to the Amir. I did not want to trouble you with this, since most of it is only trivial—consisting as it does of replies to obvious and deliberate misinterpretations by the Amir—unless you wished me to do so. But I now send the draft with pleasure. I have no means with me of getting the letter printed, or sent officially; since my Foreign Secretary does not rejoin me till the end of the week. Perhaps you will have it printed in the India Office; and I will have it formally communicated to you by the earliest possible mail. Draft reply to Amir. [Enclosure.]

May I call your attention to one point? The two paragraphs which I inserted at your request, *viz.*, those on page 5 and page 9 of your Despatch (containing the parallel columns) of June 23rd, 1899, have both provoked the criticism of the Amir, the first at the bottom of page 8 of his reply, as printed and sent to Godley, the other at the bottom of page 16. Concerning the latter, although the misconstruction of the Amir is probably intentional, may I suggest that it is no good addressing him except in the plainest and most unvarnished style? It is useless to approach him in hypothetical paragraphs. The sentences in question, in which I think I detect the scholarly hand of Lyall, are written in the English literary style, clear enough to an intelligent Englishman, but a little tempting to an Oriental controversialist, who is bent on detecting obscurity, and on manufacturing misunderstanding. I would suggest, after this experience, that, if you modify my draft reply, any involution of phraseology or obscurity of argument should be avoided.

Of course you will have observed that, in addition to a wanton misreading of bygone history, the Amir ignores the real issue raised by our joint letter; and, so far from saying anything about the weighty passage and warning on page 7 of the India Office Despatch of June 23rd, proceeds to revive and improve upon his former misconstruction of the assurance of 1880, as compelling us to provide him with as many arms as he may desire, while we are to stand outside his frontiers and look quietly on, until his army has been destroyed, at which juncture, but not before, he coolly invites us to enter a The Amir's attitude.

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country already in the possession of the enemy. I do not think it worth while to pursue the argument with him any further. It is enough to have stated our position, to have repudiated his disingenuous reading of our engagements, and to have given him a solemn warning. The present moment is clearly not one at which it is possible or desirable to quarrel. But after this correspondence there can be no ground for dispute between him and ourselves concerning our liberty of action, when the crisis arrives; while, should he continue to disregard our warning, we shall have at any moment a good reason for stopping the importation of arms and ammunition into his country. I feel a great responsibility in this respect. I cannot with a light heart, so far as I individually am concerned, acquiesce in Afghanistan being turned in time of peace into a second Transvaal, *i. e.*, a vast arsenal, to be used against us in a few years' time. I would sooner break with the Amir than connive at the forging of the weapon which will assuredly be turned against us in the near furture. Only the period of our rupture with the Amir—if it is ever to come—must be carefully chosen in relation to the general situation. My recollection is that you have never answered our Despatch on the Arms Question. Perhaps, now that the correspondence with the Amir is drawing to a close, you will give us your views on the matter.

Importation of Arms and Ammunition into Afghanistan.

Tirah medal.

While I remember it, let me ask how the Tirah medal question is progressing, and whether any advance is being made with the project of a Eurasian Regiment. I hope that the War Office are not too busy in creating the opportunities for new medals to find time to give this rather belated one; and that your advisers in the India Office may not be indifferent to the great *political* importance of the Eurasian suggestion.

Chitral reliefs.

You will be glad to have seen that the Chitral reliefs were conducted this autumn without a single casualty, without, indeed, a shot being fired. The new fort at Drosh is almost finished; and affairs in Chitral are so quiet that the young Mehtar is coming down to see me at Calcutta in December. I last saw him as a boy, with long curling black ringlets hanging on his shoulders, in October 1894.

The Amir and Russia.

To revert to the Amir. Your telegram asking whether we have any reason to believe in Russian intrigues on his part has just come in; and I have answered in the negative. Our information (mainly gossip, it is true) is rather to the opposite effect. My own view of his present policy is that, enlightened by the Tirah Campaign, and conscious of the enormous strength given to him by the possession of hundreds of thousands of arms of precision, he has, late in life, revived the idea of consolidating Afghanistan into an independent military power, capable of speaking on equal terms with the enemy in both her gates. It is for this reason that he is always clamouring for more arms, and that he has begun for the first time to boast about defending his country without the aid of British troops. To this

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end also are directed his books, his proclamations, his maps, his intrigues with the Sultan, his devious, and often unfriendly, action towards ourselves on the frontier. He is no longer the subsidised ally, the dependent power. He is, in his own eyes, an independent Mussalman potentate—the one relic of a vanished age in Asia—who can look both Russia and England in the face, and whom we merely pay because we are too weak or too timid to do the fighting on the extreme border ourselves. I have never myself thought that he will openly throw over England and cast in his lot with Russia; because the price that he would have to pay for such a friendship would be Herat; and not even the promise of Peshawar later on would be an adequate compensation for such a crushing blow to his prestige. On the other hand, what the Russians will probably do will be to seize Herat, and then offer to give it back to the Amir, or come to terms with him, on the understanding of an anti-British alliance. They would then begin to experience the delights, which we have tasted for 19 years, of Abdur Rahman Khan as an ally.

Russian reinforcements to Kushk.

Poor Lord Salisbury is probably too much afflicted by the loss of Lady Salisbury to be taking much part in public affairs. Otherwise I wonder whether he has asked, or why he does not ask, Staal what the Russians are about at Kushk. If we improve a pony track in Kashmir, we are at once accused by Mouravieff of building a military road to outflank the Russian position in the Pamirs. Why should we not evince a similar interest in their frontier proceedings?

Russian officers in India.

I am moving my two Russian officers about from place to place in India. The Colonel is rather a queer fish, and is being carefully watched. The more he sees of our strength and rule the better; but I am not going to let him start an Intelligence system in India (which I believe to be his real object) if I can help it.

Persia.

I must confess that I read with some dismay the argument in your last letter (November 2nd) about our Persian policy: and I should like to think that your views have been somewhat affected by the fact that war has come to such close quarters with all of you at home, with your families, and relatives, during the past few weeks. You tell me that my policy rests upon the assumption that we may have at some time or other to exercise force in its vindication, and this you say, in respect of Russia and Persia, is an unsound and unsafe foundation. My reply is that our foreign policy all over the world, in so far as we have one (which I often doubt), rests upon that assumption and no other: and that the moment you remove its basis, the whole fabric will come down. If, in the last resort, we are always to give way to Russia, why, I would ask, have we taken up a position in Persia, in Afghanistan, near the Pamirs, in the Yangtsze Valley, at all? For any one of these positions we may be compelled, in the last resort, to fight: and, in my judgment, could make a very good fight. But if our future policy is to rest upon your

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hypothesis, I cannot see why we should remain in any of them. Then you say, Would you carry the country with you in a war with Russia over Persia? I might answer, I think, that popular enthusiasm is not the true criterion of the righteousness or necessity of a war; but I prefer to reply that it entirely depends on the circumstances of the case, and that I can well conceive of circumstances in which such a war might have the whole nation behind it. The country was quite prepared to go to war with Russia in April 1885 over an unknown place called Penjdeh, in the Turkoman desert, many hundreds of miles from the Indian border, where a small body of Russian soldiers had done nothing worse than cut up a smaller body of Afghans. If the British public, therefore, were to realise that Russian advance beyond any given point in Persia, or to the Persian Gulf, constituted a deliberate affront and danger to India, and that Russian influence there, if consolidated, would involve greater danger and expense to India in the future, I think that they would unhesitatingly give their support to their Government as they have done before. I am afraid that the present war would hardly have stood your own test, had it not been for Kruger's ultimatum. War must have come, with or without that message. But you yourself told me in all your earlier letters that it would be an unpopular war. Nevertheless you would have had to wage it. It was turned in a week from an unpopular into a popular campaign by this single incident, I might almost say, accident. The moment the country is convinced that the national honour has been outraged, or that Imperial interests are at stake, I feel therefore that it will always be behind the Ministry of the day.

But I must here pause and say that I do not see where, in my proposals or policy, the question of war, as a likely contingency, comes in. I want to come to terms with Russia over Persia. If she won't do this, then I say let us make up our minds what is the minimum absolutely required by Imperial interests, and tell her that we mean to stick to it. How can she go to war over that? If she does, what can she do? She can march on Herat. But that she can do any day; and I understand from what you say that you think that Afghanistan is the one place in Asia where we can successfully fight her. What, on the other hand, can we do? We can seize as many of the Gulf ports as we like and hold them. How is Russia going to turn us out? You say that the situation is entirely altered by the Russian railroads. But she has no railway within 1200 miles of the Persian Gulf: and our advantage there is as indisputable as hers at Kushk and Herat. And yet, while we have gone and pledged ourselves to fight over the latter, I am told not so much as to contemplate the possibility of war over the former. Nay, further, we are mildly to acquiesce in the bridging over of this gap of 1200 miles by a Russian railway, in order to destroy our solitary advantage, and to hand over to our enemy what we can still keep.

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You say, "Can we stop a railroad to the Gulf?" I answer if it is a Russian railroad, unquestionably we can. It is not the Russians but the Persians with whom we should have to deal. If they came to us and said that they had given a railway to Bushire or Bunder Abbas to the Russians, I would reply, "Very sorry; but we cannot permit it. If you want a railway there on commercial grounds, we will make it on the same conditions as the Russians, since it is in our sphere. But if you persist in giving it to the Russians, we are sorry to have to inform you that before the railway has been completed, you will find the Gulf terminus in British hands." What could the Persians do but give way? But you may say the Russians would fight. I doubt it, because, whatever they might gain at Herat or elsewhere, they would lose their access to the Gulf for ever. I hope, my dear George, you will attach some weight to these rival considerations; and I do earnestly implore you, as the statesman responsible for the future, as well as present, security of India, not lightly to give your adherence to views or plans, that must unquestionably at no distant day add an enormous increase both to our perils and our burdens.

Inspection of Relief works.

Since I last wrote I have been travelling and inspecting in the Central Provinces. I spent a day in the neighbourhood of Raipur visiting relief works and going minutely into the whole question of village and gratuitous relief. The great difficulty in the earlier stages is to determine when the point is reached at which relief is necessary, and then to distinguish between genuine and fraudulent cases. The moment that works are opened, men and women flock on to them in thousands. It is very difficult to refuse them. In fact the Code does not authorise refusal. The only safeguard is to fix the wage at a figure which will relieve the destitute, without attracting and demoralising the well-to-do. Each province is rather apt to proceed upon its own plan; and I find a good deal of divergence and even some contradiction in practice. Should Christmas rains not fall in this province, the distress by next April or May will be very wide-spread—worse than anything hitherto known—and 40 per cent. of the entire population will very likely require to be kept alive by the Government. Both Ibbetson and his successor Fraser are good men; and the one has inaugurated, while the other will carry on, a work which seems to me to have been started on sound and generous lines. There is at present nothing approaching famine, or even physical emaciation (except in a few isolated cases) among the thousands of persons whom I have lately seen. But we are only at the beginning of the strain; and I shudder to think of what we may have to face—if there be no rainfall in the interim—next spring.

I go on in a few days to Bhopal and Gwalior—ceremonial visits of the oldfashioned type—which I shall not like nearly so much as my informal wanderings of the past month: and then I proceed to the North-Western Provinces.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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[ENCLOSURE TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.]

Draft of proposed reply to Amir's letter of 27th September 1899. [See file of correspondence with Amir.]

No. 57.

To SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B., Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP, JUBBULPUR;

November 22nd, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Sir J. Mackay.

I am quite ready to accept your chivalrous and emphatic vindication of Sir J. Mackay. Personally I have had no means of forming an opinion one way or the other; since I have only met him twice, when I found him a very agreeable and instructive companion. But his general abilities do not seem to have been so generally recognised out here.

Sir W. Bisset and the P. W. Membership.

I do not know what Bisset means by saying that he has received letters from Lawrence encouraging him to hope for the offer of the Public Works Membership of Council. I have no idea of the likelihood of (though I certainly should not regret) a vacancy. Lawrence wrote to Bisset about coming out temporarily before I secured Gardiner, but he tells me that he has not said anything leading him to hope for the permanent appointment. Should Trevor go, I would certainly consider Bisset high among possible candidates. But I have not even begun in my own mind to consider the situation. I should, however, be most reluctant to import another Madras or Bombay Civilian, and to put him into a place of which he might know nothing.

Attitude of the Madras and Bombay Governments.

This is apart from the question of having a second Civilian on the Council, which would have to be examined on its own merits. Neither of those Governments is so civil to the Government of India as to render me at all keen about showing special politeness to them. I will give you an illustration of their whimsical and foolish independence. I sent round an expurgated edition of my Minute on Noting, with a copy of our new Secretariat rules based upon it, to all the Local Governments, asking them whether they would find any of the suggestions of use to them in their own Administration. All the rest have replied, welcoming the changes, and stating the degree to which

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they proposed to incorporate them in their own procedure. Madras, which is known to have one of the worst and most dilatory Secretariats, replied that none of the evils complained of occurred in their system, and that, therefore, they did not propose to alter it!

Posting of Native Civilians.

I must revert to a question which we have before discussed, *viz.*, the posting of Natives of India who have passed the Civil Service examination to particular provinces. What happens is this. After the open examination, the Secretary of State allots men to different provinces or groups of provinces, the latter being *Upper Provinces* (*i. e.*, Punjab, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and Central Provinces) and *Lower Provinces* (*i. e.*, Bengal and Assam). After the final examination, *we* distribute the Upper Provinces men among the three provinces concerned, and the same with the Lower Provinces; but we cannot exercise a wider discretion, and shift them outside the group. Now this amounts in reality to throwing upon the Secretary of State a responsibility which ought properly to belong to the Government of India. Would it not be much better to adopt this system? The Secretary of State would telegraph to us particulars about any Native who has passed the open examination. We would ascertain whether there is any objection to posting him to his own province, or, *e. g.*, to the Upper Provinces. Our reply would reach the Secretary of State before the lists of the provinces in which they would like to serve had been sent in by the successful candidates to him; and he would be able to fix the province with a knowledge both of the circumstances of the candidate, and of the views of the Government of India. The matter is becoming one of increasing importance, and I suggest this as the simplest and most effective solution. I am much obliged for the list of those who passed in the recent examination, which you sent me a short while ago.

Wearing of uniforms.

I have been looking into the question of uniforms, the practice as to which has become very slack and contradictory out here; and we are issuing revised regulations. The uniform of a Member of Council is fixed by the Lord Chamberlain's Regulations issued at home. At *Levées* and the State Balls he has to wear the white breeches and stockings that Ministers do at home. Will you let Law know this privately? Dawkins and Raleigh came out adequately equipped. Westland got into his breeches—in which he cut an extraordinary figure—at every available opportunity. But some of my senior Colleagues have shirked for years, and taken refuge in the less dangerous, but irregular, trouser. If we do not set an example at the top of the scale, how can we expect our subordinates to conform lower down?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 58.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP, BHOPAL;
November 26th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Tour. Visit to Bhopal. I begin my letter here, and shall finish it at Gwalior in the latter part of the week. My wife joined me yesterday, and we commenced our first official visit to a Native State. The arrival was a most picturesque, if somewhat comic, affair. There was the little Begum at the station—all veiled up, and not much more than 4 feet high. There were officials in every colour of velvet, and every degree of gold and silver braid; soldiers on foot and soldiers on horseback; soldiers in every conceivable variety of opera-bouffe uniforms, some saluting, others brandishing swords, others armed with ancestral weapons; camels, elephants, horses, streamers, flags, arches, guns letting off on every side, men shouting, galloping, staring—and all of this going on anyhow, with no particular method or plan, but everybody joining in just as he or she liked. The day was spent in solemn visits and passings to and fro in State carriages between this house and the palace (over 3 miles away); and last night was the State dinner, at which the dear little old lady (she is æt 62) came in at the close, and standing up between Mary and me read in a perfectly clear voice in Hindustani (subsequently translated into English) a most graceful little speech. She quarrels with her daughter, who is the next heir; and the two do not speak. The mother is even building a vast mosque and enclosing an entire hill with a wall, in order to spend the money which the daughter will otherwise inherit.

Holkar. I really do not know what to do with Holkar. In spite of my formally expressed objection to his visiting famine centres in British India at the present time with a large retinue, he suddenly turned up at Ajmere; and then went on straight to Ahmedabad, and thence to Bombay, these being the three principal places to which I had taken exception. I have told the Railway Companies not to give him special trains anywhere. But he scores off me by taking 100 tickets and travelling in an ordinary train! What on earth is one to do with such a man? It is these acts of petty insolence, of childish bravado, that render it almost impossible for any one permanently to get on with him.

Transvaal War. Our information about the war is deplorably meagre, and the reason why I say so little about it in my letters to you is because I hesitate to form any opinion, much more to pass any censure, upon data so imperfect

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and obscure. We seem, however, to be inadequately supplied with artillery; while our generals have a sublime gift of hurling themselves, or rather their troops (at a heavy cost of life) against positions which are evacuated almost as soon as won. The same sort of thing was done in our Tirah Campaign, notably at Dargai. I am also led to think that the Intelligence Department at home must have been kept disgracefully misinformed. Of course one cannot but be proud of the heroism of our men: just as we are proud of Balaclava. But in a sense our science of fighting seems still to be infected with the mediæval spirit, *i. e.*, with the idea that reckless personal courage is all that is required.

Gwalior, November 30th.—The later telegrams seem to indicate that the tide is slowly turning in our favour, and what I now fear is the cry that will presently be raised at home for a speedy composition with so honourable and courageous a foe, on terms that are not wounding to his dignity! I hope that Buller will conclude no terms except in Pretoria; and that the Government will not by weakness or misplaced generosity throw away *any* of the legitimate results of victory.

Holkar.

Your telegram about Holkar has come in, relating to the cancellation of his orders in the Holkar Gazette. I will have a talk to Barr about the matter. But I don't think our intention was ever to do more than seize any favourable opportunity of inducing Holkar to withdraw his last notification. If he persists in declining, the incident will only add one more to the list of acts of petty insubordination which he delights in piling up against the Government of India.

Bhopal Imperial Service Troops.

I reviewed the Imperial Service Troops (Cavalry) at Bhopal. They made not at all a bad show on parade, being fairly mounted on Arabs, Persians, and countrybreds, and going through all the movements with creditable precision. The worst of the regiment is that it is almost entirely recruited from outside the State. The Bhopalis have no military spirit, will not enlist, and are useless as soldiers. The Begum affects to take much interest in the regiment when a Viceroy comes round; and has lately increased the scale of pay. But she never sees the regiment at other times, and indeed now seldom emerges from her palace. Outside the latter, as I have already remarked, she is engaged in building a great mosque. The bulk of the Bhopal people are Hindus; and the Mahomedan minority are already more than fully accommodated in the three large mosques existing in the town. But the old lady is a bigoted Mussulman; and cannot resist the opportunity of at the same time impoverishing her heir and speeding her own path to heaven.

Visit to Gwalior. Maharaja Scindia.

I have now been Scindia's guest for two days. We are staying, at his urgent request, in one wing of his palace, a vast white building, built in a semi-Italian style, over acres of ground. As I mentioned when writing from Calcutta, he

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is much the most remarkable and promising of all the Native Chiefs; excellently educated, with perfect manners, intensely keen about every branch both of civil and military administration. He practically runs the whole State himself, and personally supervises every detail of our reception. He is all over the place, visiting the sentries in the palace garden at night, seeing that the dinner table is properly laid, even superintending the making of my bed. During the 5 years in which he has enjoyed full powers he has really performed wonders in almost every department of administration; railways, land-settlement, loans, currency-reform, education, hospitals. He always has a note book in his hand, in which everything is jotted down as he sees it. He goes round on personal tours in his districts, sits in court, examines accounts, receives appeals, rates or applauds his local officials. In his remorseless propensity for looking into everything and probing it to the bottom, he rather reminds me of your humble servant. Last night at the State Banquet I profited by the occasion to draw a picture—none too soon—of what, in my judgment, the Native Prince should be. It was easy to do it in presence of so admirable a model. I have no doubt that my words will excite much attention throughout India: although probably they will be unheard of at home, where you are naturally thinking of nothing but the war. I believe that a great polishing-up of the public spirit and patriotism of the Native Princes is both possible and desirable; and plain speaking combined with perfect courtesy are the instruments by which it can be effected.

Viceroy's speech at Gwalior.

Persia.

With regard to your remarks about Persia, I will not repeat my argument of last week. But when you ask whether it "would not be better for us to wait until we have extracted ourselves with credit and glory from our present difficult position, rather than adopt a policy which would unquestionably put a burden both on our naval and military establishments which it is doubtful whether they would be able to sustain," I do not recognise anything that I have advocated or put forward; for I cannot remember having said one word to encourage immediate or precipitate action of the character that you describe. Of course my Despatch was written before the Transvaal war was imminent, and I could not foresee impending international troubles. But the policy I recommended was one of diplomatic negotiation and agreement; and only in the event of its breakdown would I advocate stronger measures. These can be taken when the Boer war is over, and when we have nothing else on our hands. I do not want to seize any Persian port now: though I should be quite ready to do it a little later on. Do you not see, however, that your policy is perfectly certain to give to Russia both her Persian Gulf Port and Herat? You say that we must not prevent Russia from getting down to the Gulf, because if we do she will seize Herat. Very well. She will then advance to the Gulf; and build her railway; holding Herat all the while in reserve. Then she will repeat the threat, with regard to every other place in Asia where her interests clash with ours: and finally, having won all along

Russia in Central Asia.

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the line, she will walk into Herat when she pleases. Is it not perfectly clear that no force, diplomacy, treaty, or policy in the world can keep Russia out of Herat, whenever she chooses to go in? I do not think myself that Herat is the key of India or of anything: and I have always deprecated the exaggerated vein in which it has been described. It will be a nuisance to lose Herat: and we shall or shall not go to war over it according to our position at the moment. Its seizure by Russia would unquestionably be a *casus belli*. Whether we treated it as such, would depend on the circumstances of the moment and the Ministry of the day. But even if Russia got Herat, I have never believed that India would be in actual danger: whereas if she gets both Herat and the Gulf (and your policy will give her both), I decline to answer for the future.

The Rangoon Outrage.

I am very grateful for your promise of support at the War Office in respect of the Rangoon case. Please remember that the sentences passed are not mine. They are those of the Commander-in-Chief in India, put forward on his own responsibility and after a careful examination of all the facts of the case. The War Office at home cannot conceivably know anything like as much of the case as we do; and both the Commander-in-Chief and I (as having accepted his proposals, also after most patient and careful scrutiny) would resent being overruled in the matter.

Famine relief.

I am inclined to think that in their anxiety to escape the errors of three years ago, the local authorities, particularly in the Central Provinces, are being too diffuse and indiscriminate in their grant of relief. But it is very hard for the local officer to know what to do. He opens a relief work, *e. g.*, the breaking of metals for a road, as soon as he thinks that the condition of the district requires it; and almost in a moment he is flooded with thousands of people, some of whom (as I saw) may have been marching across India for months, begging their way, and taking their chance of anything turning up. He has not the time, or the staff, or the knowledge, to discriminate. All come on to the works; all get the wage; and yet very likely their numbers may be a most inadequate test of the degree of real scarcity or the needs of the neighbourhood.

Sir M. Gerard.

I fully expected your answer about Sir M. Gerard, and I have forwarded it to Lockhart.

Sir S. Northcote's Private Secretary.

I had great pleasure in making the arrangements in respect of Northcote's Private Secretary that you and he desired, entirely concurring, as I did, with your views.

Holwell's Obelisk.

I am afraid that I do not at all agree with your Council concerning the Black Hole Obelisk. I have gone most carefully and minutely into the whole question; and its re-erection (as I shall explain, in a different form) is part of a scheme which I am carrying out in conjunction with Woodburn for placing in Calcutta some memorials of its wonderfully dramatic past. I am going to have the entire *enceinte* of the old fort, in so far as it has not been built over, marked out by marble slabs; so that the knowledge (which one or

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two scholars have been slowly digging out for years) may be preserved, before all trace of it has vanished. Holwell's obelisk was not a record of the disaster, but a monument to those who lost their lives. It was placed over their bodies, upon which Sir Ashley Eden now sits in a grotesque marble chair. The same scholars of whom I have spoken have gradually unearthed from the records the complete list of those who perished: and I propose to inscribe their names on the monument, for which I have selected the general style of Holwell's obelisk (though my obelisk will be only a miniature reproduction of the original), because the latter stood there for many years until foolishly pulled down by Lord Hastings in about 1820, and because it has a personal interest arising from the fact that Holwell was himself a survivor of the disaster. I propose to eliminate from the inscription the invidious expressions that occurred in Holwell's inscription. It will be a memorial to the brave dead and nothing else. The fact that they died owing to native treachery does not deprive them of their right to a monument; while the fact that their death was practically the foundation-stone of the British Empire in India, invests their memory with a peculiar historical importance. During the 50 years for which the pillar stood no one ever found out that it paraded our disaster or the consequences; and there is not to be found the least trace of the reasons for which Lord Hastings took it down. We propose to move Sir Ashley Eden to a much more suitable site in the garden of Dalhousie Square, exactly opposite to the old Writers' Buildings, now the Bengal Secretariat, about 50 yards from the present site.

Historic buildings, &c., of Calcutta.

I propose during my time to commemorate by tablets and otherwise all the interesting sites, houses, &c., in Calcutta; and the arguments against the Holwell monument would appear to me to apply equally to the great slab of stone put up by Lord Dufferin (I think) over the Black Hole itself, which every one goes to see who comes to Calcutta. If you care to read more about the case, get hold of an admirable book entitled Busteed's "Echoes of old Calcutta." It has been shocking to me, since I came to India, to find how little is known of, and how few people care anything for, the memorials of the past. Calcutta ought to be full of such relics. But there is practically nothing, and what little there is, known to only a few.

Tour.

Tomorrow the Maharaja is going to take me out for a tiger shoot. This morning I reviewed the whole of his troops: this afternoon I opened a new Hospital and a new College (built in memory of the Queen's Jubilee of 1887) which are among the finest buildings in modern India, and on Saturday I open the Maharaja's light railway: so I am kept very busy.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 59.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP, FATEHPUR SIKRI;
December 7th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I cannot write to you at any length this week; for the conditions do not admit of it. We have only just arrived (6 P. M.), after a 24 miles' drive from Agra, at this place, the famous deserted city of Akbar, where I am installed in the house (an exquisite little gem of architecture) of his Grand Vizier. Amid the bustle of unpacking, I sit down to send you a few lines, which will have to be carried back by a trooper at full gallop to Agra, to be copied there tonight, and despatched by the mail tomorrow morning.

Curtailment of Railway programme.

With regard to what you say concerning a curtailment of our railway programme in view of the famine and of financial prospects in general—alas we have done it. A despatch, which I passed just before leaving Simla, will have told you that we contemplate having to suspend our entire construction programme outside of the sanctioned one-third of the triennial programme. This, if I remember right, is somewhere about $6\frac{3}{4}$ or 7 lakhs. Gardiner and I had mapped out a programme of 8 lakhs, which would itself have been less than Elgin's average annual expenditure. But we are undoubtedly in for a lean year; and, as long as our railways are financed on the present system (about which I am coming up to you later), we have to contract our expenditure at the very time and in the very quarter where it is most wanted.

Famine relief.

I do not feel quite happy either as to the probable extent of our famine outlay. After the severe censure passed by the Famine Commission on the want of preparedness in 1896-7, you may be certain that Chief Commissioners and others will go to the opposite extreme this time. I am disposed to think that they are already doing so on a large scale in many parts of India. Each of them treats his own problem as though it were the only one in all India. Colonel Hunter from Kathiawar has submitted the most extravagant and even ludicrous estimates of what he thinks will be required there. The number in receipt of relief (both gratuitous and on works) in the Central Provinces is out of all proportion to previous experience, and, as it seems to me, not altogether justified by the situation. I have written to Fraser, urging him to keep a tight rein upon his men, both in the interests of our next budget, and because, if the present scale of generosity be maintained,

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we shall turn the greater part of India into one gigantic poor-house, and shall fatally demoralise the people. It is difficult for me, while on tour, to follow with minuteness what is being done in different parts; but I shall be back at Calcutta in ten days, and will report more fully then.

The Salt-tax.

Dawkins, like you, is keen upon reducing the salt-tax. I do not feel the same anxiety, at any rate not to the same extent. I believe that the tax presses with extraordinary lightness even upon the poorest of the population: and that the objections to it are more sentimental than practical. Of course, if we have a succession of fat years, we are under what amounts to a pledge to reduce. But I doubt our gaining the least gratitude by doing so; and you may be sure that, the reduction once made, it will be exceedingly difficult ever to put it on again. The salt-tax here is not like the income-tax at home, which is universally admitted to be the great stand-by of Governments in an emergency, and an increase in which, while no doubt more or less resented by the well-to-do, cannot be represented as a hardship upon the poor. Once we lower the salt-tax, I predict that it will not be easy again to raise it. I shall be very glad if Dawkins can assure me that he is willing to take it in hand. But I shall not myself press him in the forthcoming year, since I would prefer to make the concession synchronise with conditions of more

The Income-tax.

permanent prosperity. On the other hand, I share your views about the lower grades of the income-tax: and should like to give them exemption.

Loan for Military expenditure.

As regards military expenditure, I think that your advisers will really have to consider the question of a loan. The Transvaal is an awful warning against lack of preparation; and, if our military people here are right, the same story would very likely have to be told were the Indian Army called upon to take the field against a European foe. I understand that money has been provided for the same purpose by loan at home.

The Rangoon Outrage.

I have received a telegram from you today, asking for the full papers about Rolland. It is really too annoying. I implored Lockhart, and instructed the Military Department, to send them all to you before I left Simla; and it is, I think, possible that they may before now have reached you. I was under the impression, however, from what Lockhart told me, that Rolland's punishment was within his competence, and that no reference to you was required. He was certainly on the point of carrying his sentence into effect weeks ago, and only postponed doing so, as I understood, because I desired the advantage of your opinion about Protheroe, and I did not think it desirable to split the punishment of the soldiers into separate compartments and seasons. I have telegraphed to him, but he is somewhere on the high seas, *en route* to Burma; and I have no one here to tell me what the correct procedure in the matter is. I somewhat regret that you should not have seen the reports on the civil aspect of the case; for they throw into even more lurid prominence the nature

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of the military conspiracy. I also greatly regret these long delays; since, at the present rate, I fear you will not be able to answer us about the soldiers until the new year, while the punishment of the civilians, who were very inferior culprits, was published early in November.

The Kohat Pass road.

You have never, I think, mentioned in any of your letters (at least not since the successful conclusion of the affair) the matter of the Kohat Pass road. It is a case, it is true, of only secondary importance; but it is one upon the solution of which I rather plume myself; both because I laid hold of a nettle which none of my predecessors has dared to handle for 50 years; and because I overruled the Punjab Government as to the amount of *bakshish* that we should give, and practically backed my confidence against their timidity.

Frontier Administration by Punjab Government.

My new acting Councillor, Ibbetson, is a Punjab man. But he rather astonished me the other day at Nagpur by asking me why I did not take away the Frontier from the Punjab Government, and by saying that, in his opinion, the present system was indefensible, and, in the hands of a Lieutenant-Governor like Mackworth Young, wholly unworkable. It seems, therefore, that, when I approach the question in Calcutta, I shall find one of my strongest supporters in the very quarter where I had most anticipated opposition.

Honour for Mr. Bashyam Aiyangar.

It is rather curious that Havelock, after his strong recommendation to you of Mr. Bashyam Aiyangar, should never have mentioned him to me as a suitable candidate for honours. Perhaps he did not think of his name in that context. I cannot, at the present moment (with no means of reference), carry in my head whether you proposed in the supplementary list that you telegraphed to me to give him a Knighthood or a C. I. E.—I think the former. In that case you will, no doubt, have considered the desirability, in view of a name already recommended by me, of giving two Knighthoods in the same list to Madras lawyers.

Mr. Jotindra Nath Roy.

Our communications about young Roy crossed. If you can do nothing for him, I will do my best here.

The Natus.

I am waiting to be consulted by Sandhurst about the Natus. But he has only just got back to Bombay from a farewell tour in Sind; and doubtless has not yet found time.

Transvaal.

I wish for your sake, as well as that of many others, that we could get good news from Ladysmith.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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No. 60.

To SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B., Under Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP, FATEHPUR SIKRI;
December 7th, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Tour. I have been at Agra for five days very hard at work: addresses; visits from Native Princes; return visits to them; interviews with Rajas and Zemindars.

Conservation of ancient monuments. I also take a very keen interest in archæology, and hold strong views about our obligations as custodians in India of what are, on the whole, the noblest series of monuments in the world. In the past we have scandalously neglected this duty, and are only now tardily awakening to it. I am therefore personally going round, with the archæological director of the province, not merely every one of the principal monuments, but every nook and cranny of every one of them, and am giving orders as to what is to be done. I do this at every place I visit; and I hope at the end of five years to have effected a very perceptible change. I happen to take the keenest interest in architecture as well as in archæology; and in my Eastern Travels to have made a close study of the Arabian style in particular, so that I have some confidence in taking the matter in hand. I cannot find that since Lord Northbrook any Viceroy has troubled himself much about it.

British troops in India. In answer to a question which you asked in your last letter of November 10th as to whether I had formed any opinion as to the sufficiency of the European force in India, while I doubt if I have sufficient knowledge of the country to enable me to say whether the existing proportion of British to Native soldiers, *viz.*, 1: 2, is absolutely indispensable (although I incline very strongly to the belief that a smaller proportion would be dangerous), I yet do most strongly hold that the army in India is not only not too large, but is not large enough for its immensely extended responsibilities. From this it follows I think that I could not approve of any reduction of the British element; although in the event of an increase I would not like to say offhand of what ingredients or in what proportions it should be composed.

Viceroy's speech at Gwalior. I mentioned to the Secretary of State last week a speech that I had made at Gwalior about the position and duties of Native Chiefs. The English Press here has taken less notice of it than I had anticipated, chiefly, I think, because there is scarcely a newspaper among them that has a writer capable of writing an article upon current topics. But it seems to be attracting great attention,

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and (to my satisfaction) unbroken approval, in the Native Press, where it is freely said that such an admonition was urgently needed and has come none too soon.

Holkar. Holkar's latest exploits reveal a more positive lunacy than any previous exhibitions. He has written a solemn protest to his own State Council, as well as a private letter to Jennings, complaining that his boot makers at Bombay supply him with boots, the nails or spikes of which protrude inwards and hurt the soles of his feet: and he attributes this affliction to a conspiracy of his telegraph-clerks! The whole thing sounds like Alice in Wonderland. He also calls upon his State Council to save him from the atrocities committed by his washermen, who injure and destroy his clothes. There is a good deal more that is equally insane, and, finally, after accusing everybody of wishing to murder him, he ends by saying that he has not the slightest intention of obliging his enemies by committing suicide! He has suddenly started off upon another railway tour, in spite, or perhaps in consequence, of my attempt to check him; and I have no doubt he thinks himself a very fine fellow for pulling the leg of the Viceroy.

Mr. Chamberlain. Can you not keep Chamberlain quiet at home? His last speech (about foreign alliances and the French and the Queen), if correctly summarised in the telegrams, appears to me to have exceeded in ineptitude any of his previous attempts to pose as Foreign Minister in Reserve of the British Empire. Were I Prime Minister, or even Foreign Secretary, I should be very careful not to let my self-chosen under-study rehearse his part at the most inopportune moments on my own stage. But Lord Salisbury's amiability in these respects amounts almost to a public crime.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 61.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP, LUCKNOW;
December 14th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

In a few hasty moments snatched between one function and another, I sit down to write a brief letter.

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Durbar at Lucknow.

Lucknow is a very picturesque as well as populous place: and our reception here has been most enthusiastic. Yesterday I held the big Durbar for the Talukdars and Durbaris of Oudh, the first since Lord Ripon's visit in 1882. There were some 750 persons present in the great Durbar Tent; and the ceremony, much of which is occupied with formal presentations and various Oriental forms, occupied nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ hours. I send you a copy of my speech. Instead of having a translation of it read out in Hindustani to the Talukdars, after I had delivered it in English, I had printed translations made in advance and distributed to the Durbaris, so that we saved nearly half an hour of time, while those who could not understand English were yet able by means of the Hindustani version to follow what I said. The whole function was a brilliant success, besides being, as I thought, a very impressive affair. You will note from my remarks, that I regarded the occasion as one of some importance, and that I pitched them, therefore, in a high, but I hope not an exaggerated key.

Viceroy's speech. [Enclosure.]

Holwell's Obelisk, and the Cawnpore Memorial.

When I was at Cawnpore the other day I could not help thinking that the arguments of your Councillors about Holwell's Obelisk at Calcutta, would compel me equally to remove the Gothic screen and the white marble figure of an angel over the well of massacre. What is the difference between the two cases: and why should suffering and horror be commemorated in the one place, while they are to be passed over with silence in another? The only difference is one of a hundred years, and this, I should have thought, would have told in favour of commemorating the older and less remembered tragedy, rather than the more recent, which is still fresh in public recollection.

The Amir's reply regarding the new Envoy.

The Amir has written rather a rude letter rejecting the new Envoy whom I proposed to send to Cabul, on the ground of his materialistic and atheistic opinions! This is a bogus, and quite untrue, charge; the real objection being, I fancy, that my nominee, who has been in our service at Peshawar and in the Khyber, knows too much of the frontier and of Afghan ways; while the Amir is no doubt very angry at my letter about the disparity of treatment of our respective agents.

Mr. Talbot.

Lady Brownlow has written to me asking that a young Talbot, who is her cousin, and the son of Sir A. Talbot of Kashmir, and who has just passed the Civil Service Examination, may be posted to the North-Western Provinces and Punjab. I have told her that this rests with you, but I should be glad if you could see your way, for the father's rather than the cousin's sake, to do it.

Muscat. Capt. P. Z. Cox.

Cox has renewed the subsidy of the Sultan at Muscat, and appears to have made an excellent start there. Papers will shortly reach you on the subject.

Honour for Mr. Aiyangar.

I made a mistake in my last letter from Fatehpur Sikri, about your proposed honour for Mr. Aiyangar at Madras. Upon my return to Agra I

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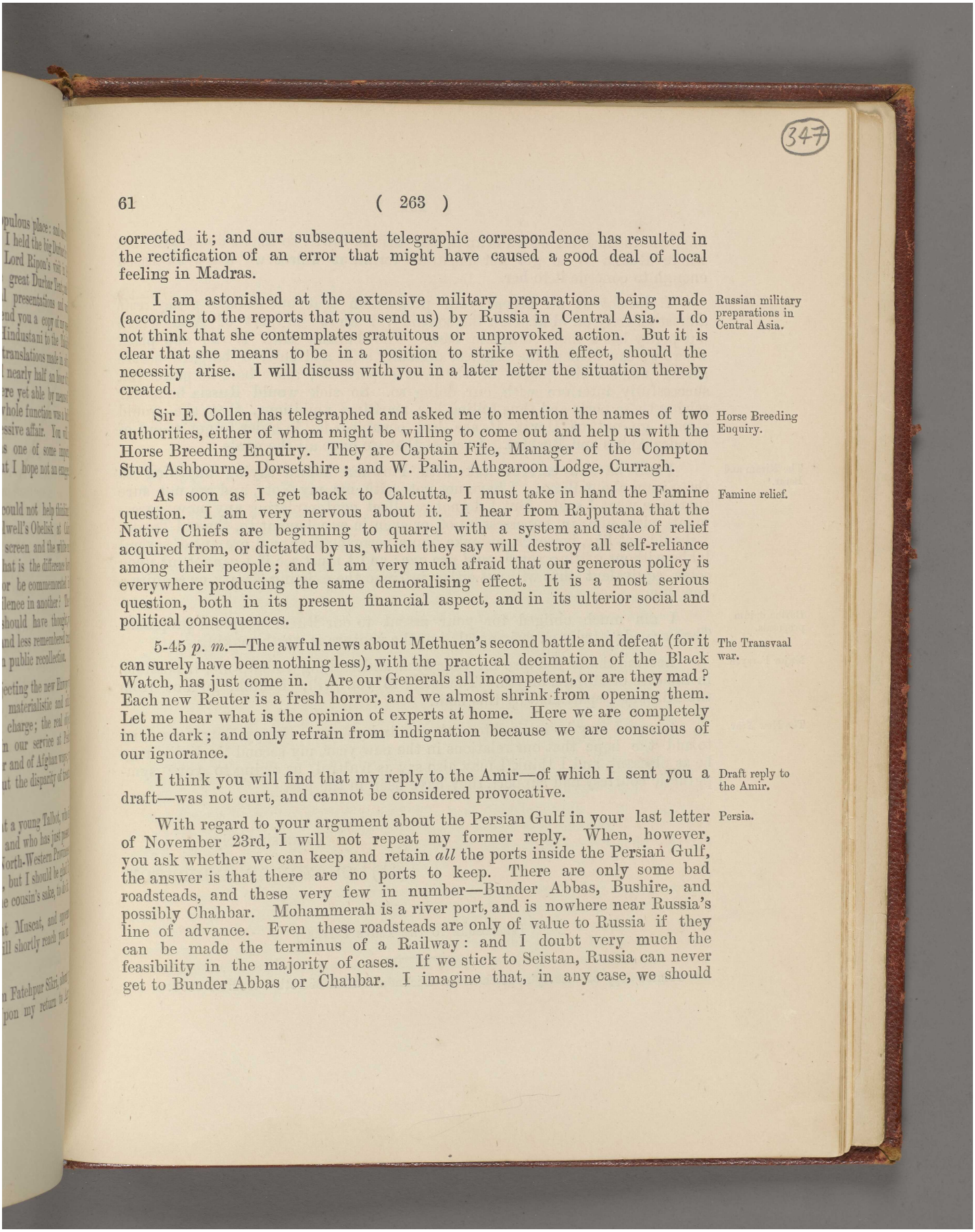

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corrected it; and our subsequent telegraphic correspondence has resulted in the rectification of an error that might have caused a good deal of local feeling in Madras.

Russian military preparations in Central Asia.

I am astonished at the extensive military preparations being made (according to the reports that you send us) by Russia in Central Asia. I do not think that she contemplates gratuitous or unprovoked action. But it is clear that she means to be in a position to strike with effect, should the necessity arise. I will discuss with you in a later letter the situation thereby created.

Horse Breeding Enquiry.

Sir E. Collen has telegraphed and asked me to mention the names of two authorities, either of whom might be willing to come out and help us with the Horse Breeding Enquiry. They are Captain Fife, Manager of the Compton Stud, Ashbourne, Dorsetshire; and W. Palin, Athgaroon Lodge, Curragh.

Famine relief.

As soon as I get back to Calcutta, I must take in hand the Famine question. I am very nervous about it. I hear from Rajputana that the Native Chiefs are beginning to quarrel with a system and scale of relief acquired from, or dictated by us, which they say will destroy all self-reliance among their people; and I am very much afraid that our generous policy is everywhere producing the same demoralising effect. It is a most serious question, both in its present financial aspect, and in its ulterior social and political consequences.

The Transvaal war.

5-45 *p. m.*—The awful news about Methuen's second battle and defeat (for it can surely have been nothing less), with the practical decimation of the Black Watch, has just come in. Are our Generals all incompetent, or are they mad? Each new Reuter is a fresh horror, and we almost shrink from opening them. Let me hear what is the opinion of experts at home. Here we are completely in the dark; and only refrain from indignation because we are conscious of our ignorance.

Draft reply to the Amir.

I think you will find that my reply to the Amir—of which I sent you a draft—was not curt, and cannot be considered provocative.

Persia.

With regard to your argument about the Persian Gulf in your last letter of November 23rd, I will not repeat my former reply. When, however, you ask whether we can keep and retain *all* the ports inside the Persian Gulf, the answer is that there are no ports to keep. There are only some bad roadsteads, and these very few in number—Bunder Abbas, Bushire, and possibly Chahbar. Mohammerah is a river port, and is nowhere near Russia's line of advance. Even these roadsteads are only of value to Russia if they can be made the terminus of a Railway: and I doubt very much the feasibility in the majority of cases. If we stick to Seistan, Russia can never get to Bunder Abbas or Chahbar. I imagine that, in any case, we should

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hold on to Bushire, which is an almost British town: so that I don't quite see where Russia is to get her maritime terminus unless we are weak-kneed enough to concede it to her.

I do not at all accept your proposition that our Persian policy rests almost entirely on bluff. On the contrary, I know no part of Asia where our policy has a more tangible basis. The Persian Gulf is the one place where we can without the slightest difficulty seize and hold, or bargain before giving up, all the places of the least importance, and where no power can successfully interfere with our doing so. So sick would Russia be at our seizing those ports and thus foiling her maritime ambitions, that she would almost go out of Herat, if she had occupied it, in order to get us out of Bunder Abbas and Bushire. I repeat that we have all the cards.

The Nizam and Berar.

I will have a careful talk with Plowden before saying anything to the Nizam about Berar. I have not got with me my Note, and am not sure therefore what I said. But I do not recollect contemplating any new agreement with him in supersession of, or even in supplement to, the old Treaty. I should not like, however, to make him a permanent annual present of several lakhs without getting some *quid pro quo*: and I must see if I cannot hit upon some equivalent that will not either infringe the existing Treaty or require a new one.

Burma opium proposals.

I am much obliged for your assent to our Burmese opium proposals. They are admittedly experimental; but the venture is worth making.

Major Forsyth.

Let me thank you also for your kind undertaking to help me, if possible, in the case of Major Forsyth. The letter to you will, I think, go out from the Military Department by this mail.

The New Year.

I hope I may be in time to wish you and yours a Happy New Year: and to add the hope that our relations in the new year, my second in India, may be as pleasant, and I think I may also say as fruitful, as owing to your sympathetic courtesy and support, they have been in the past.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Printed copy of Viceroy's speech at the Lucknow Durbar of 13th December 1899.

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No. 62.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
December 21*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am once again in Calcutta, and in a position to revert to the method of a dictated letter, which, whilst it involves a certain saving of time to me, is, I daresay, equally a source of relief to you.

Viceroy's draft letter to the Amir.

We have been corresponding this morning by telegraph about Afghanistan, and I have accepted your suggestion, so strongly endorsed by the Prime Minister, to return a smooth reply to the Amir. I quite understand the wisdom on general grounds of this advice; and hence my readiness in accepting it. On the other hand, looked at from the Oriental point of view, I believe it to be a mistake. There is nothing that an Oriental more quickly sees through than the sudden deference or politeness of a controversialist who is in a tight place; nothing that he respects more than a courageous and unshaken front in the face of these conditions. There was nothing in my reply to the Amir that was provocative, although I challenged some of his misrepresentations; and from such knowledge as I have of Oriental character, and of his own in particular, I do not hesitate to say that it might be sent with impunity, even at the present juncture, and without the smallest risk of giving offence. Remember that an evasive reply, or a reluctance to answer obvious and intentional misrepresentation, is always remembered by an Oriental, and will assuredly be brought up at a later date by the Amir as a proof of our incapacity to confute an argument in which he had proved the victor. Nevertheless, I do not wish to pit my experience of Asia and Asiatics, such as it is, against the views of the Cabinet, and my telegram to you of this morning will have shown that I shall continue to maintain the same cautious attitude towards the Amir until our present troubles are over.

Importation of Arms into Afghanistan.

As regards the importation of Arms, however, I must tell you frankly that I cannot permanently, or for any long time, acquiesce in the present conditions. As long as they last I am week by week, and month by month, incurring the very responsibility which is now being laid at the door of those who are taunted with having allowed the Transvaal to be converted into one vast arsenal, literally under our eyes. In my opinion, every rifle and cartridge,

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and shell and quick-firing gun, that now finds its way under our auspices into Afghanistan, is more likely to be used against us in the future than against the Russians; and serious indeed would be the responsibility of any Viceroy, and perhaps more especially of myself, who continued quietly to blink his eyes to such a situation, and did not warn the Government at home of what would some day come. I send you as an enclosure with this letter a statement of the total munitions of war that so far as we know have been imported into Afghanistan since the table was drawn up that was included in our despatch of last summer. I beg of you to bear the question in mind, and to remember that, while we are extricating ourselves from a false position in South Africa, we are steadily, and with our eyes open, engaged in creating an analogous one in Central Asia. I daresay that subsequent papers from home will tell me whether you have ascertained anything about the telegram to a Liverpool firm that was interrupted at Aden, and that contained a mysterious reference to ammunition for the Amir.

[Enclosure.]

Reinforcements for S. Africa from India.

Our telegraphic correspondence has also turned upon additional reinforcements for South Africa from India. I made the offer that I did in the main on Imperial grounds; and because I feel that if, by the loan to you of Indian troops, we could prevent the fall of Ladysmith or Kimberley, we should be saving India from the not insignificant political consequences that may ensue, even in this country, from a disaster at either of those places. But I also made it for a number of other reasons; partly because I believe that our cavalry are the very body of men that you want for the job in South Africa, partly because I think that their employment in this war would lend a useful stimulus to the martial spirit of the Native Army, and partly, though this may surprise you, because I believe that it would be regarded as a great compliment, not merely by the Army itself, but by the bulk of the Native community in India. It might tend to some extent, of course, to give them an extreme idea of their own importance, but they have that already; and I have been astonished to note in the Native Press the loyal unanimity with which the question has been put why, when the Colonial offers are being accepted on all hands, India should not equally be allowed to bear a hand in the defence of the Empire. The racial considerations arising out of the conflict in South Africa, though they have been present to my mind, have not of course required to be considered by me; since this is manifestly the first and the principal point of view from which you will regard the matter at home. I am sorry to say that I am badly off for military advisers at the present moment. The Commander-in-Chief, who ought to be here at headquarters, is reclining in a steamer somewhere on the Irrawaddy, and does not return for another three weeks; while his right hand man, the Adjutant-General, Sir W. Nicholson, has just accepted a position on Lord Roberts' Staff, and will be off in a few days for the Cape. The remainder of the military authorities

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here, although men of much worth and integrity, are, unhappily, not conspicuous for intelligence.

Tour.

My tour which is just over has been the longest, and unquestionably the most laborious, that any Viceroy has undertaken during the past 20 years. It has been a source of great interest and pleasure and of much instruction to myself; and I hope that I may have done some good in the places which I have visited. The Press, both Native and European, have been generous in their appreciation of what I have attempted to do; and after the long and tedious inaction of Simla I myself had the sensations of an old war horse, in once again finding myself on the field of action.

Relations between the Maharaja of Jodhpur and Sir Pertab Singh.

While at Agra, I remembered a request which you addressed to me many months ago to make some inquiry into the disagreement between the young Maharaja of Jodhpur and his uncle, Sir Pertab Singh. I talked very plainly to the latter, and asked the brave old fellow what it was all about, and whether the breach could not be repaired. He said it was all due to a Kashmir official whom he had himself been foolish enough to bring into the country, and who by way of fortifying his own position was now constantly engaged in sowing discontent between the nephew and himself. I believe, indeed, that, but for this stupid jealousy, fomented no doubt by the intrigues of local officials, the relations between the two, who are really fond of each other, would be perfectly friendly. I told Sir Pertab that it was not a matter in which, as Viceroy, I could possibly interfere, but that he had better go to the Maharaja, in a frank and friendly way, and have it out with him himself. I think the whole affair is rather a storm in a tea-cup, which can easily be composed. I invested the old gentleman with the C. B. at Agra, and made rather a show of the ceremony, which I performed in the big Durbar Tent before a large company. He was manifestly flattered, and went away as happy as a king.

Honours for Natives.

In my letter to the Queen this week I have somewhat elaborated the argument which I addressed to you in a telegram yesterday about Honours. No one can be more anxious than myself to give a fair and even generous share to natives; but I doubt if Her Majesty is altogether aware of the conditions that prevail here, or of the pitch to which this generosity has already been carried.

Famine: numbers on relief, &c.

In pursuance of what I said about famine last week, I have, immediately upon my return, had a consultation with Ibbetson and Holderness; have passed a letter to the various Local Governments, asking them to send us a detailed report of their situation and prospects in the second week in January, when the winter rains have, or should have, fallen, with a view to our making an official statement in Council as to the condition of affairs; and I have further instructed Holderness to draw up a letter to the Local

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Governments, drawing attention to the different figures and proportions in receipt of relief in different parts of India, comparing them both with the rules laid down in the Famine Code, and with our experience in previous famines; suggesting to them that in some individual places greater stringency and supervision are required, and inviting them, in the light of the full and comparative knowledge with which we supply them, to report to us as to the method which they propose to adopt in the ensuing half-year. I did not like to blame even in any individual case, and thought that our admonition had better take the shape of an enquiry.

Rangoon outrage: disciplinary punishments.

I cannot offer an opinion myself upon what you describe as the double punishment proposed to be inflicted upon Rolland. I had nothing to do with this. It was proposed by the Commander-in-Chief upon his own initiative, and I accepted it upon his assurance that it was the requisite and proper punishment for a culpability about which I had no more doubt than he had. Two of the four civil officers whom we censured have sent in protests, and a demand for reconsideration; but they do not alter our view of the case, and we shall not recede from the decision already taken.

Lord Sandhurst's visit to Calcutta.

Release of the Natus.

Sandhurst arrives here the day after to-morrow on a week's visit, and will, I expect, be immensely pleased and excited at his release of the Natus, which is to take place on this very day. If any one had told me when I was fulminating at him from Simla last summer, that, in less than six months, he would be amicably staying with me at Calcutta, and would himself have proposed, and carried out, the release of the Natus, I should have been inclined to look upon him as demented. The Nizam of Hyderabad, and the whole party of Chiefs from the Hindu-Kush frontier arrive on the same day, as well as a number of guests who are coming to stay in this house; so that what with Christmas and the races, and the necessary receptions, ceremonies, and entertainments, next week will be a ceaseless round of functions.

The Nizam, Gilgit, and Chitral Chiefs.

Armament of the Native Army.

You asked me my opinion about the armament of the Native Army, and whether I agree with our Military authorities in thinking that a permanent disparity should be maintained between the weapon with which they are armed and that which is distributed to the British soldier. No, I think on the whole that I do not; and your view is the very one which I myself raised and put forward when we discussed the matter in Council. I raised it on the double ground that the time for the disparity had perhaps passed by, and that if we armed the Native troops, not with a separate weapon manufactured for themselves, but with the rifle now used by the British Army, both here and at home, there would be the further advantage that we should have a perpetual supply of these weapons from England, as they become superseded there, long before they are in reality worn out, by some newer and more scientific invention. Lockhart and Collen, however, attach much weight to the political argument, which of course has

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always been the accepted tradition of Indian officialism, while the main ground on which the former advocated the inferior weapon in this instance was the immense saving in cost. He thought there was some chance of getting the cheaper weapon and very little of getting the dearer, and that our prospects of realizing other and essential parts of our military programme, would be materially enhanced if we could economise in respect of the single loading rifle.

As soon as I have leisure, I hope to take up, and push on, the question of the revision of the Leave Rules; and some time next month I trust to be able to tackle the long delayed problem of the Frontier. Pending questions.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Three statements showing the amount of war material imported into Afghanistan.

No. 63.

To SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
December 21*st*, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I have no time today in which to answer your last letter, for which please accept my thanks. But I enclose a statement, drawn up in our Thagi and Dacoity Department, which may interest both the Secretary of State and yourself, inasmuch as it was elicited by a note originally sent out to me by him. Native Chiefs and Congress.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Extract from C. S. B. Abstract of Intelligence No. 47 of 6th December 1899, regarding donations from Native Chiefs in aid of the National Congress movement.

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No. 64.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
December 28th, 1899.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Work in Calcutta.

Since I returned to Calcutta my life has been what some character in Dickens (I forget who) described as one dem'd horrid grind. For the first five days I was unable to get out of the house, and even now things are scarcely better. We are entertaining a party of 26 people in Government House, including the Sandhursts. I have the Nizam and the whole of the Hindu-Kush Chiefs in Calcutta; immense State functions or entertainments go on almost every day and night, and the pile of papers in arrears that stands upon my table is already mountain high. It is almost a holiday to sit for half an hour in a chair and dictate this letter to you.

Relief for families of officers in Africa.

British troops from India for S. Africa.

In reply to a suggestion made in your last letter of December 7th, I will see that instructions are given about relief to the families of officers serving in the war in the manner indicated by you. I am glad that we have been able to be of assistance to you in respect of further reinforcements. It is a very difficult question to decide up to what point the temporary reduction of the British garrison in India can be carried with impunity; all the more so in the present case, since the scope and application of the word 'temporary' are themselves open to doubt. Our former hopes of recovering the force that we originally lent to you early in the New Year have completely vanished; and it looks now as if a campaign of several months was before the British forces. I should like to mention to you that the Native Press in India have with scarcely an exception shown a most exemplary and gratifying loyalty with regard to the war. Now and then one detects a note of veiled irony, but, on the whole, the criticisms that I read are both friendly and discriminating. There is considerable annoyance that no Native troops are sent, on the ground that it implies a distrust of their loyalty and a derogation of the great position that India holds in the Empire. But the courage of our officers is admired, the blunders of our Generals are condoned, and the ultimate victory of the British arms is regarded as certain. I am utilising your request for 2,000 horses to make large indents upon the Imperial Service Cavalry. It will rejoice those Chiefs who are keen about their regiments, will stimulate those who are not, and will be a source of relief in States which are suffering gravely from famine.

Attitude of the Native Press on Transvaal War.

Horses for S. Africa.

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Speaking of famine I may mention that the letter of admonition and inquiry which I told you that we were about to send out to the Local Governments, suggesting a more stringent and economical supervision of relief work, has been drawn up in most excellent form by Holderness, who is one of the few men in our departments capable of writing a good despatch, and has just gone out. No doubt a copy will be forwarded to you. Letter to Local Governments.

You would scarcely believe it, but I received, in a letter from the Queen last week, a statement drawn up and presented to her by Dr. Story, whom I believe you met at Balmoral, which I can only characterise as of the most shameless and mendacious description. He repeats in it all the misstatements and unfounded charges, which have been exploded and shattered many times, and he has, of course, without difficulty, poisoned the mind of Her Majesty upon the subject. I shall be compelled to write to the Queen a refutation of his remarks which, while composed with as much moderation as I can command, must, of necessity, be somewhat severe. I suppose we must regard this as the last shot of a defeated combatant; but astonishing to me as are the lengths to which history teaches that the *odium theologicum* can go, I have not personally come across any case in which it would seem to have so completely warped the character and veracity of a presumably high-minded man. Use of Established Churches in India. Dr. Story's statement to the Queen.

There was some little delay in releasing the Natus, because the District officer who had to carry out the orders of Government was away in the *mofussil*. But it was not an unfortunate result that they were actually let out on Christmas Eve. The Native Press attribute the release, or at any rate its occurrence at the present juncture, to the presence of Sandhurst here, and of course in Congress circles, and in the Deccan, there is great jubilation. Release of the Natus.

I am not, myself, familiar, other than by general hearsay with the Kholapur case, but Sandhurst, who is fortifying himself with papers, without which he does not find it easy to discuss any topic connected with his Government, is coming to have a talk with me about it, and I will endeavour, both from him, and from other sources, to get to the bottom of the matter before I send you an opinion. The Kholapur case.

I am glad to learn that I was misinformed about the Akalkot case. Strange to say the information that was given to me at Poona emanated from three independent quarters prominently connected with the case, and I was even shown the person who was alleged to have been the channel by which influence was brought to bear. I will not carry the matter any further, since the decision is one that clearly cannot be revised, and since, as your statement shows, it had behind it a weight of authority in the opinion of your Council, as well as in your own, which entitles it to the utmost respect. The Akalkot case.

I am glad to say that I have been able to persuade Sir John Woodburn to find a place in the Provincial Service for young Roy, the son of a Native Case of Jotindra Nath Roy.

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Judge, about whom we have corresponded; although in the interval between the dictation of the above words, and their submission to me in proof, I regret to add that the father has been in to see Lawrence and to tell him that the offer will be declined. Both father and son have had their heads absolutely turned by the adulation of the Native Press; and the father talks and writes as though the boy ought almost to be made a Collector straight off.

Rangoon Outrage case.

I expressed regret, in a recent letter, that you had not seen the civil aspect of the Rangoon case. The papers have now gone home to you; and on further perusal, if you have time to look at them, you will find that very interesting sidelights are thrown upon the military apathy and incapacity which you have hitherto seen, for the most part, defended or censured from the military point of view. I think that the story of the civilians, damaging as it is to themselves, will confirm the worst impressions that, like myself, you appear to have derived from the case as reported in its military aspect.

Negotiations with Tibet.

Our first attempt to come to close quarters, without the medium of the Chinese, with the Dalai Llama of Tibet has not been a success. We employed a Native emissary to sound him as to whether he would be willing to send a man to discuss the frontier question quietly with us at the boundary. He replied that he would like to do so, but dare not for fear of the Chinese Amban. Thus we find ourselves once again in a vicious circle; the Tibetans playing off the Amban in explanation of their own reluctance; the Amban playing off the Tibetans in explanation of his failure. I shall not cease to make further attempts; but the prospect is not very encouraging.

Dthali.

I have been having a rather voluminous telegraphic correspondence with you over a wretched little place called Dthali in the *hinterland* of Aden. It is difficult at a distance to appraise the value of the factor of prestige, which, of course, according to the Resident, is the main consideration at stake. The case is complicated by the different attitudes, as regards the absorption of the Amiri country, which have been taken up by successive Residents. General Jopp was dead against it in 1895; the present man is as keenly for it. But the question is one which it is almost impossible to settle offhand, and I could make no better suggestion than the one which I submitted to you by telegraph.

Sir A. Trevor.

I cannot, so far, congratulate myself upon much success in my attempt to regulate the social dispensations of my recalcitrant Colleague. In spite of the very clear intimation of my opinions that was conveyed to him, and of the acquiescence in them of all the remaining Members of Council, he has taken up his quarters in the Club, and evidently proposes to remain there. This is a step on his part which, while it provokes no personal resentment in my mind, is nevertheless in the nature of a defiance and obviously renders the social relations between us rather strained. I doubt if the position

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can be indefinitely maintained, and unless he proposes to modify it when we go to Simla, I should not be surprised if I were at that time to lose his services.

I am delighted to hear that you have formed a favourable opinion of Law. It seems to be shared by Godley, and gives me some confidence in the more positive attitude that I took up about him when we were discussing his appointment some months ago. Sir F. Law.

I send you an enclosure which, I am sure, will be of interest. It is a letter which has been sent out by Wedderburn at home to the Congress people here, complaining of their imperfect pecuniary appreciation of the services of himself and his paper. It will, I hope, be a source to you of equal amusement and delight. It was procured for me by our Secret Intelligence Department. Sir W. Wedderburn's letter to the Congress in India.

With reference to the Muscat arms, and the Minute of Sir John Edge, I cannot, without reference to the papers, say whether we have ever hitherto taken up the position of having acted as agents for the Sultan of Muscat when we seized the arms in the *Baluchistan*; but in our letter of the 7th October to Meade, of which you have a copy, we went a long way towards carrying out the suggestion which Edge now makes, and which, I suppose, will reappear in your Despatch, the only difference being that we there indicated the probability of a preferential claim on the part of the Sultan to a *share* of the arms, or of their value, instead of to the whole. In the same letter we went far towards meeting Edge's second point by declaring our willingness to recognise the Sultan's right to a predominant share in the disposition and value of all arms, which, through his cooperation, might be seized in Muscat waters, while in course of being smuggled in Native vessels across to the Persian or Mekran Coast. A subsequent letter, dated 4th December, from Meade to us, contains the information that the first of these two intimations has been made by him to the Sultan, but that he did not think it advisable at present to make any declaration to him of the character indicated in the second. Meanwhile I will have the matter gone into here, so as to be ready for your Despatch when it arrives. Muscat arms question.

Believe me
yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Copy of a Circular letter from the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, dated London, the 13th October 1899, to the Secretary and Members of the Standing Congress Committees in India, asking for payment of subscriptions for the support of the British Committee.

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No. 65.

To SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K. C. B., Under Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;

December 28th, 1899.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I have a few words only to say, suggested by recent and still unanswered letters from you.

Sir F. Law.

I am pleased to hear of your favourable impressions of Law. Whilst one cannot fairly estimate either character, or intelligence, from a couple of interviews, one is yet enabled to place a man in a definite perspective, to see how he himself regards the particular task for which he has been selected, and to form a general idea both as to temperament and attitude of mind. Law has written to me in a very pleasant and encouraging vein.

Military Decentralisation Scheme.

I am much obliged for your notes about the Decentralisation Committee, and for the copy of Brackenbury's letter and Memorandum. I confess that I am very much puzzled by the opposing experience and advice of my various counsellors. Brackenbury says that in India we have nothing to learn from War Office Finance. Burnett, who has experience of both, says that we have everything to learn. The one says: 'For Heaven's sake do not get a financial expert from home;' the other says: 'Without him you will do nothing.' I must have a talk over the whole matter with Dawkins, and will revert to it in a subsequent letter.

Irregularities in the Home Dept.

Resolution on Education.

I have sometimes, in my letters to you and to the Secretary of State, complained of the extraordinary proceedings that go on in the Government of India. The Departments have been so used to go their own way, expecting nothing more from the Viceroy than the confirmatory initial, that it is with difficulty that some of them can be persuaded to understand that the Viceroy has any interest in anything except the Political Department and Foreign Affairs. You have perhaps been reading in the home newspapers, and you might certainly have spent whole days in reading in the Native newspapers, articles, comments, and criticisms upon 'Lord Curzon's new Education policy,' 'Scathing condemnation of the Local Governments,' 'The new broom at work,' and so on. Would you believe that the Order of the Government of India to which they refer was issued without ever being submitted to me? We had had a long departmental note written upon Cotton's Quinquennial Report, and upon

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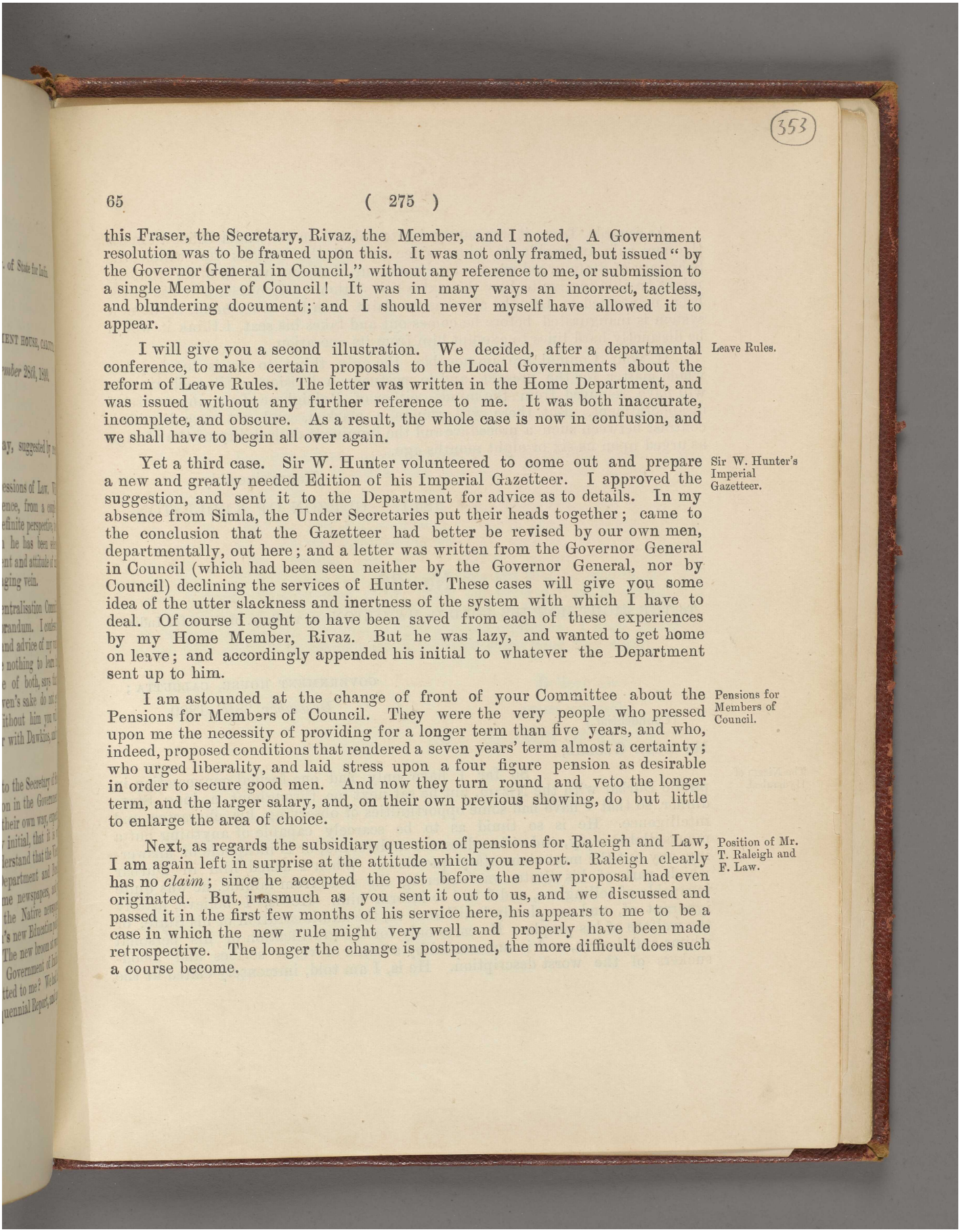

this Fraser, the Secretary, Rivaz, the Member, and I noted. A Government resolution was to be framed upon this. It was not only framed, but issued "by the Governor General in Council," without any reference to me, or submission to a single Member of Council! It was in many ways an incorrect, tactless, and blundering document; and I should never myself have allowed it to appear.

Leave Rules.

I will give you a second illustration. We decided, after a departmental conference, to make certain proposals to the Local Governments about the reform of Leave Rules. The letter was written in the Home Department, and was issued without any further reference to me. It was both inaccurate, incomplete, and obscure. As a result, the whole case is now in confusion, and we shall have to begin all over again.

Sir W. Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer.

Yet a third case. Sir W. Hunter volunteered to come out and prepare a new and greatly needed Edition of his Imperial Gazetteer. I approved the suggestion, and sent it to the Department for advice as to details. In my absence from Simla, the Under Secretaries put their heads together; came to the conclusion that the Gazetteer had better be revised by our own men, departmentally, out here; and a letter was written from the Governor General in Council (which had been seen neither by the Governor General, nor by Council) declining the services of Hunter. These cases will give you some idea of the utter slackness and inertness of the system with which I have to deal. Of course I ought to have been saved from each of these experiences by my Home Member, Rivaz. But he was lazy, and wanted to get home on leave; and accordingly appended his initial to whatever the Department sent up to him.

Pensions for Members of Council.

I am astounded at the change of front of your Committee about the Pensions for Members of Council. They were the very people who pressed upon me the necessity of providing for a longer term than five years, and who, indeed, proposed conditions that rendered a seven years' term almost a certainty; who urged liberality, and laid stress upon a four figure pension as desirable in order to secure good men. And now they turn round and veto the longer term, and the larger salary, and, on their own previous showing, do but little to enlarge the area of choice.

Position of Mr. T. Raleigh and F. Law.

Next, as regards the subsidiary question of pensions for Raleigh and Law, I am again left in surprise at the attitude which you report. Raleigh clearly has no *claim*; since he accepted the post before the new proposal had even originated. But, inasmuch as you sent it out to us, and we discussed and passed it in the first few months of his service here, his appears to me to be a case in which the new rule might very well and properly have been made retrospective. The longer the change is postponed, the more difficult does such a course become.

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As regards Law, it was surely contemplated in the India Office to make the new rule applicable to him; since one of the reasons for which the Secretary of State urged me to hurry on our decision was in order that he might be able to give to Law this extra temptation. Of course, if it has never been mentioned to Law, he also has no claim. On the other hand, if the new system is inaugurated before he comes out and takes his seat, I think it would be distinctly hard lines to exempt him from its operation.

If your Council are immovable, the only thing to do is to drop the whole matter for the present, and to postpone a decision until such time as will have removed from the minds, either of Raleigh or Law, any sense of disappointment. But there will remain a marked, and not very dignified, contrast between such a procedure and the imminent desirability of the change as urged upon us six or eight months ago.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

No. 66.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD G. HAMILTON, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
December 28th, 1899.

[Confidential.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Nizam of Hyderabad.

So far I have only had one formal conversation in public Durbar with the Nizam, but he sat next me throughout a long State dinner, so that I have had some opportunities of observing his character and intelligence. He is so timid as to be scarcely capable of anything but a monosyllabic reply, and either does not understand, or is incapable of answering, any but the most elementary questions. When I asked him in Durbar which part of his State was suffering the most from famine, he was quite incapable of telling me, and I had to inform him. He is, I believe, utterly ignorant of, and completely indifferent to, the administration of his State, or the welfare of his people. He cares only for the gratification of his personal whims and desires, and is surrounded by a horde of venal scribes and blood-suckers of the worst description. He is, I am told, immensely elated at the

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attention I have paid to him, and at the civility which I have shown in Calcutta; and I shall probably have to take him down a peg or two when I get him in this room for the private conversation which is to take place on Saturday. But one thing is quite clear. It is wholly useless talking to him about any intricate problem of State. He would be quite incapable of understanding the Berar question, and would probably go into a fit if it were raised. On the other hand, there is this compensation that he is equally incapable of raising it himself. I must use my opportunity to impress upon him, with as much friendliness, but, nevertheless, with as much authority as I can, the simplest obligations of his position, which may be described as reasonable economy in his private expenditure, loyal support of his Minister, and some interest in the education of his son.

My plan with these Chiefs, as far as possible, is, in the first place, to win their confidence, and then to speak with firmness. It is clear, however, that not much will ever be done with Hyderabad as long as this cringing little mortal is upon the throne, and it is indeed a come down from the great days of old to find that the first Mahommedan Prince in India is an insignificant little creature who is almost frightened at his own shadow, who is wrapped up in sloth in the seraglio, and who is scarcely capable of an intelligent conversation. Nevertheless, it is of course important that he should be well disposed towards Government rather than the reverse; that he should look upon the Viceroy as his friend, even if his mentor, and that there should exist between them the bond of personal contact and acquaintance. I hope, therefore, that the visit will not be thrown away, and that some good may result.

Believe me
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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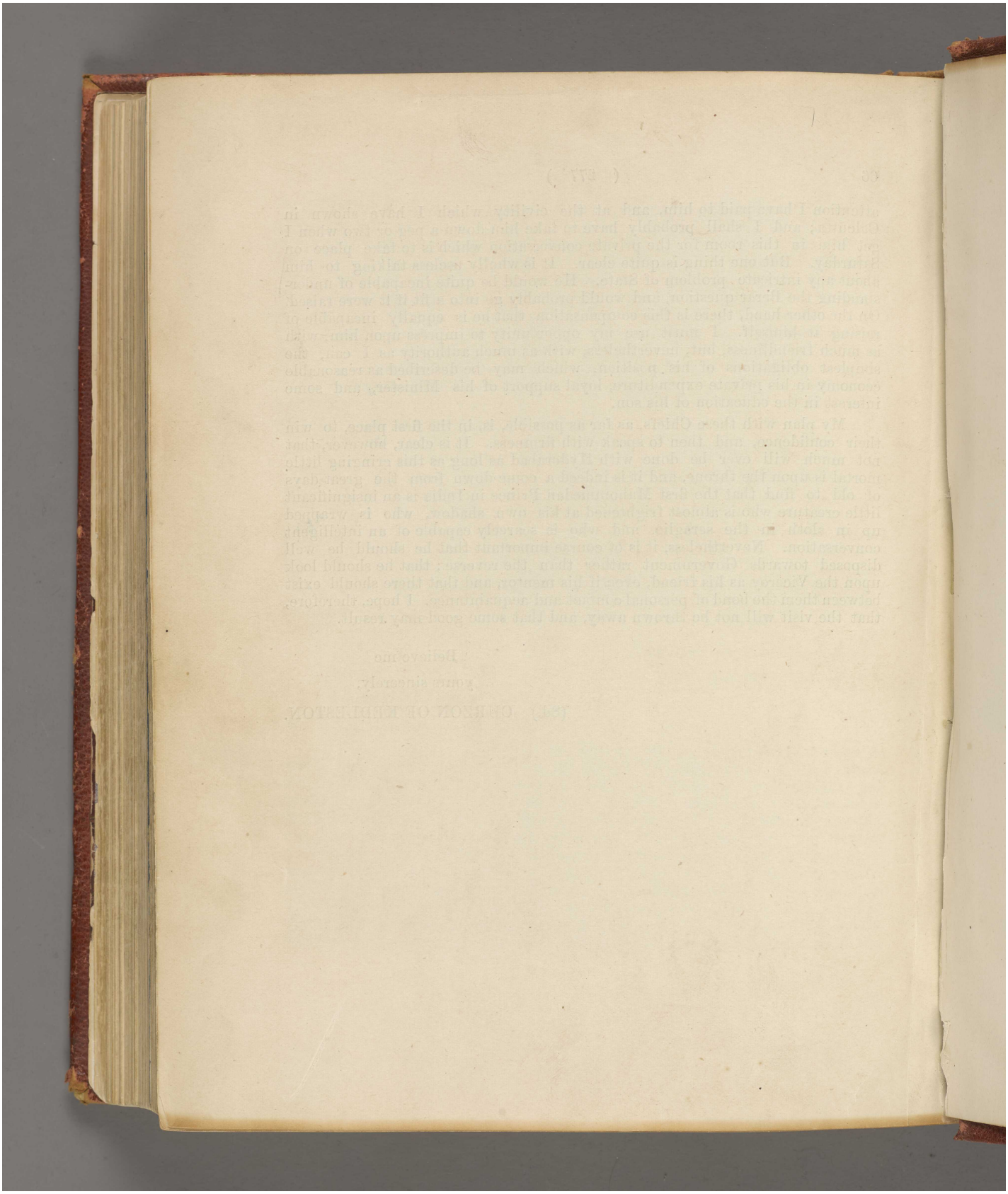

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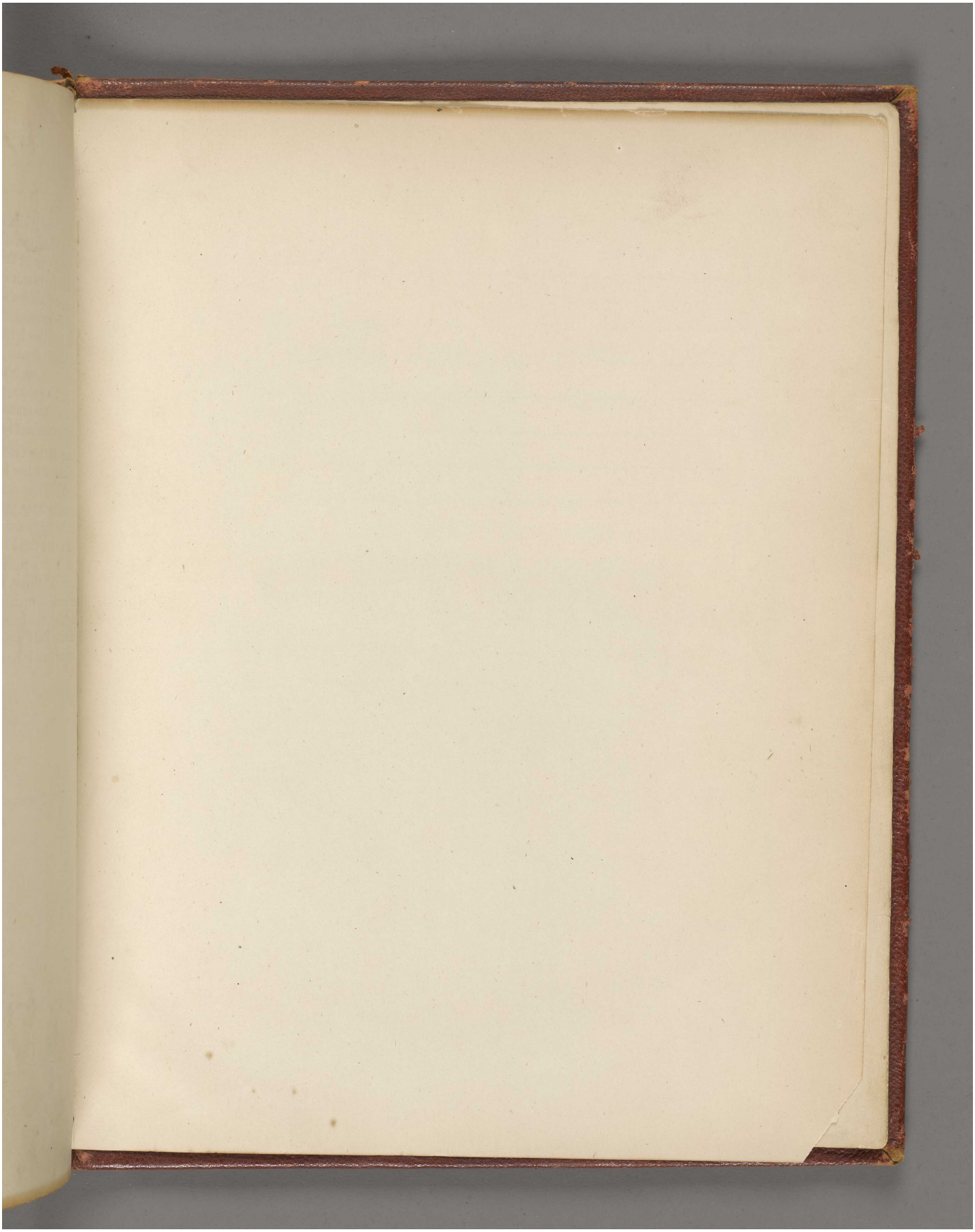

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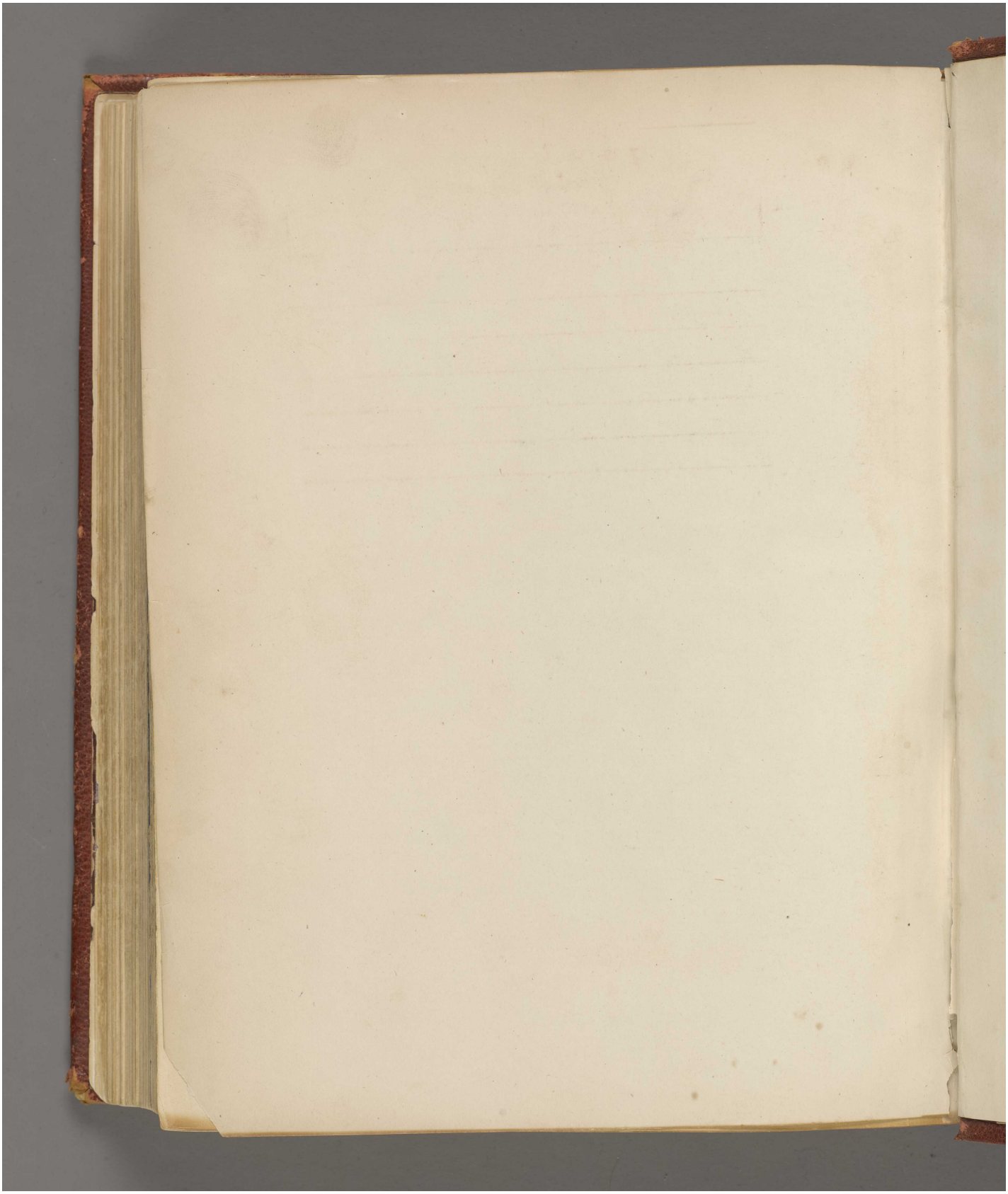

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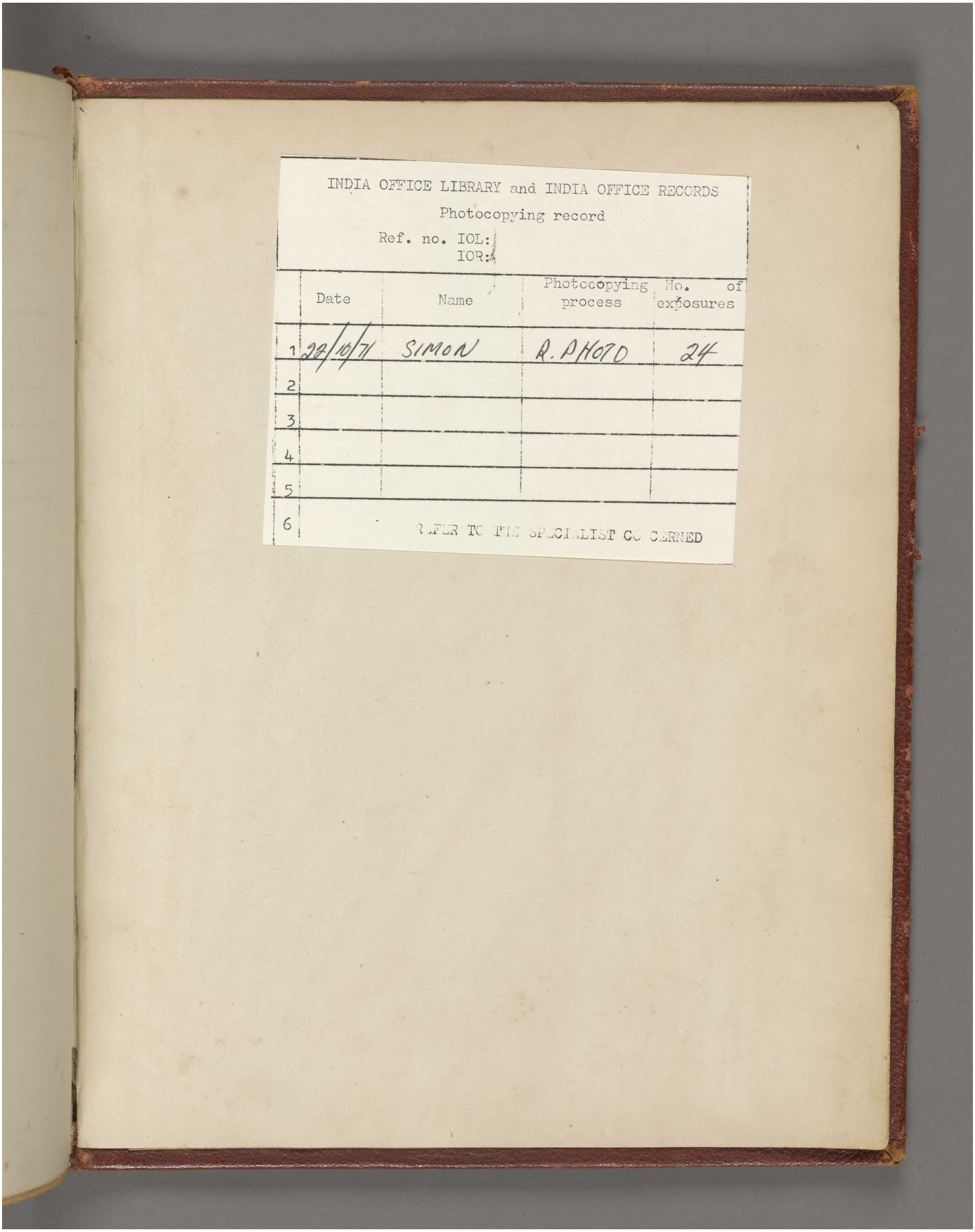

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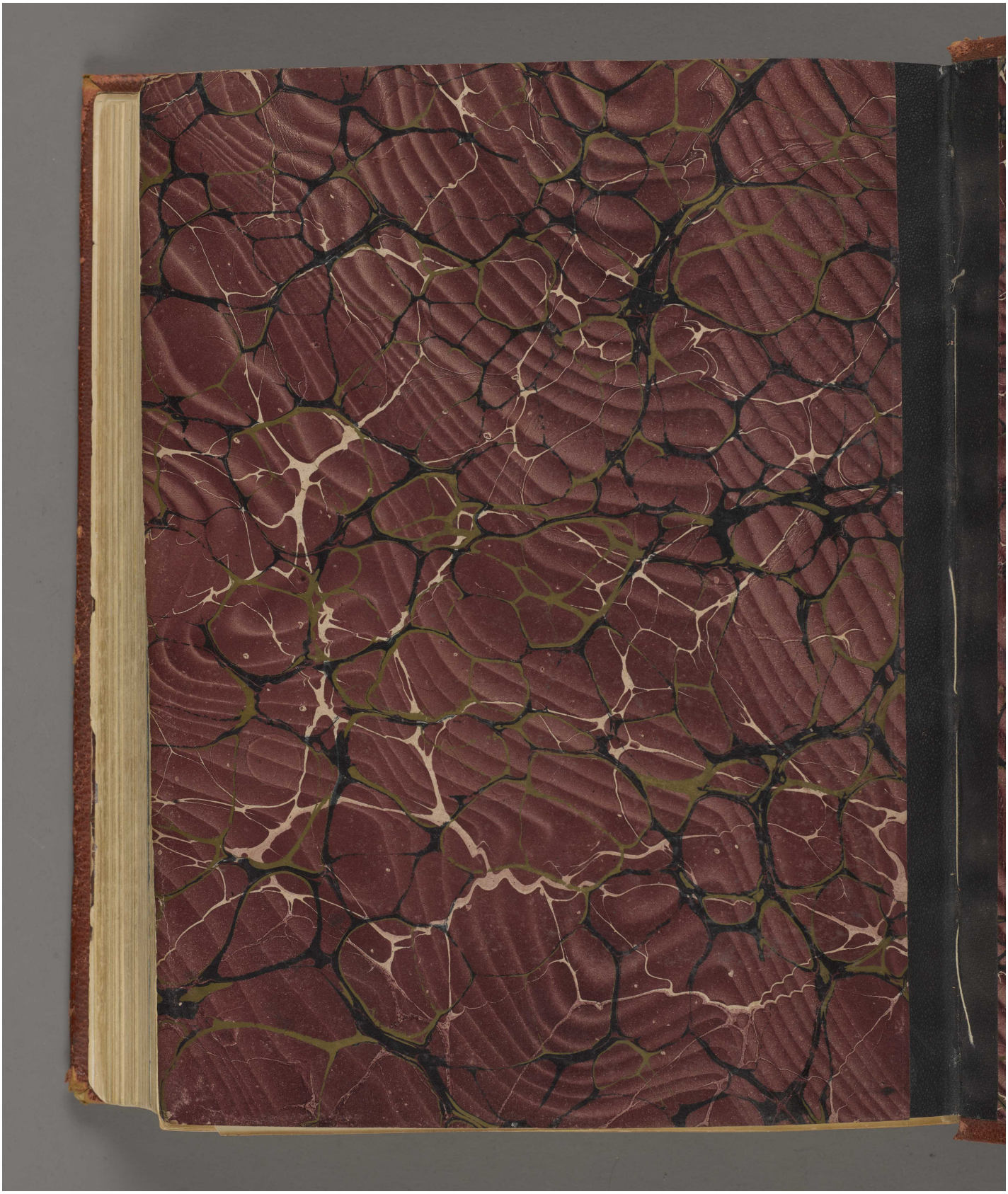

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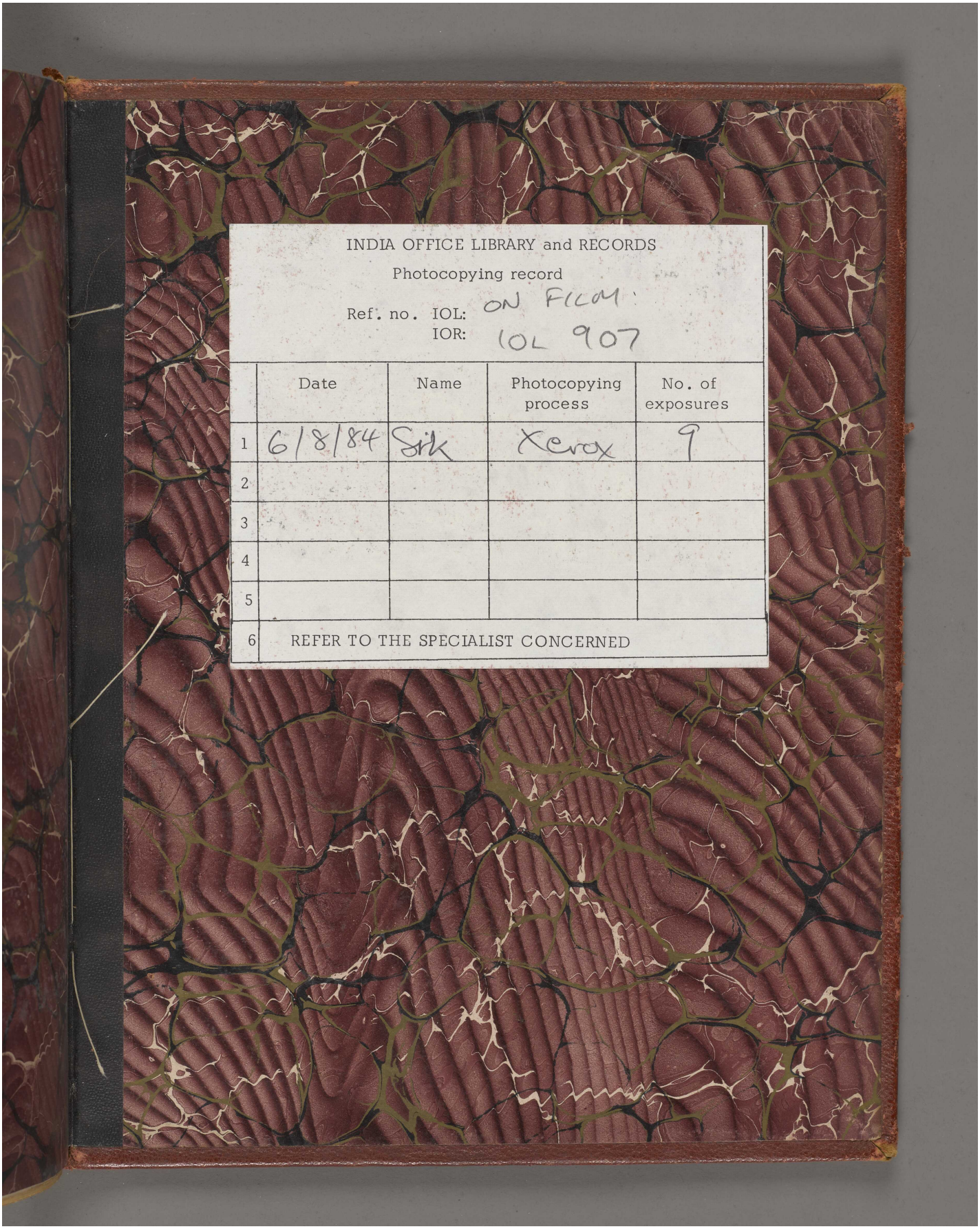

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