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'1904-05. THE LORD CURZON. CORRESPONDENCE WITH SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. BALFOUR, LORD LANSDOWNE, SIR A. GODLEY, &c.; COMMENCING FROM DECEMBER 1904.'

Holding Institution	British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers
Reference	Mss Eur F111/164
Date(s)	1906? (CE, Gregorian)
Written in	English in Latin
Extent and Format	1 volume (169 folios)
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About this record

This volume comprises printed copies of correspondence, dated 2 December 1904-2 November 1905, of Lord Curzon
of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, primarily with: Arthur Balfour, Prime Minister; the Marquess of Lansdowne, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; St John Brodrick, Secretary of State for India; and Sir Arthur Godley, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India. The letters were printed by the press of the Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

The beginning of the volume contains a detailed index of names, places and subjects (ff 5-13). This is followed by letters to Lord Curzon, numbered 1-57 (ff 16-77) and letters from Lord Curzon, numbered 1-53 (ff 81-165). Letters to Lord Curzon sometimes include enclosures which are printed in full. Enclosures in letters from Lord Curzon are not printed in full, only describing the sender, type of document (e.g. letter, extract of a newspaper) and the date.

Much of the correspondence covers subjects related to British India, including:

• The 1905 Partition of Bengal • The Indian
Army and military matters • Financial and administrative matters •

Military and civil appointments • Local affairs in various Provinces and Princely States • Recommendations and awards of Honours of the United Kingdom to members of the British Indian Army and Government and to indigenous Indian rulers and dignitaries • Construction and extension of railways • Proposed amendments to the Government of India Act 1858 • Arrangements for a tour of British India by the Prince and Princess of Wales • An earthquake in Punjab Province [in present-day Himachal Pradesh] on 4 April 1905 • Matters relating to the activities of the Viceroy of India.

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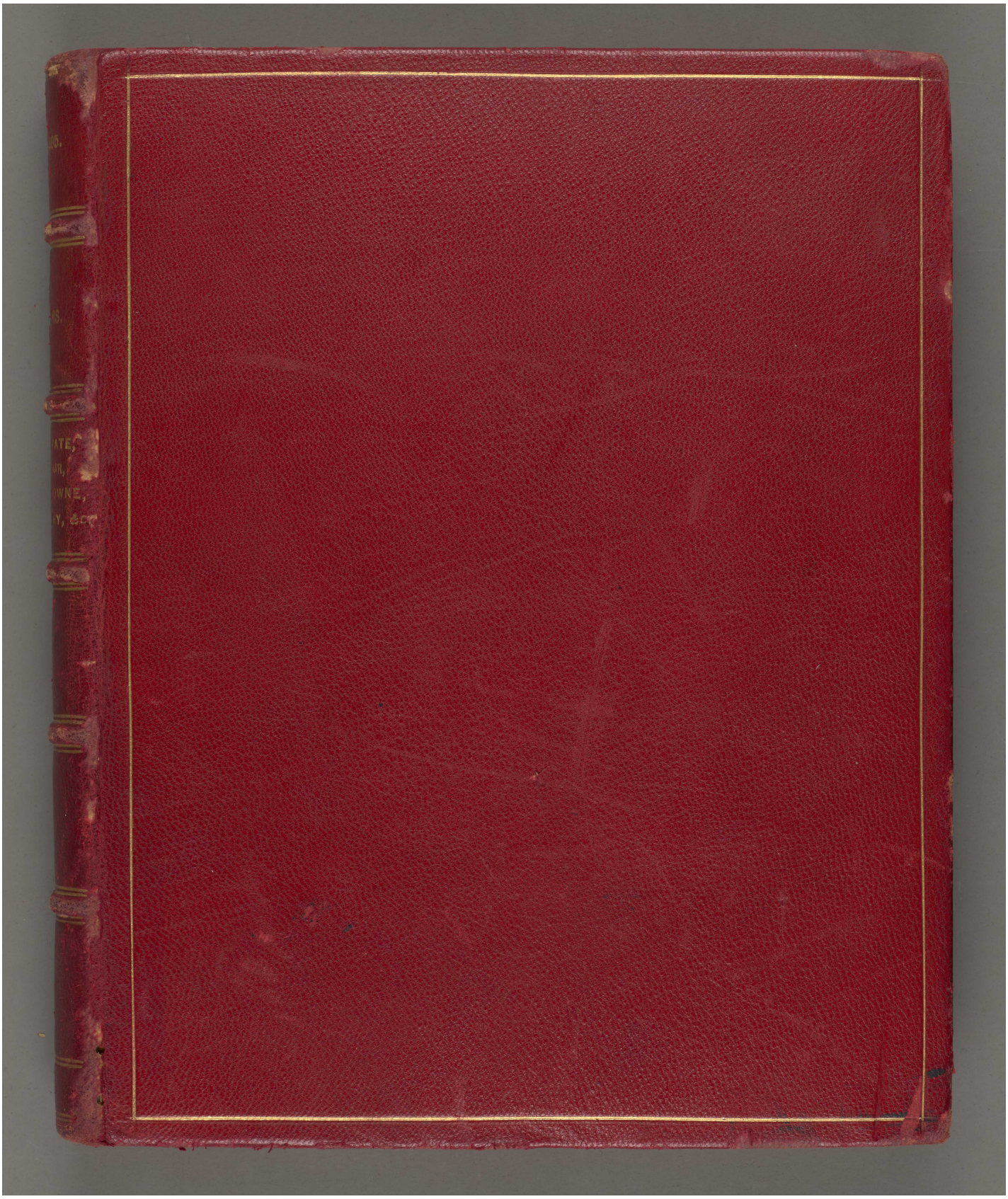
Other subjects covered include:

• The Dane Mission to Afghanistan to negotiate a treaty with the Amir [Ḥabībballāh Khān] • The aftermath of the Younghusband Expedition [British Expedition to Tibet], including negotiations for a treaty with China regarding Tibet • The appointment of Sir Herbert Thirkell White as Lieutenant Governor of Burma [Myanmar] • Matters relating to the Aden Protectorate • British policy in the Persian Gulf, particularly in relation to the hoisting of flags on the Musandim [Musandam] Peninsula • Reports of events involving Russia, including the Russian Revolution of 1905 and a decisive naval defeat by Japan [Battle of Tsushima].

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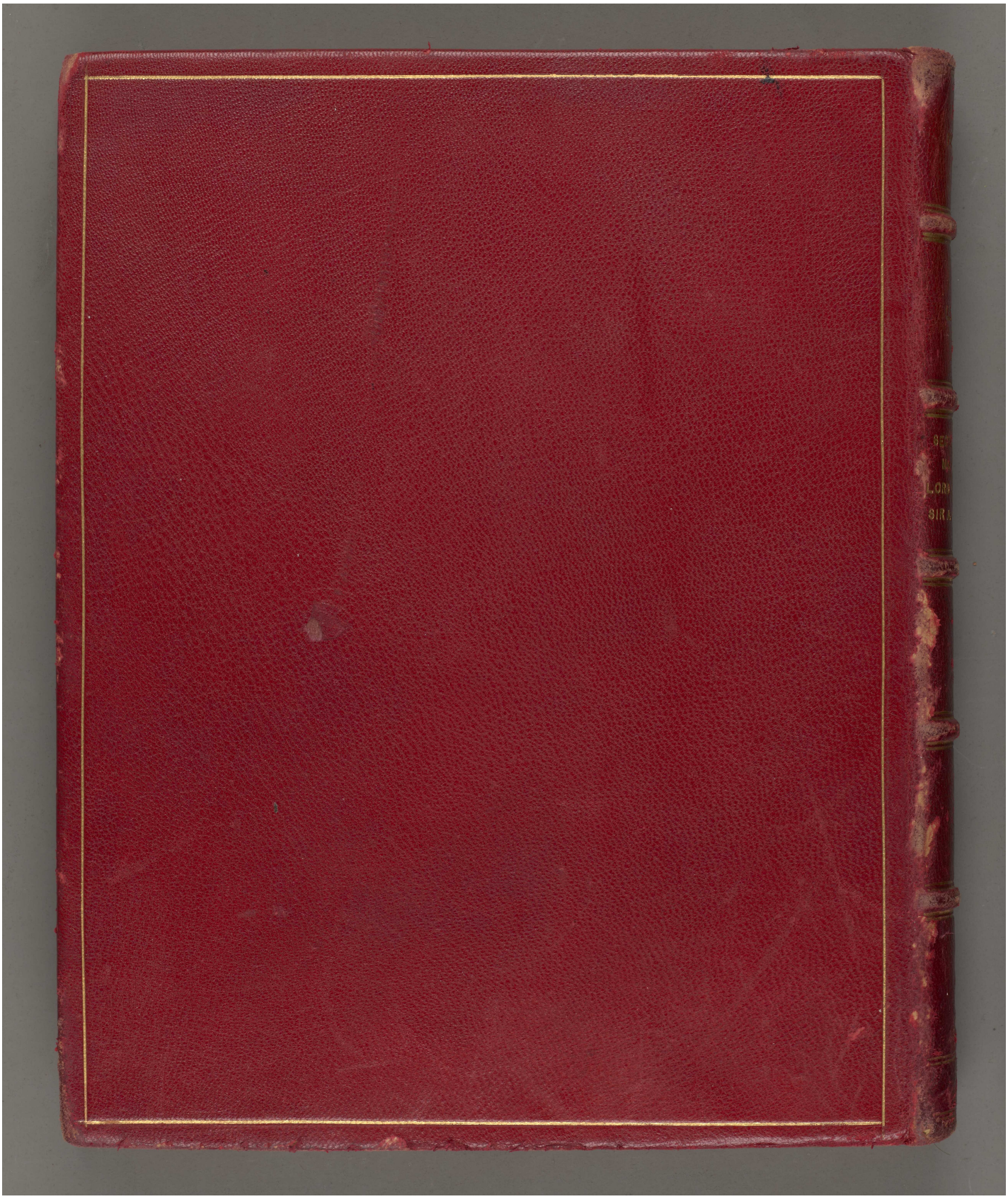
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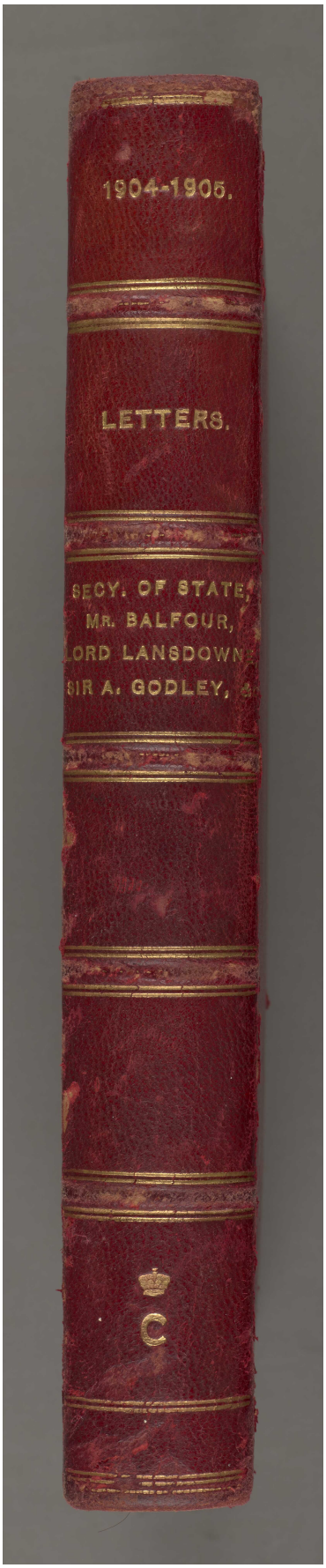
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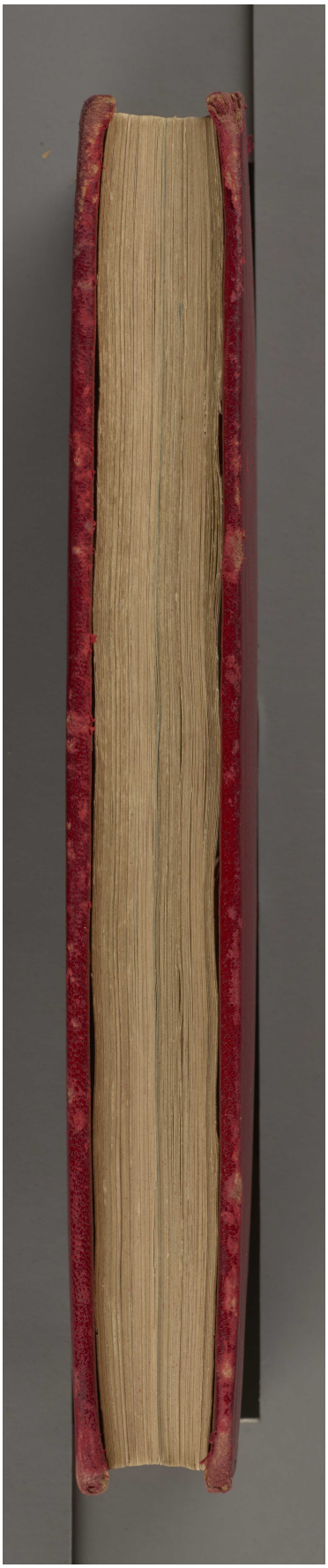
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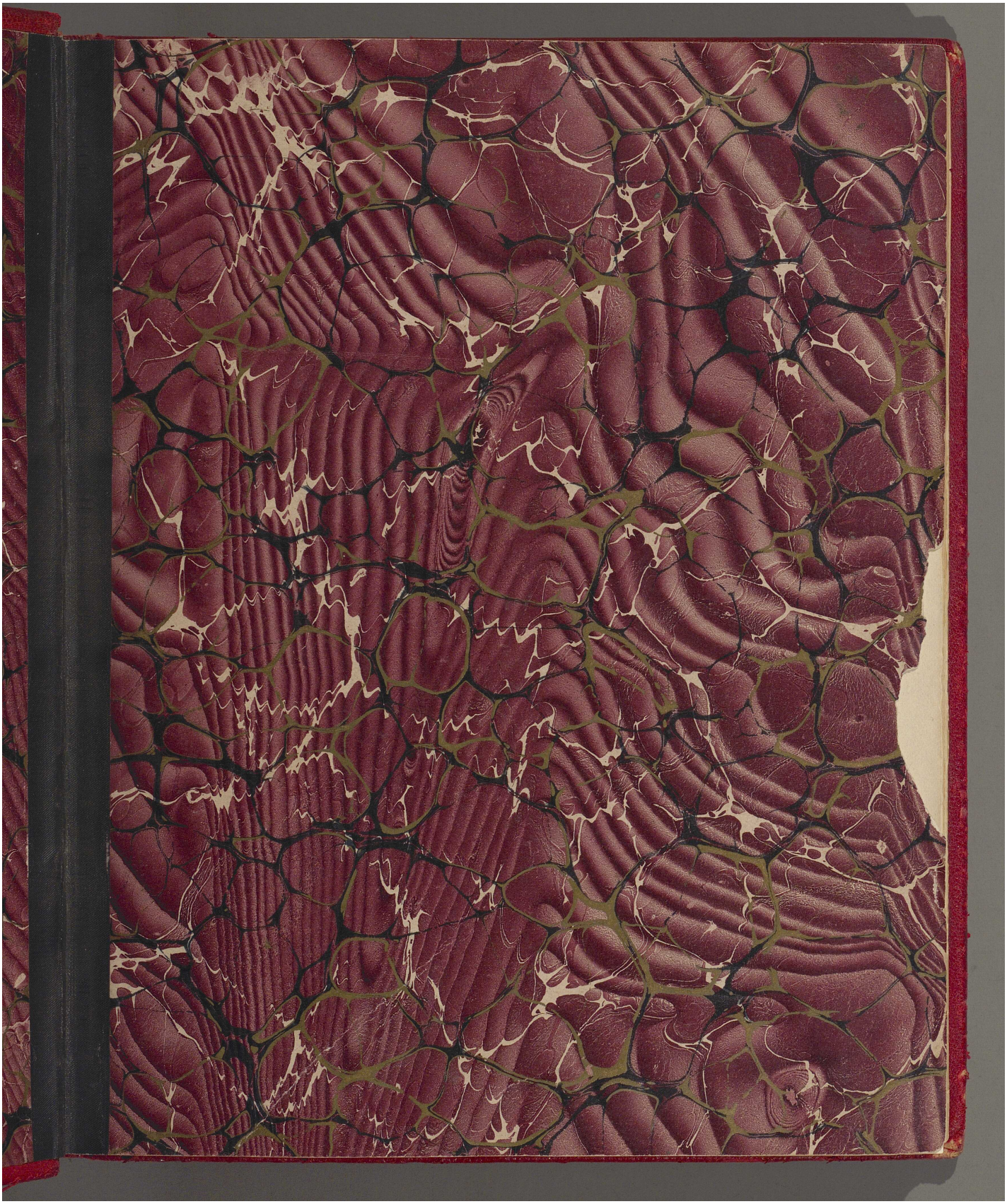


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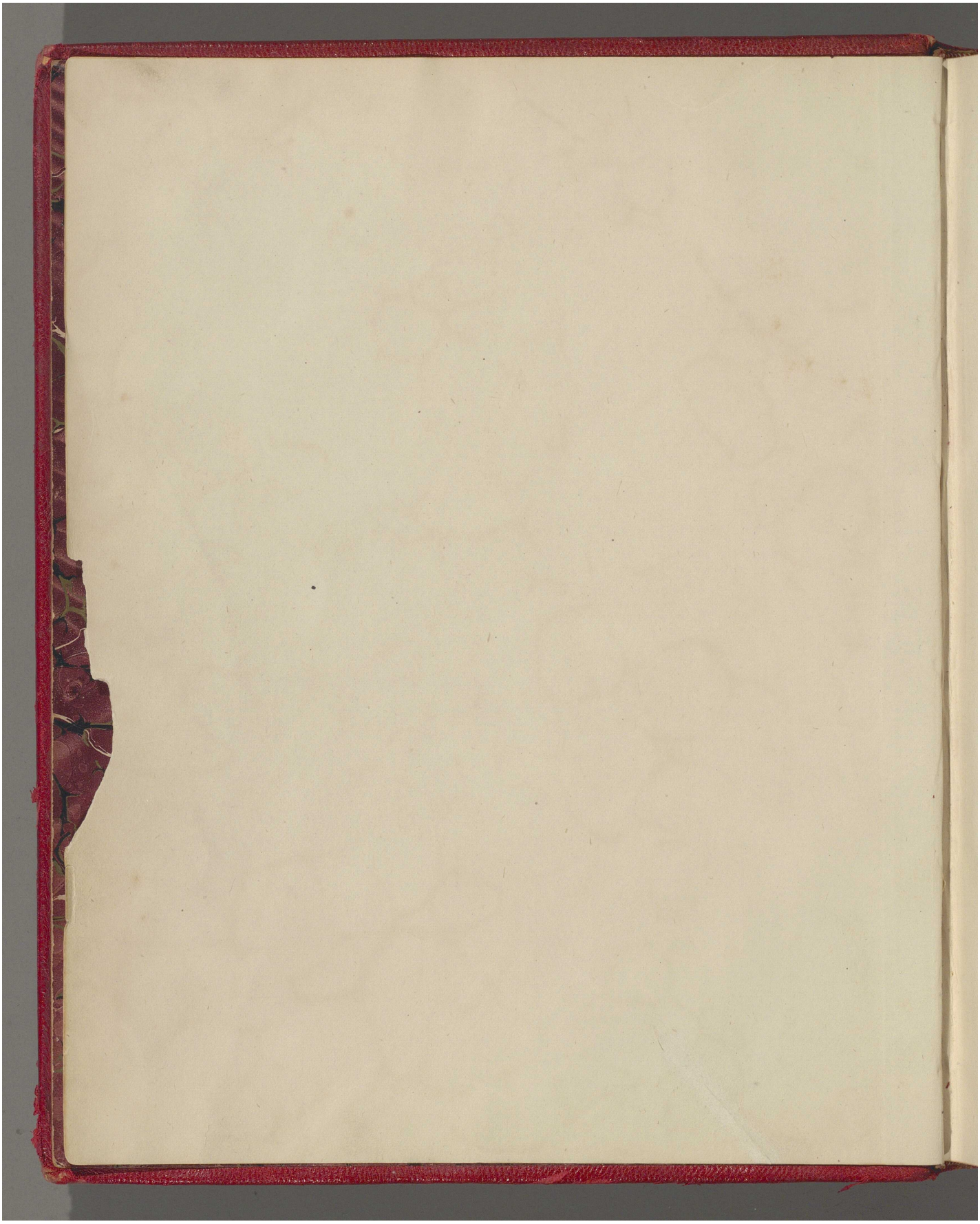
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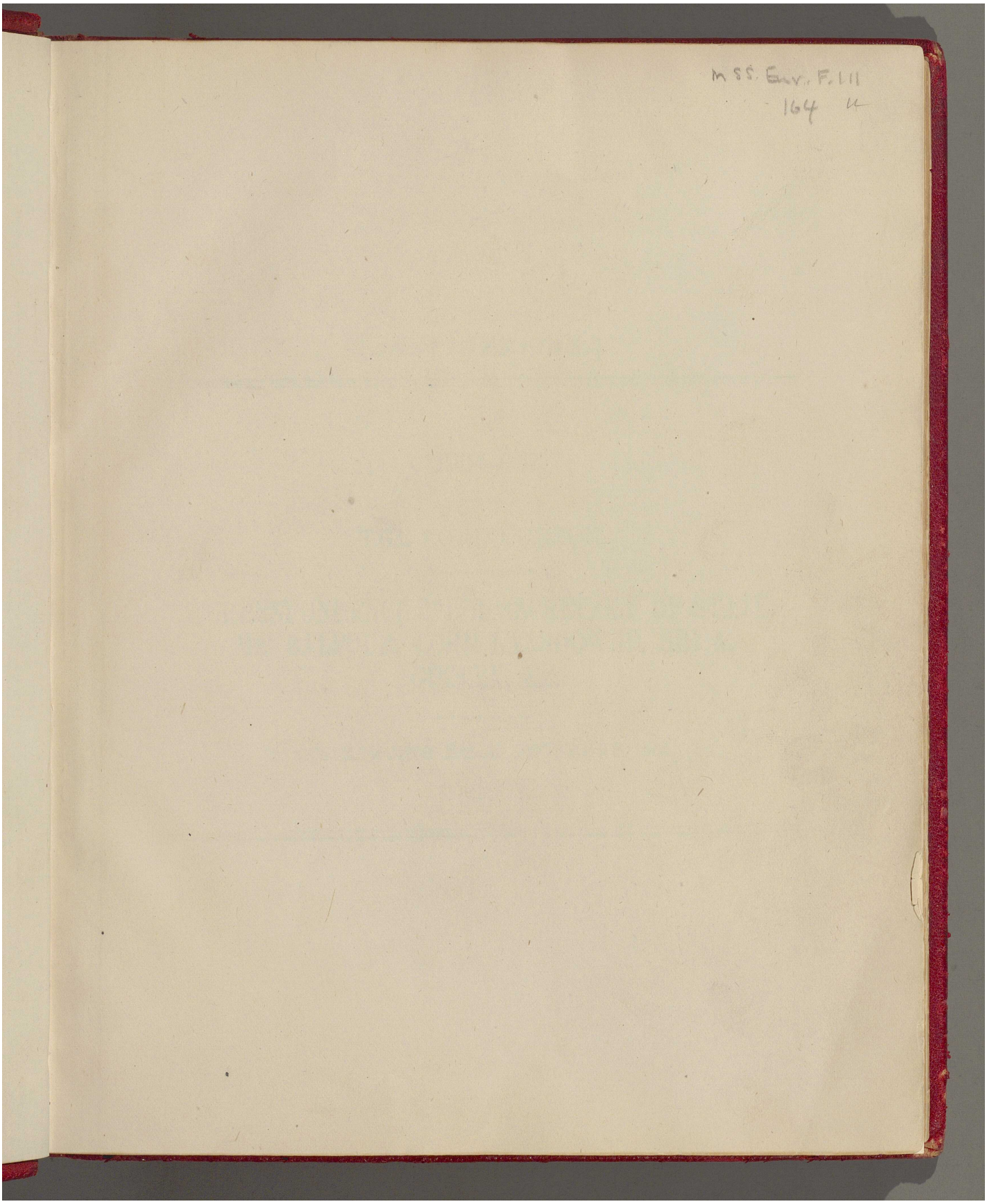
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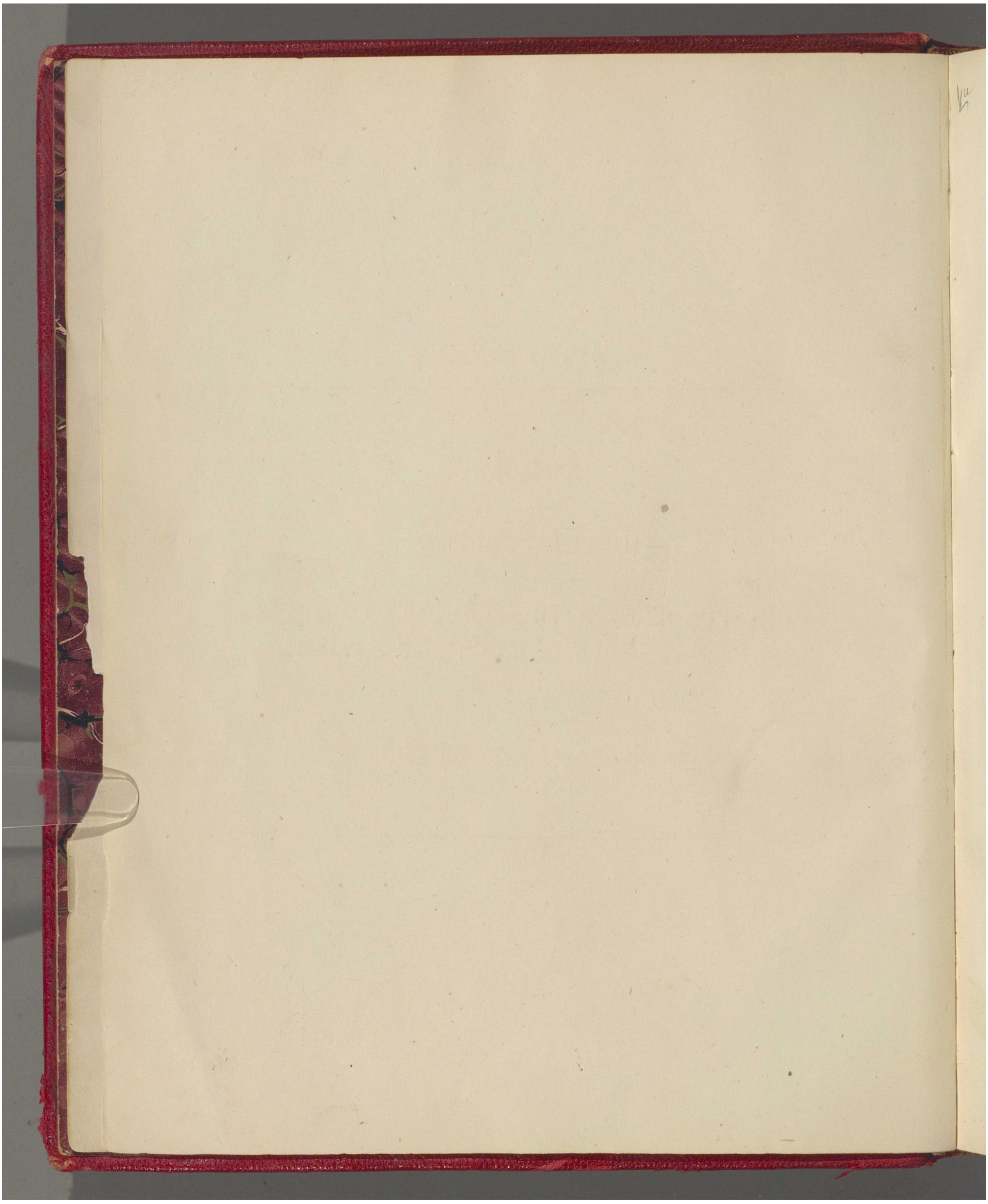
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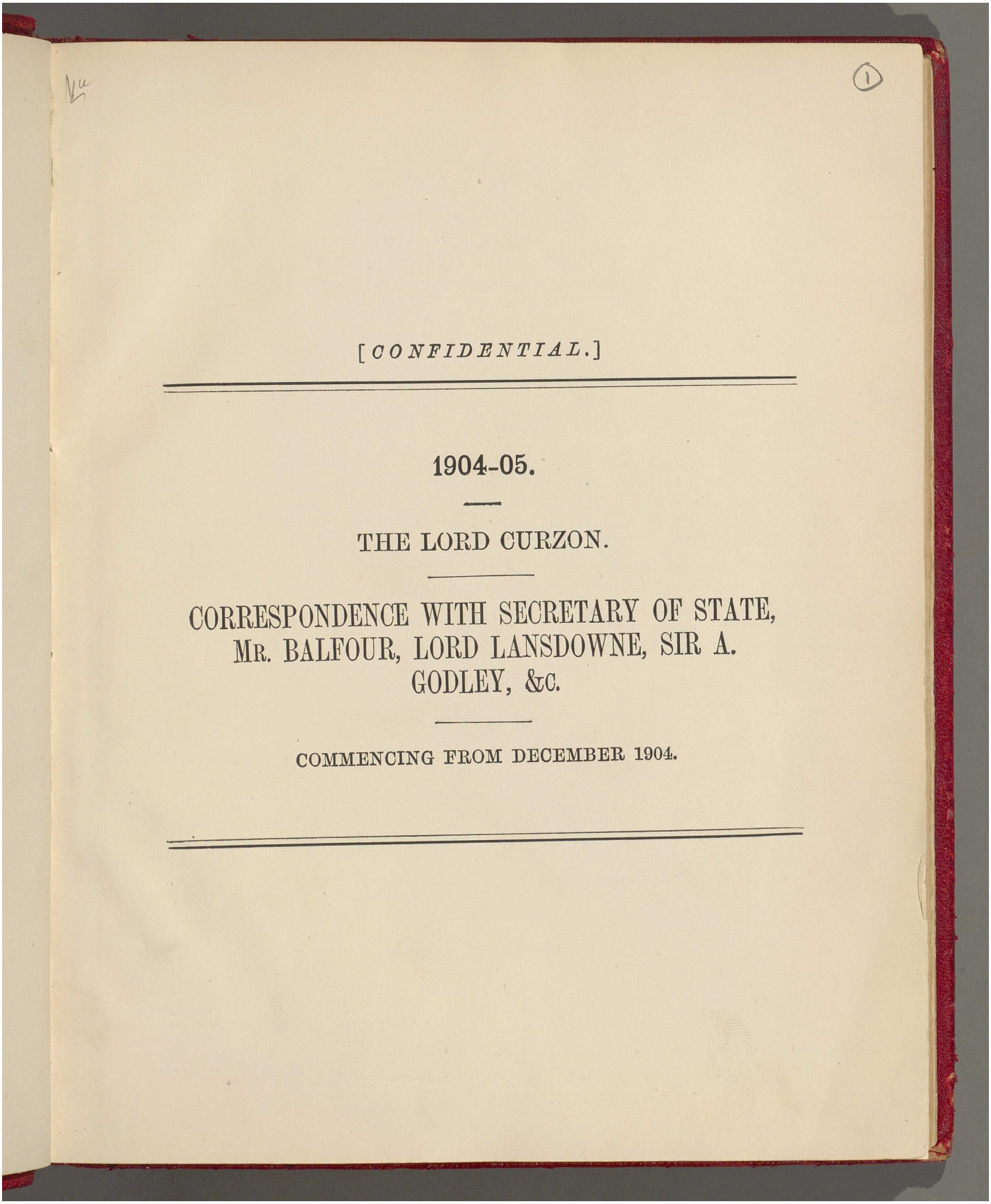
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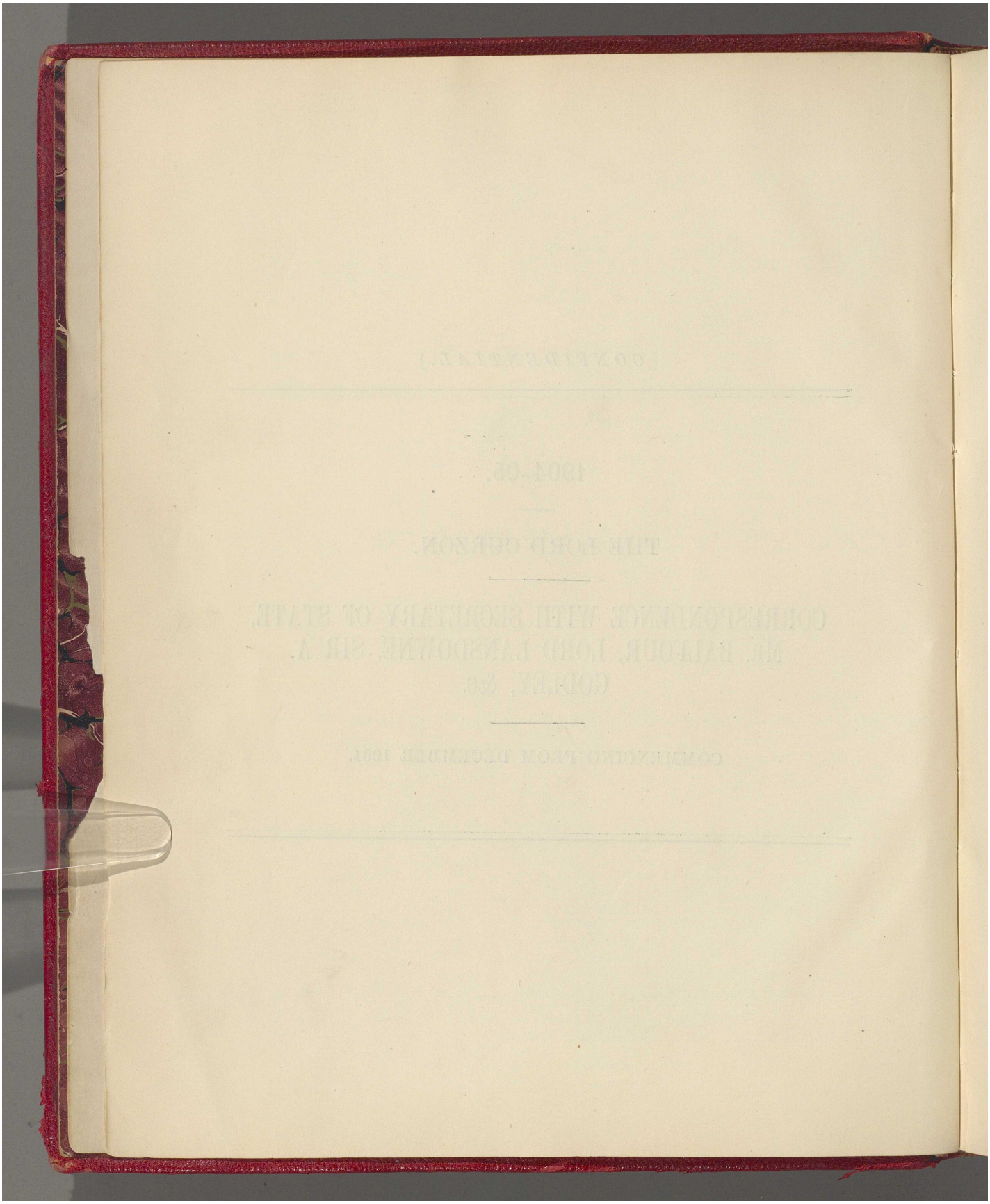
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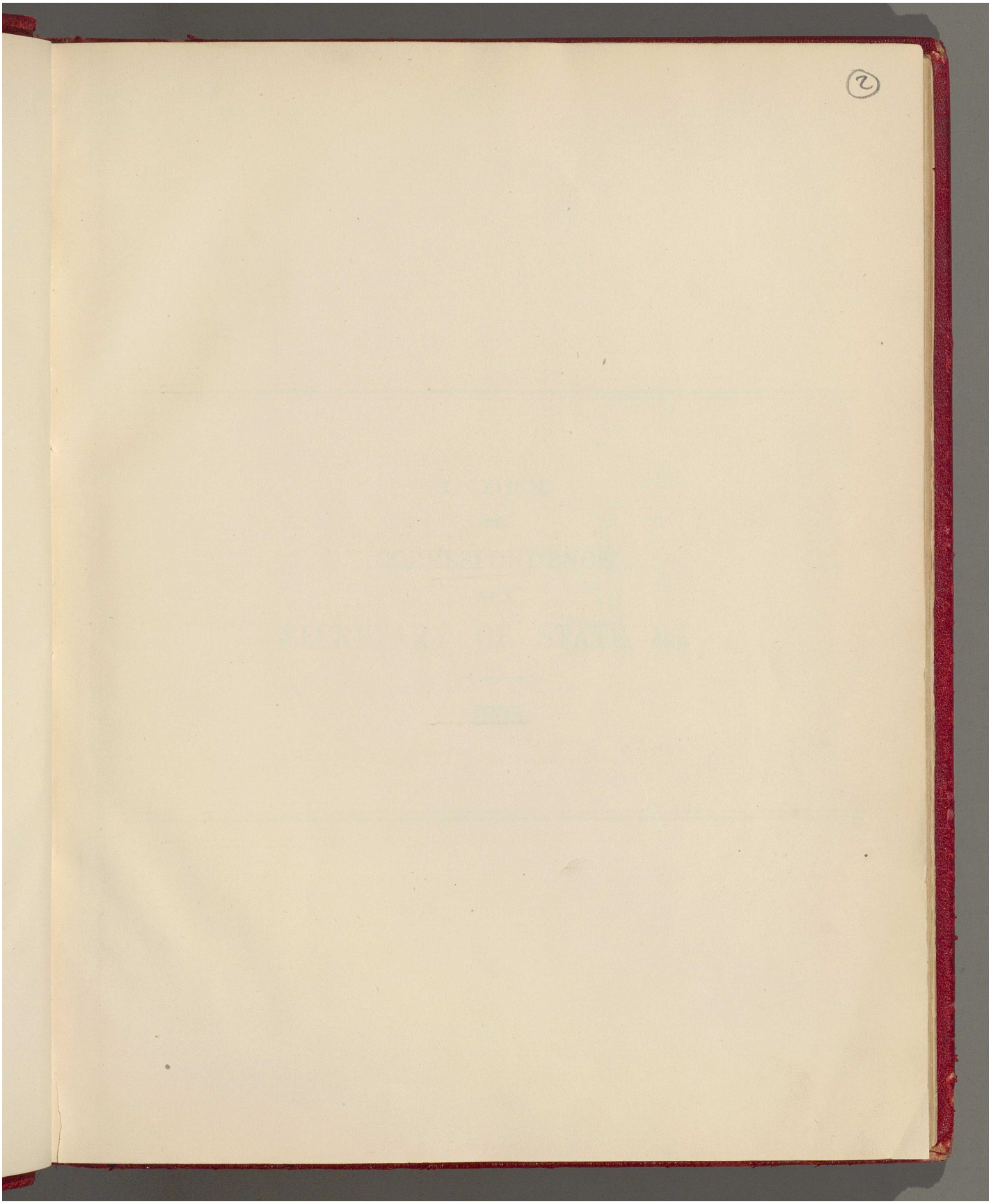
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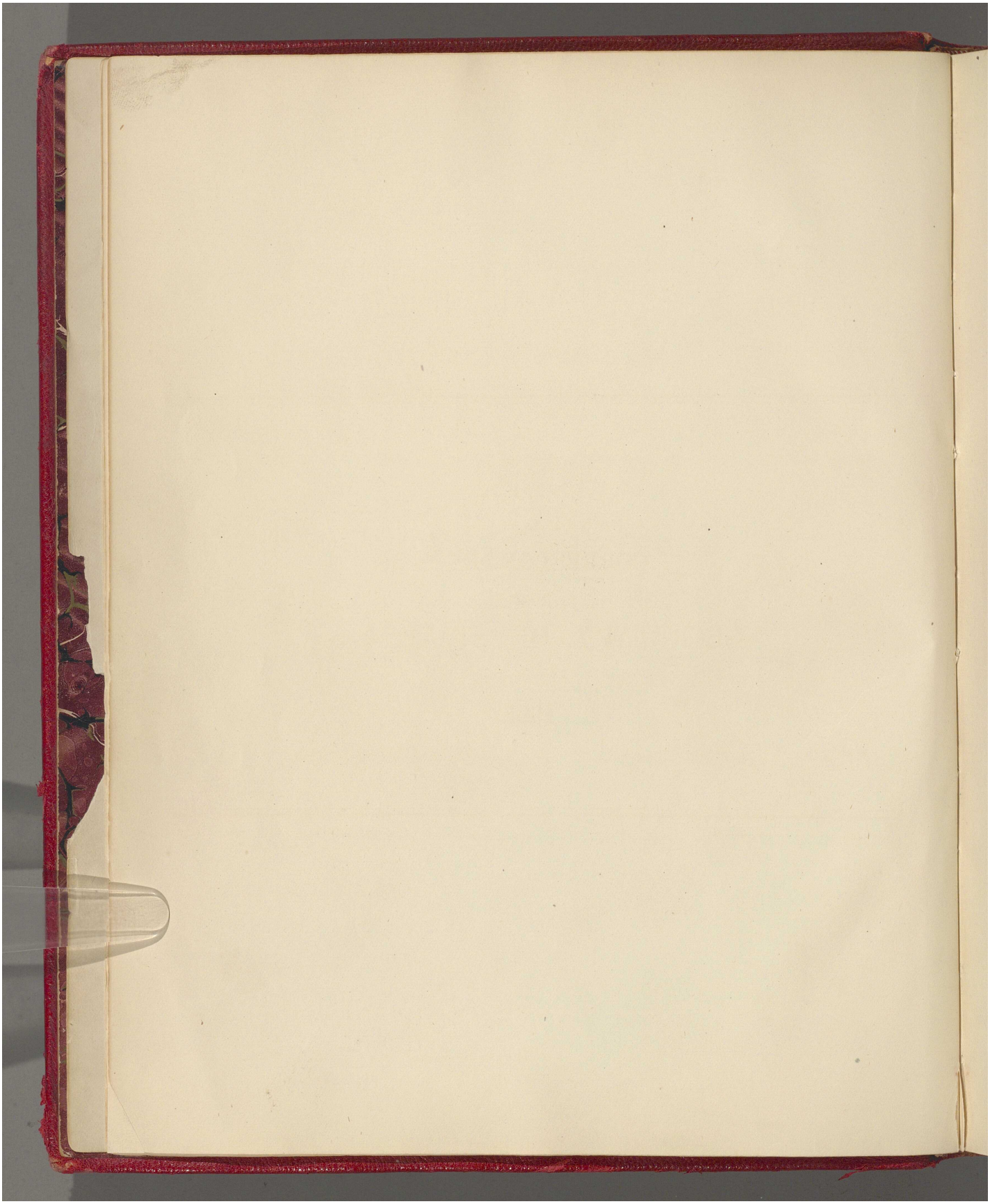
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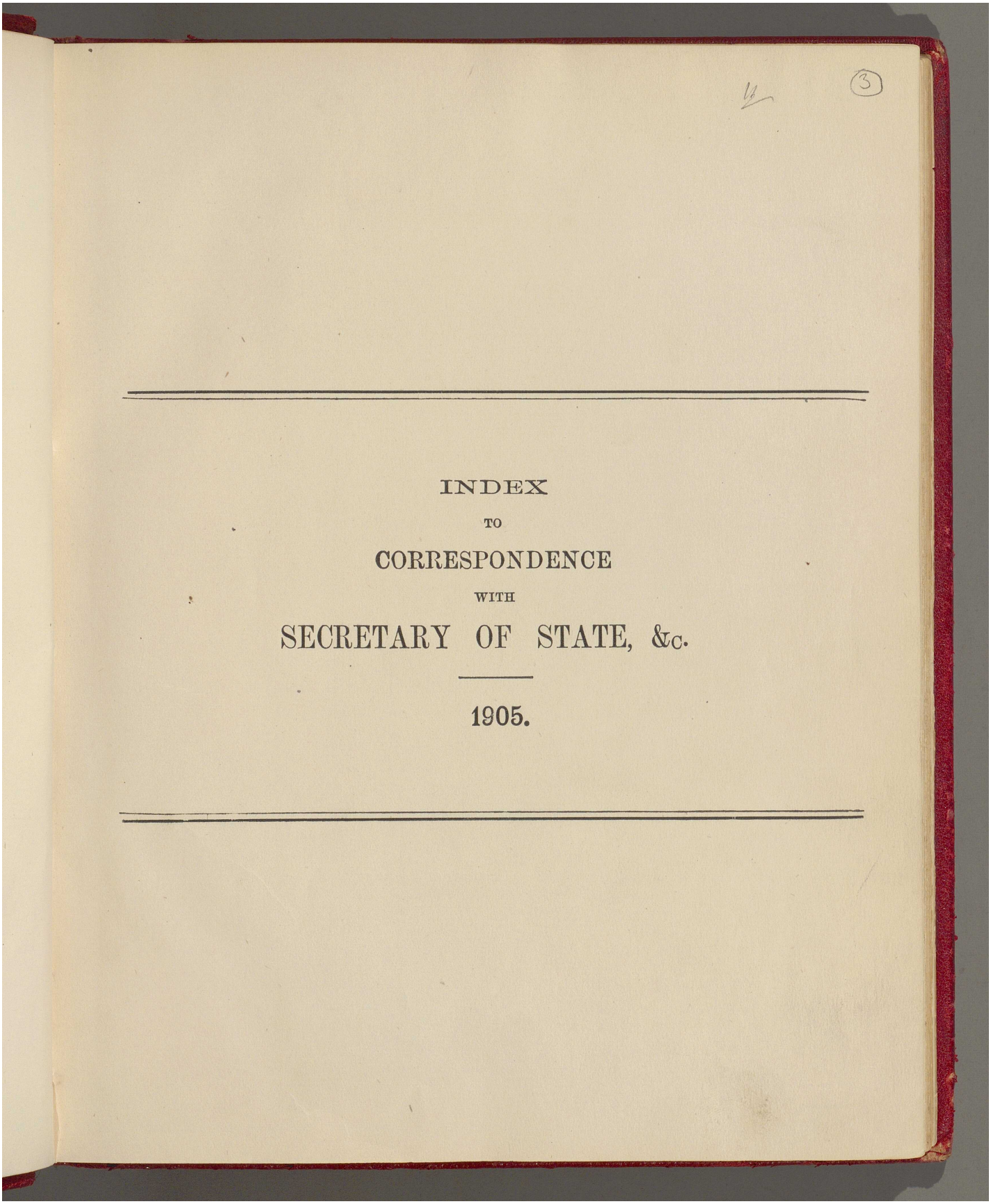






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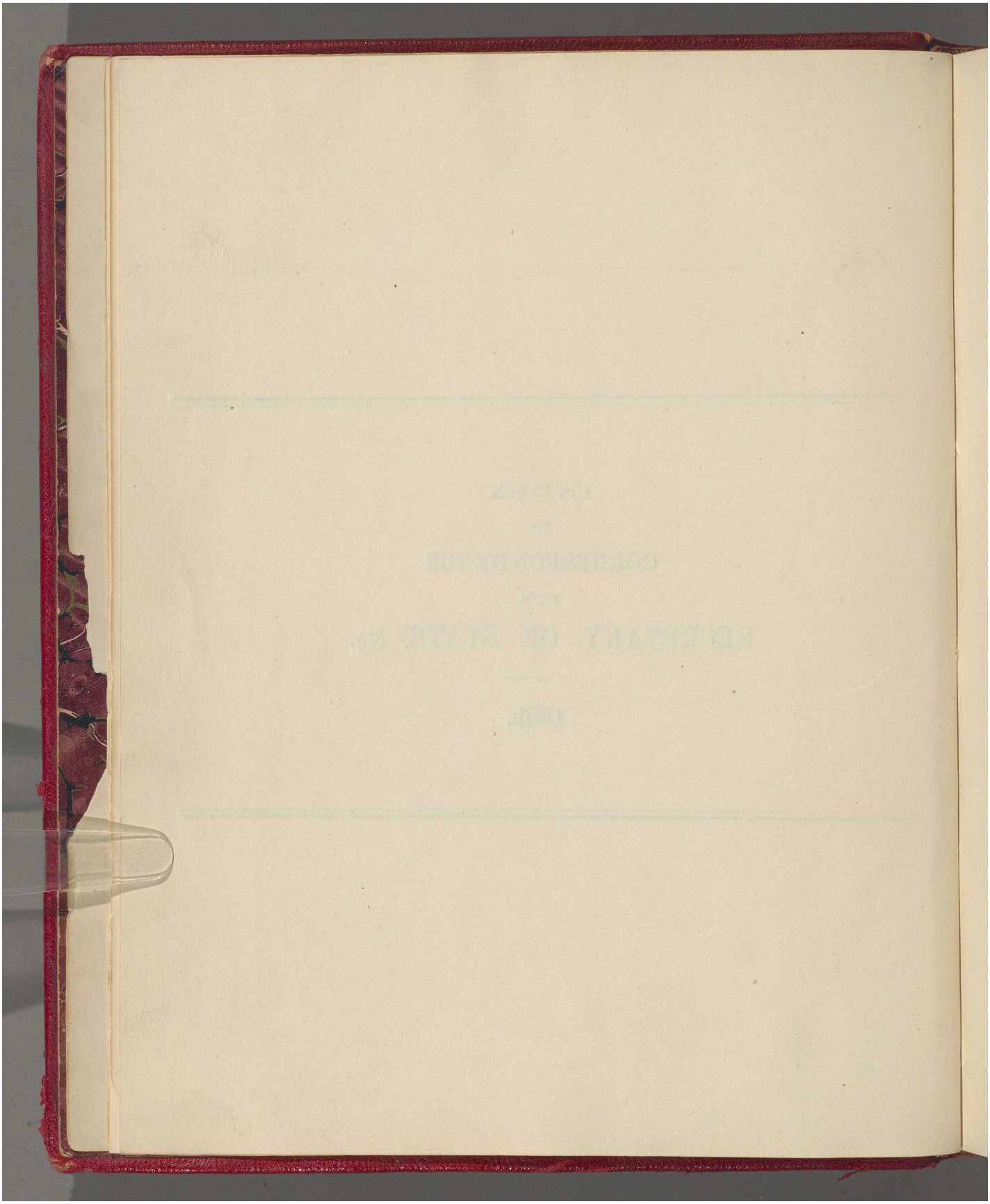
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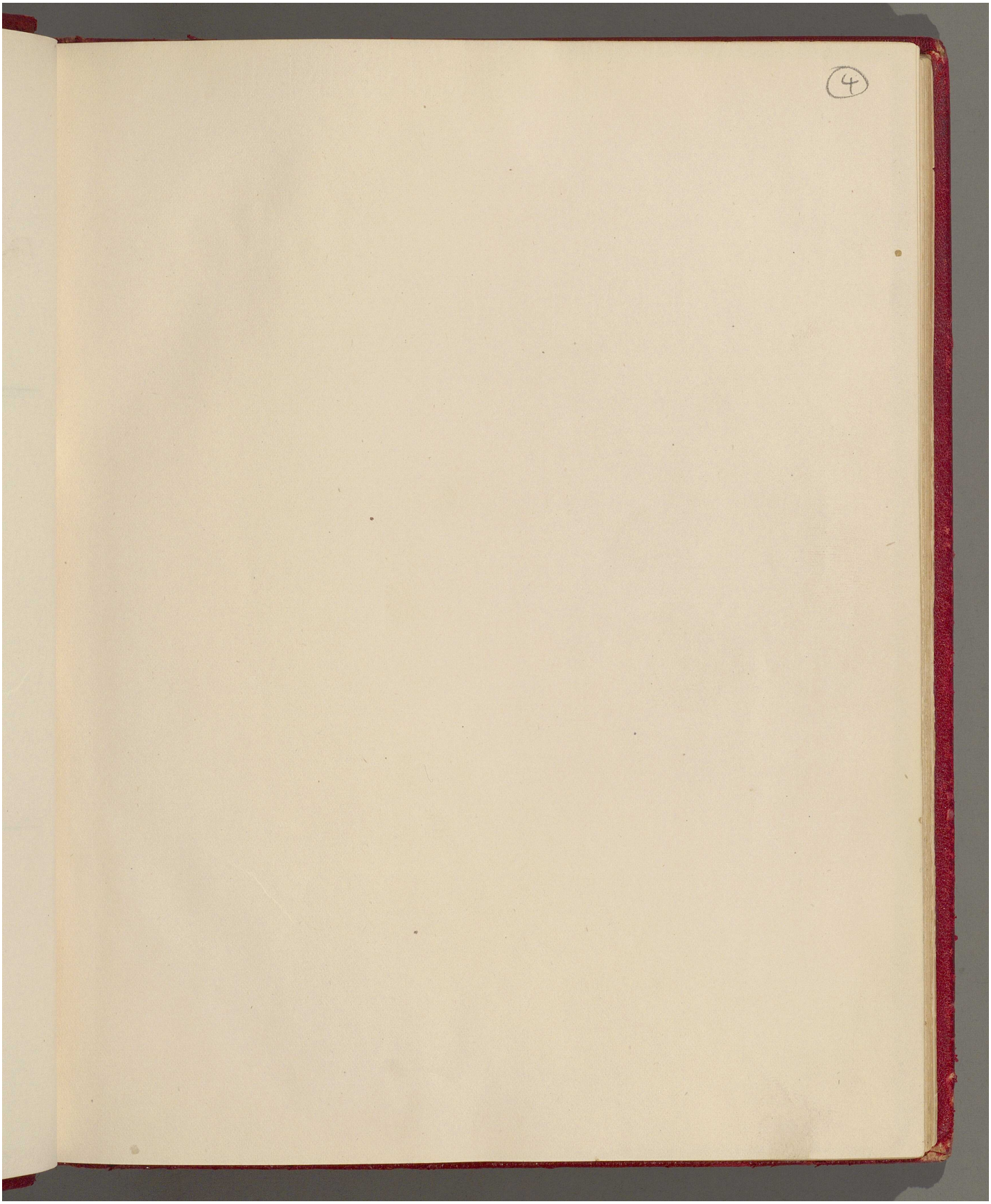
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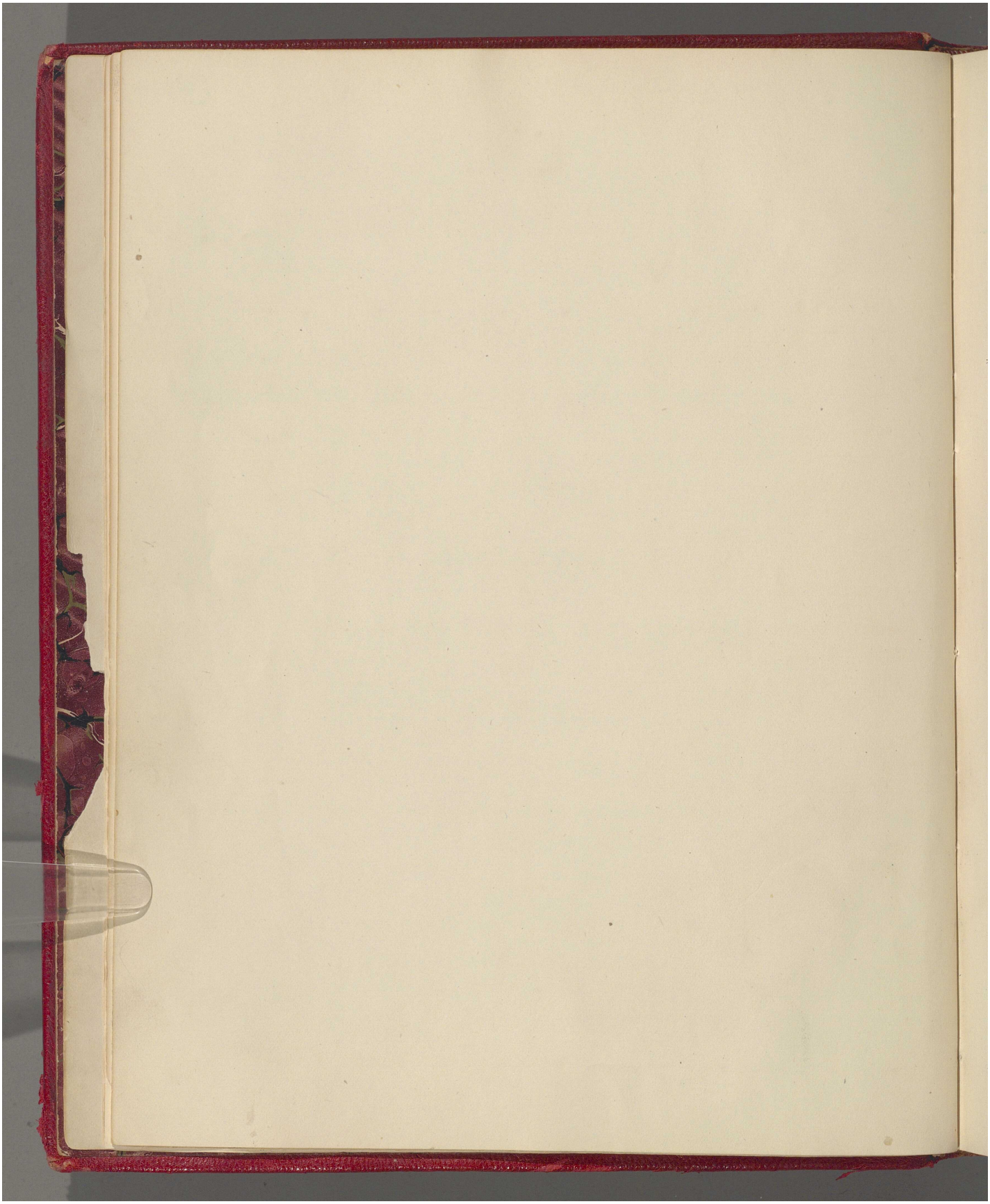
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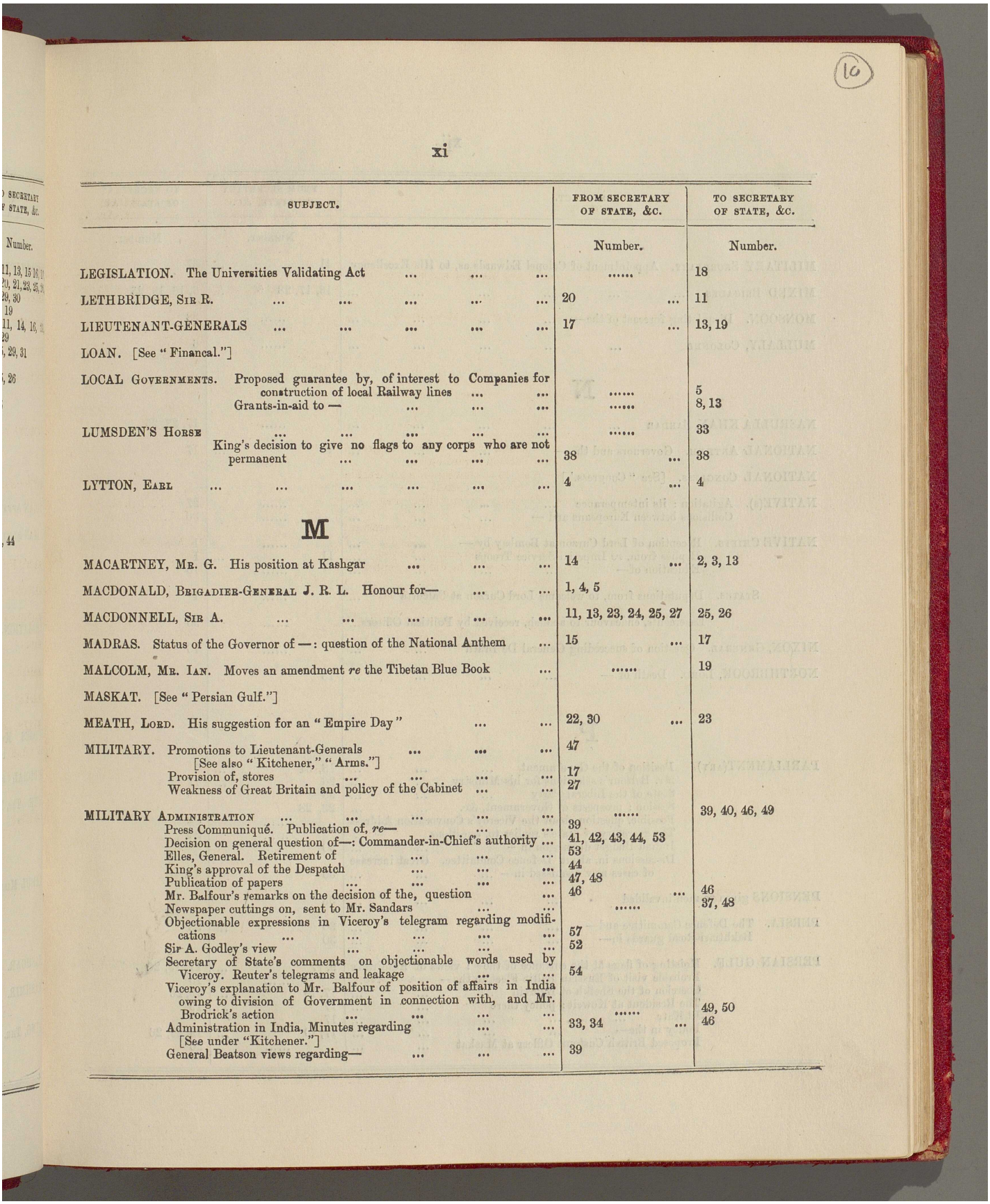
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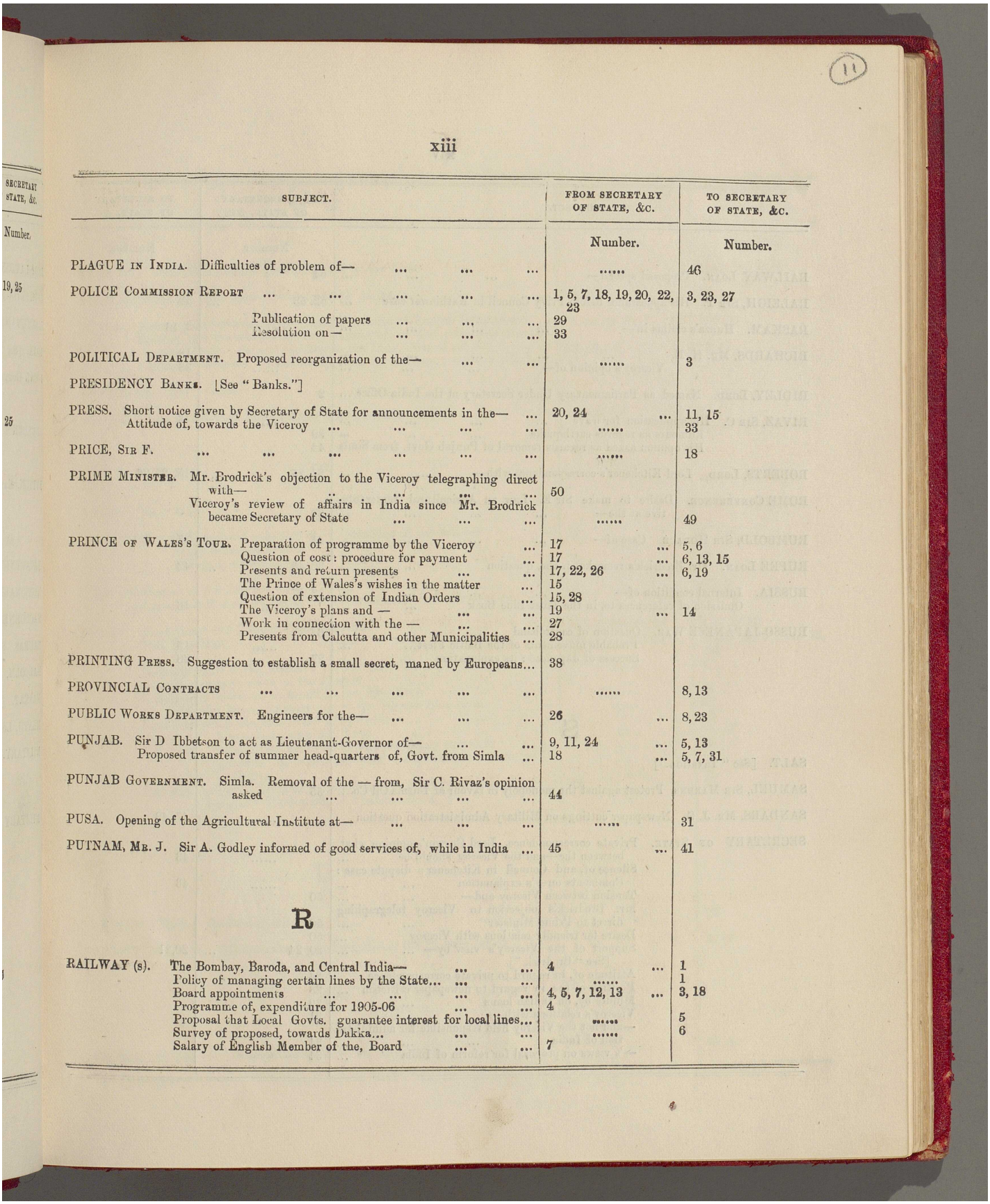
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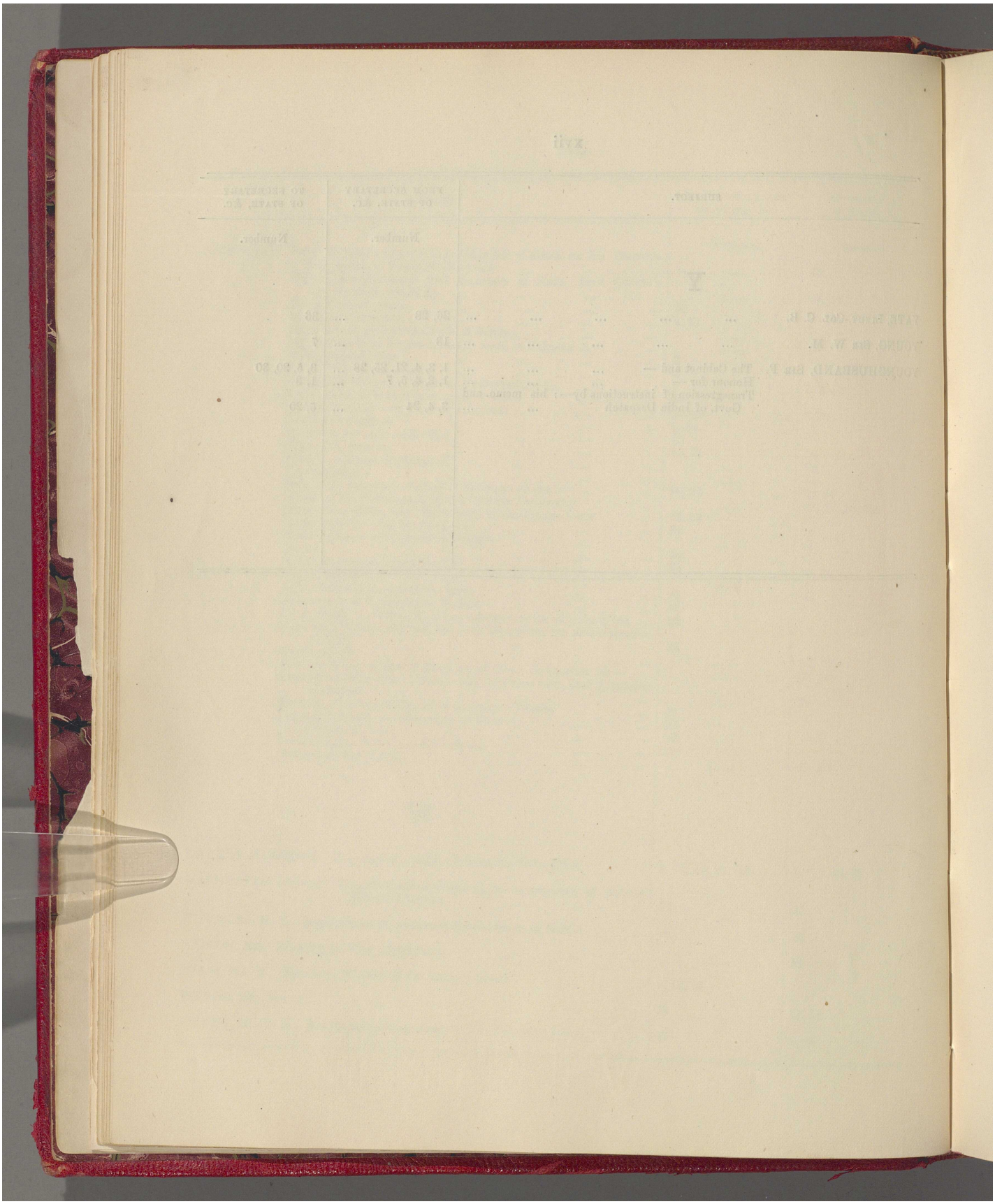
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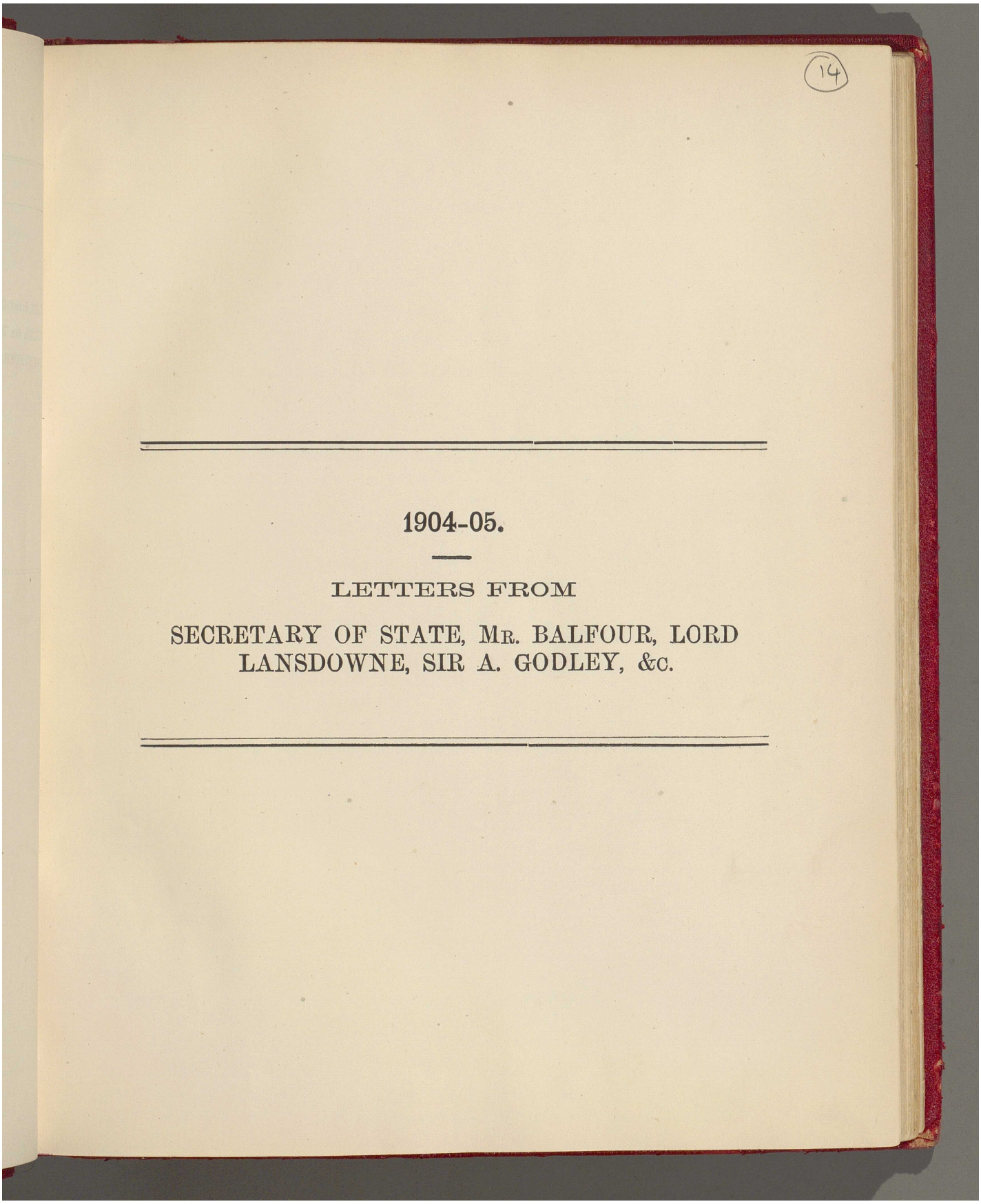
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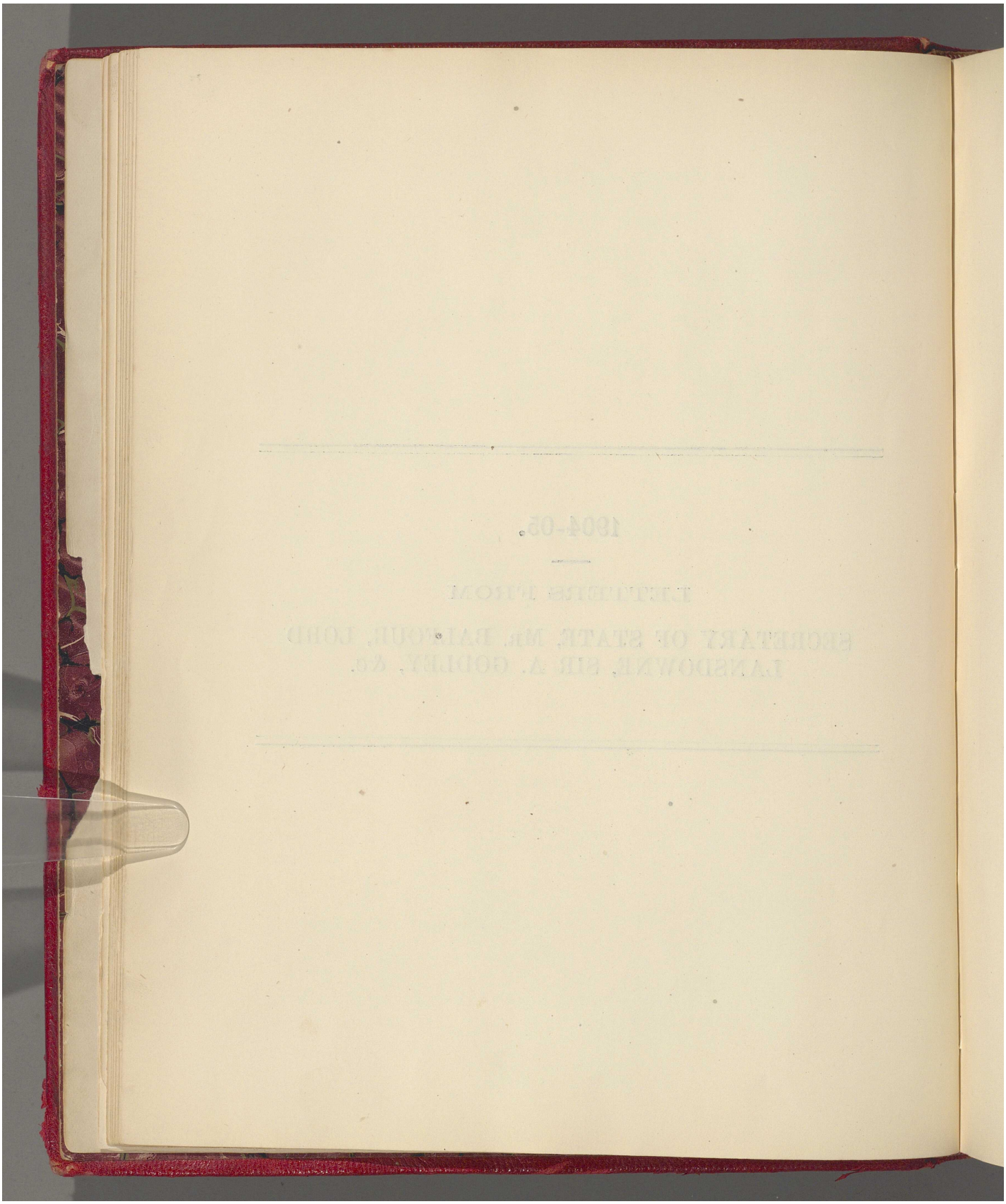
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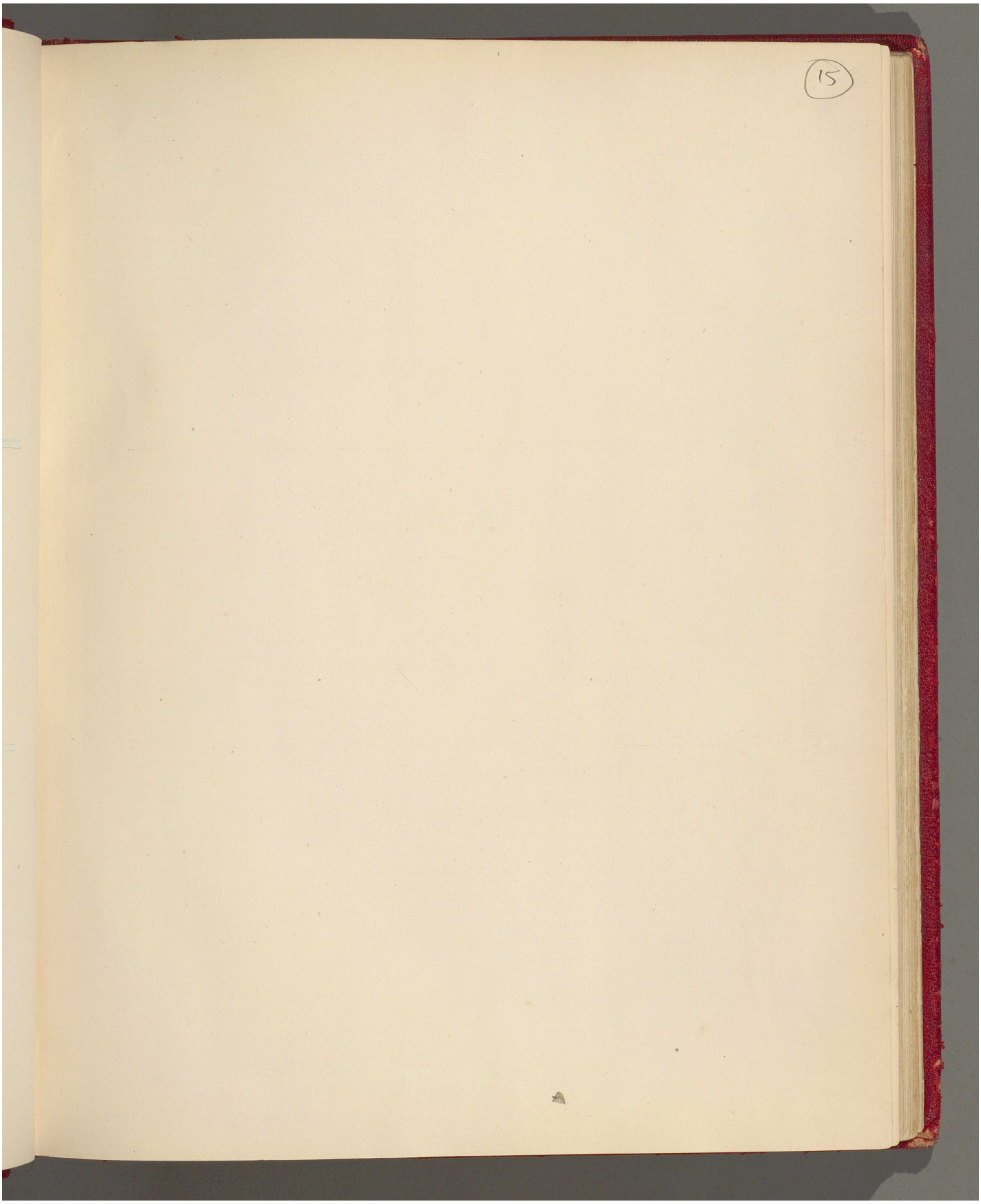
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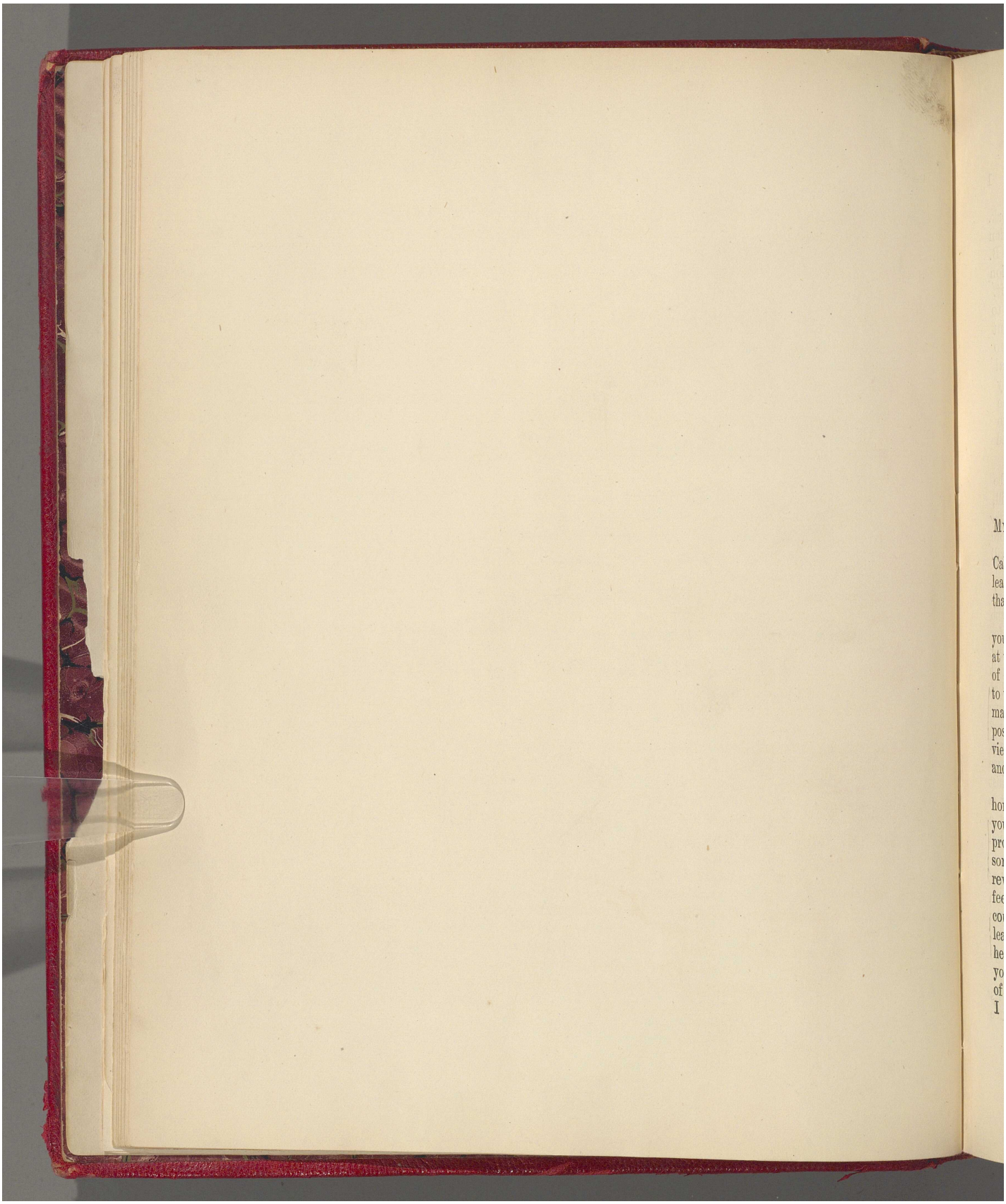
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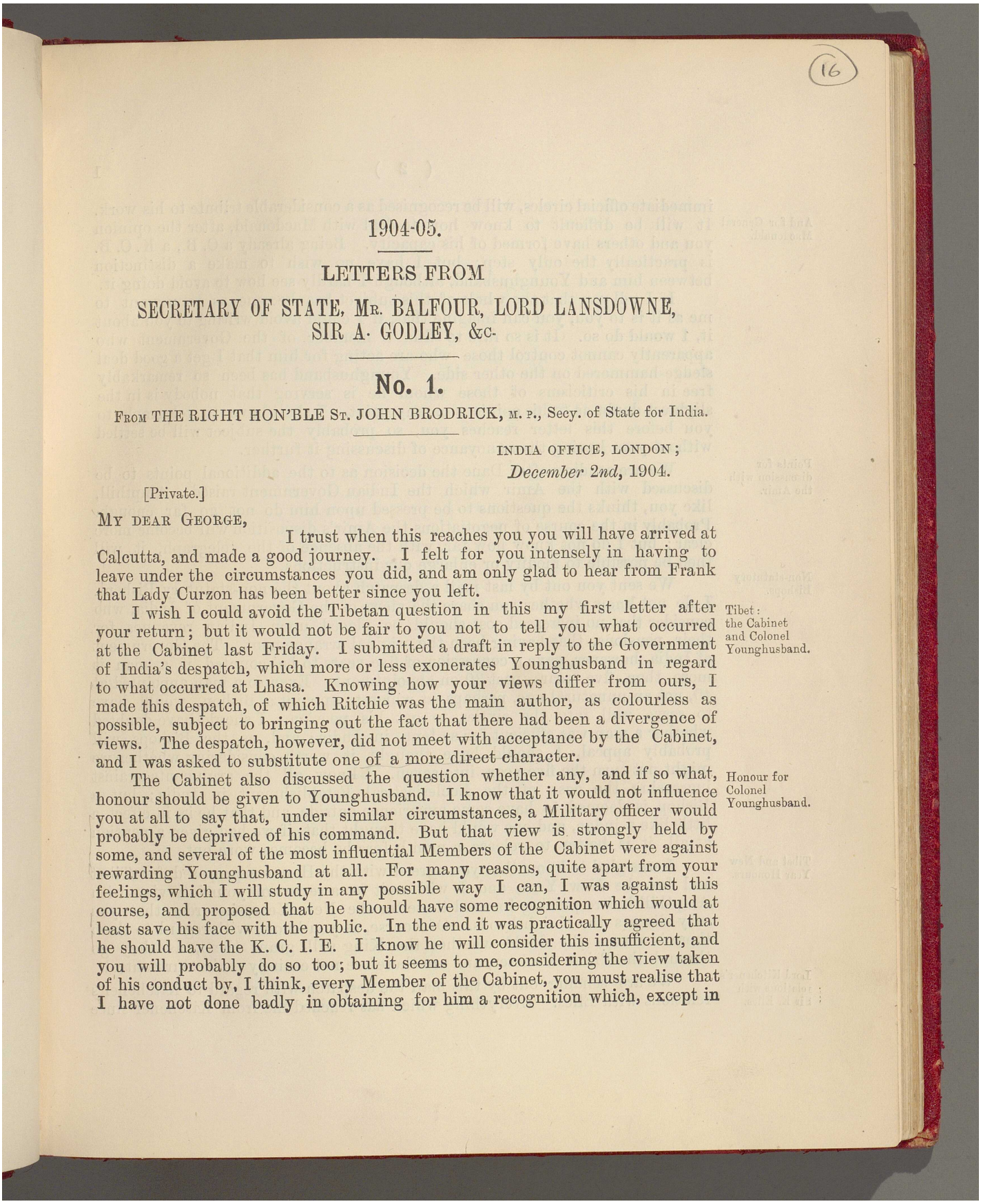
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(16)

1904-05.

LETTERS FROM

SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. BALFOUR, LORD LANSDOWNE, SIR A. GODLEY, &c.

No. 1.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 2nd, 1904.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I trust when this reaches you you will have arrived at Calcutta, and made a good journey. I felt for you intensely in having to leave under the circumstances you did, and am only glad to hear from Frank that Lady Curzon has been better since you left.

Tibet: the Cabinet and Colonel Younghusband.

I wish I could avoid the Tibetan question in this my first letter after your return; but it would not be fair to you not to tell you what occurred at the Cabinet last Friday. I submitted a draft in reply to the Government of India's despatch, which more or less exonerates Younghusband in regard to what occurred at Lhasa. Knowing how your views differ from ours, I made this despatch, of which Ritchie was the main author, as colourless as possible, subject to bringing out the fact that there had been a divergence of views. The despatch, however, did not meet with acceptance by the Cabinet, and I was asked to substitute one of a more direct character.

Honour for Colonel Younghusband.

The Cabinet also discussed the question whether any, and if so what, honour should be given to Younghusband. I know that it would not influence you at all to say that, under similar circumstances, a Military officer would probably be deprived of his command. But that view is strongly held by some, and several of the most influential Members of the Cabinet were against rewarding Younghusband at all. For many reasons, quite apart from your feelings, which I will study in any possible way I can, I was against this course, and proposed that he should have some recognition which would at least save his face with the public. In the end it was practically agreed that he should have the K. C. I. E. I know he will consider this insufficient, and you will probably do so too; but it seems to me, considering the view taken of his conduct by, I think, every Member of the Cabinet, you must realise that I have not done badly in obtaining for him a recognition which, except in

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And for General Macdonald.

immediate official circles, will be recognised as a considerable tribute to his work. It will be difficult to know how to deal with Macdonald, after the opinion you and others have formed of his capacity. Being already a C. B., a K. C. B. is practically the only step; but I have no wish to make a distinction between him and Younghusband, although I hardly see how to avoid doing it.

If I tell you that the whole of this subject has become as repugnant to me as it is to you, you can imagine that, if I could avoid writing to you about it, I would do so. It is so rare to find a member of the Government who apparently cannot control those who are acting for him that I get a good deal sledge-hammered on the other side. Younghusband has been so remarkably free in his criticisms of those whom he is serving that nobody is in the slightest doubt as to his opinions on any point. I shall have to telegraph to you before this letter reaches you, so probably the subject will be settled without your having the annoyance of discussing it further.

Points for discussion with the Amir.

We are sending after Dane the decision as to the additional points to be discussed with the Amir which the Indian Government raised. Ampthill, like you, thinks the questions to be pressed upon him do not go far enough. Probably in the course of negotiations the Amir's disposition will become more clear; but I do not know how far, with the absence of the telegraph, it will then be possible to modify or enlarge our instructions.

Non-statutory Bishops.

We sent you out by last mail a despatch about the non-statutory Bishops. I do not know whether you share the views of the Government of India, who consider that no increased cost should be placed upon Indian revenues for their pensions, that having been the original arrangement. The Government of India, however, gave a concession of five years to be counted if a man is more than five years past 30 on appointment. Even so a man appointed at 40, not an unnatural age, perhaps, at which to appoint a Bishop, would have to serve well into the sixties to get his pension. I should have doubted whether a man was efficient for so long in India; and, as the Bishops will probably appeal, I should have thought it worth considering whether we might not turn the five years into seven. I know all the arguments against increasing the cost of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India; but a Bishop is deemed to have some experience outside, and that he is, in effect, a little like a judge, and one would have thought that, if we had given a pension at all, it is better to release a man before he becomes worn out.

Tibet and New Year Honours.

I was glad to know that you agreed with the Honours proposed for Tibet and for the New Year, and I will wait for a report of your interview with Ampthill before putting forward those for the New Year, in order that you may discuss the Knighthoods. Of course, as you know, with regard to them there is always the doubt whether the King will grant them, as they go through the Prime Minister, and are therefore not entirely under our control.

Lord Kitchener's relations with Sir E. Elles.

We are sending out by this mail the despatch with regard to Kitchener's relations with Elles. Everything which has reached me from Kitchener since

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you left makes it perfectly clear that he is disturbed in his mind as to his present position. I have not encouraged him in the ultimatums which he is developing a disposition to send. At the same time the idea of his reorganisation of the Indian Army has evidently caught on tremendously with the Press and people in this country, and he could not well be in a stronger position for a battle as to his rights if he decides to embark on it. Indirectly I suspect you are quite right in thinking that the encouragement he gets from Rosebery has affected him.

Ampthill tells me that the Police Commission Report is to come to us in a mail or so. I hope this may be so, and I will press it on here so as to arrive at a decision as quickly as possible. Police Commission Report.

I will write no more this mail, as nothing occurs to me on which I need trouble you at this moment.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 2.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;
December 2nd, 1904.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I was instinctively going to begin this letter by expressing my pleasure at being again in correspondence with you as Viceroy; but, when I think again, I am not quite sure that I am altogether pleased. Pleasure of that kind, if it is to exist at all, must be mutual, and I doubt whether you, when you receive this letter, will be rejoicing to find yourself once more at the other end of the wire. I trust, however, and indeed am sure that, if you are not rejoicing, you will be feeling less reluctance, and less depression, than you must have felt when you were leaving this country; and I cannot help believing that when you have once more got the reins fairly into your hands, you will be, at least, reconciled to your lot. The Viceroy's resumption of office.

You know that, in spite of the most hearty appreciation of the work which you have done in India, I have for some time been among those who did not wish you to go back: and I confess that in that matter I was much influenced by the belief that it could not be for your happiness and peace of mind. If I could have foreseen Lady Curzon's illness, I should, of course, have written and spoken even more strongly than I did. I am afraid that my anticipations have been only too well justified so far. I knew that there would be friction,

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and that you were not the man to bear such friction with equanimity. I earnestly trust that things may go better henceforward, and I believe they will: but this does not prevent me from hoping, for your sake, that your stay in India may be a short one.

Death of the Earl of Hardwicke.

You can hardly imagine how shocked and grieved we have all been by Hardwicke's sudden death. Although he had only spent about 2½ years here altogether, we had become great friends: he seemed to be at home from the first, and to find both the work, and the men with whom he worked, thoroughly congenial. His previous training, though of a very varied and abnormal kind, was in many ways very advantageous to him; he had charming manners and an admirable temper, very good abilities, great industry, and a perfectly natural, straightforward habit of mind, which made it singularly pleasant to do business with him. No doubt you knew him as well, and certainly knew him longer, than I did: but I give you the impressions of a brother official. My notion is that his abilities were almost universally underrated, for he was modest to the point of diffidence in his official relations; and I remember that, when he went from here to the War Office, the advice which I gave him was to express his opinion freely, whether orally or in writing: for I had noticed that, whereas his judgment was generally very sound, he was very slow to give us the benefit of it. But of late he was rapidly getting over this fault. Well, I did not mean to write this long story about him; but, as you know, in writing to you I go on the principle of saying what is uppermost; and the loss of a man whom I knew so well, and liked so much, has been a real sorrow to me, and has occupied much of my thoughts during this last week. The only man that I have heard mentioned, so far, as likely to be his successor, is the new Lord Ridley. I should think that he would be a very good sort of apprentice. But I suspect that there are other young Conservative Peers with stronger claims than his: or perhaps Balfour may give us a Commoner, as he did when he sent Percy here, 27 months ago, to serve under a Commoner Secretary of State. We shall know, I suppose, before this reaches you.

His successor.

At this point I was sent for by the Secretary of State, and have now no time to finish my letter before the mail goes: but I shall send you this *torso* as a token of goodwill, and in order that your first mail after your arrival may not be a blank so far as I am concerned.

Relations of Commander-in-Chief and Military Member.

We have passed our draft on the relations of Commnnder-in-Chief and Military Member, of which an advance copy went to you last week. I wish you well through the compilation of your reply, and the negotiations, or battles, or both, which it may involve.

Now I must stop.

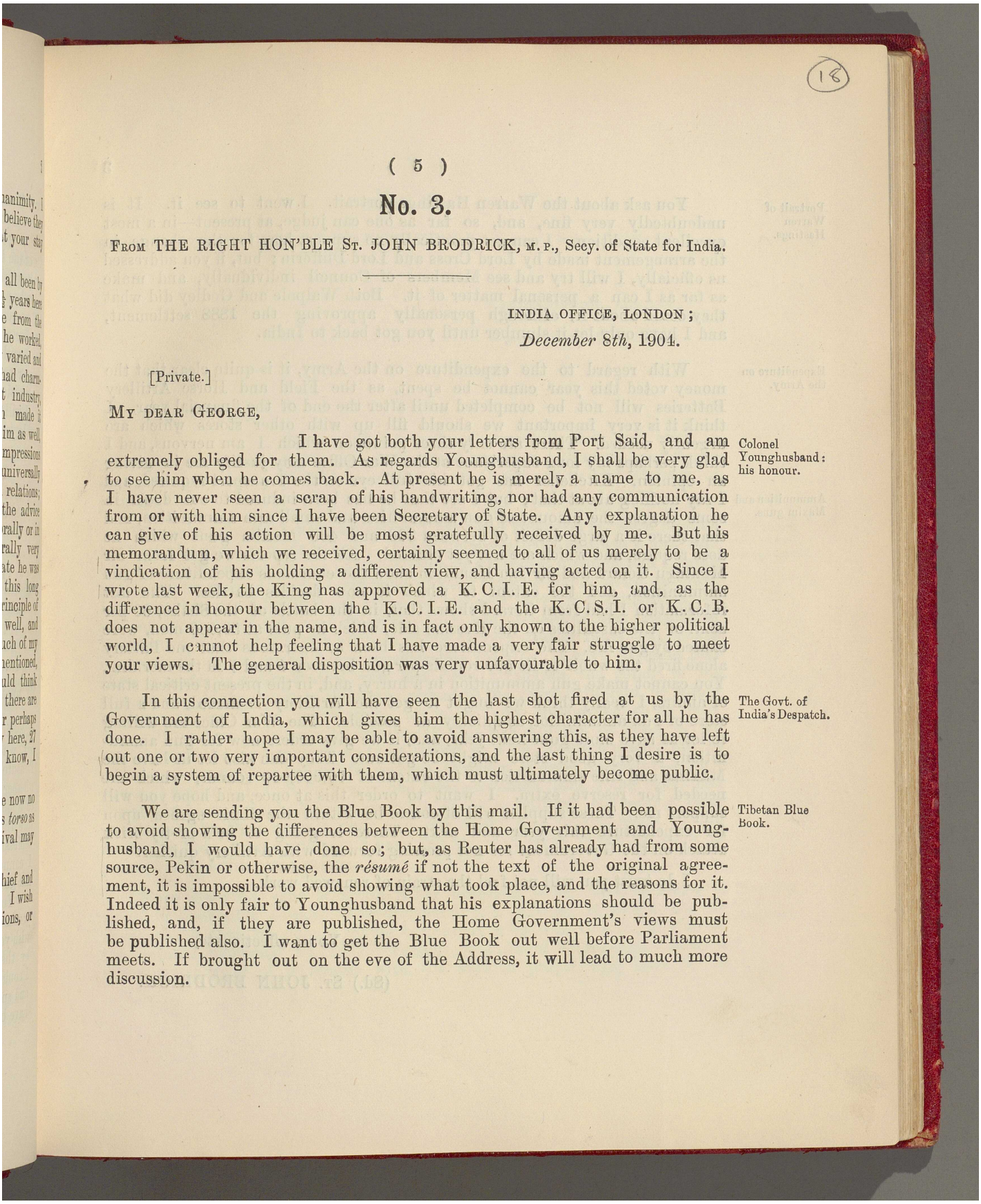
Believe me, yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

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No. 3.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 8th, 1904.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have got both your letters from Port Said, and am extremely obliged for them. As regards Younghusband, I shall be very glad to see him when he comes back. At present he is merely a name to me, as I have never seen a scrap of his handwriting, nor had any communication from or with him since I have been Secretary of State. Any explanation he can give of his action will be most gratefully received by me. But his memorandum, which we received, certainly seemed to all of us merely to be a vindication of his holding a different view, and having acted on it. Since I wrote last week, the King has approved a K.C.I.E. for him, and, as the difference in honour between the K.C.I.E. and the K.C.S.I. or K.C.B. does not appear in the name, and is in fact only known to the higher political world, I cannot help feeling that I have made a very fair struggle to meet your views. The general disposition was very unfavourable to him.

Colonel Younghusband: his honour.

In this connection you will have seen the last shot fired at us by the Government of India, which gives him the highest character for all he has done. I rather hope I may be able to avoid answering this, as they have left out one or two very important considerations, and the last thing I desire is to begin a system of repartee with them, which must ultimately become public.

The Govt. of India's Despatch.

We are sending you the Blue Book by this mail. If it had been possible to avoid showing the differences between the Home Government and Younghusband, I would have done so; but, as Reuter has already had from some source, Pekin or otherwise, the *résumé* if not the text of the original agreement, it is impossible to avoid showing what took place, and the reasons for it. Indeed it is only fair to Younghusband that his explanations should be published, and, if they are published, the Home Government's views must be published also. I want to get the Blue Book out well before Parliament meets. If brought out on the eve of the Address, it will lead to much more discussion.

Tibetan Blue Book.

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Portrait of Warren Hastings.

You ask about the Warren Hastings portrait. I went to see it. It is undoubtedly very fine, and, so far as one can judge, at present—in a most excellent condition. I can get practically no support here for the change in the arrangement made by Lord Cross and Lord Dufferin; but, if you addressed us officially, I will try and see Members of Council individually, and make as far as I can a personal matter of it. Both Walpole and Godley did what they could about it, although personally approving the 1888 settlement, and I have only let it slumber until you got back to India.

Expenditure on the Army.

With regard to the expenditure on the Army, it is quite clear that the money voted this year cannot be spent, as the Field and Horse Artillery Batteries will not be completed until after the end of the financial year. I think it is very important we should fill up with other stores which are urgently needed. There are only three points on which I am nervous, and I think perhaps my long experience at the War Office may justify me in giving an opinion. Kitchener has got his full eye on the Transport required, and

Ammunition and Maxim guns.

I say nothing about that; but I see that he has been induced to cut down in some degree the amount of gun ammunition and small arm ammunition, and that there is a large deficit of between 300 and 400 Maxim guns which he does require, and which are not yet ordered. All the reports we get from Sir Montagu Gerard and Sir Ian Hamilton show the enormous expenditure of gun ammunition, and the extent to which it now decides battles. The last information I had from Gerard shows that, in the battle of the Shaho, 60 per cent. of the casualties on the Russian side, which he puts at 50,000 men, were caused by gun fire. The expenditure has been so enormous that one Battery alone fired the whole of its 500 rounds per gun between 4 and 7 in the morning. You cannot make gun ammunition in a hurry, and, in the present critical state of affairs, I really think we ought to get the Artillery re-armed, and a full store of gun ammunition as quickly as possible. The War Office are willing to let us have more guns next year, and, if we give orders now for gun ammunition, a very good store might be got out. They can also let us have the Maxims and rifle ammunition to the extent of 50,000,000 rounds, which are needed for reserve extra. I want to order this at once, and hope you will support me. These supplies will of course be within the limit agreed upon for expenditure this year and next. There is going to be a pretty brisk attack on the Government for not pressing forward with Artillery quicker.

I do trust you will not feel the strain of renewed work.

Yours affectionate,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

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No. 4.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

December 16*th*, 1904.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I was glad to hear from Ampthill that you were in tolerably good spirits at Calcutta, and seemed happy on taking up your duties again, though I fear you will have rather a sad Christmas in the absence of your family.

The Cabinet and Colonel Younghusband.

The only important communication I have had from you is with relation to Younghusband and his honour. I saw Younghusband and had a long talk with him. We discussed the points at issue in a friendly manner, and I think at the end he realised more of our point of view than he had done up to now. I am afraid it would be little use my going into any part of the question, as you again reiterate in your telegram that you deprecate any censure of Younghusband; and it is this attitude of the Government of India that makes it most difficult for me to obtain consideration for him. I have no doubt that Dane is perfectly aware that, if you had been arranging the policy of his mission in Afghanistan without any regard to the views held here, he would have had to press some points which he is not now empowered to go into. You will see how little security can be felt that this will not be done, if we are told that the Government of India assent to what Younghusband did in advance of instructions. I might perhaps, however, suggest one point—which you will realise. If unluckily you had been prevented from going back, had the strong views which Kitchener holds as to a military convention been put forward by Dane against your and our wish, and in deference to the feeling in Inda, surely you would have felt we were right in taking steps to prevent such a thing recurring.

Honour for General Macdonald.

Since receiving your telegram it has occurred to me that, although it would be impossible to raise Younghusband to a K.C.B., it might not be unreasonable that Macdonald should be content with a K. C. I. E., in view of the opinion expressed by the Government of India of his services. After a vigorous exchange of telegrams with the various people who have to be

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consulted, I have made this proposal to the King, and, if he accepts it (as he has done since I dictated this) one of the main objections you had to the honours as now arranged will be removed, as there will be no discrimination between Younghusband and Macdonald. Anyhow I trust you will recognise, in putting my own views to this extent aside, I have tried to meet yours in this matter; and, if it has the result of ending a discussion which has been troublesome from many points of view, I shall only be too happy.

Army Administration.

I wrote so fully about Army questions last week that I will not bother you with them again until I hear from you as to the supplies required. Just now, however, all the authorities are very much on the alert, and the preparation of our Indian Army for mobilization occupies the first place in the official mind. In connection with Kitchener's scheme, a point was raised as

Army Corps Commanders.

to whether three Army Corps Commanders are wanted in time of peace. Of course a multiplication of staffs is undesirable; but, if the result of doing away with them is that more work will be concentrated in Simla, and less work decentralised, I think it will be a mistake. In time of war it would in any case be an advantage to have the officers and staffs ready, instead of dislocating many of the divisional and brigade arrangements in order to send each officer up a stage at the right moment.

Bombay-Baroda Railway.

I telegraphed to you about the Bombay-Baroda railroad, because you told me that, on the whole, you were against a multiplication of State lines, and the Government of India have gone for it in this case. I should have thought it was a very good thing to have a pawn in hand for the new Board to play with.

Traffic Member for the Railway Board.

I must apologise for the delay in appointing the Traffic Member of the Board, and also the Commercial Member of Council. The difficulty of finding the former is very great, because the men who want to go are not 'class' enough, and the best men will not take £3,200 a year for five years, with the chance of being thrown on their beam ends at the end of the time. I have consequently had several refusals, but I expect to have a man very

Commercial Membership.

shortly. The Commercial Member is still more difficult. All the men who wish to go are men without any actual commercial experience, and there is an indisposition on the part of those who are qualified for the post to go to India for five years; but it is so desirable to get the new Board into working order that I hope to send you something before Christmas.

Railway and Irrigation expenditure.

Your programme of capital expenditure on Railways and Irrigation seems large for the coming year, but I am disposed to back a large programme, especially as both sets of work pay their way in the long run.

Death of Lord Hardwicke.

I meant to have written to you last week about poor Hardwicke's death. It has been the greatest sadness to all of us. He was immensely valued here

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for his independence of mind and conciliatory disposition. We had no idea he was ill, but it transpires now that he had been troubled with his heart, and, on the very day on which he expired, he had had a bad report from his oculist. I am not at all sure that the stuff used to dilate the pupils of the eyes had not something to do with the stoppage of his heart—at least similar cases have been known. Nothing is settled as to the new Under Secretary, but crowds of names have been pressed upon us—Bath, Newton, Shaftesbury, Fitzwilliam, Monkbretton and many more, including of course the inevitable Lytton: he, however, having pronounced himself so strongly against the Government on the Fiscal question, should be thereby excluded. His successor.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 5.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;

December 16*th*, 1904.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Today at last the vexed question of Tibetan honours is reported to be settled. I am sorry that it has been thought necessary to reduce Younghusband to a K. C. I. E., and I do not myself think that it ought to have been done: but, granted that it was to be done, I am glad that Macdonald has been "levelled down." This diminishes the force of the blow to Younghusband, and represents a nearer approach to equity than any arrangement which would have put the soldier, in this case, above the Civilian. Tibetan honours.

Everyone who speaks to me about Tibet (not a very large number, I must admit) seems to assume as a matter of course that the Government have come very well out of this business, or, not to put it too high, a great deal better than might have been expected. Result of the Mission.

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Personal.

I read with much interest your speech on landing at Bombay, and noted your list of questions to be dealt with. The programme seemed to me to be a reasonable one, and I hope you may be able to carry it out: this hope does not, I think, conflict with the other hope, which I expressed in my last letter, that your second term in India might be a short one. I shall be anxious to hear, and I hope you will tell me, how you really are: I trust that the voyage has done you good, and that you are able to feel an interest in your work now that you are once more in the thick of it.

Finance Membership.

Proposed Commercial Member.

The attempt to find a Finance Member of Council in this country has, so far, been unsuccessful, and I foresee, I think, the appointment of Mr. Baker, which, as it turns out, might as well have been made two or three months ago. (But of course I may be wrong as to this.) For a Commercial Member we are still struggling, but I am not very hopeful. A city man put the case truly enough the other day when, in reply to inquiries, he said, "You won't get anyone in the city to recommend to you anyone who isn't a first-rate man, and no first-rate man will take the post." Dizzy's old gibe about "men who have retired from business and men from whom business has retired" is of course strictly applicable: nobody who does not belong to one of these two classes will look at it; and this seriously narrows our field of choice.

Railway Board.

We are in a somewhat similar difficulty as to the third Member of the Railway Board, *i. e.*, the Member with experience of railway working in this country. A first-rate man is out of the question, but I hope we may find a rather good second-rate man: and two individuals, who seem to correspond to that description, have been invited to call on me next week. We have appointed Brereton to succeed Upcott, and he will be announced in a day or two. Upcott seems to be going about his work in a sensible and reasonable spirit, and I hope that this important reform, which owes so much to you, will be launched in a satisfactory manner.

Police Commission Report.

The Police Report file has today gone on from me to the Secretary of State. My present impression is that your proposals will be generally sanctioned, and not materially curtailed. But there will, I think, be some curtailment.

I was very glad to note that you gave Ampthill a pat on the back.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

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No. 6.

FROM THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, K. G., Secy. of State for Foreign Affairs.

FOREIGN OFFICE;
December 20th, 1904.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Thanks for your kind words: it made me sad to see you starting on your long journey by yourself, but your reception will have cheered you, and we shall be welcoming you back before we are much older. Personal.

As to contraband, the Russians informed us that only cotton capable of conversion into explosives would be treated as contraband, but, as you say, this catches raw cotton generally, and we have protested strongly. We have not succeeded in getting the list altered, either as regards cotton, or as regards coal and other articles *ancipitis usus*, but the Russian Government have assured us that they have issued instructions that the rules are to be most considerately enforced, and I have no doubt that such instructions have been given. There have in fact for some time past been no seizures at all and no stoppings or searchings to which we could reasonably take exception. The whole question will no doubt come before the new Hague Conference whenever it meets. Russo-Japanese War. Contraband.

I am glad to see that the Kabul Mission is going so well.

Yours sincerely and with best wishes,
(Sd.) LANSDOWNE.

No. 7.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 22nd, 1904.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I duly received your letter from Aden containing your Memorandum on the proposed amendment of the Government of India Act. Naturally I have a good deal to say on it, and will endeavour to write something at the end of this letter. But the first thing which strikes me is that Proposed amendment of the Government of India Act.

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it would not be very useful for me to discuss it at this stage with you at full length. I entirely agree that, for the reasons you mention, it should be kept perfectly confidential, and I feel it the more because you will probably yourself feel that it is impossible that anything of the kind should become law during the present Parliament. It would require a very strong Government in its fifth year to take up so large a question. The present Government, besides having gone some distance towards outstaying its welcome, has got a full programme for any time which is likely to be left to it next year. Redistribution, Aliens, and Education would in themselves take the whole time, even if we had not got serious financial questions to meet, and a renewal of discussions on the now likely to be abortive Army Scheme.

On the other hand I am sure you will realise that, if I say little upon your paper, it is not because I do not recognise the great importance of it.

Appointments to Council.

We have settled, I am glad to think, by telegraph several questions of immediate interest this week. I have been most reluctant, as you knew, to complete your Council entirely from officials serving in India, however distinguished. Honestly I think you want new blood, and an independence which no man who has been brought up under the Indian system can altogether feel. But I have sounded a good many people, and there is a marked indisposition at the present to go to India. The fate of men who have gone out for a time, and afterwards come back, is not very encouraging. Military and Legal Members of Council are at a discount after they return. You have done probably more than any living man to make this country appreciate the part played by important Indian administrators, but it will take some time in these matters to treat the Empire as a whole, and the look-out when there are vacant places at home for men who have done important service in India, is bad. Until this is amended, I fear there is no chance of the best men going to India for five years.

I have not the slightest doubt that Hewett and Baker will prove admirable appointments. The former I have known and heard of for many years, and I know he is altogether reliable. I was very sorry to give the go-by to Holderness, but I thought your argument was fair with regard to Hewett, and I have no desire that the idea should get abroad that we were pushing the Secretaries here unduly.

Salaries and expenses of Members of Council.

On another point, though I fear you will not agree with me, there is a strong prejudice over here. You consider that Members of Council do not do sufficient to keep up their position, and ought to be able to save largely while in India. The latter, I am sure, is the reverse of experience. Insensibly the whole cost of living in India has grown of recent years, and the more easy access to this country becomes, the more numerous the charges for sending people home. We all know that the number of tourists tends to increase in India, and hospitality is very great. In any case I have found that the

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salary is not considered sufficiently attractive; and indeed this has been so much the case with regard to the Traffic Member of the Railway Commission that I have actually had to obtain from Council this week an increase from £3,200 a year to £3,800 a year for the English Traffic Member of the Railway Board. This speaks for itself. I have been warned by several Railway Chairmen that I could not expect to get a good man for £3,200 a year, and when I came to close quarters with various men who had applied, the absence of pension and the absence of the certainty of re-employment after five years was prohibitive.

Salary of the English Member of the Railway Board.

I have now, I hope, got a really first-rate man in Mr. Walter Wood, General Manager of the Hull and Barnsley, and I expect to telegraph to you his appointment tomorrow. He is an eager, active, and energetic little man, perhaps a little over-talkative, but thoroughly understanding his business. He began life in the South-Eastern, and has risen through various posts in the Hull and Barnsley to that of General Manager. He has also travelled widely in America, examining practically the railway systems both of Canada and the States, and he has done something of the same kind in France and Germany. I earnestly trust he may prove successful, and may put some fresh life into the whole system; but I am terribly afraid of the new Chairman making the new Board simply a continuance of the old Department.

Appointment of Mr. Wood.

I had not the slightest objection to striking out Knox from the list of Knighthoods for Judges, because he was one of the senior Judges for whose retirement I was assured people on all grounds were waiting. But I wish I could carry you with me in my views about Judges as a whole. The English Judge gets his Knighthood at starting, and, if he does really well, on retirement he generally gets some preferment. The Indian Judge may be very little above the level of the County Court Judge, though I think our object ought to be to raise the standard. Indeed I have at the present moment one or two County Court Judges who are most anxious for appointment. Surely it will not be too much to say that, after a certain number of years' service in the Indian climate, a Judge, if he has done well, should be able to look forward to a Knighthood. I would not in any case make it a matter of course, but I think that liberality in that respect would repay itself. Since your list was settled, I have had a strong recommendation from Lamington that Mr. Justice Crowe, who has recently retired from the Bench there, should be knighted. I had had the same suggestion before, but, having regard to what occurred in June, I did not press it on you. I wish you would now consider it. If, as I understand, he was a valuable man, such a man, going about among legal people here, having relapsed into the ordinary 'Mr. Crowe' after all these years, is a bad advertisement for our new appointments.

Knighthoods for Judges.

Lord Lamington's recommendation of Mr. Justice Crowe.

After the Minute you wrote about the Calcutta Improvement Scheme, I have managed to secure a draft reply, which, though it has not passed Council, exceeds my best expectation. There were plenty of prejudices here about

Calcutta Improvement Scheme.

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taking a national tax like jute for a local purpose, but I urged in the strongest manner that we should not reject any proposal of the Government of India, after this long consideration of the subject, without proposing some feasible alternative. This had its effect, and we have ultimately agreed on almost all points, so that you will now be able to go along.

Police Commission and Tibet papers.

I have not had time to master the recommendations on the Police. I am going to push them through as quickly as possible, and, as soon as we have arranged matters, I hope we shall be able to publish the papers. The same applies to Tibet. It is most necessary to publish the papers well before Parliament meets.

Colonel Younghusband.

Younghusband dined with me last night, and I got Lord Roberts and Lord Lansdowne to meet him. We had no conversation on the Honours question, though I have heard his views from others, and they will probably reach you by this mail.

Proposed Amendment of India Act.

I will make a few remarks with regard to your Memorandum, which are not intended as in any sense a complete review of it, but which it seems to me better under the circumstances to send, than to attempt such a full consideration of it as would be natural if there were any chance of legislation next session. To a large extent I think you make good your argument theoretically. What I understand would be the class of objection taken to your view if it came to legislation would be somewhat as follows. It may be perfectly true that the power in questions which arise between the Government of India and the Home Government, rests theoretically with a fraction of the Home Council. In recent years some cases may be found in which this power has been exercised without due regard to the time and labour which have been spent on the consideration of the subjects in India; but, in order to make good your case, you must prove that a Secretary of State genuinely supporting the Viceroy has been overruled. As you justly point out, it will always depend on the character and personality of the Viceroy and Secretary of State respectively. But surely I am right in saying that, if you have a weak Secretary of State, he will require much more screwing up than the absent Viceroy can apply to prevent him from yielding to the advisers who are by his side.

What I have seen in the last year makes me feel that the whole question really centres in the character of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Given a state of things in which the former is a very strong and the latter a very weak man, there is pretty sure to be friction under either system.

You are perfectly justified in saying that the Secretary of State for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty have the power of overruling their Council. The latter has always carried public confidence: the former, whether as an autocrat or as head of a Council informally constituted, has always failed to do so. So far as can be seen, under the new constitution the Secretary of

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State is failing to get confidence as much as, if not more than, ever, because his Council, as before, go outside and make no secret of disagreement when he does not take their advice. This is a failing of which, so far as I know, the Indian Council have always been free, because they feel their responsibility.

If once the advisers here were to take the same view of their position as prominent soldiers have consistently done at the War Office, I am afraid we should have treble the number of questions of Indian Government dragged before Parliament that are brought there at present. This I believe you will agree with me in thinking disastrous.

I look upon most of the other proposals as minor matters compared to the large one of responsibility. I do not think you will find very much sympathy here for the return of Governors once during their period of office. I fancy that, while you were at home this time, you will have realised how very difficult the three-cornered transaction of business becomes. If the Secretary of State had possibly two Governors at home at once, I think he would be in considerable difficulty, unless it was understood that, while on a holiday, they practically did not concern themselves with business. To give an instance, nothing could be more reasonable than that you, who are going to conduct the Afghan business, and who knew far more about it than any other man in India, should be the adviser of the Government on this question. I on the other hand got into hot water with those for the moment responsible in India because every item in their proposals, which you denounced, had met with scant consideration here. As you will probably agree, the pressure of Indian administration is so great that it is almost impossible to avoid questions of this kind arising.

I agree with you about the necessity of allowing a man in Lord Roberts' or Lord Kitchener's case after his return to sit on the Council. But for that purpose I should have thought the Act of 1876 should not be repealed, as it would surely be wrong to open the Council to needy peers, even to the small extent possible for those who have not served in India for the requisite period.

Please do not think that I am indicating anything except the general light in which your proposals strike me at first sight. I will send them to Godley and the Prime Minister, and, if you desire it, enter into them much more fully.

I may be quite wrong, but I am very sanguine that another six months will see much more harmonious working between England and India than you have found for the last two or three years.

Relations between India Office and Govt. of India.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

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No. 8.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;
December 22nd, 1904.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Commercial Member for Council.

Just after I had written to you last week, the Secretary of State sent for me and told me that he had had an inspiration about the Commercial Member—he had thought of Holderness. Certainly Holderness would in my opinion have been an excellent man for the place: it was for him (Mr. Brodrick) to consider whether his appointment would be compatible with the pledges which he gave to Opposition Members of Parliament as to the object of the Bill. He did not think that this need be a fatal obstacle; and this, by anticipation, relieved us from the difficulty which he would otherwise, I think, have felt about Hewett. I am very glad it has been settled as it has. I am sure you have a very good working Council now; I myself have steadily pressed from the first for the appointment of a *good* Indian Civilian to the Commercial post, if such a man could be found.

Sir E. Law's pension case.

We are discussing Law's application for a pension, but he has no chance.

No more time today. Accept my very sincere good wishes for Christmas and New Year.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 9.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
December 30th, 1904.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Personal.

I feel as if I were firing into the wilderness, as hitherto of course I have not received any letters from you. At the same time I

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gather from your telegrams how excellent your reception has been, and that you are setting to work with your usual vigour. You must have a good deal on your hands just now, as we have troubled you with a certain amount, and I presume pageants and the like occupy time.

Negotiations at Kabul.

I do not gather from your mere transcription of Dane's messages what you think of the position there up to now. Reading his message just as he sends it, he certainly does not seem to have made much progress, and I fear the Amir is too full of 'swelled head' for it to have been a good time to tackle him, though it is the only possible one. I wish I thought his view of the Russians would remain permanent.

The Viceroy and his Councillors.

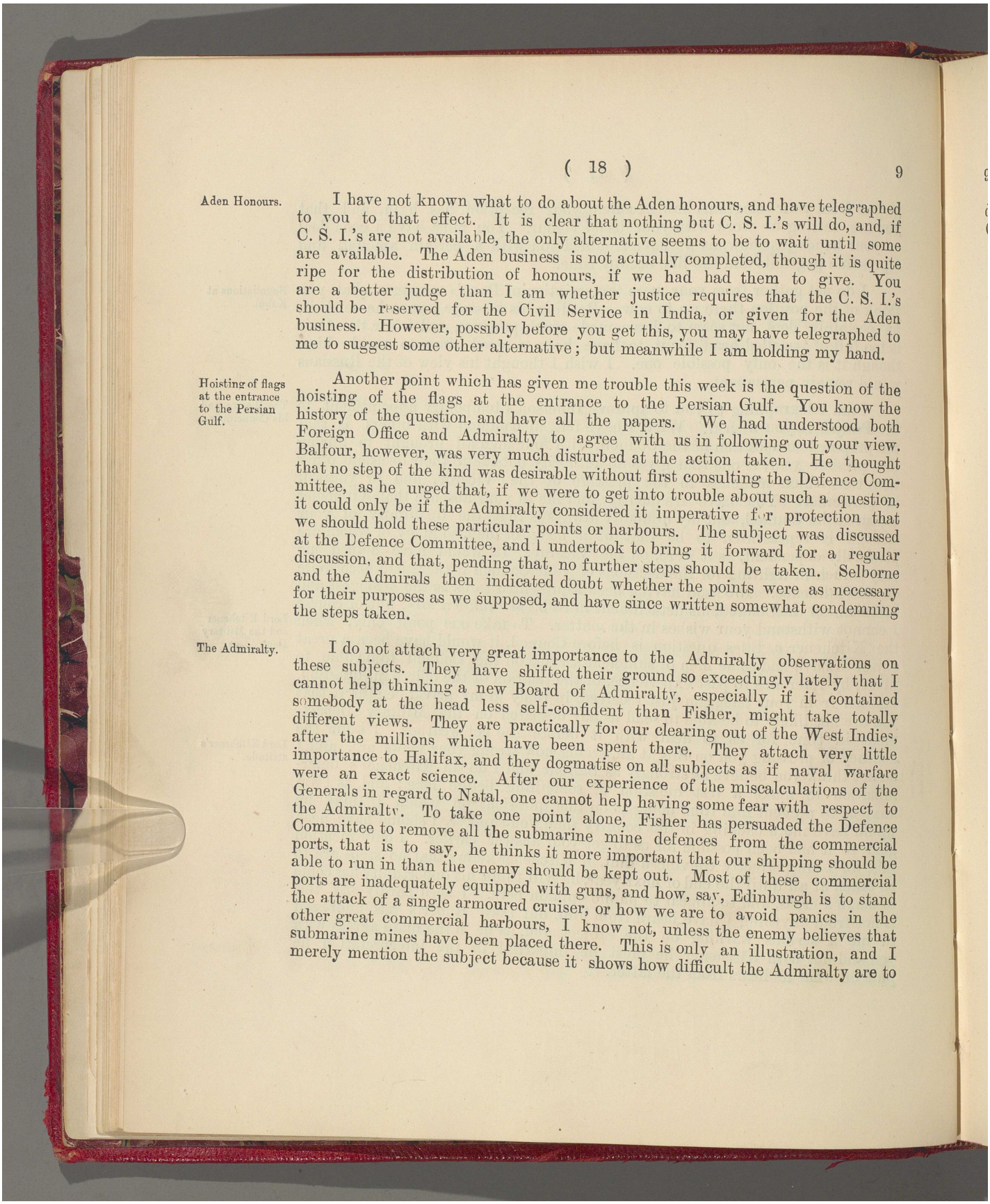
I am telegraphing to you to approve Ibbetson's temporary appointment to the Punjab as you wish it. What I have felt, in common with others, is that the proposed composition of the Council, with four men all brought in during the present year, is one that gives no authority outside to their decisions other than that which attaches to the prestige of the Viceroy, and to yourself in particular. You have frequently told me in your absence that Kitchener captured the Council, and my difficulty always is that the unanimity of your Council is represented to be that of a body of men, so many of whom are personally dependent, as it were, on the Viceroy. It would have helped me very much in fighting for the decisions of your Council if there had been more outside influence. Ibbetson having been represented to us as the strongest and best man on the Council, his detachment must be *pro tanto* a loss; but of course I cannot withstand your wishes in the matter. To take one point only, when the Kitchener *v.* Elles question is before Council, it would have been a great object to have had some men of sufficient service on the Council to be able to judge, by reference to past experience, of the relation of the offices in question. I gather from your telegram just received, in reply to my private enquiry, that you are not likely to be able to send us any despatch on the Military Department in time for us to deal with it before the hot weather. I know the delicacy of pressing you on this at all, seeing how strong your views are, and I do not think you believe as strongly as Balfour and I do in Kitchener's determination to make a test question of something before long; and, as I am anxious to prevent him from doing so on this question, on which I think he would have more backing in this country than you suppose, I should have been glad if it had been possible for us to get your answer earlier. I only mention this, for I am perfectly convinced that, if Kitchener knows that no steps are to be taken at all until the end of next year, he will think his opportunity has come to make a crisis, and to appeal to public opinion here. I need hardly say this is not from anything I have heard from him, but Lord Roberts has addressed to me a serious warning on the subject, and, as he in the main agrees with you and not with Kitchener, he must be impartial in the interpretation he puts on what he hears from the latter.

Lord Kitchener and the Military Dept.

Lord Kitchener's attitude.

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Aden Honours.

I have not known what to do about the Aden honours, and have telegraphed to you to that effect. It is clear that nothing but C. S. I.'s will do, and, if C. S. I.'s are not available, the only alternative seems to be to wait until some are available. The Aden business is not actually completed, though it is quite ripe for the distribution of honours, if we had had them to give. You are a better judge than I am whether justice requires that the C. S. I.'s should be reserved for the Civil Service in India, or given for the Aden business. However, possibly before you get this, you may have telegraphed to me to suggest some other alternative; but meanwhile I am holding my hand.

Hoisting of flags at the entrance to the Persian Gulf.

Another point which has given me trouble this week is the question of the hoisting of the flags at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. You know the history of the question, and have all the papers. We had understood both Foreign Office and Admiralty to agree with us in following out your view. Balfour, however, was very much disturbed at the action taken. He thought that no step of the kind was desirable without first consulting the Defence Committee, as he urged that, if we were to get into trouble about such a question, it could only be if the Admiralty considered it imperative for protection that we should hold these particular points or harbours. The subject was discussed at the Defence Committee, and I undertook to bring it forward for a regular discussion, and that, pending that, no further steps should be taken. Selborne and the Admirals then indicated doubt whether the points were as necessary for their purposes as we supposed, and have since written somewhat condemning the steps taken.

The Admiralty.

I do not attach very great importance to the Admiralty observations on these subjects. They have shifted their ground so exceedingly lately that I cannot help thinking a new Board of Admiralty, especially if it contained somebody at the head less self-confident than Fisher, might take totally different views. They are practically for our clearing out of the West Indies, after the millions which have been spent there. They attach very little importance to Halifax, and they dogmatise on all subjects as if naval warfare were an exact science. After our experience of the miscalculations of the Generals in regard to Natal, one cannot help having some fear with respect to the Admiralty. To take one point alone, Fisher has persuaded the Defence Committee to remove all the submarine mine defences from the commercial ports, that is to say, he thinks it more important that our shipping should be able to run in than the enemy should be kept out. Most of these commercial ports are inadequately equipped with guns, and how, say, Edinburgh is to stand the attack of a single armoured cruiser, or how we are to avoid panics in the other great commercial harbours, I know not, unless the enemy believes that submarine mines have been placed there. This is only an illustration, and I merely mention the subject because it shows how difficult the Admiralty are to

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deal with, even under so good a head as Selborne. Some day, like the War Office, they may lose their credit.

I do not think I need trouble you with anything further this week.

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 10.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. J. BALFOUR, M. P.

Whitlingehame, January 1st, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I have read with the greatest interest and admiration your paper on the India Council and its relation to Indian Government.

Suggested amendment of the Govt. of India Acts.

I do not profess to have heard the *other* side stated by those most competent to represent it; but, as at present advised, all my sympathies are with you. I do not believe in these systems of elaborate checks and counter-checks; and though I have no personal experience of the working of the system, I can well imagine how irritating it must be, if, and when, schemes long thought out and elaborately prepared by the central and provincial Governments in India are squashed without appeal in Whitehall.

Whether we shall be able to do anything this session, however, may well be doubted—even if the Cabinet take my view. Our programme is already so large and so controversial that the unfortunate Leader of the House of Commons can hardly look forward to it with satisfaction! But I will talk the matter over with St. John and communicate with you again.

I am dictating this on the first day of the New Year. Let me, dear George, wish you every happiness through its course; and may it be, so far as you are concerned, as calm and untroubled as the year just drawn to its close has been black with tragic anxieties.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

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No. 11.

FROM THE RT. HON. ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON

January 6th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Viceroy's arrival.

I am very much obliged to you for finding time to write your letter of the 14th December after your arrival, and I was delighted to hear that you had got through the journey on the whole well, and received so hearty a greeting. By now you must, I fear, be overwhelmed with the usual work again, and before this letter reaches you you will be feeling as if you had never left India. Certainly business seems to multiply, and I have plenty of subjects to write to you upon.

Illness of Lady Lamington.

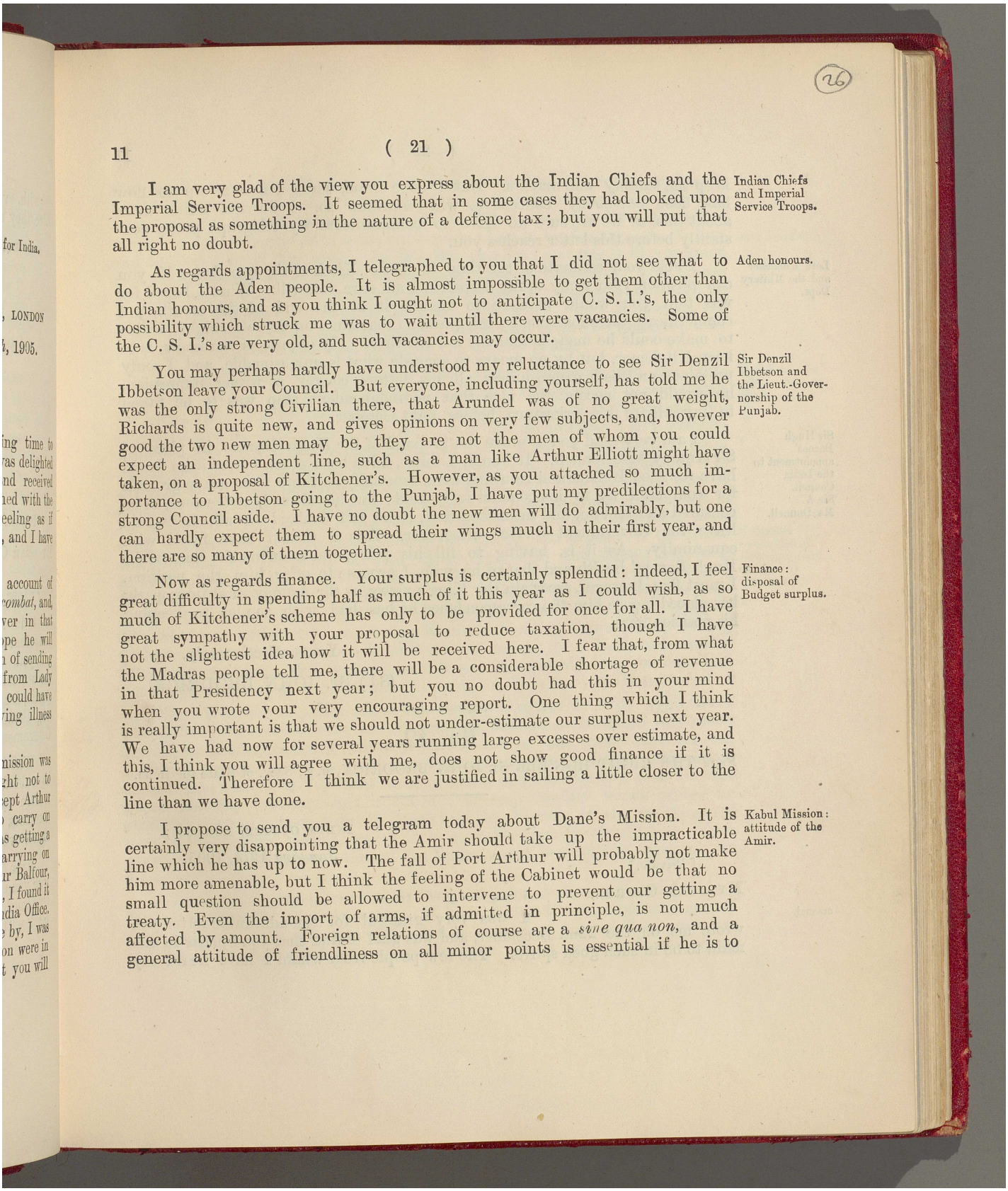
First, however, let me say how sorry I was to hear your account of Lamington. I had heard rumours that she was very much *hors de combat*, and, from what reached me, I imagined that she could not possibly recover in that climate. He has never mentioned the matter to me, and I only hope he will take your advice, for no one realises more than I do the privation of sending your wife away when she is so much wanted. I heard incidentally from Lady Salisbury yesterday that Lady Curzon is looking better than she could have expected. But I fear the recovery of her nerves after her long trying illness must be gradual.

Kashmir: powers of the Maharaja.

I telegraphed at once my regrets about Kashmir. I find the omission was a purely fortuitous one, but, as I undertook to warn Ampthill, I ought not to have forgotten it. The truth is that, while no Cabinet Minister except Arthur ever takes a Private Secretary about, I find it almost impossible to carry on really heavy business in a country house. In October, while I was getting a number of very heavy telegrams about Tibet and Afghanistan, and carrying on correspondence with yourself and the Government of India and Arthur Balfour, as well as one or two Members of the Cabinet who wished to be heard, I found it almost impossible to get along without the ordinary appliances of the India Office. On the other hand, I could not leave Scotland as, Arthur being close by, I was seeing him constantly, and moreover both Gerald and Alfred Lyttelton were in the neighbourhood. In the press the question escaped me, but I trust you will somehow find your way through it.

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Indian Chiefs and Imperial Service Troops.

I am very glad of the view you express about the Indian Chiefs and the Imperial Service Troops. It seemed that in some cases they had looked upon the proposal as something in the nature of a defence tax; but you will put that all right no doubt.

Aden honours.

As regards appointments, I telegraphed to you that I did not see what to do about the Aden people. It is almost impossible to get them other than Indian honours, and as you think I ought not to anticipate C. S. I.'s, the only possibility which struck me was to wait until there were vacancies. Some of the C. S. I.'s are very old, and such vacancies may occur.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson and the Lieut.-Governorship of the Punjab.

You may perhaps hardly have understood my reluctance to see Sir Denzil Ibbetson leave your Council. But everyone, including yourself, has told me he was the only strong Civilian there, that Arundel was of no great weight, Richards is quite new, and gives opinions on very few subjects, and, however good the two new men may be, they are not the men of whom you could expect an independent line, such as a man like Arthur Elliott might have taken, on a proposal of Kitchener's. However, as you attached so much importance to Ibbetson going to the Punjab, I have put my predilections for a strong Council aside. I have no doubt the new men will do admirably, but one can hardly expect them to spread their wings much in their first year, and there are so many of them together.

Finance: disposal of Budget surplus.

Now as regards finance. Your surplus is certainly splendid: indeed, I feel great difficulty in spending half as much of it this year as I could wish, as so much of Kitchener's scheme has only to be provided for once for all. I have great sympathy with your proposal to reduce taxation, though I have not the slightest idea how it will be received here. I fear that, from what the Madras people tell me, there will be a considerable shortage of revenue in that Presidency next year; but you no doubt had this in your mind when you wrote your very encouraging report. One thing which I think is really important is that we should not under-estimate our surplus next year. We have had now for several years running large excesses over estimate, and this, I think you will agree with me, does not show good finance if it is continued. Therefore I think we are justified in sailing a little closer to the line than we have done.

Kabul Mission: attitude of the Amir.

I propose to send you a telegram today about Dane's Mission. It is certainly very disappointing that the Amir should take up the impracticable line which he has up to now. The fall of Port Arthur will probably not make him more amenable, but I think the feeling of the Cabinet would be that no small question should be allowed to intervene to prevent our getting a treaty. Even the import of arms, if admitted in principle, is not much affected by amount. Foreign relations of course are a *sine qua non*, and a general attitude of friendliness on all minor points is essential if he is to

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keep the subsidy and arrears. But I hope Dane, whose language up to now has been extremely concessive, will continue so. I do not write more about this, as we are sure to have to communicate by telegraph pretty constantly before this letter reaches you.

Lord Kitchener and the Military Dept.

I note your estimate of the time to settle Kitchener's question. If you can push on your reply to my despatch, I am sure you will. What I hoped for was that you would manage to answer it at the end of this month, and communicate the substance by telegram, so that anv enquiry we might decide to make could be made before the hot weather. My object, as you know, is to keep Kitchener, but by no means to concede what is unreasonable, and I only press you on this because, unless all his letters convey a wrong impression, he would not accept the idea that no independent step was to be taken to investigate his grievance before next October.

Sir Hugh Barnes' appointment to the India Council. Sir A. MacDonnell.

I am very glad you approve the proposal of Sir Hugh Barnes in place of Sir Antony MacDonnell. It would, I think, have been much better if he would have resigned Ireland and returned here, especially as there were grave grounds for complaint as to his conduct in Ireland; but he elected, *entre nous*, to be censured and remain, and intimated that, if he left Ireland at all, he would leave the Government service altogether. This I should have faced with equanimity. As it is, having to fill his place, and knowing the state of Sir Hugh Barnes' health and that of his wife, I propose to offer him the position. I must first, however, ascertain the King's views, as Sir Antony most improperly has placed before him the correspondence he has had with me as to keeping his position here.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 12.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
January 12th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Personal.

I was very grateful for the admirable letter you wrote me on the 22nd December, and was glad to find that you appear in the main to be in such good spirits. The few people from whom I have heard say

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that work seems to have been a tonic to you at once. I have always heard, however, that tonics lose their effect by constant repetition, and for the last ten years you, like us, have had a fair share of that particular form of medicament. Ampthill writes with great enthusiasm of your kind reception of him and appreciation of his work. In the last two days you might like to know that by Balfour's wish I offered him the Under Secretaryship here. Our tenure of office may be so short that he is probably right in refusing it, although he has only ten months to run out at Madras. But while there is always the doubt of getting a start in home politics, I feel sure he is wise to see his time out. He is too good a man ever to get on the shelf, I think.

Lord Ampthill.

I am sending you a long telegram today about Kitchener and the Committee to enquire into his differences with Elles. Everything I hear confirms the view, which I know you thought was a tenable one, that he would not object to coming back home with the view of taking prominent civil employment. Every mail he writes more and more forcibly on the particular point which you have undertaken to report upon, and I doubt whether he will ever give you much cause for believing he is in earnest until he takes the step of resigning irrevocably. Unless he has altered very much since he went out to India, he will certainly not, in the face of what he has written and said, even since you came home from India, remain through the hot weather, if the Home Government, in the event of your disagreeing with him, do not take some steps to investigate the question in their own way. I do not believe that a better tribunal could be formed than that which I propose in my telegram today. If anything, knowing George Hamilton's views as I do, I may be accused of not sufficiently considering Kitchener's side. I consider my having succeeded in persuading George Hamilton to undertake it to be a masterpiece from your standpoint, and, though you will read these words after you have told me whether you are able to facilitate it or not, I still want to put it on record.

Lord Kitchener and the Military Department.

Suggested Committee of Enqniry: Lord George Hamilton.

There is no one in public life in this country who has so fully appreciated your difficulties, and also your achievements, as Hamilton. He is also very much against the predominance of military chiefs, and he has great love for the Admiralty system, which makes the civil element supreme. On the other hand, he feels that some of the present arrangements require change, and to that extent he may probably find a transfer of responsibility which would be satisfying to Kitchener, without depriving the Viceroy of the assistance of some skilled Indian soldier, which it is desirable that he should have when questions, of which a knowledge of the Native Army is absolutely essential, are considered.

I have also considered the matter from the point of view of your time and the convenience of administration. If I can get, as I hope, experts to accompany Hamilton, they will start with a full knowledge of the existing procedure and they can plunge at once *in medias res*. Their report will carry great

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weight here, and also in Parliament, and, if Kitchener is unreasonable, it will be a great stand-by for us. You have hardly mixed, I think, enough with people, owing to your illness and mourning, while in England, to realise that, while the public has chosen to entirely forget Lord Roberts' services and authority, and mostly ignore the fact that Wolseley is alive, and neither think nor care as to the official experience of men like Evelyn Wood and Buller, they are ready to swear to almost anything Kitchener says. This will not last, but in any army conflict it would have a most serious effect. I only mention this as what I most urgently hope is that you will see your way to accept the solution I suggest, and help us to find a way out of our difficulty without losing a man who is in many ways at this moment essential to the Indian Army.

Recent appointments.

I have offered Barnes the position on the Council, and have no doubt he will accept it. I had to wait a few days, as I was not sure whether the King would agree without discussion, but he has said nothing. Upcott leaves for India on the 19th, and Wood follows him on the 27th, I think, so that the new Board will be able to set to work in the middle of February. The names have been well received here. I am very glad of what you say about Hewett and Baker.

Attitude of the Amir.

I am at a loss what to write about the Amir. His proposals are very startling, and may be designed to entrap us into statements which he can subsequently use with Russia, or to force us to show our hand, and let him know what he has to gain from us as compared with Russia. I am at first sight inclined to doubt whether it will pay us to make the suggestion that these broader questions should be discussed between himself and you personally; as the one thing which seems clear in all the discussions is that he dreads coming to India. And if that be so, he will probably find reason to complain that we have not sent him a plenipotentiary. You may recollect a somewhat impudent letter in which he objected even to seeing you on the ground that you would not be able on the highest matters to make an arrangement with him. Surely he will now argue that you can instruct Dane and give him powers to treat, just as we maintain that you could yourself receive instructions and the necessary powers from the Government.

What he seems to be aiming at is to take credit some time in the future for having made big military proposals of a practical character for defending his State, and to make it a subject of complaint that we rejected them. From that point of view we all agree with your wish not to snub him at the outset. I will wait, however, for your proposals on the main question, and have arranged before Balfour comes back that we should thrash them out with Lansdowne, Lord Roberts, and one or two more. In any case his proposal about railways gives us an advantage for the future in pressing for whatever may be necessary in that respect.

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I am doing my best to get rid of some of your surplus this year, in relief of future years, when so many more civil charges will be upon us. Budget surplus.

The advices from St. Petersburgh show that things are quite as serious internally as they appear from the ordinary news. The state of misery caused by the mobilization is awful; the women go on the streets and the Reservists, in their despair, commit all kinds of excesses. The refusal of reform is expected to result in a number of assassinations. The Baku riots are far more serious than we have been allowed to know. But if the Russians get their £50,000,000 from France and Germany, they will get on for another six months. State of affairs in Russia.

Good-bye, dear old boy. I hope you are not feeling overdone. Lady E. Cecil writes a most encouraging account of Lady Curzon, whom she has visited.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 13.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;
January 13th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I was glad to see your Viceregal handwriting once more, and glad that you were able to regard my letter as "friendly but somewhat pessimistic," for this is a proof that you took a more cheerful view of things than I did, and, I suppose I may add, than you yourself did before leaving England. But I prophesied, as you may remember, that your Indian work would act as a tonic, and both your letter and another received by the same post from Ampthill, in which he gives his impressions about you, lead me to think that this prophecy has been fulfilled. Personal.

I read with much interest, and with the admiration which your public utterances almost invariably extort from me, your speech on resuming office. I was particularly pleased with your tribute to Lord Northbrook, which was most true and in every respect well-deserved. He used to come and see me here pretty often, to talk over any Indian question which was occupying his mind, and I always enjoyed his visits and felt, as he left me, how admirable was the almost extinct type to which he belonged. If (as the fox said to the crow in the fable) his powers of uttering his thoughts had been equal to Viceroy's speech on resumption of office. Lord Northbrook.

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his other powers and to his energy and patriotism, he would have been a very great man.

The Earl of Hardwicke.

My estimate of Hardwicke may have been slightly, but certainly only slightly, coloured by my affection for him, and by the circumstances in which I wrote to you: he was unquestionably much above the average as an official, and did extremely good and useful work in this office. As to this there is a *consensus* of all who had to do with him. He always attended the Political, Finance, Military, and Public Works Committees, though of course he was not a member of them; and in all of these he took a most useful part in the discussions. I wish they would appoint his successor: but they have had, I know, one refusal. Whoever he is, he may easily be a better speaker than Hardwicke, but he will hardly be a better Under Secretary from the point of view of us permanent officials.

The C.-in-C. and the Military Dept.

Your account of the rivalry between the two Military establishments—the "two War Offices," as the Prime Minister called them at our meeting at the House of Commons—is most interesting: but facts such as those which you mention are rather strong *primâ facie* evidence against the present system.

Mixed Brigades.

As for the brigades. I have been reading the letters of the Generals to Lord Kitchener, or Lord Kitchener's Secretary, on the subject; and I must say that, after making all due allowances for pressure on the one side, and a desire to please on the other, I thought that there was a residuum of real opinion in favour of the change, which surprised me not a little. Of course the matter is not one on which I should pretend to have an opinion of my own, but from what I have heard from our experts here I should have gathered that it would be impossible for Lord Kitchener or anyone else to scrape up any support for such a proposal. Can it be that the facts have changed with time? This might partly account for the divergence between the old and the new school, if indeed any such divergence really exists.

Suggested Committee of Enquiry.

You will have heard that our Secretary of State is very anxious to get his Committee on the relations of the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member sent out promptly. I should myself have been quite content to let things take their ordinary course, *i. e.*, to await your reply, to consider it in Council, and then to send out a despatch announcing the coming of the Committee immediately after the next hot weather. But he would not hear of waiting, and the result will be that he will have some trouble with his Council, whose consent, of course, is necessary. Nevertheless they will, I am pretty sure, agree, provided that they are properly handled.

Sir A. MacDonnell.

The resignation by MacDonnell of his Membership of Council is, I must say, a disappointment to me. I looked forward very much to having such a strong, able, and interesting man as a Colleague, and I was quite prepared to pay the price in the shape of a revival, more or less, of the friction and personal hostilities which used to exist when I first came here, but from which we have now for many years been happily free. I believe he has made an

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unfortunate choice from his own point of view, for it seems to me more than likely that in one way or another he will before long be ousted from his present post, and will then find himself on the ground between two stools. And he really knows more about India than about Ireland, and would be more useful here than in Dublin, even if we grant (what few Members of His Majesty's Government would grant) that he is not positively harmful in his present situation.

Appointments to the Railway Board.

I have just been having my penultimate conversation with Upcott. We have had an unusual amount of trouble over that business of the Railway Board, and I am extremely glad to read in your letter to the Secretary of State what you say as to the approval with which Upcott's and Wynne's names have been received. As to the third man, Wood, we have excellent accounts of him, and he has made a very favourable impression on Upcott. So I hope that all promises well: if you can get them well started by the beginning of the hot weather, it will not be the least of the numerous feathers which adorn your cap.

The Kabul Mission.

Your reports of the Kabul Mission are not altogether pleasant reading: I hope that you are at least as clearly determined in this case, as your predecessor (?) was in the case of Tibet, that your envoy shall not come away without his treaty. To do so would surely be disastrous. I was very glad that you were in favour of treating the Amir's military proposals tenderly, instead of snubbing them—surely they may lead to something useful if they are judiciously worked.

Finance Membership.

It is, as you say, a real advantage that your new Financial Member is likely to stay out his five years. I see that in the last 50 years we have had 7 Civilians as Finance Members, and of these 4 served for 5 years or upwards. Among outsiders Law holds the record.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 14.

FROM THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, K.G., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

FOREIGN OFFICE;
January 13*th*, 1905.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Mr. Macartney's position at Kashgar.

I quite enter into your views with regard to Macartney. As you are aware, Satow, for reasons which I need not recapitulate, particularly begged that he might be allowed to choose his own moment for pressing

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the Chinese Government. We stirred him up in December of last year, pointing out that we could not allow Macartney's recognition as Consul to be indefinitely postponed, but with the concurrence of the India Office we authorised Satow to hold his hand until the negotiations as to the Adhesion Agreement were concluded. It will never do to allow the question to remain indefinitely in suspense, but it may be better to wait until the Agreement is settled. We ought then, in my opinion, to make it clear that we expect compliance with our demand. I hope this will meet your views.

Attitude of the Amir.

I am afraid the Amir is going to be troublesome. I detect a vein of characteristic irony in his references to Chageh, Chaman, and Hashtadan as the places from which we should repel a Russian attack.

I hope you are keeping well, but you have had to stand a strain under which any but the stoutest fibre would have snapped.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) LANSDOWNE.

No. 15.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
January 20th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Lord Kitchener and Army Administration.

Our somewhat animated telegraphic correspondence during the last week about the Kitchener-Elles business has rather dwarfed other matters for the moment. Your final telegram says that you do not quite understand the difficulty, and this suggests to me that it is better to go through the whole correspondence to show you how the question now stands, as you will remember that, although you discussed it with the Prime Minister, we have not touched upon it since last August.

The first intimation that I had that Kitchener was dissatisfied with his position was in June, when Colonel Mullaly handed the Prime Minister the long memorandum which you have seen. I supported you at once in keeping it out of the discussions of the Defence Committee, and treating it as *non avenu* for all purposes. But I felt pretty sure that Kitchener would push the question as soon as he could. Early in August I had a strong warning

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from a private source that we were treading on most dangerous ground if we wanted to keep Kitchener. I know you think he flies these kites for the purpose of scaring us, but I am afraid the evil goes a little deeper. You will remember that, at the meeting held in Balfour's room at which you and Sir Arthur Godley, and I think Lord Roberts, were present, it became clear that, while Lord Roberts was inclined to side with you, the Prime Minister, Godley, and I were for some change, the two former being more in favour of it even than I was.

Balfour spoke to me most seriously after that meeting. Busy as he was, he spent a long time in trying to devise some means by which the Army might not be paralysed, as he held it would be, by the continuance of the divided administration at Simla, and yet that the Government of India should not be brought into any condition inconsistent with your view of its safe conduct and the effective control necessary by the Council over the Commander-in-Chief. It was agreed in consequence that the Supply and Transport changes should be made, and that we should then wait a little.

In September, at the time of your greatest anxiety, came Kitchener's resignation on a minor point. You have, I think, seen the telegrams which then passed, and are aware that Balfour and I pledged ourselves to the holding of an enquiry into Kitchener's grievances. When I saw Balfour, we renewed the decision that some independent enquiry must be made which we had had in our minds early in August if we were to satisfy Kitchener, it being perfectly clear from what you said that your Council would support you in the belief that no drastic change was necessary. If we had been dealing with any other Viceroy, or at all events with any Viceroy situated differently as to the anxious circumstances in which you then found yourself, a Committee would have been nominated at once, on the strength of the disagreement made known to us by Kitchener's resignation. But purely from personal regard for yourself and your wishes, we deferred the question till you and Balfour could meet and discuss it. The discussion was delayed for six or seven weeks by his absence from London and your own detention at Walmer, and it was then agreed that I was to write a despatch which would travel out with you, and on which the Indian Government would pronounce its opinion after hearing what Kitchener and Elles had to say, and that, in the event of their disagreeing with Kitchener, we should then hold an enquiry.

The matter stands in the position then arranged at this moment. But it certainly never occurred to us that the delay rendered necessary by your departure at the end of November would make it impossible for us to enquire before the hot weather. Please do not think I impute any blame to anyone in this respect. I quite understand the time rendered necessary by the official procedure and your desire that all constitutional forms should be properly gone through. What I have been endeavouring to do in the last

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few days is to release myself from a position of great difficulty. The Prime Minister has declared more than once that he is not prepared to go to war with Russia with the present divided system of control at Simla. On the other hand, although your telegram of the 19th instant contains a statement from Kitchener that seems to show that he is content to let matters take their ordinary course, his present mood must conflict strangely with what he has written ever since the 'blow up' in September. It would not be helpful to our difficulty to contrast what you told me as to his opinions with those which I have received first-hand from him. If I thought he would rest satisfied till November next, I should be only too glad to have an enquiry then. My impression is that, whether you stay at Simla through the summer, of which you told me you were doubtful, or whether a new Viceroy takes your place, Kitchener will not wait till 1906 to have affairs placed in some respects on a different footing.

Proposed Committee of Enquiry.

In securing George Hamilton I felt certain that, with two good military colleagues, the Committee would make a report consistent with the past traditions of the Indian Government. But Hamilton entirely declined to go out later than the beginning of February, and I feel that, although it may be perfectly feasible for a Viceroy, inured to the climate, to travel to Bombay and through the Red Sea in May, one can hardly expect an unpaid official going out on the public service to run risks of that kind. In any case Hamilton declined to do it, and so did two others to whom I tried to entrust the task. I have been, therefore, most reluctantly forced to give up the idea of sending out the Committee now, and I fear the only result is that we shall have to decide the question here on your despatch, without further enquiry.

There is only one point I should like you to realise, and that is that this is not a contest between your views and my own: your mind is made up, while mine is open. All I am endeavouring to do is to secure that we shall not lose our Commander-in-Chief on a point on which he has a full right to be satisfied, and on which, if trouble should ensue, he will have every support from the public, when they realise that he put forward his complaint in June 1904, resigned in September 1904, and could get no enquiry held by the Government at home, despite all promises, until say November 1905.

Appointment of the Marquess of Bath as Under Secretary at the India Office.

I hope you like the appointment of Bath as Under Secretary. He has done admirable service in the west of England, where he is exceedingly popular. He also gives the go-by to some of his younger compeers, who have been signalising themselves by attacking the Government, and who are now most anxious to make their peace in order to get employment. I do not think they can have their cake and eat it too; and, apart from Bath being a fellow of high character and very fair speaking power, I am very glad of his appointment.

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We have concurred in all your suggestions as regards the Tibet Blue Book, and I hope to get it out before this reaches you. Of course I shall resist any production of papers as regards Afghanistan till you have arrived at a final settlement. — The Tibet Blue Book.

I agree with you about the difficulties made here on financial proposals. Until I got very firmly seated in the saddle, I had great doubts of interfering in the replies made to you, when the Departments and the Council concurred. Nothing is more difficult, without some *amicus curiæ* ready to hand, to upset the set position taken up on some of these points. I fought a very heavy battle and was defeated both on the Savings Banks and Famine Fund. Consequently I was inclined to lie by for a bit rather than run other chances of defeat. I will, however, give great attention to any further financial proposals which you may make, and attend the Committees if necessary. Naturally, having been for a time closely connected with City affairs, I have got my own views on them, and they generally coincide with yours. — Budget proposals: attitude of the India Council.

I do not know that I have any fresh subjects to open up this week. The Prince of Wales' tour question must wait awhile. One thing he was most keen about was not being made to do too much, and he thoroughly understands that all the Chiefs cannot be expected to come and do him homage, if he does not travel to as many places as his father did. I do not think he wants his tour to be a source of great expense to anyone. As a matter of fact, sport occupies him much more than ceremonial. Do you, as I am writing upon it, wish that there should be an extension of the various Orders for his visit? I should be *primâ facie* against it, but very possibly we may not be able to stop it. — Prince of Wales' proposed tour. — Question of Extension of Indian Orders.

In connection with the above, the Foreign Office object strongly to Fitz-Maurice receiving a C. I. E. for the Aden business. O'Conor thinks it would be a totally inadequate recompense, and I fear the only alternative is to fall back on the other plan of waiting to give C. S. I.'s all round, though I have not the least wish to mortgage your C. S. I.'s if it can be avoided. Balfour is, I believe, in great difficulty about C. B.'s, as the number does not in any way come up to what is needed. — Aden delimitation Honours.

I noted what you said about the 'National Anthem question.' It is difficult to know what to say. Much importance is attached to the exaltation of Bombay and Madras, and I suspect the King, if roused again on it, would decide adversely to the former decision. Perhaps I had better 'let sleeping dogs lie.' — Governors and the National Anthem.

Ever yours,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

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No. 16.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;
January 20th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

The C.-in-C. and the Mily. Dept.: proposed Commission.

We have been rather distracted of late over the question of the proposed Commission on the relations of the Commander-in-Chief and Military Member, and at the moment of writing it seems to have ended in collapse. I cannot say that I personally greatly regret the postponement, and I hope it is not disloyal on my part to emit this opinion, in spite of the fact that my Secretary of State, as you will have gathered from his telegrams and his letters, was very keen about it. Of course he would have had to get the consent of his Council here to the sending out of the Commission, and, although they would have agreed, *i. e.*, would not have taken the responsibility of disagreeing, they would not have liked at all to be asked to decide such a big matter—for the sending out of a Commission on such a subject is a very big matter—without any papers before them. At the same time, I gather that although the Commission is dropped, at any rate for the present, we are very far indeed from having dropped the idea of possible reform, and we shall await your despatch and the Commander-in-Chief's memorandum with very great interest.

The difficulty of finding the other two members of the Commission (besides Lord George) was very great, and even if Lord George had been willing to stick to it, and to sail on the 2nd, I don't see how we could have got the others, and the Secretary, under way until the middle of the month. And how much time would they then have had? Apparently the 15th April was the latest date for leaving India which Lord George ever contemplated, and even that is late for an elderly man, not accustomed to the climate.

In a letter written December 26th to Mr. Brodrick I see that I said very emphatically that I did not think anything could be done before the hot weather, and I thought that he had accepted this view: but, as it turned out, I was very much mistaken.

Sir H. T. White's appointment.
Sir H. Barnes.

Today has arrived your recommendation of Thirkell White for the Burma Lieutenant-Governorship; from what I know of him by reputation I should say you were lucky to have so good a man ready to your hand. I am very much pleased at the prospect of having Barnes here. We were really much in

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want of some more recent experience in our Political Committee, which moreover, will be weakened in a few months by the departure of the Chairman, Sir S. Bayley. A good new up-to-date recruit will be most valuable.

Lord Bath.

So Lord Bath is, after all, to be our new Under Secretary, and thus the Secretary of State and both his Under Secretaries in this country, and the Governor-General in India, will be Balliol men. If this goes on we shall have an *émeute* of the other Colleges, and shrapnel (as in St. Petersburg) will be fired into the Master's windows.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 17.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

January 26th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

State of affairs in Russia.

Your letter of the 5th January goes at length into a number of topics which we seem to discuss week by week, and which I fear will still occupy us for a long time to come. The only event which has intervened, and which may possibly affect us, is the Russian revolution. You know the *pros* and *cons* so much better than I do, that it is hardly worth my going into them at length; but, although the Government appear to be getting the upper hand, I suppose we may take it as certain that half the damage they may have sustained has never been allowed to pass the censor. And, if anything like the conflagration reported at Sebastopol is repeated at Libau and other places, enormous damage will be done; and, whatever be the ultimate severity of repression, I suppose Russia's wings may be clipped for some time to come. I am of course allowing for her continued defeats by land and sea, and the enormous expenditure which is going on, added to which it seems impossible that Germany and France will continue to sustain the market, as they are now doing, and make fresh loans possible.

Military reorganisation and stores.

I only write on all this as, if there should be anything like a serious collapse in Russia, we might take our programme of military reorganisation more quietly. In the meantime I have suggested to you a few more items of possible expenditure this year, in case you like to incur them, and I am pressing on the provision of stores already ordered as fast as I can.

Army Corps Commanders.

I agree with what you said last week as to Army Corps Commanders. As regards these appointments and some others, I find it very difficult to

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reconcile the opinions expressed in the despatches, in which Kitchener presumably concurs, with what he writes privately. There is no trace in his reorganisation scheme of any idea of getting rid of the Lieutenant-Generals Commanding; but, in a private letter to Stedman, he treats this as a thing which will probably come. Your reasons seem to me conclusive against it. I have not the least belief in the Brigade or Divisional system, and the consequent ignoring of higher command. You can only keep a great number of Brigadiers up to their work by constant inspection, and this is equally forbidden by the distances and the circumstances of Indian life, You cannot get ten or twelve Brigadiers together, as at Aldershot within a stone's throw of London, in any part of India.

Homogeneous *versus* Mixed Brigades.

I do not know whether you are aware that Kitchener sent me, a mail or two ago, the actual letters received from various Generals agreeing with him in the abolition of the mixed Brigades in war. Opinion here is all the other way, and I know only too well the methods by which Kitchener impressed his personality on these proposals. You will, however, no doubt answer our despatch on this subject, when you will have the opportunity of saying whether, with a somewhat different Council, you will put your seal on his proposals

Kabul Mission: Mr. Dane's appointment.

I am very much distressed at what you tell me about Dane; but your letter seems almost to assume that I had some share in his appointment. As, however, I think you will remember, you shook my confidence in Dane by what you said earlier in the year, and it was only when proposed by Ampthill and agreed to by you, in a telegram in which you said there was no alternative, that I accepted him. The only consolation to me is that the Amir's proposals seem to be of such a character that the most skilled negotiator might have failed to bring him to terms. His mind seems to have diverged altogether from the ordinary course, and I suppose these Russian troubles, when they reach him, will make him still more impracticable. It is not usual at this distance, in a letter which will only reach you after the events about which you wrote, to say anything in detail, and at the rate things are progressing, it looks as if Dane might be kept there several months, and not bring very much away at the end.

Proposed tour of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

I have seen your draft for the Prince of Wales' tour. As regards the money to be spent on his trip, I am to see the Chancellor of the Exchequer today. India clearly will be asked to pay for his actual entertainment on landing, but I shall certainly press that no other expenditure shall fall upon her. As regards the presents, I agree with you entirely: it will be iniquitous to allow the old system to grow up again, and, having heard from Bigge what your view was, I told him at once that I thought all questions of presents to the Prince should be put on one side. I suppose, however, as you say at the end of your remarks upon it, something must be left in the Prince of Wales' hands to give as an acknowledgment of hospitality. The fact that the Prince of Wales intends to take a very small retinue—I believe about six in all,

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without counting servants—should bring down the expenses chargeable to India considerably.

Cooper's Hill. Forestry students.

I have had rather a trouble over the habitation of the Forestry students who are to leave Cooper's Hill. The Cooper's Hill authorities, Dr. Schlich and others, all maintain they should be kept together at some University, and after long consideration designated Oxford as the best place for them. There are only from eight to twelve, so it is not a very formidable question; but it seems to be held to govern the probable location of Forestry instruction for all parts of the Empire, and the destination of students may depend on this decision, and Cambridge, Edinburgh, and other Universities are up in arms at the proposal. I had a very influential deputation last week. They made an excellent case, and I think we shall have to let them confer at all events with Oxford before anything is done. My own belief is that both you and I will live to see a similar arrangement proposed for keeping together the Public Works candidates who are to be scattered from Cooper's Hill among all sorts of engineering colleges, a policy which, in my infancy here, I deprecated, but in fighting which I got practically no support except from the Indian Government.

Portrait of Warren Hastings. Lord Bath.

I shall wait to see your Warren Hastings' despatch, and will do my best upon it. It is certainly a magnificent picture, and looks in splendid condition.

Bath has taken up the work here, and will, I am sure, be very acceptable to the authorities. He speaks well, and is a great personage in the west of England, so I have no doubt he will do us credit. He has put out of joint the noses of the young and ambitious gentlemen who have been throwing stones at the Government from one side or another on the fiscal question.

The King and Sir Ian Hamilton's withdrawal from Manchuria.

I ought perhaps to have mentioned that the King is very wrath with Arnold Forster for his continual efforts to withdraw Ian Hamilton from Manchuria to take up the Western Command. I have kept as much as possible out of the line of fire, merely saying that, if he was wanted for the Western Command, we can very well replace him; but I would urge you to prevent Kitchener proposing Sir Archibald Hunter in his place if the necessity should arise. Hunter has, the King considers, shown a lack of tact on several occasions, notably, I suppose, in his attack on Hedworth Lambton, and in one or two speeches in Scotland. In addition, I think to take away an Army Corps Commander, just after they have been instituted, on a mission from which he could not possibly return in time for the earlier stages of the war, would be a mistake. Therefore, I think we shall be wise, if the question arises, to propose someone else.

Position and policy in the Persian Gulf.

You sent us a pressing telegram about Bahrein, as to which I have been in communication with the Prime Minister and Lansdowne. By itself I do not think the coercion of the Sheikh of Bahrein would matter very much, but I have been so strongly urged by Balfour and Lansdowne not to keep things stewing in the Gulf at present, that I am afraid I may have difficulties in

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carrying through what you desired. The Prime Minister and the Defence Committee took a very strong line about the flagstaffs at Musandim. The Foreign Office is heavily moved about the permanent character of the Resident at Koweit. There is also some feeling about El Katr, and the movements of the two gentlemen for whom you procured passes from Constantinople have also given trouble. I do not profess for a moment in these matters to set any authority here against yours on the individual cases, but I expect to be fighting a heavy battle in the Defence Committee as regards the general utility of our predominance in the Persian Gulf before many weeks are over. The Admiralty are a broken reed in this matter, and they lay down the law, as I pointed out to you a few mails ago, so strongly as to what can or cannot be of service to the Navy, that it is very difficult to counter them. Believing, as I do, that some future Board of Admiralty will probably find reason to deplore any concessions which give another Power any kind of base in those seas as being a threat to Karachi and Bombay, and necessitating our keeping a larger force, I shall do my best to push on quietly in the direction you desire.

I hope you are keeping well. You say nothing about yourself.

Ever yours,
(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 18.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;
January 26th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Partition of Bengal.

Thank you for your letter of the 5th. I hope that we shall not make difficulties about the partition of Bengal: the opposition of the Congress Party will of course help matters considerably, so far as our Council is concerned.

Proposed transfer of the Punjab Govt. from Simla.

I think, and hope, that we shall also agree about Simla—provided that your proposals are bold enough to make it plain that the scheme is worth the money which you propose to spend. Ibbetson's adhesion (I suppose I ought to say "the continuance of his adhesion") is very important. Mackworth Young is, I fancy, a negligible quantity: to tell the truth, I was quite unaware that he was on the war-path until I learned it from your letter.

Retired Indian Civilians.

Your remarks about the retired Indian Civilian are just, if properly limited. For it must be remembered that they are a numerous class, and how few are the men who give trouble? To my mind, they deserve great credit for holding their tongues, as they generally do.

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It is true that I was inclined to oppose the return of the original of the Warren Hastings picture, on the ground (mainly) of *quieta non moveri*. But if Your Excellency's Government really cares so much about it, I for my part would give way with alacrity: and I shall expect you, when you get it, to issue a Proclamation, modelled on that with which Lord Ellenborough glorified the return of the gates of Somnauth. Portrait of Warren Hastings.

I do not myself like your reductions of taxation, believing as I do that the real thing to do is to spend the money for the benefit of the country; but I know that I am in a minority, and I have no doubt but that your proposal to knock 8 annas off the Salt duty will be approved. A majority of our Members of Council is certainly in favour of it. Budget proposals: reduction of taxation.

We are getting on—not too fast, you will say—with our consideration of the Police Question, and I think I can now assure you that your proposals, in in all essentials, will be approved. I don't think our Council will agree to bar Europeans born or domiciled in India, but they will not insist upon appointments from this class, *i. e.*, the Government of India will be at liberty to appoint, or not to appoint, such men as it pleases. Also they will urge upon you a certain moderate recognition of the principle of decentralization, and they may haggle over some of your increases of numbers, or pay, or both. But, on the whole, I think you may expect that nothing will be said to which you will seriously object. Police Commission Report.

Lord Bath appeared, and a day or two later disappeared, on account of "urgent private affairs." But I believe he is to be in regular attendance in a few days from now. Lord Bath.

His tenure of office is, I am afraid, not likely to be a long one. But I hear rumours to the effect that the *modus vivendi* agreed upon by the two sections of the Opposition, in the event of the Government's being defeated, has broken down, and that Campbell Bannerman now refuses to take a peerage and give up the lead of the House of Commons, on the ground that he cannot get from the Spencer-Asquith section the assurances that he requires, *i. e.*, assurances that their policy will be radical enough to satisfy him. If this is so, they may be unable to form a Government. I heard it from a very good outside authority, but I do not vouch for it: I daresay you know more than I do about it. Parliamentary.

I am extremely glad to see in the papers the statement that Lady Curzon has recovered and is about to go back to India. You know my feeling about the prolongation of your term, but, assuming that your term is to be prolonged, I am very much pleased to think that you will no longer reign in solitude. Lady Curzon.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

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No. 19.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
February 3rd, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Negotiations at Kabul.

I am writing in hourly expectation of your reply to a telegram I have sent you about the negotiations with Afghanistan. We are getting a little nervous at hearing nothing from Dane, more especially as you think he has opened the ball so badly, and the fuller reports seem to show so little progress in the negotiations. We have been racking our brains to see if we can assist you in any way by any proposal; but the question seems to be one of the Amir's *amour propre*, and not merely of subsidy and arrears. If he genuinely thinks that he can attack Russia, he will always have a grievance against us for not having joined him.

On the other hand, I believe we are absolutely at one on the question of a military convention, and that you are not disposed to step further in this direction than we are.

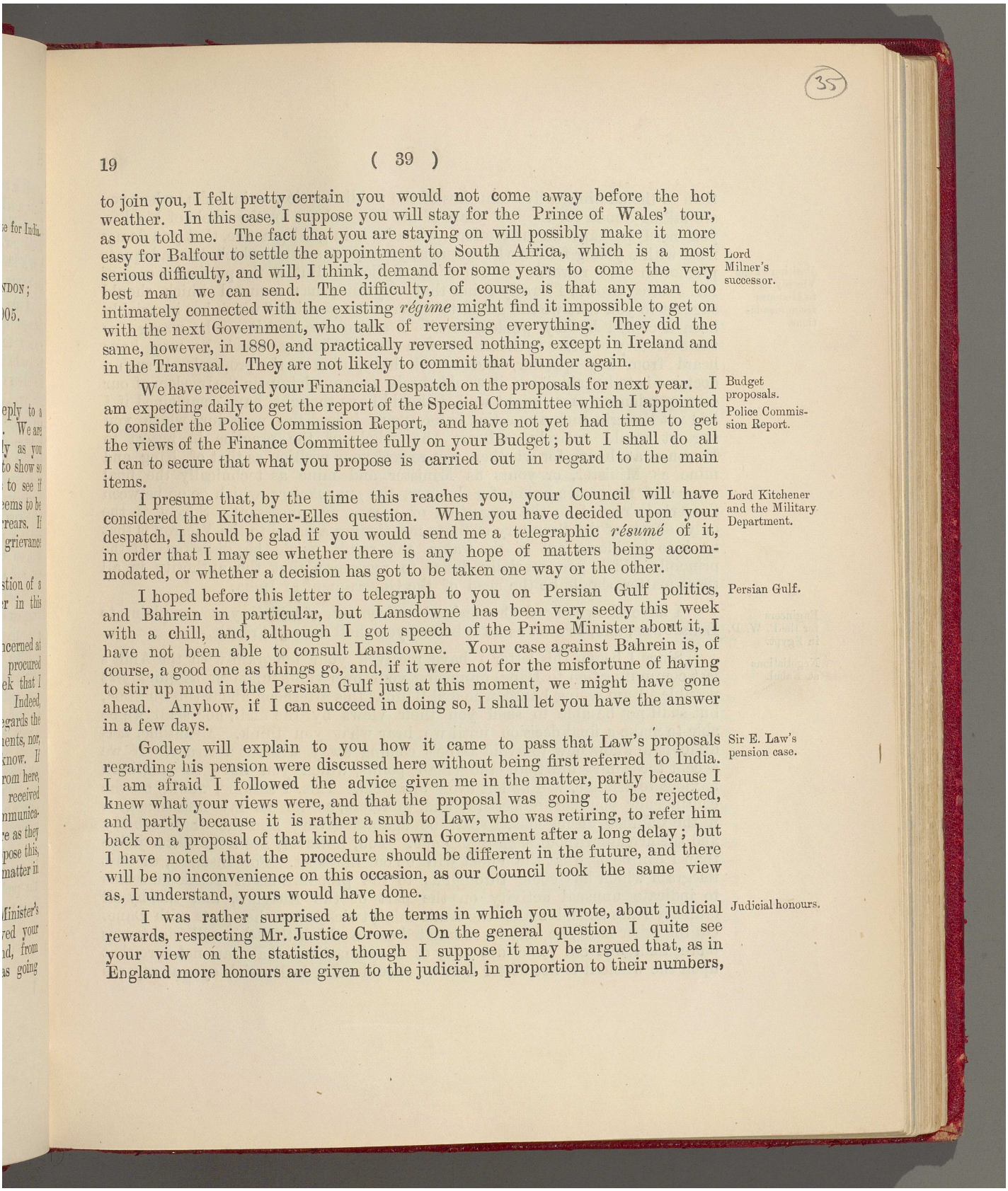
Composition of the Kabul Mission.

Re-reading your letter of the previous week, I am rather concerned at your suggestion that by a little management Barnes might have been procured instead of Dane, and I do not think I made it clear to you last week that I never heard any question of Barnes being employed after his refusal. Indeed, I sent you all that I received from the Government of India as regards the Mission. I did not in any way influence any of the minor appointments, nor, indeed, had I anything to say to the Mission at all except what you know. If I had expressed my own wish, it would have been to attach someone from here, by preference Ritchie, to Dane, in order to make sure that our views received full consideration, whereas, not knowing Dane, and having had no communication with him, he could only, of course, know the views held here as they filtered through to him by a memorandum. But I did not propose this, because I thought you would so infinitely prefer dealing with the matter in your own way.

The Viceroy's plans.

Since I wrote last, I have transmitted to you, by the Prime Minister's wish, his question as regards the date of your return, and have received your reply. We quite understand how you feel yourself to be situated, and, from the moment that I heard that Lady Curzon was fit to go out, and was going

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to join you, I felt pretty certain you would not come away before the hot weather. In this case, I suppose you will stay for the Prince of Wales' tour, as you told me. The fact that you are staying on will possibly make it more easy for Balfour to settle the appointment to South Africa, which is a most serious difficulty, and will, I think, demand for some years to come the very best man we can send. The difficulty, of course, is that any man too intimately connected with the existing *régime* might find it impossible to get on with the next Government, who talk of reversing everything. They did the same, however, in 1880, and practically reversed nothing, except in Ireland and in the Transvaal. They are not likely to commit that blunder again.

Lord Milner's successor.

We have received your Financial Despatch on the proposals for next year. I am expecting daily to get the report of the Special Committee which I appointed to consider the Police Commission Report, and have not yet had time to get the views of the Finance Committee fully on your Budget; but I shall do all I can to secure that what you propose is carried out in regard to the main items.

Budget proposals. Police Commission Report.

I presume that, by the time this reaches you, your Council will have considered the Kitchener-Elles question. When you have decided upon your despatch, I should be glad if you would send me a telegraphic *résumé* of it, in order that I may see whether there is any hope of matters being accommodated, or whether a decision has got to be taken one way or the other.

Lord Kitchener and the Military Department.

I hoped before this letter to telegraph to you on Persian Gulf politics, and Bahrein in particular, but Lansdowne has been very seedy this week with a chill, and, although I got speech of the Prime Minister about it, I have not been able to consult Lansdowne. Your case against Bahrein is, of course, a good one as things go, and, if it were not for the misfortune of having to stir up mud in the Persian Gulf just at this moment, we might have gone ahead. Anyhow, if I can succeed in doing so, I shall let you have the answer in a few days.

Persian Gulf.

Godley will explain to you how it came to pass that Law's proposals regarding his pension were discussed here without being first referred to India. I am afraid I followed the advice given me in the matter, partly because I knew what your views were, and that the proposal was going to be rejected, and partly because it is rather a snub to Law, who was retiring, to refer him back on a proposal of that kind to his own Government after a long delay; but I have noted that the procedure should be different in the future, and there will be no inconvenience on this occasion, as our Council took the same view as, I understand, yours would have done.

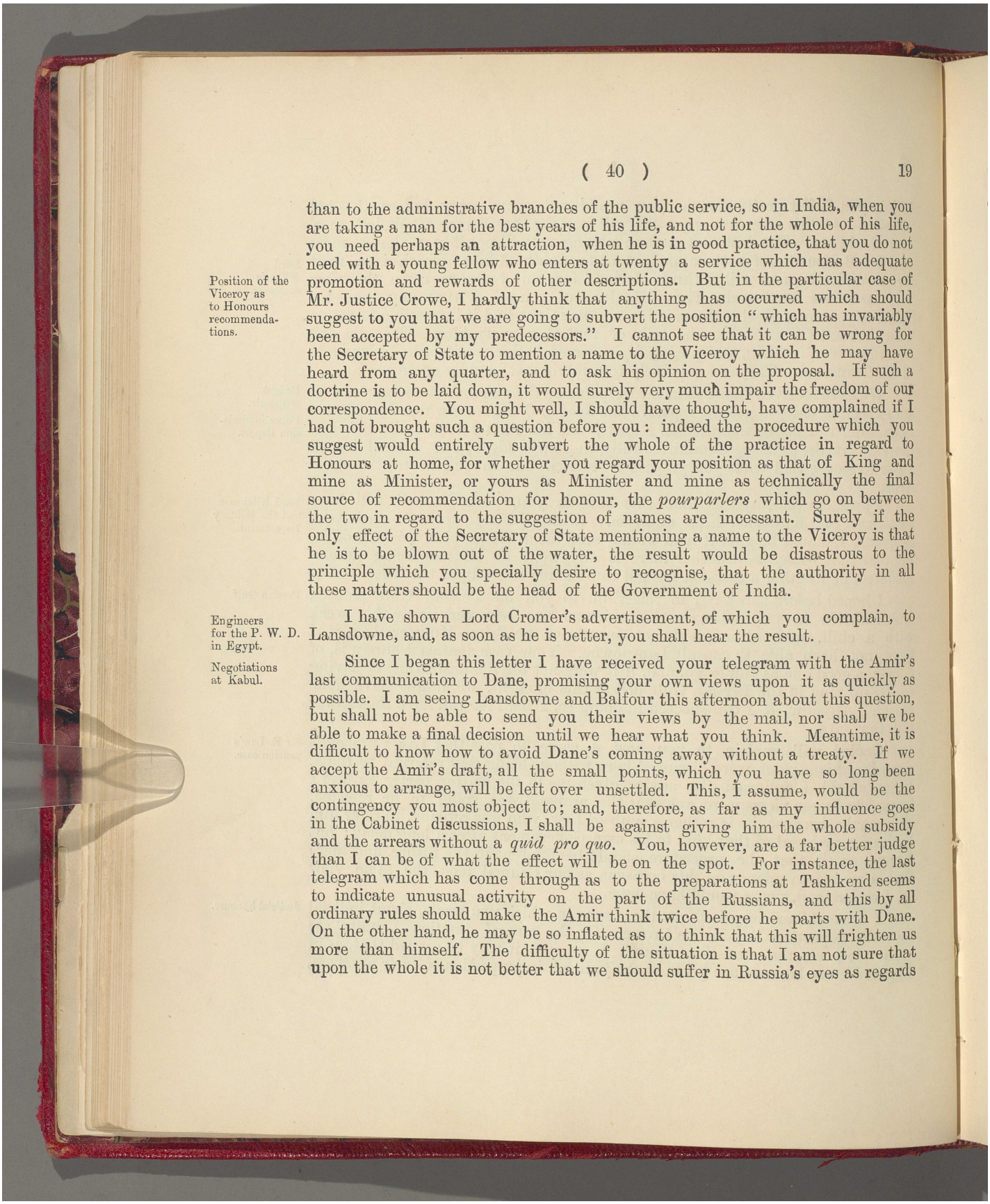
Sir E. Law's pension case.

I was rather surprised at the terms in which you wrote, about judicial rewards, respecting Mr. Justice Crowe. On the general question I quite see your view on the statistics, though I suppose it may be argued that, as in England more honours are given to the judicial, in proportion to their numbers,

Judicial honours.

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than to the administrative branches of the public service, so in India, when you are taking a man for the best years of his life, and not for the whole of his life, you need perhaps an attraction, when he is in good practice, that you do not need with a young fellow who enters at twenty a service which has adequate promotion and rewards of other descriptions. But in the particular case of Mr. Justice Crowe, I hardly think that anything has occurred which should suggest to you that we are going to subvert the position "which has invariably been accepted by my predecessors." I cannot see that it can be wrong for the Secretary of State to mention a name to the Viceroy which he may have heard from any quarter, and to ask his opinion on the proposal. If such a doctrine is to be laid down, it would surely very much impair the freedom of our correspondence. You might well, I should have thought, have complained if I had not brought such a question before you: indeed the procedure which you suggest would entirely subvert the whole of the practice in regard to Honours at home, for whether you regard your position as that of King and mine as Minister, or yours as Minister and mine as technically the final source of recommendation for honour, the *pourparlers* which go on between the two in regard to the suggestion of names are incessant. Surely if the only effect of the Secretary of State mentioning a name to the Viceroy is that he is to be blown out of the water, the result would be disastrous to the principle which you specially desire to recognise, that the authority in all these matters should be the head of the Government of India.

Position of the Viceroy as to Honours recommendations.

Engineers for the P. W. D. in Egypt.

I have shown Lord Cromer's advertisement, of which you complain, to Lansdowne, and, as soon as he is better, you shall hear the result.

Negotiations at Kabul.

Since I began this letter I have received your telegram with the Amir's last communication to Dane, promising your own views upon it as quickly as possible. I am seeing Lansdowne and Balfour this afternoon about this question, but shall not be able to send you their views by the mail, nor shall we be able to make a final decision until we hear what you think. Meantime, it is difficult to know how to avoid Dane's coming away without a treaty. If we accept the Amir's draft, all the small points, which you have so long been anxious to arrange, will be left over unsettled. This, I assume, would be the contingency you most object to; and, therefore, as far as my influence goes in the Cabinet discussions, I shall be against giving him the whole subsidy and the arrears without a *quid pro quo*. You, however, are a far better judge than I can be of what the effect will be on the spot. For instance, the last telegram which has come through as to the preparations at Tashkend seems to indicate unusual activity on the part of the Russians, and this by all ordinary rules should make the Amir think twice before he parts with Dane. On the other hand, he may be so inflated as to think that this will frighten us more than himself. The difficulty of the situation is that I am not sure that upon the whole it is not better that we should suffer in Russia's eyes as regards

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our supposed friendship with the Amir just at this moment rather than at any other, because they are less able to take advantage of it.

You have not mentioned in your last letters how you are standing the work, and how you find the return of all the social calls, which, I fear, must press heavily in the absence of Lady Curzon.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 20.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
February 10*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

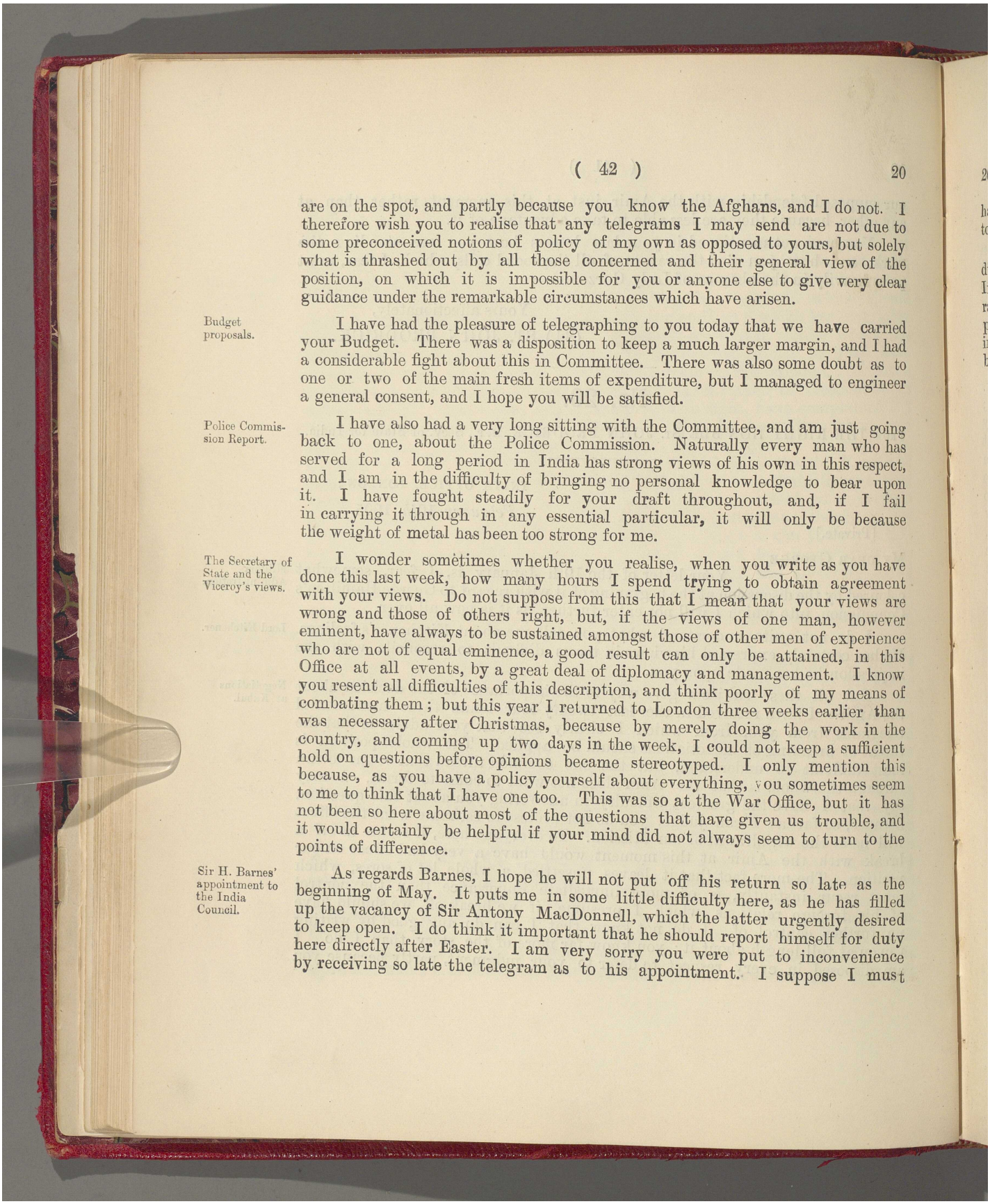
Your letter of the 19th January is, I fear, somewhat coloured by the discussion at the beginning of it with regard to George Hamilton's Commission, into which I will not enter further, as it is now all over. Military Administration.

I do not quite understand what you tell me about Kitchener's feelings. He has certainly expressed his views in terms difficult to reconcile with the impression he has made upon you. Lord Kitchener.

But all these subjects give way to the importance of the decision about the Amir. I have received in the last twenty-four hours three monumental telegrams from you, from which I clearly see that your advice is that the threat of breaking off negotiations should be applied. The whole position is most difficult to understand, but the one common thread that seems to run through the whole is that the Amir does not want to come to terms. I may say that I have the greatest difficulty in answering you about this question, because, so far as I can judge, you do not profess to estimate what the effect will be of the withdrawal of our Mission. To everyone here, it seems as if a break with the Amir at this moment would have a very bad effect on our position. The mere fact that it leaves unsettled a whole lot of sores, which must recur instantly, is of more immediate importance than the control of his foreign relations, which I presume, if we break off, we should have no further control of. I do not know that I can do any good by writing t oyou at full length about it: you know far more of the story than I do. I am disposed in every respect to defer to your judgment, partly because you Negotiations at Kabul.

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are on the spot, and partly because you know the Afghans, and I do not. I therefore wish you to realise that any telegrams I may send are not due to some preconceived notions of policy of my own as opposed to yours, but solely what is thrashed out by all those concerned and their general view of the position, on which it is impossible for you or anyone else to give very clear guidance under the remarkable circumstances which have arisen.

Budget proposals.

I have had the pleasure of telegraphing to you today that we have carried your Budget. There was a disposition to keep a much larger margin, and I had a considerable fight about this in Committee. There was also some doubt as to one or two of the main fresh items of expenditure, but I managed to engineer a general consent, and I hope you will be satisfied.

Police Commission Report.

I have also had a very long sitting with the Committee, and am just going back to one, about the Police Commission. Naturally every man who has served for a long period in India has strong views of his own in this respect, and I am in the difficulty of bringing no personal knowledge to bear upon it. I have fought steadily for your draft throughout, and, if I fail in carrying it through in any essential particular, it will only be because the weight of metal has been too strong for me.

The Secretary of State and the Viceroy's views.

I wonder sometimes whether you realise, when you write as you have done this last week, how many hours I spend trying to obtain agreement with your views. Do not suppose from this that I mean that your views are wrong and those of others right, but, if the views of one man, however eminent, have always to be sustained amongst those of other men of experience who are not of equal eminence, a good result can only be attained, in this Office at all events, by a great deal of diplomacy and management. I know you resent all difficulties of this description, and think poorly of my means of combating them; but this year I returned to London three weeks earlier than was necessary after Christmas, because by merely doing the work in the country, and coming up two days in the week, I could not keep a sufficient hold on questions before opinions became stereotyped. I only mention this because, as you have a policy yourself about everything, you sometimes seem to me to think that I have one too. This was so at the War Office, but it has not been so here about most of the questions that have given us trouble, and it would certainly be helpful if your mind did not always seem to turn to the points of difference.

Sir H. Barnes' appointment to the India Council.

As regards Barnes, I hope he will not put off his return so late as the beginning of May. It puts me in some little difficulty here, as he has filled up the vacancy of Sir Antony MacDonnell, which the latter urgently desired to keep open. I do think it important that he should report himself for duty here directly after Easter. I am very sorry you were put to inconvenience by receiving so late the telegram as to his appointment. I suppose I must

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have signed what was put before me when I got the King's approval; but, to prevent any trouble, I will take care that an extra day is given.

I did not know all that you told me about Sir Roper Lethbridge. At a dinner of the Imperial Industries for the discussion of British trade with India, the one letter out of about twenty or thirty of excuses read out in a rather distinguished company was that of Sir Roper Lethbridge. It did not produce much effect, and indeed there was a considerable manifestation of impatience in the audience before it was concluded. I only wished you had been in the same place, and that I had been there to study your face. Sir Roper Lethbridge.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 21.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;
February 10*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I was vexed at missing the mail, through no fault of my own, last week: I had various things to say, but now some are out of date, and others I have forgotten. I was sent for by the Secretary of State to go with him to Mr. Balfour, just when I was beginning my letter to you, before 5 o'clock: and from that moment till after post-time I had not a minute to myself.

Since I last wrote to you, I have learnt for certain what I only conjectured before, *viz.*, that you do not mean to come home this spring. I am, of course, by no means surprised, and I fully appreciate the motives which have induced you to remain. As to the public gain, I need say nothing: as to the results to you individually, you know what I feel and think: I can only say that I hope it may be for the best not only for the ship of the State, but for you and yours, and I will repeat once more that you may be sure that I shall be most anxious to give you any help or support in my power. The Viceroy's plans.

The negotiations with the Amir, which you mentioned as the chief cause of your determination to remain at your post, have now passed into a more depressing and unpromising phase than ever. We are telegraphing to you to Negotiations at Kabul.

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hold your hand until His Majesty's Government can consider the situation and give their decision. All that I can say at present is that everyone here seems to regard as a most serious matter the breaking off of negotiations, even as a temporary measure; and I suspect that the telegram which we shall send you on Tuesday will reflect the strong desire of His Majesty's Government to avoid this result. The illness of the Amir is a great misfortune: it can hardly have failed to put more power into the hands of the ill-disposed individuals who surround him, and must have tended to make him more ill-tempered and cross-grained than usual.

Tibet Blue Book.

We have had a disagreeable quarter of an hour over the Tibet Blue Book. You will say to His Majesty's Government, "*Tu l'as voulu, Georges Dandin*"; and, if you say it, they certainly have no right to complain. You probably know that, in this matter, the opinion of this office was not the opinion that prevailed: the censuring of Younghusband and the publication of the censure were decided upon quite deliberately, but they were not suggested by the Department principally concerned. Of course there is a good deal more to come, and in the House of Lords the attack is to be led by Rosebery: so my new Colleague will have his opportunity. The case against Younghusband is, on the face of it, a strong one; but I should not like, if I were a member of the Government, to have to defend myself at his expense, and I think they feel that themselves. What makes it worse is that he has behaved remarkably well, and has not uttered a single word, nor (so far as we are aware) pulled a single wire since the Blue Book was published. It is curious that, although public opinion is certainly strong in his favour, as is shown by the attitude of the press and the utterances of the man in the street, no one, I believe, has written to the papers on that side. The only letters that I have seen have been in support of the Government.

Mr. Hirsch and Irrigation.

I duly received your letter about Hirsch and irrigation, but I propose with your permission to answer it next week. I have put out some feelers, but have not as yet got the results.

Sir E. Law's pension case.

All that you say as to the rule about submitting applications for pension through the Government of India is perfectly correct: also, it was all, more or less, present to our minds when we dealt with the case. But it was decided to make an exception in this case. The way in which it happened was this:—Law wrote both to me and, more formally, to the Secretary of State. The latter, out of kindness to Law, treated the letter as private, did not put it before Council, but sent, through me, a polite and sympathetic negative. Law then wrote something which seemed to imply that he was not satisfied with this, but wanted an official answer: so Mr. Brodrick—well knowing what the decision of Council would be—merely said "Make it official." Of course the regular course would have been to send his letter back to him and say he must apply through the Viceroy in Council, but this would have greatly

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emphasized and magnified the snub which he was anyhow destined to receive, and it was decided—rightly or wrongly—to spare him. The case was a very peculiar one, inasmuch as he was himself a member of the Government to whom the matter ought to be referred, and "under all the circumstances" I am inclined to think that we were right to make an exception to our own rule: though if you think otherwise I cannot pretend to be much surprised. Anyhow, I venture to think that no great harm has been done.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 22.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;

February 17th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Every moment since I last wrote to you has been occupied by the consideration of your telegrams on Afghanistan, except two important sittings to finish the reply to you on the Police Commission, which goes by this mail. As regards this latter, I hope you will feel that, speaking generally, we have supported you throughout. There was a considerable feeling here as regards the heads of the Police in the Presidency towns, and it is possible that the change proposed in that respect may commend itself to you. There was also a distinct belief in the undesirability of uniformity in the lowest pay of the Constable, and it was felt to be very unnecessary to commit ourselves at all to the theory that Rs. 7 would not be considered a living wage; but in this respect we have only expanded a little the decision already given by the Government of India. I trust, therefore, that in the main our reply may commend itself to you. I have since answered a question in Parliament as to publication, and in reply assumed that you would, on receipt of our despatch, publish general instructions, and that we could publish those with the despatches as soon as received from you. I need hardly say after all that has passed that I am anxious to publish with the least possible delay.

Police Commission Report: despatch from S. of S.

No subject since I have been in the Cabinet has been discussed with such thoroughness and open-mindedness as your telegram about Afghanistan. Writing as I do after despatching to you late last night the official telegram, I

Decision of the Cabinet regarding Afghanistan.

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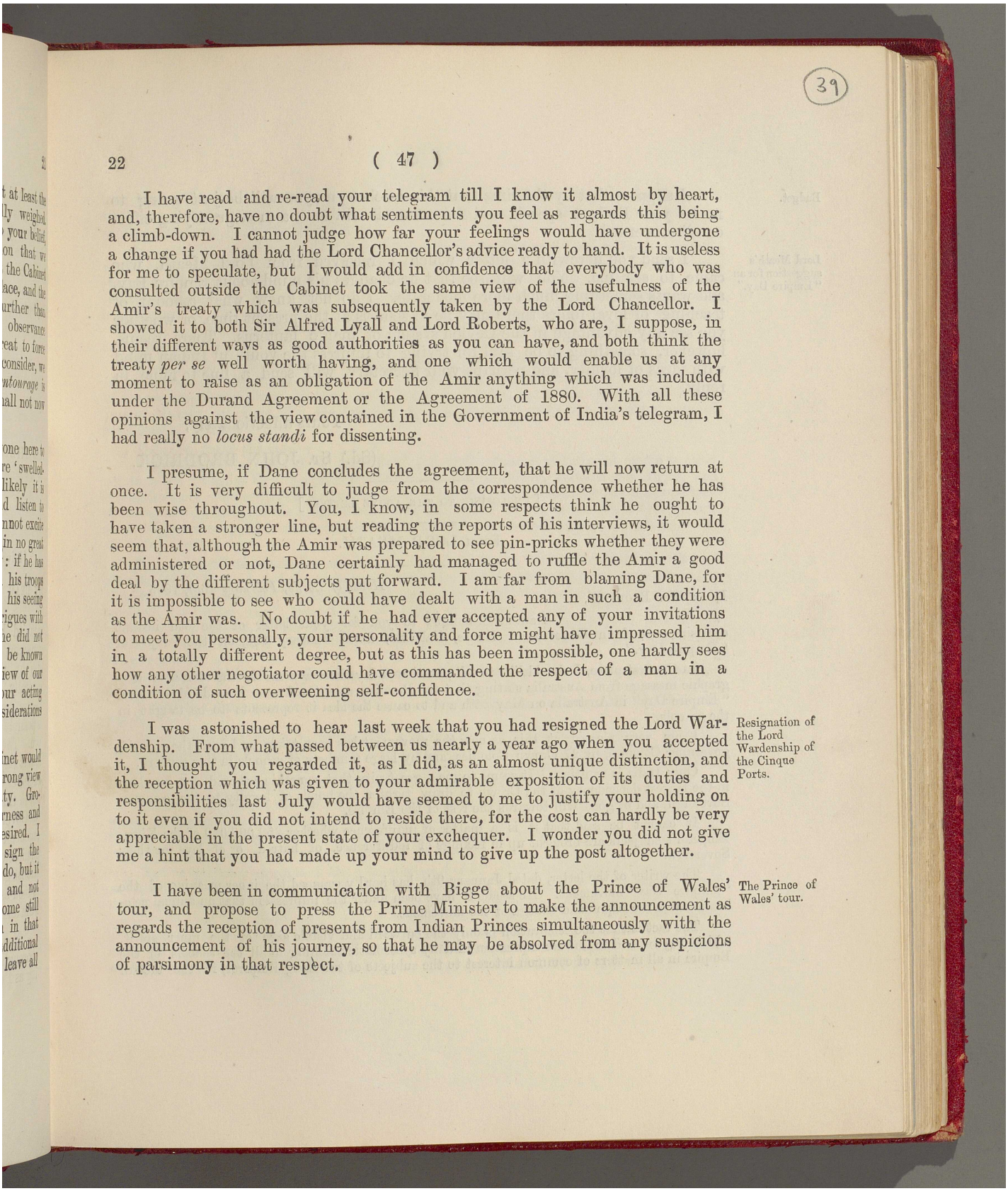
cannot tell what may be your feelings on the receipt of it. But at least the decision of the Government has been carefully and sympathetically weighed. You will probably feel that we have not given sufficient weight to your belief, which was not however a certainty on your part, that the intimation that we should withdraw Dane would bring the Amir to terms. What the Cabinet has felt I think chiefly is that, even if this were to take place, and the Amir should be willing to give undertakings which go a little further than his own draft, we should have no greater security for their observance than we get by the draft. Of course had we been able by any threat to force him to concede all the subsidiary points, which he has refused to consider, we should have won a diplomatic triumph: in so far as his own *entourage* is concerned, we should have established our superiority, which we shall not now do. Would this carry us very far?

It is impossible to exaggerate the reluctance felt by everyone here to face the situation caused by the withdrawal of Dane. The more 'swelled-headed' and impracticable that we find the Amir to be, the less likely it is that for some considerable period he would become amenable and listen to reason or indeed realise what he had lost by offending us. We cannot excite the tribes against him, even if it were judicious to do so: he is in no great need of money, and has not drawn the equivalent of his full subsidy: if he has not got all the arms he wants, he has got a good many more than his troops really require. Surely in the interval between our breaking off and his seeing reason, great mischief might be done. You yourself anticipated intrigues with the tribes. He would probably coquet with the Russians, even if he did not actually receive a Mission. The altered state of our relations would be known all over India: not impossibly it would influence Persia in their view of our position in Seistan, which is at present greatly strengthened by our acting there as mediators between them and the Amir. All these considerations point to trouble.

None the less I believe that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet would have supported me in breaking off, if it had not been for the very strong view taken by the Lord Chancellor and others of the Amir's draft treaty. Grotesque as its language is it left, from the point of view of clearness and effectiveness, in the Lord Chancellor's mind, nothing to be desired. I made a vigorous struggle that the Amir should be urged to sign the Durand Agreement as well, which at one stage he was ready to do, but it was unanimously held that to allow him to do so would weaken and not strengthen his own agreement, while, if in the interval he has become still more impracticable, and the tendency of the negotiations has been in that direction, he might refuse to sign it, and we should thus incur an additional rebuff. The Cabinet thus resolved to accept the Amir's treaty, and leave all the minor questions for future negotiation.

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I have read and re-read your telegram till I know it almost by heart, and, therefore, have no doubt what sentiments you feel as regards this being a climb-down. I cannot judge how far your feelings would have undergone a change if you had had the Lord Chancellor's advice ready to hand. It is useless for me to speculate, but I would add in confidence that everybody who was consulted outside the Cabinet took the same view of the usefulness of the Amir's treaty which was subsequently taken by the Lord Chancellor. I showed it to both Sir Alfred Lyall and Lord Roberts, who are, I suppose, in their different ways as good authorities as you can have, and both think the treaty *per se* well worth having, and one which would enable us at any moment to raise as an obligation of the Amir anything which was included under the Durand Agreement or the Agreement of 1880. With all these opinions against the view contained in the Government of India's telegram, I had really no *locus standi* for dissenting.

I presume, if Dane concludes the agreement, that he will now return at once. It is very difficult to judge from the correspondence whether he has been wise throughout. You, I know, in some respects think he ought to have taken a stronger line, but reading the reports of his interviews, it would seem that, although the Amir was prepared to see pin-pricks whether they were administered or not, Dane certainly had managed to ruffle the Amir a good deal by the different subjects put forward. I am far from blaming Dane, for it is impossible to see who could have dealt with a man in such a condition as the Amir was. No doubt if he had ever accepted any of your invitations to meet you personally, your personality and force might have impressed him in a totally different degree, but as this has been impossible, one hardly sees how any other negotiator could have commanded the respect of a man in a condition of such overweening self-confidence.

Resignation of the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports.

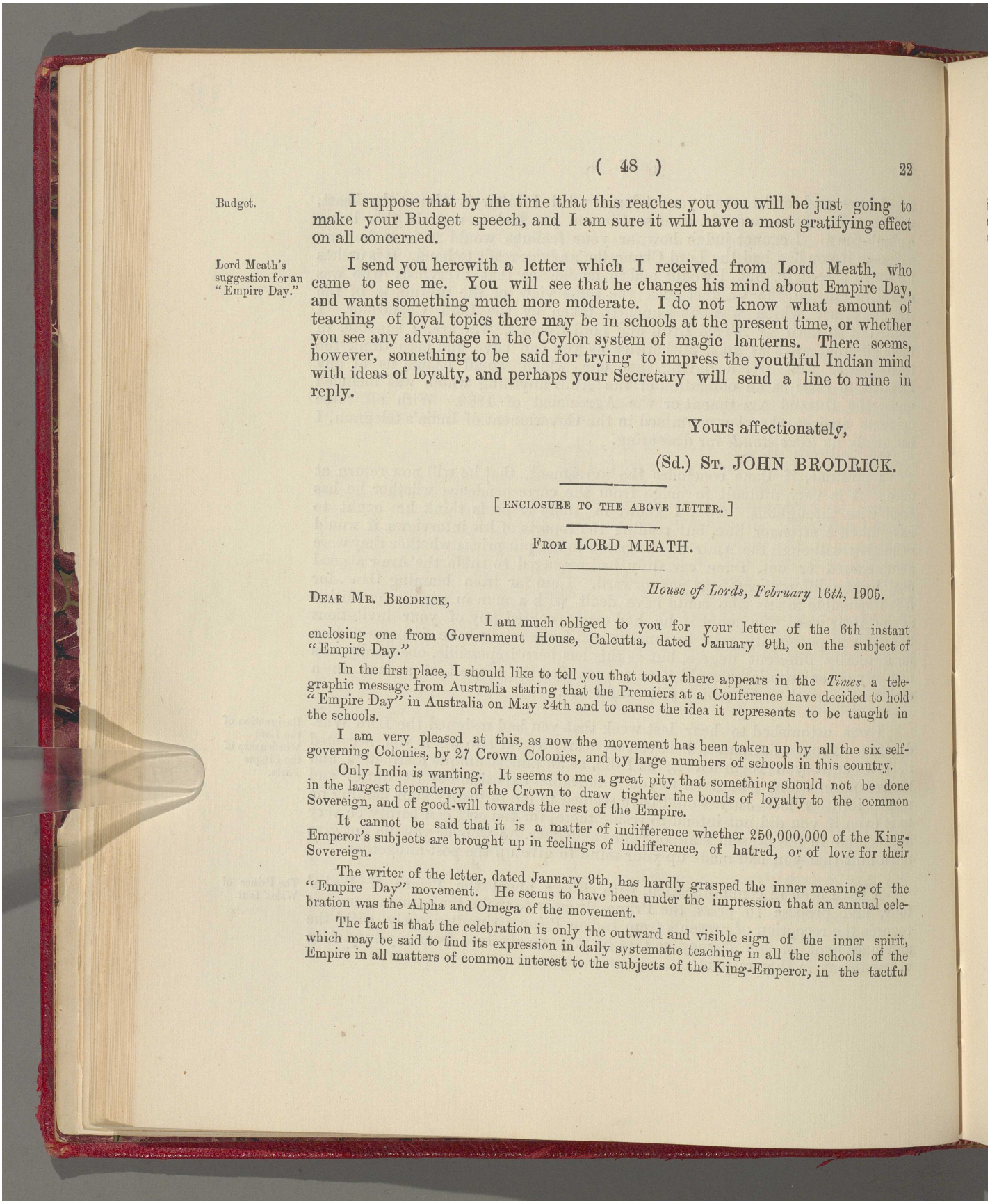
I was astonished to hear last week that you had resigned the Lord Wardenship. From what passed between us nearly a year ago when you accepted it, I thought you regarded it, as I did, as an almost unique distinction, and the reception which was given to your admirable exposition of its duties and responsibilities last July would have seemed to me to justify your holding on to it even if you did not intend to reside there, for the cost can hardly be very appreciable in the present state of your exchequer. I wonder you did not give me a hint that you had made up your mind to give up the post altogether.

The Prince of Wales' tour.

I have been in communication with Bigge about the Prince of Wales' tour, and propose to press the Prime Minister to make the announcement as regards the reception of presents from Indian Princes simultaneously with the announcement of his journey, so that he may be absolved from any suspicions of parsimony in that respect.

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Budget.

I suppose that by the time that this reaches you you will be just going to make your Budget speech, and I am sure it will have a most gratifying effect on all concerned.

Lord Meath's suggestion for an "Empire Day."

I send you herewith a letter which I received from Lord Meath, who came to see me. You will see that he changes his mind about Empire Day, and wants something much more moderate. I do not know what amount of teaching of loyal topics there may be in schools at the present time, or whether you see any advantage in the Ceylon system of magic lanterns. There seems, however, something to be said for trying to impress the youthful Indian mind with ideas of loyalty, and perhaps your Secretary will send a line to mine in reply.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

FROM LORD MEATH.

House of Lords, February 16th, 1905.

DEAR MR. BRODRICK,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 6th instant enclosing one from Government House, Calcutta, dated January 9th, on the subject of "Empire Day."

In the first place, I should like to tell you that today there appears in the *Times* a telegraphic message from Australia stating that the Premiers at a Conference have decided to hold "Empire Day" in Australia on May 24th and to cause the idea it represents to be taught in the schools.

I am very pleased at this, as now the movement has been taken up by all the six self-governing Colonies, by 27 Crown Colonies, and by large numbers of schools in this country.

Only India is wanting. It seems to me a great pity that something should not be done in the largest dependency of the Crown to draw tighter the bonds of loyalty to the common Sovereign, and of good-will towards the rest of the Empire.

It cannot be said that it is a matter of indifference whether 250,000,000 of the King-Emperor's subjects are brought up in feelings of indifference, of hatred, or of love for their Sovereign.

The writer of the letter, dated January 9th, has hardly grasped the inner meaning of the "Empire Day" movement. He seems to have been under the impression that an annual celebration was the Alpha and Omega of the movement.

The fact is that the celebration is only the outward and visible sign of the inner spirit, which may be said to find its expression in daily systematic teaching in all the schools of the Empire in all matters of common interest to the subjects of the King-Emperor, in the tactful

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inculcation of loyal feelings towards the common Sovereign, in encouraging the Imperial sentiment of unity, and more especially in impressing on the children the duties and responsibilities attaching to British Citizenship.

It is a matter of comparative indifference what day is fixed on as "Empire Day," or indeed whether there be any celebration at all. The writer of the letter, dated January 9th, states that May 24th would not be a suitable day for such a celebration in India, and states that "it is impossible that the native community can realise the ideas of national dominion and achievement in the same way as their fellow subjects of European descent." He continues, "In so far as India shares the consciousness of forming part of a larger union, the feeling is based entirely on *loyalty to a common Sovereign.*"

He says that "there are already two days in the year on which celebrations are held in India in connection with the Royal family or the Empire. These are January 1st, the anniversary of the proclamation of Queen Victoria as the Empress of India, and of the Coronation of His present Majesty, and June 26th, the date fixed by His Majesty's order for the observance of his Birthday in India."

The above being the case—

Why not drop the name of "Empire Day" and of all reference to Imperial unity or other points in the "Empire Day" programme which are not considered suitable for India, and emphasize more prominently than at present, either January 1st or June 26th, laying important stress on the one point in the programme which the writer of the letter of the 9th January acknowledges *does* appeal to the sentiment of the native of India—*i. e., personal loyalty to the King-Emperor*?

You are doubtless aware that since the Revolution in Japan, "Bushido" and "Jen-jit-su," the training of the soul, and the training of the body, which formerly were confined to the children of the nobles and of the Samurai, have been taught to all classes. The systematic teaching, day by day, in all the schools of Japan of loyalty to the Emperor, of implicit obedience to authority, of the subordination of the interest of the individual to those of the State, have borne splendid fruit in the present war, and we shall see its effects in peace after the war is over.

In every school in Japan, the Emperor's portrait occupies a prominent position and is daily saluted.

I wish in a small way to see somewhat similar training carried out in the schools of the Empire.

It cannot be said that a modification of such training, if taught in the schools of India, could have any but a good effect. The more the people of India can appreciate the benevolence of their Sovereign and the improvements which British Government have effected in India, the more loyal they will become, and the more easily governed.

I trust that, without the formal adoption of "Empire Day" (if it is thought inadvisable under the circumstances in India), Lord Curzon may be able to see his way to encourage those subjects being impressed on the notice of school children which may tend to make them more loyal and consequently better subjects of the Empire.

You are probably aware that Mr. Chamberlain, before he left the Colonial Office, appointed a Vesical Instruction Committee of which he nominated me a member, to consider how best to bring a knowledge of the Empire to the subjects of the King. After about 1½ [years'] consideration we have drawn up a series of lectures under the direction of Professor MacKinder, and have had the very best slides (magic lantern) made and painted, illustrative of a journey from the East to and through Great Britain and Ireland. We have begun on a small scale. Hong Kong, the Strait Settlements, and *Ceylon* have each voted £300 towards the expenses.

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I mention this to show that the authorities of Ceylon (the population of which is not dissimilar from that of India) do *not* consider, as does the writer of the letter of January 9th, that "magic lantern exhibitions and recitations and songs are out of the question as regards the vast majority of schools."

Believe me, yours sincerely,

(Sd.) MEATH.

No. 23.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;
February 17th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Decision of the Cabinet regarding Afghanistan.

I shall write you a very short letter today, for I do not propose to dilate upon the state of the Afghan negotiations, as to which a telegram went to you yesterday. I am extremely sorry that you and your Government should find yourself opposed by the Cabinet, as well as by our Council: but when I say this I do not mean to imply that I disagree with the authorities in this country. I say this, not because I attach any importance to my own opinion in a matter of this kind, but because, if I did not tell you what my opinion is, I might appear to you to be uncandid. Long before you get this, the question as to the procedure to be adopted will have been settled: Mr. Brodrick has doubtless written to you fully on the subject; and I, having said this much, shall leave it alone.

Police Commission Report: Despatch from S. of S.

On the other hand, your Police proposals have gone through more quickly and smoothly than I expected. The Secretary of State managed the business skilfully, and there was practically no opposition, and very little criticism on the draft which he proposed. I regard this, and the Railway Board, as two notable feathers in your cap. A few amendments have been introduced, but I trust that you won't think them important; they seem to me not to affect the general value of your measures in the slightest degree.

Parliamentary.

Parliament is once more with us, and the Government have begun rather well. Their two legislative undertakings—Redistribution and Aliens,—seem to me to be about the best that they could have chosen, and both have a good deal of backing outside the ranks of the Government. I can't help thinking

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that they may very likely go through the session, after all. Up to date, the hero of the Parliamentary struggle is certainly Lord Hugh Cecil, whose speech on the address seems to have been a very brilliant performance. Unfortunately it seems to be almost mathematically certain that he cannot be returned to the next Parliament. Chamberlain will oppose him, *i.e.*, will run a candidate against him, wherever he stands; and the Liberals must likewise run a candidate, as he is perfectly firm in his determination not to join them or to have any truce or pact with them.

Sir A. MacDonnell.

The Government seem to be in a great hole about MacDonnell; a debate is going on about him at this moment in the House of Lords, the result of which may be an explosion—if he does not get the backing to which he thinks he is entitled; and I fancy that some members of the Government have gone pretty far towards committing themselves to him and his schemes of reform. I foresee that we shall, in the end, get him on to our Council here, a result with which I certainly shall not quarrel, though he will probably make our discussions a good deal more lively than they have been for some years past.

Resignation of the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports.

I cannot close this letter without expressing my regret and disappointment at the severance of your connection with Walmer and East Kent: a regret, however, which I certainly cannot expect you to share under the circumstances. To me it was, as I told you, a real pleasure to think of you in that office, and I am proportionately depressed at the sudden and melancholy ending of what I hoped would be a long and beneficent tenure of that venerable and interesting office.

I sincerely hope that Lady Curzon will reach you in good health, and fit for all her Viceregal duties.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 24.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
February 24th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Lord Kitchener's correspondence with Lord Roberts.

Before I enter on the subject which engrosses us all, namely, Dane's negotiations, I must not pass over the strong protest and appeal which you addressed to me as regards Kitchener's proposals and proceedings.

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I am fully prepared to keep to the proper constitutional position of the various authorities connected with India, but it seems to me very difficult to draw the line at the point at which you propose to draw it. You raise the question of Kitchener's correspondence with Lord Roberts in regard to certain subjects which are at present under discussion with your Council. You see in this correspondence the means by which he, through Lord Roberts, may influence the Prime Minister or the Government here behind the backs of the Government of India, and you attach to it the suggestion that my proposal to send out a Committee to examine into the differences which have arisen between Kitchener and another Member of your Council was a proposal "incapable of any other interpretation than an attempt to override the "constitutional privileges of the Government of India, and take the decision "out of their hands." I hardly see how these two sets of propositions hang together.

What has occurred, so far as I know, has been this. Kitchener went out to India without any knowledge of the Indian Army. Lord Roberts, as you remark, is the greatest living authority on the Indian Army. It was natural that, having served together in the closest relations in South Africa, they should correspond to some extent, and that Kitchener should avail himself of Lord Roberts' superior knowledge. So far as I know, Lord Roberts' influence, if he has any, has been uniformly exercised with Kitchener in favour of the view taken by your Council. Kitchener desires to dispense with the Military Department: Lord Roberts, speaking generally, does not. Kitchener desires to change the organisation of the Army for war by ceasing the practice of mixing brigades of British and Indian regiments: Lord Roberts does not. Kitchener has undoubtedly in support of his schemes endeavoured to persuade Lord Roberts by sending him the opinions of his own Generals. In this I believe he has failed; and the only point on which Lord Roberts has acted in any way which might be supposed to be inimical to your interests has been by bringing before me, and possibly the Prime Minister, the conviction he entertained from Kitchener's letters that the latter is becoming restive and impatient, and would, unless some satisfaction is shortly given him, resign the Commander-in-Chiefship in India. Surely this is a service rather than the reverse, more especially as you, although in close touch with Kitchener, have never discovered what is apparent to those who receive letters from him. In confirmation of this I may say that I have myself seen a letter in which he gives the probable date of his return to England.

Army Administration: suggested Committee of Enquiry.

All this you connect with my proposal for sending out a Committee. I think, if you look back on the whole subject, you will see that the two businesses are absolutely distinct. When I received Kitchener's resignation in September last, I agreed with the Prime Minister early in October that by far the best way of seeing whether there was any accommodation possible in

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the matter would be an enquiry on the spot, it being perfectly clear from what Ampthill said that the Government of India as a rule disagree with Kitchener. We wished to send this Committee out at once, but in the circumstances in which you then were, and seeing your strong opinion upon it, the Prime Minister undertook to discuss the matter with you, and to arrange with you what was the best method of procedure. In consequence of this discussion, which could not take place for more than a month after my interview with the Prime Minister, it was agreed that the despatch, which would set your Government in motion, should go out by the same mail as yourself. From that time I have been occupied in considering the names of the Committee, and, when I first pressed you to let me have the despatch in time to send them out to work in March, I was merely acting on the promise given both by the Prime Minister and myself to Kitchener that his grievances should be investigated without delay. That, I think, was in December, and I was not at that time aware of Kitchener's acute feeling, but evidences of it poured in upon me in the following fortnight or three weeks; and I then pressed you to say whether, by what seemed to us the simple expedient of telegraphing the heads of your despatch as soon as your Council had agreed upon it, which you expected to be by the middle of February, we might despatch our Committee, so that the Indian part of the consideration should be done in March. I have only gone back on all this, because I cannot see how it can be regarded as in any way leading to an unconstitutional position.

The whole object of the Committee was to avoid me to the most unpleasant alternative, in case you disagreed radically with Kitchener, of settling the matter here, without all the details being examined on the spot. This became the only alternative to putting off the question for another six or eight months. If, as now seems likely, the Government remains in office a few months longer, it will fall to me to take the very part which I most desired to avoid, and this the more, because, so far as I know at present, any tampering with the present position will be regarded by you with the utmost disfavour. But I believe that an investigation by a Committee of the points on which there is a dispute, and the subsequent settlement by the Secretary of State and the Cabinet, would have been as constitutional a procedure as that which must now take place, *viz.*, of settlement by the Secretary of State and the Cabinet without any such enquiry. If, however, you are more satisfied with the latter procedure, it will be the one redeeming feature to me in the situation.

All this, you will probably urge, is beside the point as to whether I will support you in stopping Lord Kitchener writing to Lord Roberts and other people over here. In asking me this, you place me in a very awkward difficulty. I was Secretary for War for eighteen months of the war after Lord Roberts' return. During that period he and Lord Kitchener wrote to each other by every mail. Constitutionally, of course, the only method of communication

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with the Government, for a General in the Field, is through the Secretary of State, and, therefore, I presume I might at any time have stopped this correspondence. But I have never stood on these rights, and certainly in that case I was never in the slightest embarrassed by the latitude given, although questions of great import and urgency were continually discussed. Sometimes Lord Roberts showed me Kitchener's letters, and sometimes he did not; but I never made the slightest claim to them.

I will gladly, however, put the inconvenience which you have found before Lord Roberts, as you have done before Kitchener.

Viceroy's correspondence with the Sovereign.

All these questions of private correspondence are very difficult. In old days, Lansdowne once told me, it was the practice for the Viceroy to write a private letter occasionally to the Queen, but that controversial topics were rarely touched upon. It has, I believe, become the practice in recent years for the Viceroy to write constantly, if not every week, to the Sovereign. It may be perhaps for this reason that the King scarcely ever sees the Secretary of State, or applies to him for information. This is in one sense a relief to a fairly burdened Minister: on the other hand, it may lead to difficulties, when one realises how acute are occasionally the differences of opinion between the Government of India and the Cabinet on important topics. The Royal mind naturally has before it the opinions of the Viceroy, while the Secretary of State would not even know that he has been told anything of what is going on.

Lord Ampthill's telegram about Tibet.

As an illustration of inconvenience by this direct correspondence, I would mention that Ampthill sent a direct telegram to the King about Younghusband's treaty, that the King wrote a reply which never passed through the India Office, and that both of these appeared in the papers before I was able to give any opinion on behalf of the Government as to the treaty. It became necessary for me in consequence to divide my telegram of congratulation into two parts, as it would have been impossible, in case my telegram had appeared in print, to allow criticisms from the Minister to accompany a pæan from the Sovereign. That division of the telegram, though the wording of the two was brought into harmony before any further step whatever was taken, was made the subject of animadversion by the Government of India, and has since been so by yourself, although there was not the slightest change of policy or feeling, but simply a desire, after a mistake which we believed could be rectified, at once to join in every possible congratulation, while not making public the amendments which we saw to be necessary. Ampthill quite agreed with me that such communications should in all cases go through the India Office, which is, I suppose, the only constitutional channel of communication between the Viceroy and the King.

The Secretary of State's attitude *re* correspondence.

I am far from feeling that private correspondence between officials, other than the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, may not at times be desirable; but I have endeavoured scrupulously to observe the rules to which you attach

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so much importance, that the Viceroy should be the one channel of communication. I believe that, by a single letter to Younghusband, I could have prevented the whole Tibet imbroglio, for, if he had received it, he would have known His Majesty's Government were in earnest. I believe also that I could have greatly influenced Kitchener in the present trouble; but, with the exception of two or three occasions brought about either by communications from the Defence Committee or by his resignation, I have rigorously abstained from writing to a man with whom for eighteen months I kept up a weekly correspondence when I was Secretary of State for War and he Commander-in-Chief before.

Press notifications.

I am very sorry you have been annoyed again by short notice of appointments to be put in the papers. I have given strict orders, since I received your complaint, that you should have ample time in which to publish. We propose to put in a notice about the Prince of Wales' tour without delay, as allusions to it had to appear in the estimates.

Sir D. Ibbetson.

I am interested at what you tell me about Rivaz and Ibbetson. I am afraid what I said about Ibbetson seems to have dwelt very much with you, though I do not think it was unnatural, after your telling me that he was practically the only good independent opinion on the Council, that I should be sorry he should leave it when there are so many new hands, and so much of importance going on. Here on the Council they attach the greatest possible importance to any change in *personnel*, though I am afraid you would not consider that this would make much difference to the course of business.

Rupee Loan. Indian debt.

I have been dealing this week with the question of the payment of the Rupee Loan in sterling. I propose to send you next week a minute which I am circulating on the whole question of our Indian debt, and therefore I will not enter into it at present, except to say that I have the greatest possible belief that, if the state of Indian finance and of progress in trade, &c., on which you dwelt so splendidly in the City, could be brought home to British financiers, our Stock would stand higher than it does, but the foundation of that I believe to be the abolition of the dual Stocks. If Rupee Paper continues, people will never believe in the stability and distinctiveness of the Sterling Loan. What I found when I saw more of the City than I have done for some years, was that they valued a big Stock, and I cannot help thinking that, if we keep our debt to substantially one quarter or thereabouts of the British debt, we ought, with the general improvement all round, and the increase of exports over imports, to be able to maintain our Three Per Cents. at the same height, or even higher than the British Funds. But I will send you my paper when I have got it finally corrected.

Decision of the Cabinet *re* Afghanistan.

I have left till last the great question which I have been engaged upon ever since last mail. I do not yet know whether the arguments in my second long telegram will have influenced your view at all of the situation. I am

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afraid not. I can only say that the feeling here is deep-rooted about the proposal. From what you say it seems not unlikely that the Amir will decline to sign his own draft treaty. This will sweep away the difficulties between us. As, however, I hinted in a previous letter, I trust you will not make a personal question of these differences of opinion—I mean either personal between you and me or personal as regards yourself. I do not know how far you may regard my advocacy as ineffective, but I have put your view as fully before the Cabinet as was possible. You will probably feel that, if they are not persuaded, very little good has been done. I think what weighs with them to some extent is that for three years the Amir has found that he got on very fairly well without an agreement, and that all sorts of mischief might happen if he were to break off now, and three years more were to elapse before he found out the mistake he was making. I may perhaps add a few words more if your telegram comes before the mail leaves.

Mr. George Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell.

We have been shaken a good deal this week by one of those personal questions which always delights Parliament. George Wyndham has been strangely unwise in his original arrangement with Sir Antony MacDonnell, of which not a word reached the Cabinet, and he took no counsel with anyone when he discovered Sir Antony was so greatly exceeding his powers. He has now paid for it very heavily, as everyone is dissatisfied, and he has got the Government into pretty grave trouble. However, it has been made clear there were no *malâ fides*; but unluckily that will not prevent the suspicion which attached to this *esclandre*, and I doubt if George Wyndham will do another good day's work in Ireland before the Government comes to an end.

Lord Selborne's appointment to South Africa.

Long before this reaches you, you will see that Selborne is going to South Africa. I have strongly advocated it for the last two months, since it has become clear that Milner will not remain any longer, and the difficulties there are likely to be greater than anywhere else, unless in India, which is not vacant. It is, I think, a considerable sacrifice on his part, though there is some compensation. The work interests him immensely. The danger of sending an inferior man, or a man who has not been in the centre of all that has passed, would be very great, and any man of less calibre would most probably be recalled by the new Government. From a private standpoint, Selborne's affairs were left in such a position by his father that he could not afford to live in his country place after leaving his present situation, and this at the moment when his family are all grown up or growing up. I think, therefore, there will be some advantage to him in the change; but I shall miss him immensely, for since 1898 he has been my closest friend and companion, especially last year, which was not an easy one for me.

The *Standard* and Army Administration.

I have just got your telegram about the *Standard*. I have no idea how they got on to the track of Kitchener's differences with Elles. The fact of

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Kitchener's having resigned in September last is only known to four or five Members of the Cabinet and to George Hamilton. But one reason which has made me wish the whole subject could be settled and closed up, has been that so acute a difference between soldiers could hardly fail to transpire sooner or later. Although the articles are 48 hours old, no one has made the slightest allusion to them to me.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

FROM M. DE C. FINDLAY, ESQ.

British Agency, Cairo, February 11th, 1905.

MY DEAR BARRINGTON,

Lord Cromer is absent on a trip up the Nile. I therefore opened your letter on the subject of the apparent endeavour of the Egyptian Government to entice away Indian irrigators. I referred it to Garstin for his observations, and he has replied that the Egyptian Government only wished to obtain the services of men who might be proposing to retire from the Indian service upon the 15 years' pension. There are some men who do this and who might be attracted to the Egyptian service. There is no question of enticing them away.

I return the enclosure in your letter, which I will show to Lord Cromer on his return, and I hope that you will be so good as to explain matters to Mr. Brodrick and Lord Curzon.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) M. DE C. FINDLAY.

No. 25.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;

February 24th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

As often happens, I have too much to write about this week, and the effect of this is to reduce me partially to silence.

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Afghanistan: decision of the Cabinet.

As to the Kabul negotiations, I need not repeat my regret at the divergence of opinion between the Government of India and the Cabinet. But I cannot help reminding you of what I wrote to you soon after the last reconstruction of the Government, about 16 months ago, when the Tibet expedition was being decided upon. I warned you that the spirit of the Government as then reorganized, appeared to me to be quite unlike what it had been under Lord Salisbury, or even during the first year of Mr. Balfour's administration, and that you must recognize the fact that they were very much under the influence of the "cold fit" in respect of foreign and frontier policy. I think that this warning has been justified by all that has happened since, with regard to Tibet, and with regard to the Kabul Mission. With this you must lay your account. So far as I can judge, they will not, in these matters, go an inch further in the direction of a forward policy than they are absolutely compelled to go. Our telegrams about this Kabul business have, I think, been rather needlessly long and diluted: but between the lines you will have been able to read the fact that the Cabinet have a strong opinion of their own on the subject.

Lord Kitchener's correspondence with Lord Roberts.

I duly note what you say in your letters to the Secretary of State and to me about the constitutional question, whether officials are justified in writing home to their friends about contentious matters under the consideration of your Government, and, if so, how, and to what extent. The first of these questions is, I think, pretty easy to answer: they are justified in writing, and one cannot prevent it. But the second is very difficult: clearly such letters may be useful, or harmful, or merely innocuous, according to the tact, discretion, and loyalty of the writer and of the recipient. The letter which I am at this moment writing to you is a case in point. I have written weekly or fortnightly letters to successive Viceroys for 21 years, and, what is more important, have received probably an equal number of letters from them, without any suggestion that the Secretary of State was thereby damnified. And yet it would be easy enough for such a correspondence to assume an objectionable form, if either party to it were disposed not to play the game. Of course I do not for a moment compare my position with that of a Commander-in-Chief: all that I mean to say is that, as a matter of fact, we all of us, all who are concerned with Indian administration, write letters which might be described as being "written behind the back" of some one or other, and are estopped from complaining when others do what we are in the habit of doing ourselves. I cannot make out that Kitchener has been, in this respect, a worse sinner than many of his predecessors, or than many civilians not less highly placed than himself. But when the subject under discussion is an important one, and when the difference of opinion about it is wide, it becomes less easy to regard the practice with equanimity. I must add, though I am afraid you will not agree with what I am going to say, that it seems to me impossible to deny

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that a good deal depends on the status and personal importance of the individual. It appears to me absurd to suppose that a man like Kitchener will not make use of his personal influence to support a measure in which he is keenly interested; and those who appointed him must be taken to have done so with the knowledge that he would be able to push his views, and would push them, more vigorously than a comparatively obscure man who might happen to hold the office of Commander-in-Chief. In all this, I have assumed that Kitchener has, as a matter of fact, taken the obvious measures to make his views known, and to let it appear that he holds them strongly: I have not assumed, and I have no reason to think, that he has "pulled wires" or worked the press. The *Standard* articles, about which a private telegram has come from you today, are easily accounted for without any supposition of that kind.

Tibet Blue Book.

You speak of the Tibet Blue Book. It was very badly received by the Press, with the exception of a few radical papers: but not, I think, as a rule, on the question of policy. It was the publication of the censure on Younghusband that was so strongly criticised; and as to this we are likely to hear more, though it does not seem to be regarded as a serious business. In this matter, the withers of the India Office are, as you know, unwrung.

Sir A. MacDonnell.

The case of Antony MacDonnell has occupied all our thoughts for the last week: there were many points of view, but, from one point of view or another, everyone seem to be interested in it. MacDonnell himself came to see me on Saturday morning, and poured forth his grievances in a long and eloquent speech, which became louder and more impregnated with the brogue as he proceeded. Certainly his case, as thus stated, seemed an uncommonly strong one. But to me, as an old Civil Servant, the whole conception of his appointment is shocking: nothing could be more unworkable, or more contrary to all the essential traditions of the Civil Service, than an arrangement such as appears to have been made with him. However, I am quite sure that, whatever may since have happened, he went to Ireland with the intention of accepting the position of a Civil Servant, of keeping himself in the background, and fighting under the control and behind the shield of his Parliamentary Chief. He told me so, in so many words, in the course of a long conversation that I had with him, and I am confident that he meant what he said.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

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No. 26.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
March 3rd, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Afghanistan: decision of the Cabinet.

I think that your letter of the 9th February closes our communication about Afghanistan for the moment, as we have since conducted everything by telegraph; and I feel sure, from what you say with regard to the Kitchener episode, that it is better that I should await your despatch before writing to you anything more privately.

Partition of Bengal.

I have had a great deal of discussion on the various subjects you have sent forward in the course of this last week. The despatch on the proposed partition of Bengal seems, so far as I can judge, likely to be acceptable. As you may imagine, on this as on many other subjects, I am only writing as to what the opinions of others may be; for it is far too vast a problem for me to believe it possible to study it. Indeed I should have liked to see a good many of the districts, as you have done, before hazarding a conclusion. I do not even feel competent to judge how far you are right in decrying the operation of Councils as compared to those of a single individual. The tendency here has become to rely upon Councils to a very large extent. In India, I know, every man prefers to act for himself; and what would weigh with me more than anything else would be the extent to which one administrator is able to reverse, or does reverse, the practice or decisions of his predecessors. Seeing the strong view you take upon this, I will back the whole of your scheme, so far as it lies in my power, and I hope it may emerge from Committee and Council without very material amendment. If it goes through satisfactorily, I think you are much to be congratulated on having found a broad and statesmanlike treatment of a big question.

Disposal of Budget surplus.

I see that you have added a postal concession to the other items in your Budget. I trust that we shall get this through as well. Although this somewhat further reduces the surplus, I hope the Council will assent to it; but in Committee on the Budget I had a good deal of difficulty in inducing them to consent to so small a surplus, as they considered it, and consequently I am a little apprehensive of what may be done about this slight inroad on it, but I think it would be obviously unwise to checkmate a proposal of the Government of India involving so small a sum, while we still have a fair margin.

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Forestry Students.

I do not know how far you are interested in the question of the forestry students, but I have been landed in a great University fight by the proposal now made that the eight or ten Public Works candidates each year, who go for forestry, should be educated at Oxford under two Cooper's Hill professors. It is perfectly clear that they should go to a University, as Cooper's Hill is done away with, and still more to a residential University; and Oxford was selected because it has better access to woods than Cambridge or other places. On the other hand, objecting as I did with you to the abolition of Cooper's Hill, once we went to the open market entirely for Public Works candidates, it seemed to me that we might have met the objections of other Universities, which are most vivid, to the endowment, as it were, of a School at Oxford with public money, by limiting the special term at Oxford under Dr. Schlich and his Assistant to one year, followed by a year in the German forests, instead of two years at Oxford, followed by a year in the German forests. I could have driven a bargain to this effect with the other Universities, but the consensus of opinion of the Cooper's Hill people and the India Office was entirely the other way, and I could not carry it in Council. The result is, I fear, that we shall have a good deal of trouble with the Universities.

Prince of Wales' tour.
Lord Selborne's appointment to South Africa.

The announcement of the Prince of Wales' tour, and of the non-receiving and giving of presents has been very well taken here, as also has Selborne's appointment to South Africa. Indeed the *Times* wrote a leading article, which, allowing for their general *dénigrement* of the Government, was perhaps the most laudatory that they have ever written on such an appointment. I only hope that, having come to the zenith of fame, as far as administrative capacity is concerned, in so comparatively short a period, he may not find South Africa as difficult as most of his predecessors.

Mr. Balfour's Ministry.

Your strictures on the aristocratic nature of some of the Prime Minister's appointments have made me think a little. Probably not having got to figure it out, you will hardly realise how many likely members of the House of Commons have been handicapped lately by having at the wish, or believed wish, of their constituents committed themselves to very extreme views on the fiscal question. The selection of an extremist on either side is immediately pounced upon by the opposite side; and there is scarcely a constituency in which they speak without committing themselves most deeply. The process of selection becomes very difficult, and peers have been subject to no similar ordeal; but I quite agree with you that a preponderance of big names does us no good, and in a sense it is unlucky that eldest sons, who now get into the House early and work very hard, come to the fore in such numbers. Meantime our Front Bench in the House of Lords keeps on losing strength and never gaining it. Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, Balfour of Burleigh, and Selborne were really the mainstay of the Bench, with the exception of Lansdowne and the Chancellor, and all are gone. Luckily the Opposition are exceedingly weak.

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Colonel Yate.

I saw Colonel Yate the other day, and had a good talk with him about Baluchistan. If at any time you wish me to be civil to any returning members of the Civil Service or Indian Army, I shall of course be glad to do so.

General Burnett.

Burnett has left for Manchuria, and is immensely pleased with his appointment. He spoke in the warmest terms of your kindness to him.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

Engineers. Warren Hastings' picture. Engineers, &c.

P. S.—I hope you will be satisfied at my having succeeded in carrying the extra engineers for whom the India Government contended, and the restoration of the Warren Hastings' portrait, through Council. There is a very strong feeling here against pledging ourselves to an undue number of engineers. I do not share this view, because I think our expenditure is likely to be greater rather than less, as years go on, on irrigation and railway schemes, and I hope next week to send you my suggestions on the debt.

Army Administration: the *Standard* article.

One other point I ought to have mentioned, and that is our private correspondence about the *Standard* articles. I am very glad you have decided to publish nothing. Absolutely no interest has been aroused here by the *Standard's* publication. I telegraphed to you on Saturday that it had never been mentioned to me, and since then no one, except Sir Seymour King, who asked me if it was true that Kitchener had had some differences with Elles, has alluded to the subject, nor, so far as I have seen, has any notice appeared in the newspapers, except a Reuter telegram from Calcutta, which appeared in the *Times*, disclaiming any obstruction. I am most anxious to prevent the Kitchener-Elles trouble becoming public, as I am sure, if it does so, it will be less likely to be accommodated.

(Sd.) ST.J. B.

No. 27.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;
March 3rd, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Afghanistan: decision of the Cabinet.

If I may venture to pay you a compliment, I think that you certainly deserve one for the way in which you and your Government have accepted the very unpalatable decision of the Cabinet on the question of

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the Afghan negotiations. Your telegram in reply was dignified and temperate; you kept to your position, maintained your protest, but bowed to the supreme authority. I confess that, when I read it, it removed a weight from my mind, for I could not have been surprised if you had shown fight—but I am heartily glad, for the sake of all concerned, and for your own more than anyone else's, that you did not. We must now await the result; I hope soon to hear that the treaty has been signed, and that Dane is on his way home, but this, of course, will only be the beginning of the new state of things.

As you know, I do not pretend to have shared the opinion of your Government on this matter. But as regards the general attitude of His Majesty's Government, both on this and on other matters, I cannot help thinking that the consciousness of abnormal military weakness, and disorganization at the War Office, has a good deal to do with their unwillingness to touch anything that can be described as a "forward policy." In this matter of Afghanistan, for instance, it was freely said—whether truly or not I don't know—that in no case would the Cabinet assent to a fight with Afghanistan, nor (it was added) did they feel sure that they had the means of waging such a war with success, if the Russians joined in, as they assuredly would. It seems to me that, if you and other patriotic statesmen wish to see a more spirited foreign policy, the first thing that you have to do is, at whatever cost, to get our military machine into working order. I remember that in one of your letters to me you spoke contemptuously of the Government for having allowed "the little Japanese" to show that the Russians were, after all, not so formidable. Quite so; but, if we had stood up more firmly to Russia, and had got into a quarrel, would the result have been the same? The Japanese are capable, as a nation, of self-sacrifice, submission to discipline, thrift, and foresight—can the same be said of ourselves? I wish I thought that, when you have done your task in India, you would come home and preach these things to us. Do you remember Wordsworth's Sonnet to Milton—"Milton, thou should'st be living at this hour"? With the alteration of a few words, and the substitution of another name for "Milton," it might be made perfectly applicable at the present time.

Russo-Japanese War.

The tour of the Prince of Wales is beginning to cast its shadow over us, as it has, I suppose, over you. Already I have had long interviews with Lawrence and Bigge, and I expect to have a good many more. I wonder how you regard it? Surely it must be a terrible interruption to more serious business, though I am far from saying that it is a waste of time—even *your* time.

Prince of Wales' tour.

I have been talking to various people about the question of Hirsch, as a possible financier of Indian irrigation. Our advisers took some time to make inquiries, and to think the matter over, and I do not feel even now that I am prepared to discuss the matter. But I shall be, I hope, next week, when your brother is, I believe, coming to see me.

Mr. Hirsch and Irrigation.

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Mr. Wyndham and Sir A. MacDonnell.

At this moment we are enjoying a temporary lull in the MacDonnell business, but the storm is apparently going to break out again with redoubled fury. It seems to me quite possible that it may turn the Government out. What affects us most here, however, is the fact that he has now, in consequence of these incidents and debates, become such an important and conspicuous personage that there is very little chance of his settling down to a Membership of Council; or, if he does come, of his staying here for any appreciable time.

Sir C. Crosthwaite's retirement.

Crosthwaite disappears the day after tomorrow, to my regret—though, I am afraid, not to yours. He is certainly one of the ablest men that I have had to do with here.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 28.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON:
March 10*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Negotiations at Kabul.

I telegraphed to you about the slight change Dane proposed to make in the communication to the Amir about the agreement. We attach no importance to the change in the words proposed, and I hope that he may find it possible to get the settlement effected. Probably your next letter will state what you think of the decision.

Tibetan Blue Book.

As you have referred to Tibet and the publication of the Blue Book, which you regard as "a great mistake," I would only say that of all people alive there is probably no one who so little wished to publish as I did; but all the papers had been pressed for and given up to last May, the papers in regard to the settlement had been promised, the original treaty had been telegraphed from Pekin and published in London, representations with regard to it, especially respecting the "75 years," had been made by foreign Powers, and we had no alternative but to show what had happened, and what we had reduced. In doing this it would have been impossible to avoid giving Younghusband's version of the occurrences, or we should have been exposed to the

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same difficulty which Lansdowne underwent in the case of the correspondence between Buller and Warren. You know Debates here well enough to know that our decision on Younghusband's explanation would have been certainly called for. No one who knows the facts has doubted for a moment that we should have had to publish the papers. I published them a fortnight before Parliament met, because I thought, as was the case, that any feeling about them would blow over in the interval. The only loser has been myself, on whom reflections have been made without regard to the fact that every word I wrote was dictated by the Cabinet, who had taken up their stand on the same lines before I became Secretary of State. But, considering the embarrassments the Government have had recently to go through, I am very glad I saved them one more, even at my own expense.

I have only referred to Tibet again, because I wanted to explain to you that the publication, which you deprecate, was not made with the slightest idea of scoring a point off anyone, but from dire necessity, as Parliament had a right to know the result, and no amount of editing would have prevented other papers being called for.

You, who are aware how much newspaper criticism has to do with the success of Government, and who constantly refer to the effect measures have had on the public mind, whether you mean to be guided by it or not, can realise how little advantage the Secretary of State ever derives from these publications. If the policy has been successful, the Viceroy gets the credit: if the reverse, the Home authorities are called to account for not having interfered in time. Perhaps the best proof of what I say is that, so far as I know, except Sir Henry Fowler, who reigned for a brief period, no Secretary of State is remembered by the public to have done anything for the last twenty years!

Lord Kitchener and the Military Department.

I duly received your reply to Kitchener, and the fact that it meets point-blank so many of his arguments makes me wish the more that you had seen your way to assist me to send out a Committee before the hot weather. In your last paragraph you say: "Any reasonable reform or readjustment we would willingly consider, but no such proposals are before us." It was exactly with the view of discovering whether any reasonable reform or re-adjustment was possible that I wanted to send out the Committee. I doubt whether anything but enquiry on the spot could have decided what readjustments there are on which both parties might agree. The absence of this enquiry will greatly militate against the result for which I have been all along contending, *viz.*, to find out how much of what the Commander-in-Chief thinks is a wrong principle is really due to flaws in the system. We are now waiting for your despatch: I can only say I will do the best I can with it.

Lieut.-General's Commands.

After what you have said about Kitchener's action on the Lieutenant-General's Commands, I propose to fight for maintaining them. I have not

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the least desire that anybody should be carried away to undue centralisation by Kitchener's activity, and on the question of mixed brigades, which excites great opposition here, I suspect that the private letters, which you have not seen, would influence you not at all.

The Amir. Prince of Wales' tour.

I agree with you about the G. C. B. for the Amir. I am sending on to the King your objections to a special list of honours for the Prince of Wales, and begging him to back it. I hope I may be successful. I cannot quite gather from the telegram I have just received from you whether you wish the Calcutta Municipal Corporation and others to give gifts to the Prince and Princess; but I am consulting the King also on this.

Assassination of Colonel Harman.

We have all been very much concerned here about the death of Colonel Harman, and I am very sorry you are dissatisfied with the conduct of the local authorities as regards disarming the Mahsud Militia. I hope your orders may be in time to arrest any damage.

Forestry students.

You will be amused to know that you and I and Godley are suspected of having joined a conspiracy to make Oxford the centre of the forestry training. You have not, I think, said a word on the subject, and I do not think the education of eight or ten forestry students will make or mar Oxford much either way; but the Cambridge people sent out a whip late one night, and very nearly gave us a fall in the House of Lords, although Bath made an excellent speech.

Parliamentary.

Last night we had a troublesome Debate on a motion of Winston Churchill's about the fiscal question. At one time it looked very much like our being in a minority, and the opinion of the probable majority varied from 10 to 20, which was ultimately 42, so we came through for the moment with flying colours.

Vacancy on the India Council.

Sir Charles Crosthwaite's time has come to an end and, owing to his retirement, we have a vacancy, if Sir A. MacDonnell is not thrown back on us. Among others who desire consideration are Sir David Barr and Colonel Yate. What are your views as to their powers and eligibility?

Army Administration in England.

It will amuse you to hear that Arnold Forster's Army Scheme has broken down completely and he is (*entre nous*) on the verge of resignation. A. J. B., with the assistance of Esher and Clarke, has drawn a rival one, which has the disadvantage of being more expensive than Arnold Forster's or mine. We shall have a rough time on the estimates.

I am truly sorry to hear your back is troubling you.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

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No. 29.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
March 17th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

In your letter of the 21st February from Assam, you alluded again to the question of honours for Judges. I will not enter on the general question as to patronage, nor can I understand why it has been raised about this point. I asked you at Lamington's instance whether or not you considered Mr. Justice Crowe worthy of a Knighthood. You now tell me you have asked Lamington about this gentleman, and that "he says that he never put his name forward for an honour." Lamington's memory has deceived him. My letter to you was based on the following private note from Lamington, dated 3rd December, 1904:— Honours for Judges.

"Just before mail closes, I want to add that I hope you will consider the question of retiring Judges of the High Court retaining at least their title of Honourable, if not to have a Knighthood, as proposed in an article in the *Pioneer*. I should like Mr. Crowe to have had the latter had it been recognised that, unless the Judge had some shortcoming, he was entitled to such a distinction. I am sure such a principle would help in obtaining men of greater ability to go into the Judicial Branch."

I consequently asked you about Crowe, but have not yet had your opinion of him. Except seeing him once since he returned, I know nothing of his services, and have not invited an expression of opinion from any other quarter.

I send you herewith a Minute which I have circulated to the Finance Committee on the question of our Indian loans. It certainly seems to me an anomaly, with the great improvement of Indian finance, of trade, of administration, and of security generally, that we should continue to issue Rupee Loans at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on practically the same terms at which we can issue sterling loans at 3 per cent. Had it not been so near your Budget, I should have asked you to reconsider the question of issuing a fresh Rupee Loan of 4 crores. As it is, we have sent you a Indian loans.

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warning telegram that we may possibly raise the question hereafter. Conservative as our Council is financially, and difficult as the City always is to get an opinion from on any question which is not immediately operative, such as whether you can issue a £5,000,000 or a £10,000,000 loan at the moment, still I think we might begin to work in the direction of a big stock, that is to say, a very large sterling 3 per cent. Stock.

The real test of a stock is to what extent it is held by the great banks, and to what extent they find they can, in case of emergency, transfer large amounts. This is purely a question of fashion, and, once it was decided by the great bankers that it was worth while to hold a quarter of a million of India Three Per Cents. instead of holding, as they now do some of them, a few thousands, our Stock would become as marketable as Consols. I think the existence of Rupee Paper has much to do with preventing a real feeling of security arising with regard to India Stocks. It is obvious that a business man does not understand why one person is getting $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and another is getting 3 per cent., on the security of the same Government, and he naturally hesitates to embark at the lower figure. In any case, I cannot help hoping I shall have your support in making an effort to get the situation reviewed by the light of the magnificent Budget which you will be shortly bringing out.

Fiscal policy.

We had a Debate, as you will see, in the House of Lords on some remarks I made at Shere about our fiscal position, and the benefit of having our hands untied. Bath made a good speech, and the Opposition did not make much of their attack. Bath has done very well on the two occasions that he has had an opening in the House of Lords, and, as the representation of Indian affairs in the House of Lords is practically the only real work that the Under Secretary has to do, as he is a mere spectator at Committees, I think Balfour did well in appointing him.

Police Commission: publication of papers.

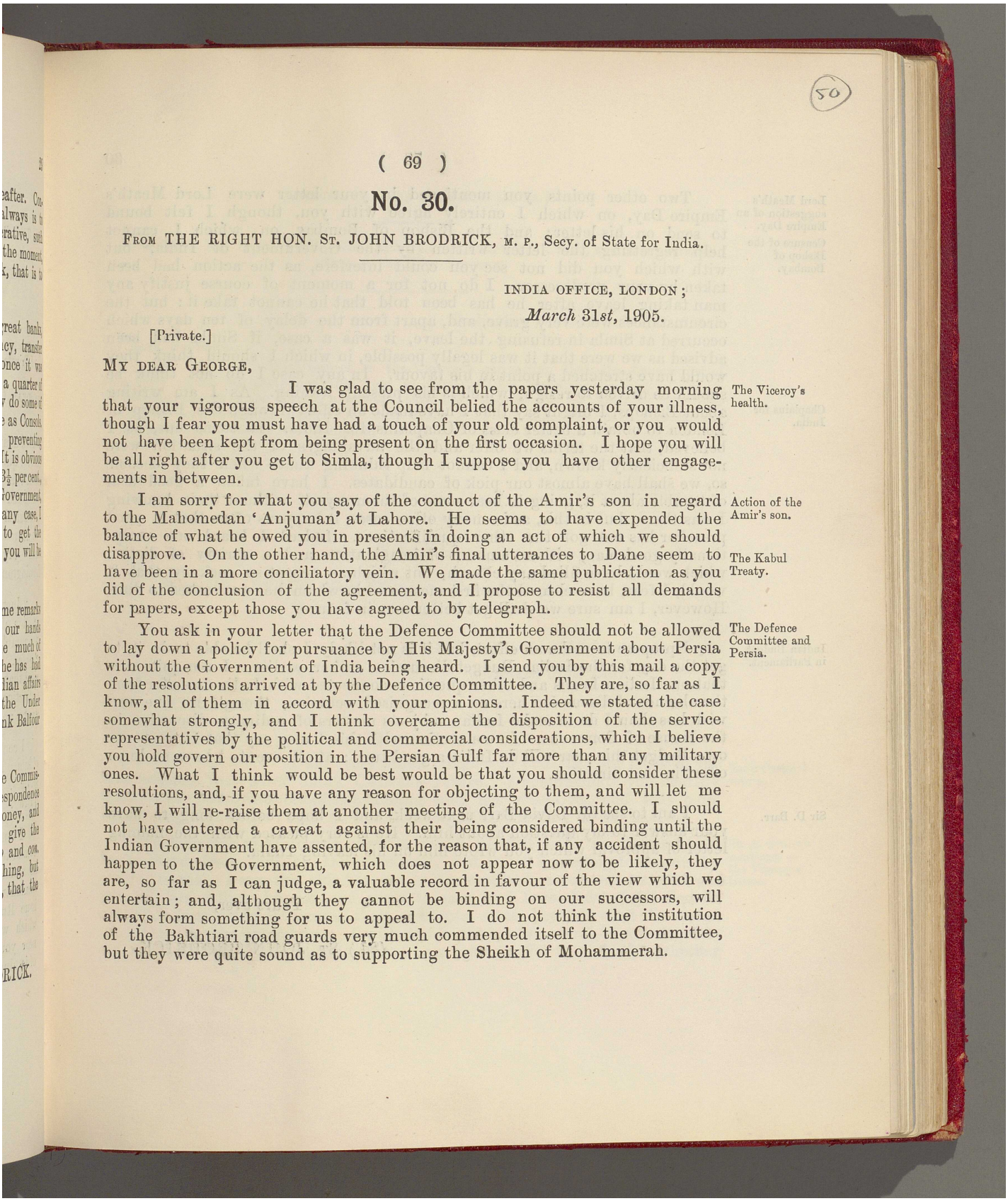
I rather assume, from the telegram you sent us about the Police Commission, that you are no more anxious than we are that the whole correspondence should be published. In a matter involving such large sums of money, and the privileges and interests of so many people, it seems wiser to give the conclusions arrived at after consultation than the arguments *pro* and *con*. It is, however, difficult to judge of the effect of publishing anything, but I rather think you will agree with what seems to be the opinion here, that the Resolution will be better received than the correspondence.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

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No. 30.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
March 31*st*, 1905.

[Private.]

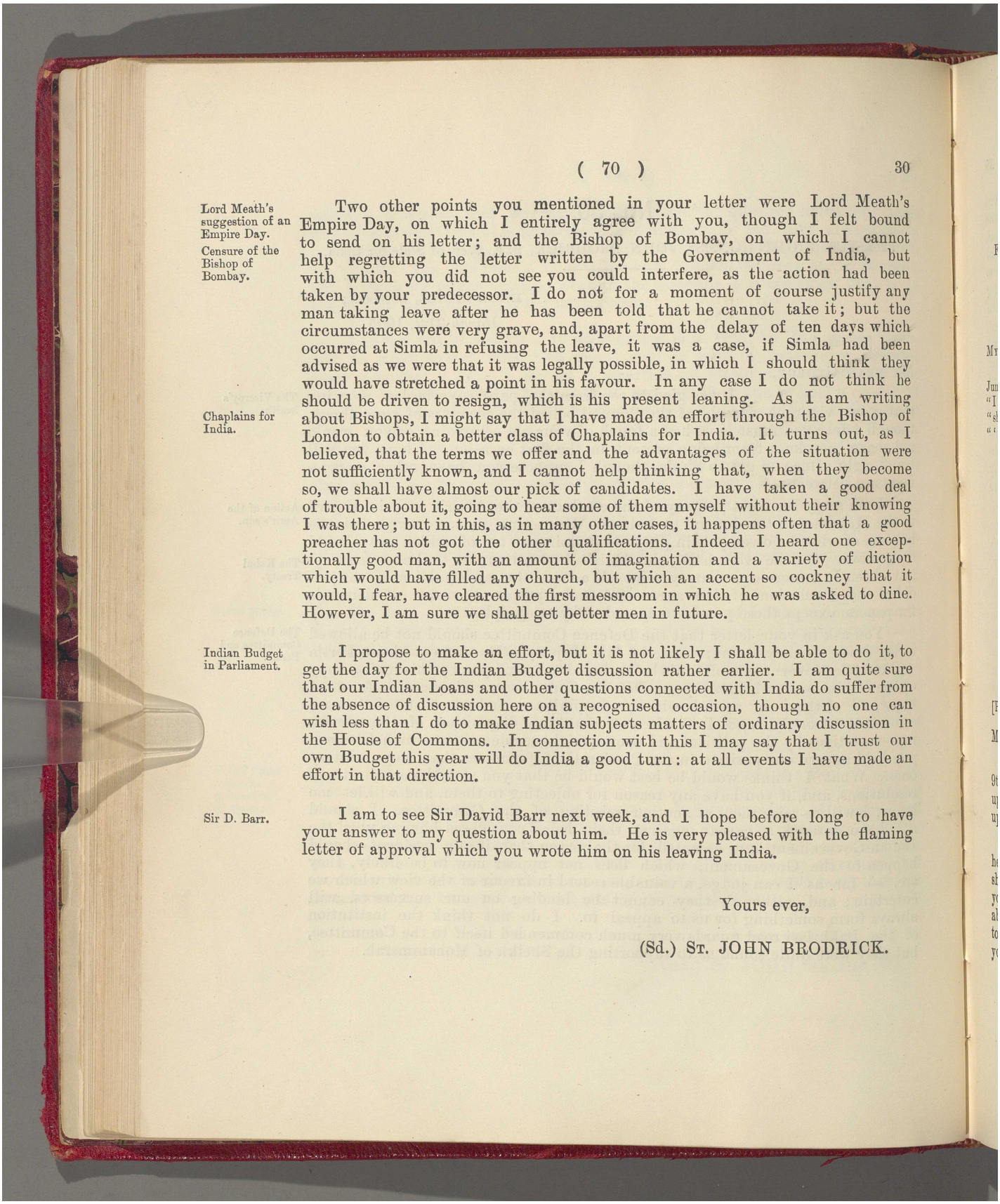
MY DEAR GEORGE,

I was glad to see from the papers yesterday morning that your vigorous speech at the Council belied the accounts of your illness, though I fear you must have had a touch of your old complaint, or you would not have been kept from being present on the first occasion. I hope you will be all right after you get to Simla, though I suppose you have other engagements in between. — The Viceroy's health.

I am sorry for what you say of the conduct of the Amir's son in regard to the Mahomedan 'Anjuman' at Lahore. He seems to have expended the balance of what he owed you in presents in doing an act of which we should disapprove. On the other hand, the Amir's final utterances to Dane seem to have been in a more conciliatory vein. We made the same publication as you did of the conclusion of the agreement, and I propose to resist all demands for papers, except those you have agreed to by telegraph. — Action of the Amir's son. — The Kabul Treaty.

You ask in your letter that the Defence Committee should not be allowed to lay down a policy for pursuance by His Majesty's Government about Persia without the Government of India being heard. I send you by this mail a copy of the resolutions arrived at by the Defence Committee. They are, so far as I know, all of them in accord with your opinions. Indeed we stated the case somewhat strongly, and I think overcame the disposition of the service representatives by the political and commercial considerations, which I believe you hold govern our position in the Persian Gulf far more than any military ones. What I think would be best would be that you should consider these resolutions, and, if you have any reason for objecting to them, and will let me know, I will re-raise them at another meeting of the Committee. I should not have entered a caveat against their being considered binding until the Indian Government have assented, for the reason that, if any accident should happen to the Government, which does not appear now to be likely, they are, so far as I can judge, a valuable record in favour of the view which we entertain; and, although they cannot be binding on our successors, will always form something for us to appeal to. I do not think the institution of the Bakhtiari road guards very much commended itself to the Committee, but they were quite sound as to supporting the Sheikh of Mohammerah. — The Defence Committee and Persia.

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Lord Meath's suggestion of an Empire Day.
Censure of the Bishop of Bombay.

Two other points you mentioned in your letter were Lord Meath's Empire Day, on which I entirely agree with you, though I felt bound to send on his letter; and the Bishop of Bombay, on which I cannot help regretting the letter written by the Government of India, but with which you did not see you could interfere, as the action had been taken by your predecessor. I do not for a moment of course justify any man taking leave after he has been told that he cannot take it; but the circumstances were very grave, and, apart from the delay of ten days which occurred at Simla in refusing the leave, it was a case, if Simla had been advised as we were that it was legally possible, in which I should think they would have stretched a point in his favour. In any case I do not think he should be driven to resign, which is his present leaning. As I am writing about Bishops, I might say that I have made an effort through the Bishop of London to obtain a better class of Chaplains for India. It turns out, as I believed, that the terms we offer and the advantages of the situation were not sufficiently known, and I cannot help thinking that, when they become so, we shall have almost our pick of candidates. I have taken a good deal of trouble about it, going to hear some of them myself without their knowing I was there; but in this, as in many other cases, it happens often that a good preacher has not got the other qualifications. Indeed I heard one exceptionally good man, with an amount of imagination and a variety of diction which would have filled any church, but which an accent so cockney that it would, I fear, have cleared the first messroom in which he was asked to dine. However, I am sure we shall get better men in future.

Chaplains for India.

Indian Budget in Parliament.

I propose to make an effort, but it is not likely I shall be able to do it, to get the day for the Indian Budget discussion rather earlier. I am quite sure that our Indian Loans and other questions connected with India do suffer from the absence of discussion here on a recognised occasion, though no one can wish less than I do to make Indian subjects matters of ordinary discussion in the House of Commons. In connection with this I may say that I trust our own Budget this year will do India a good turn: at all events I have made an effort in that direction.

Sir D. Barr.

I am to see Sir David Barr next week, and I hope before long to have your answer to my question about him. He is very pleased with the flaming letter of approval which you wrote him on his leaving India.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

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[ENCLOSURE TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.]

FROM THE RT. HON. THE LORD KNOLLYS, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Private Secy. to the King-Emperor.

Buckingham Palace, March 22nd, 1905.

MY DEAR BRODRICK,

With respect to the Viceroy's suggestion that the honour list of June 1905 should be postponed this year to January 1906, the King writes as follows:—"I entirely approve of the Viceroy's proposal that the 'honour list' of June of this year "should be postponed until January of next year. This will enable the 'Star of India' and "'Indian Empire' Orders to be conferred during the Prince of Wales' visit."

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) KNOLLYS.

No. 31.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;
March 31st, 1905.

[Private & Confidential.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 9th, written just after Lady Curzon's return. I congratulate you heartily upon all the circumstances of her landing and her reception, and still more upon being able to give such an excellent report of the state of her health. Lady Curzon's return.

My Secretary of State was likewise much pleased with the letter which he received from you by the same mail, and which according to custom he showed to me. I mention this because he has received one or two letters from you of late which he did *not* show to me; and I was led to infer that he abstained from doing so because their contents went beyond what he cared to submit to the official eye. I will confess that, whenever I have written to you a letter of protest or remonstrance, I am apt to suffer from doubts whether Sir A. Godley's comments on the Viceroy's letters.

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I ought to adopt that tone in addressing the master of 1,000 legions. Yet I cannot think that I was wrong to do so last week. You may say that the tone of your letters, and the strong expressions which you have used in them, are justified by the treatment which you have received. For the sake of argument, I will grant this: but, even so, is it good policy to write letters which, whatever the provocation may have been, have the effect of annoying and alienating those who ought to be your friends, who certainly are more favourably disposed towards you than any other conceivable set of Ministers, and on whom, whether you like it or not, you must depend for support and defence in this country? "But," you will say, "I have written nothing which ought to give them offence." Well, as I have said, there are some of your letters that I have not seen, and those that I have seen I will not presume to judge. But the proof of diplomacy, like that of a pudding, is in its results: and if the effect of a correspondence is to create a soreness where it is manifestly inexpedient that any such feeling should exist, it must, I think, be admitted that some amendment is needed, and it is the part of a friendly observer to say so. I believe you will agree with me as to this, and I therefore hope to be forgiven for my presumption.

The Kabul treaty.

So the Kabul treaty is signed, and Mr. Dane, I suppose, is on his journey to India. I am afraid that the net result is to you very unsatisfactory, and I am not going to dwell upon it. I will only say that I have been trying, both for my own benefit and that of others, to realize the position in which we should be at this moment, with regard to Parliament, if Mr. Dane were returning empty handed, and with the negotiations broken off: and that I cannot enjoy the notion of the questions and the debates to which such a result would have given rise. The account of the final durbar is surely a matter of satisfaction, and I should have been, I must say, more afraid of a bad quarter of an hour at the bar of the House of Lords if we had broken with Afghanistan than I am at present.

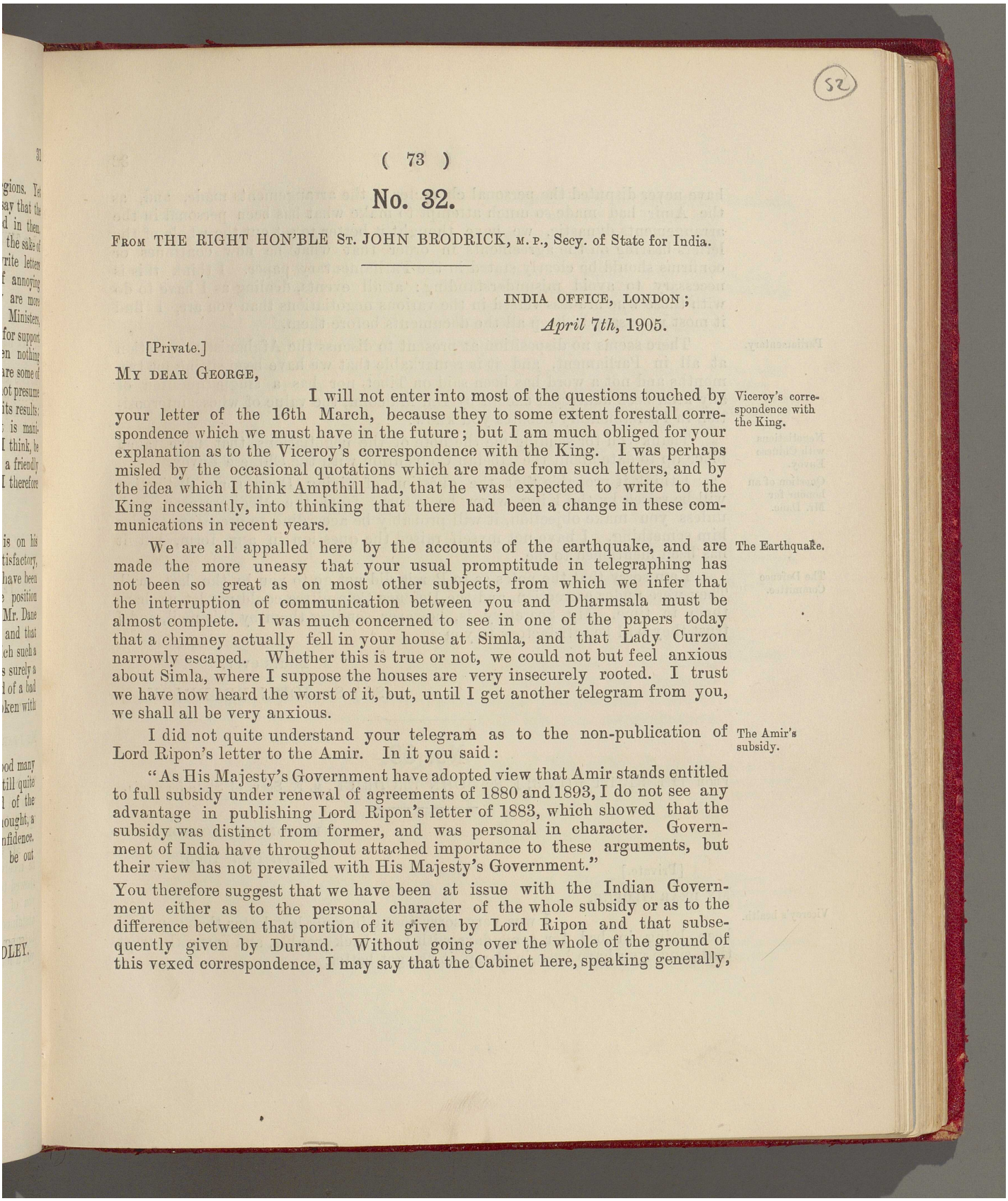
Parliamentary.

The state of things in the House of Commons is curious, and a good many hard things are said about His Majesty's Government, but I am still quite unable to see why or how they are to be turned out before the end of the session; and I observe that a good many of the inner circle, who thought, a month ago, that the end was at hand, have now recovered their confidence. So, as it is the unexpected that always happens, I suppose they may be out before you receive this letter.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

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No. 32.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
April 7th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I will not enter into most of the questions touched by your letter of the 16th March, because they to some extent forestall correspondence which we must have in the future; but I am much obliged for your explanation as to the Viceroy's correspondence with the King. I was perhaps misled by the occasional quotations which are made from such letters, and by the idea which I think Ampthill had, that he was expected to write to the King incessantly, into thinking that there had been a change in these communications in recent years.

Viceroy's correspondence with the King.

We are all appalled here by the accounts of the earthquake, and are made the more uneasy that your usual promptitude in telegraphing has not been so great as on most other subjects, from which we infer that the interruption of communication between you and Dharmsala must be almost complete. I was much concerned to see in one of the papers today that a chimney actually fell in your house at Simla, and that Lady Curzon narrowly escaped. Whether this is true or not, we could not but feel anxious about Simla, where I suppose the houses are very insecurely rooted. I trust we have now heard the worst of it, but, until I get another telegram from you, we shall all be very anxious.

The Earthquake.

I did not quite understand your telegram as to the non-publication of Lord Ripon's letter to the Amir. In it you said:

The Amir's subsidy.

"As His Majesty's Government have adopted view that Amir stands entitled to full subsidy under renewal of agreements of 1880 and 1893, I do not see any advantage in publishing Lord Ripon's letter of 1883, which showed that the subsidy was distinct from former, and was personal in character. Government of India have throughout attached importance to these arguments, but their view has not prevailed with His Majesty's Government."

You therefore suggest that we have been at issue with the Indian Government either as to the personal character of the whole subsidy or as to the difference between that portion of it given by Lord Ripon and that subsequently given by Durand. Without going over the whole of the ground of this vexed correspondence, I may say that the Cabinet here, speaking generally,

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have never disputed the personal character of the arrangements made, and, as the Amir had made so much attempt to make what has been personal in the arrangements dynastic, we have thought it better to set out the whole of the letters bearing on the agreements in order that what he now continues or confirms should be clearly stated in the Parliamentary paper. I think this is necessary to avoid misunderstanding: at all events, dealing as I have to do with those who are less versed in the various negotiations than you are, I find it most necessary to keep all the documents before them.

Parliamentary.

There seems no disposition at present to discuss the Afghanistan question at all in Parliament, and it is remarkable that we have been sitting for two months and not a word has been said on Tibet, nor has a single question of any kind been addressed except by Ian Malcolm, the value of whose interposition in Parliamentary debates you know.

Negotiations with Chinese Envoy.

Thank you for sending me the note of the negotiations that have taken place up to date about the Tibetan Convention with the Chinese Envoy.

Question of an honour for Mr. Dane.

I think it probable that the question of giving Dane some distinction will be raised by the King when he returns from the Mediterranean, and, unless you make objection, it will probably be according to precedent to give him something. I have not myself raised the question in any form, but it has been mentioned to me.

The Defence Committee.

I am sorry that the notes as to Persia did not go to you by the last mail. They were under correction, and the Defence Committee could not let us have them in time. My Secretary is, however, sending them by this mail, and I trust they will be satisfactory to you.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 33.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
April 14*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Viceroy's health.

I was very sorry to see in your last letter that you had been lying in bed for some days with your back trouble, and earnestly trust that, since you have been in Camp, it has got better.

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The accounts which you send us of the earthquake are inexpressibly depressing,—not that everything which is possible is not being done, but somehow these sort of visitations, although I suppose one can treat them on an average, and may not expect them to recur in the same spots, strike one's imagination more than any hurricane, however terrible. I gather from your not having yet pressed me to get the Lord Mayor to open a fund that you still doubt whether the extent of the calamity justifies it; and, after the numerous appeals we have had on all subjects lately, everybody will no doubt be glad to be spared, if you decide that the occasion does not warrant it. Earthquake. Opening of Relief fund.

Your Budget has been taken very well here: so also has our own. I think the reduction of 2*d.* of the duty on tea will modify a very real grievance of India's, and I have pressed very strongly for it. In point of fact, to a Government which even contemplates considering preference with our own Dependencies, a tax which could be supposed to check production would be quite unsustainable, more especially, as I pointed out to my colleagues, seeing that we have the weapons ready to hand in India to bring the United Kingdom to reason if India were an independent country. Anyhow I hope the solatium will stay the feelings of the tea-planters for the moment. The Indian Budget: Reduction of tea duty.

I have not seen Law yet; for he has not returned, and it now appears to be desired to make him an agricultural representative at the Conference in Rome. I shall not be sorry if this is done, as it is a sort of semi-employment under the Foreign Office. After all you have told me, despite his merits, I should be glad if his future career did not rest entirely on India. Agricultural Conference at Rome: Sir E. Law.

We have received your resolution on the Police Report, and I do not think any exception can be taken to it, though I believe some of our Council would have been glad to introduce a sentence or two about the minimum living wage arguments. I do not attach quite so much importance to this as they do, and at all events it seems to me a perfectly fair and comprehensive review of the whole question. Police Resolution.

We are publishing the Afghan treaty as the last of the series of papers which have never yet been brought together, and which it seems convenient to connect with each other. In consequence we have put in the letters both with regard to the twelve lakhs and the six lakhs, so as to tell the whole story. It is astonishing, up to the present, how little interest the whole question excites here. Publication of Kabul treaty papers.

Your despatch and the accompanying Minutes about military administration reached us last week, and the papers are being carefully examined. I will not discuss them in detail at present. Military administration in India.

We had one little subject under discussion last week in Council which I thought I would mention, namely, the pensions to be given to men invalided, Pensions to men invalided.

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after comparatively short service. They seem inadequate compared to the pensions to be earned after twenty-five years, but in dealing with them it has been proposed that all those who have previously been invalided should benefit by the new rates from the date from which they are to be given. This seemed to me a rather absurd conclusion, involving as it did raising the pensions from now onwards of about forty men, some of whom had left India forty years ago. Ten of them, have, I think, lived past seventy-five, which seems to argue that, although invalided from India, they had not suffered materially. Moreover one of them was Lord Tweeddale, who left India about forty years ago, and has lived to be seventy-eight. Possibly you may think there are some hard cases which might be dealt with.

Illness of Lord Ampthill and Lady Lamington.

I fear Ampthill has had a sharp touch of fever, and that Lady Lamington, as you told me in December, has tried the Indian climate too long. He seems very much troubled about her.

Inconvenience caused by earthquake at Viceregal Lodge.

I fear the disturbance of your house at Simla, apart from the anxiety, must give you a good deal of trouble.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 34.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.;

April 14*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Military administration in India.

At last we have your long-expected Military Despatch, and are going to work upon it without delay. I will not venture to express any opinion about it, beyond saying that I recognize a very skilful hand in the composition of the principal document, as well as in that of the Viceroy's Minute.

The Kabul Treaty and His Excellency's inclination to resign office.

Your letter of the 23rd refers to the subject of Afghanistan, and to the possibility of your resigning. As you know, I did not wish you to return to India, foreseeing, as I did, the friction and worry to which you were likely to be subjected, whether the change of Government came this year or not. But, now that you are there, I cannot see why there should be any idea of

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your resignation before the time—a year hence—which you yourself have now publicly named for your return to this country. The reasons which you recite against it are all good reasons, and all remain in force. The decision in the matter of the Kabul Treaty was taken in opposition to your advice, but it was clearly a Cabinet question, and the differences between the Home Government and the Government of India have not been, and I trust will not be, published. As regards the constitutional position of the Viceroy, of course it will vary to some extent according to the personal equation of the individual who holds the office, and I am the last person in the world to underrate its importance and prestige at this moment. But it seems to me that the question whether the Viceroy is essentially "an agent or a quasi-independent adviser" is decided by the following facts:—The House of Commons claims and occasionally exercises the right to control and criticize, even in matters of minute detail, the administration of Indian affairs, and for what is done by the Government of that country it holds, not you, but the Secretary of State, or, in very important matters, His Majesty's Government, responsible. This, I suppose, you will not deny; and I hardly think that you will deny that this state of things implies a right of control on the part of those who are held responsible, and is incompatible with any theory of quasi-independence. Heaven knows that I have not the smallest wish to diminish the importance of your office, it is—especially when it is in such hands as yours—the greatest office, with the single exception of the Prime Ministership, that a man can hold. But it is not the less certain that the Viceroy is, in the last resort, an agent of His Majesty's Government and not a quasi-independent adviser: and this, I venture to submit, is another reason why you should not contemplate resignation if the Cabinet insist on taking their own line in matters for which they alone are responsible to Parliament.

Secy. of State, and not the Viceroy, is held to be responsible for India.

You asked me some time ago what I thought about your proposals for the reform of our Council, but I believe I have never answered your question. My answer is that I adhere entirely to all that I said to you last summer: I think that the reforms which you suggest, though not urgently required, would certainly be great improvements. But I hold very strongly that no Government ought to touch the question unless they clearly see their way to carry their measure; and I should have been very sorry if this Government, in its present condition, had attempted anything of the kind. I also, as you know, dissociate myself from any censure which you might be inclined to pass upon the way in which Members of Council have used their powers; I do not by any means say that they have been always right—far from it; but as to the general iniquity of their conduct I am quite sure that we should not agree.

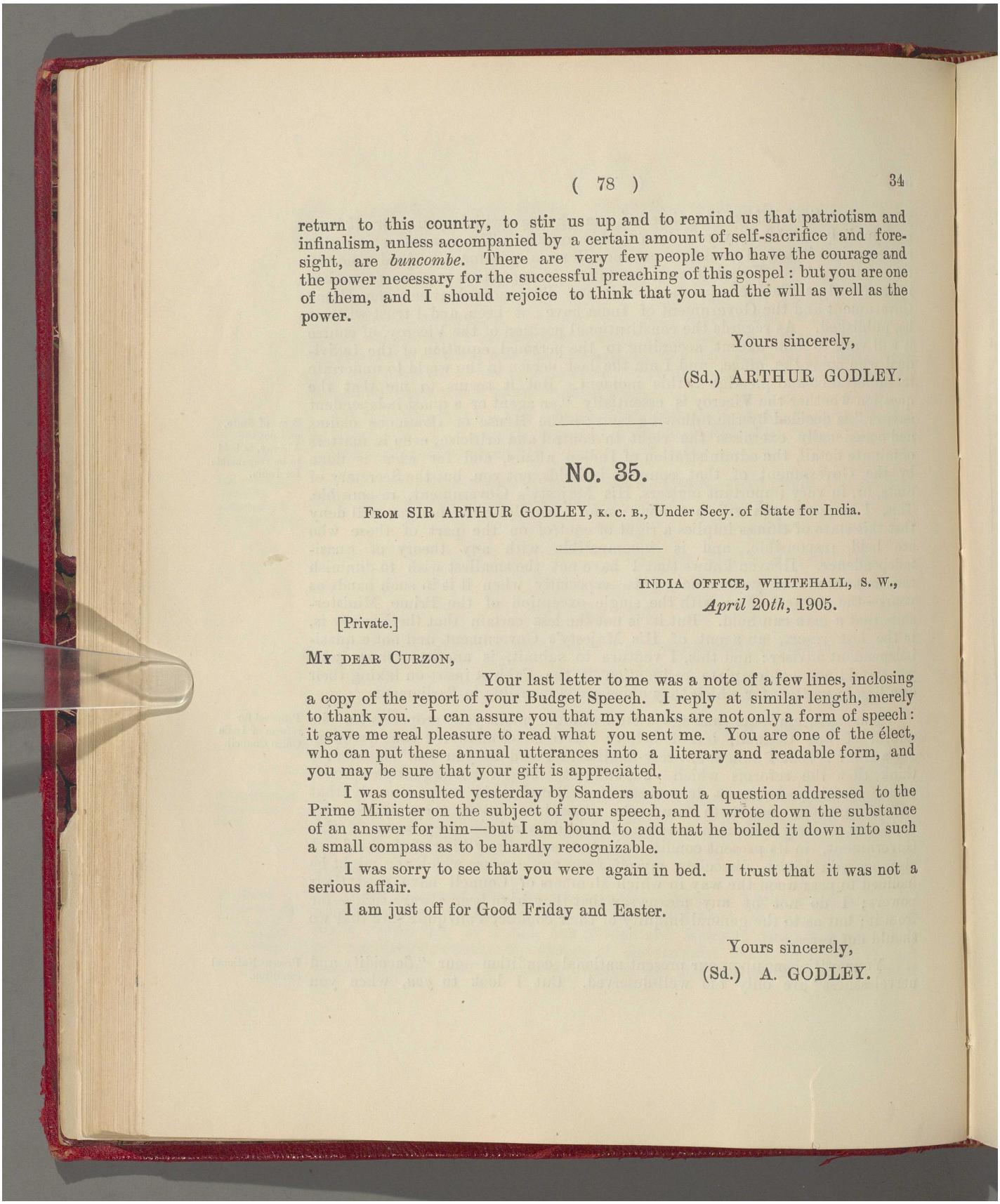
Proposal for reform of India Office Council.

Your criticisms upon our present national condition—our "flaccidity and nervelessness" are only too well-deserved. But I look to *you*, when you

Present National condition.

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return to this country, to stir us up and to remind us that patriotism and infinalism, unless accompanied by a certain amount of self-sacrifice and foresight, are *buncombe*. There are very few people who have the courage and the power necessary for the successful preaching of this gospel: but you are one of them, and I should rejoice to think that you had the will as well as the power.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 35.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.,
April 20th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Your last letter to me was a note of a few lines, inclosing a copy of the report of your Budget Speech. I reply at similar length, merely to thank you. I can assure you that my thanks are not only a form of speech: it gave me real pleasure to read what you sent me. You are one of the élect, who can put these annual utterances into a literary and readable form, and you may be sure that your gift is appreciated.

I was consulted yesterday by Sanders about a question addressed to the Prime Minister on the subject of your speech, and I wrote down the substance of an answer for him—but I am bound to add that he boiled it down into such a small compass as to be hardly recognizable.

I was sorry to see that you were again in bed. I trust that it was not a serious affair.

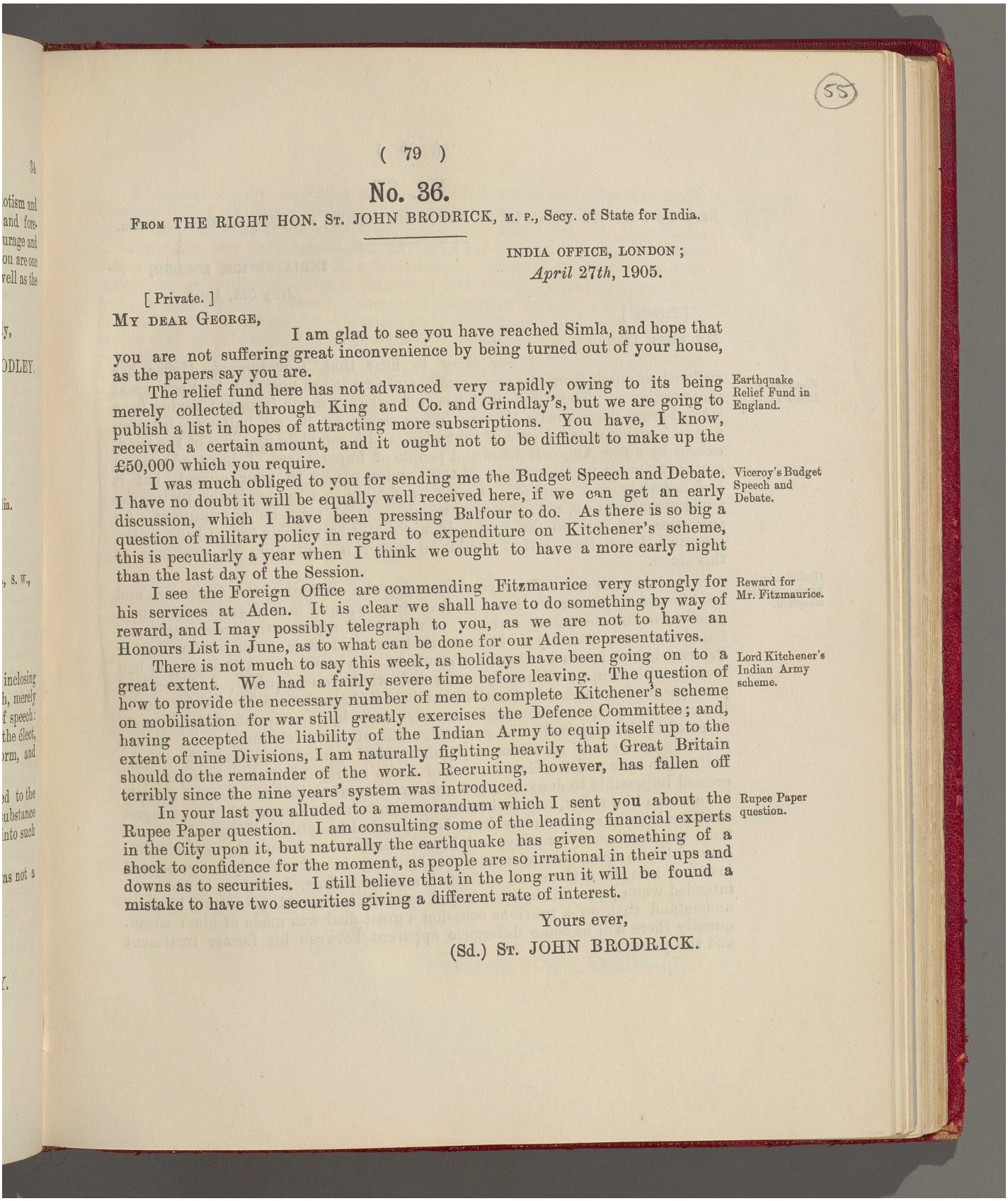
I am just off for Good Friday and Easter.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

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No. 36.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON;
April 27th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am glad to see you have reached Simla, and hope that you are not suffering great inconvenience by being turned out of your house, as the papers say you are.

Earthquake Relief Fund in England.

The relief fund here has not advanced very rapidly owing to its being merely collected through King and Co. and Grindlay's, but we are going to publish a list in hopes of attracting more subscriptions. You have, I know, received a certain amount, and it ought not to be difficult to make up the £50,000 which you require.

Viceroy's Budget Speech and Debate.

I was much obliged to you for sending me the Budget Speech and Debate. I have no doubt it will be equally well received here, if we can get an early discussion, which I have been pressing Balfour to do. As there is so big a question of military policy in regard to expenditure on Kitchener's scheme, this is peculiarly a year when I think we ought to have a more early night than the last day of the Session.

Reward for Mr. Fitzmaurice.

I see the Foreign Office are commending Fitzmaurice very strongly for his services at Aden. It is clear we shall have to do something by way of reward, and I may possibly telegraph to you, as we are not to have an Honours List in June, as to what can be done for our Aden representatives.

Lord Kitchener's Indian Army scheme.

There is not much to say this week, as holidays have been going on to a great extent. We had a fairly severe time before leaving. The question of how to provide the necessary number of men to complete Kitchener's scheme on mobilisation for war still greatly exercises the Defence Committee; and, having accepted the liability of the Indian Army to equip itself up to the extent of nine Divisions, I am naturally fighting heavily that Great Britain should do the remainder of the work. Recruiting, however, has fallen off terribly since the nine years' system was introduced.

Rupee Paper question.

In your last you alluded to a memorandum which I sent you about the Rupee Paper question. I am consulting some of the leading financial experts in the City upon it, but naturally the earthquake has given something of a shock to confidence for the moment, as people are so irrational in their ups and downs as to securities. I still believe that in the long run it will be found a mistake to have two securities giving a different rate of interest.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

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No. 37.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
May 5th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Earthquake Relief Fund.

I am sorry to hear that Government House has suffered so much from the earthquake, and fear it has put you to very great inconvenience. The fund here has suffered very much from not having been started from the Mansion House. There seems to be no half-way between a great success in a case of that kind, and a complete ignoring of the fund, except by a few Anglo-Indians and people of importance. I have advertised and given great prominence in all the London papers to your appeal, but it has certainly not gone off. I am now putting in a further notice giving the amount you require, *viz.*, £20,000, which I hope may be a stimulant. In any case we will do our best. It might still be possible to fall back on the Mansion House, though that would be rather a confession of weakness at this stage.

Gaekwar in England: His reception.

By last mail came the papers regarding the conduct of the Gaekwar, and he himself appeared in London last Sunday, and immediately asked to be received in the customary manner. I went carefully into the precedents, and found there was literally no instance that we could trace of one of the Ruling Princes being ignored when he came to this country. Although you had trouble with him, he ultimately conceded what you required, and received your permission to travel. Customs facilities had also been asked for for him in the ordinary way, and the usual courtesies were, by the request of the Government of India, extended to him abroad. Therefore we felt that, while it was most desirable not to allow any difference of opinion to appear between the authorities here and the Government of India in regard to his treatment, it seemed impossible to deny him the ordinary formal civilities. I consequently have to see him today, but will take the opportunity of expressing my regret that he is to be so long away from India, and although the King only arrived from the Continent yesterday, and I have therefore not been able to communicate with him directly as to what was to be done, He will probably not go beyond inviting him to a Court in a formal manner. This, I assume, is what you intended when you said that you hoped no civilities would be shown him. I understand that on a previous occasion a great deal was made of him: consequently there will be some difference apparent between his former treatment and the present.

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I am exceedingly concerned at what you tell me as to the leakage in the Foreign Office at Simla, though I think you have indicated once or twice before that you were afraid something of the kind went on. As you know, I have from the first deprecated, so far as my own private correspondence was concerned, its being put into print, because, unless Europeans at a high rate of pay are utilised, which I suppose would be very difficult, I do not see how one can hope that correspondence will altogether remain secret. Public despatches must always be difficult, since they are seen by many eyes here before they get to India; but, if you are now recasting the arrangements as you suggest in your letter, I rather trust that you may set the precedent, which is sure to be followed by your successors, of not allowing letters which pass between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to be seen by anyone, but to remain entirely for his private eye. Except for the printing, no one need see my letters except yourself and the gentleman who takes down this and types it for me. We should then be perfectly secure, so far as that portion of our work is concerned; and, if you look back, I think you will find that, as we conducted so much of the discussion with regard to the terms for the Amir before your departure from England, there would, except the private correspondence, be nothing of serious import between us, except the two or three lengthy telegrams which passed at the finish, and which you might have found it possible specially to safeguard.

Leakage in the Foreign Office at Simla.

I only venture these suggestions, because I have been uneasy for a long time, and because everybody tells me that printing in India almost certainly results in disclosure, if it is worth anyone's while to bribe the person concerned.

I think it is some credit to our printing arrangements in the India Office that we not only have, so far as I know, kept our own secrets, but recently, leakages having occurred in another Office, they have sent us their documents for some months to be printed by us, and the results have been all you could wish. I am not quoting the India Office against Simla in any way, but merely mentioning that we have had special luck. Possibly nobody thinks there are any secrets to be bought here. I think the Foreign Office is wonderful in the same respect.

As regards Honours for Aden, I have not the least desire to exhaust your C. S. I.'s, if it were possible to deal with the matter in any other way. I am sorry to see Maitland left out altogether, but will try and get a C. B. for Fitzmaurice, and, if this is possible, I will then telegraph to see whether you are prepared to spare something for Wahab and Maitland. As regards Dane, I will of course wait for your despatch and his report, and for the note which you say left last mail. There is a strong feeling here that he should be rewarded.

Honours for Aden, and for Mr. Dane.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

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No. 38.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
May 12*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Earthquake Fund.

I am afraid that the Earthquake Fund has got into a mess, and I have telegraphed to you to make a suggestion. The truth is, from what Godley tells me, that nothing which does not involve a great loss of English life seems to affect people much in this country, and in addition, unless the Mansion House is set in motion, the subscriptions are usually very small. You thought, very naturally, that the emergency could be met without appealing to the Mansion House. Unluckily, not only were the subscriptions insignificant, after we determined to forego that class of appeal, but Kitchener's Goorkha Fund came forward, and people at once began to transfer what they had given, as well as subscriptions which had not been given, to the Goorkhas. Lord Roberts, for instance, who had given £100 to the one Fund, wrote most strenuously to remove it to the other. It is too late now to go back to the Mansion House, and I can only suggest that a full statement from yourself of the rival merits of the Funds, not merely as regards numbers but as regards the sum required, should be made in order to direct people. Our broker has considered the question of a Stock Exchange appeal from the General Fund, and saw there were evidently difficulties with regard to it. But whatever you may decide upon, I will do the best I can.

Discussion *re* Defence Committee.

We are carrying on a discussion today in Parliament about the Defence Committee, which formed a considerable point in your letter of the 20th April. I quite agree with you that it is possible to go too far in laying matters of policy before that semi-august body, and it is not always recollected that whatever decision they arrive at is merely an advisory decision, and not in itself operative. In fact their decision is only to advise the Cabinet to act in a particular direction. I am afraid that we all have a tendency to use it, because the number of things coming before the Cabinet is now so great that it is almost impossible to find time for the long discussions on any point. I doubt whether the subjects which come before Cabinets have not doubled since 1895. But I will speak to the Prime Minister and Lansdowne in the sense of your letter, for I quite see the evil is one to be guarded against.

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Mr Dane and the Afghans.

I have seen Dane, and heard what he had to say. A great many, of course, of the opinions he expresses are and must be speculative as to the effect of certain courses of action on the Afghans. On the other hand, he seems to attach more importance than you do to the spirit manifested at the end. Your letter alarms me more than ever as to the information which the Afghans have obtained. I honestly think that money would be well spent in establishing a small secret printing press, under the control, if necessary, of Your Private Secretary's Department, to which your own personal minutes and the most secret Foreign papers might be committed. I do not know whether it would be feasible to employ Englishmen; but, if the men were at a high rate of pay and very few in number, we ought to have some success with it.

Suggestion for establishing a small secret printing press.

Lumsden's Horse and flags.

With regard to Lumsden's Horse, the King decided to give no flags to any Corps which are not permanent. This has been applied, I believe, to all the Colonials. At all events, I had no luck in getting a decision in the other direction.

Bengal partition question.

You telegraphed this week about the partition of Bengal. Godley, who is a fair judge of what has been possible in the past, is of opinion that our Committee has not been unduly long in considering the question, but it seems to me long, and I have only just seen the draft, which suggests some changes in your proposal. The head of that particular Department, Sir Charles Lyall, has, as you know, pretty strong views of his own, and I have not yet quite induced him to consult me at an early stage. What I gather is the present view of the 'pundits' here is that a good deal might be done by establishing Commissionerships like those in Sind, and avoiding quite so drastic a measure. So far as I am concerned, I shall back the Indian Government's proposal, as far as I possibly can. You will know what force there is to be attached to the Commissionership view, when it reaches you. I shall expedite it as much as I can. If you cannot see your way to adopt it at all, I will do my best to get approved the previous proposal. Please understand there is no obstructive feeling here in the least: it is a genuine belief that the work could be lightened better in that manner than in any other.

Judicial and Executive functions.

I will not write about the judicial and executive functions this week, as I have not had time to consult anyone here. I should be extremely sorry to press anything upon you which is likely to cause public trouble. I do not read the Indian newspapers so much, I think, as you do, but I see enough of them to know that you are made a target for only too many attacks. I fear it is inevitable, as I have seen only one or two instances in my own case of all the attacks on army administration based on measures for which I was in the first instance responsible. But of course everything which is done under one's name, however reluctantly, recoils upon one.

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Lord Kitchener: question as to his resignation.

You telegraphed to me last Sunday wondering why I did not contradict Kitchener's resignation. The terms in which the question was put to me precluded this. Every kind of statement has appeared in the papers here, some pointing to the difficulties as arising at the present moment, and others as to their being of long standing. To have stated, therefore, that he had not resigned, unless he denied it himself, would have only been to invite a refutation, as there seem to be plenty of people about who know all the facts. I have not personally, directly or indirectly, seen any of the newspapers or any of their correspondents, and I do not know whence these paragraphs emanate. But every mail seems to bring a fresh crop of them on one side or the other. By Balfour's wish, your Government's despatch is being most carefully considered, and the advice of those who have previously served in the Government of India is being sought. So that whatever may be ultimately decided, we have had as much light as we can get to bear upon it.

Viceroy's health.

I am very sorry to hear from one or two recent arrivals in England that you are doing your work from bed, and to read your expression "waning health" in your last letter. I hope, however, that you may somehow be able to manage to stay for the Prince of Wales' visit, which I know will give much satisfaction.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 39.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
May 18th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

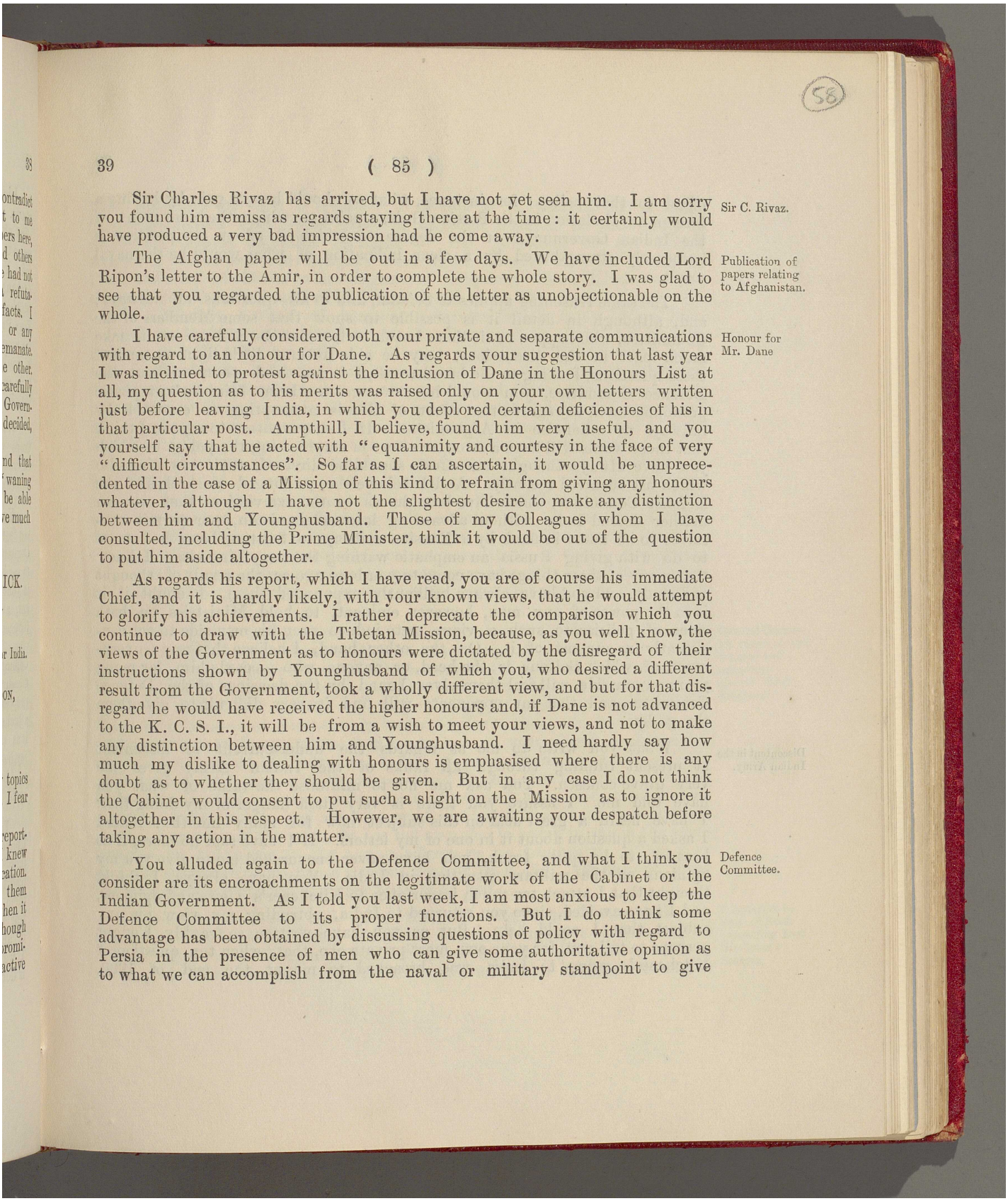
Your letter of the 27th April raises so many topics that, although I know how boring it is to have a reply *seriatim* on each, I fear I must follow your paragraphs, so as not to omit any references.

Earthquake and Relief Funds.

I had no intention of suggesting that there was any negligence in reporting the details of the earthquake, because, apart from everything else, I knew you were on tour, and that there must be great difficulties of communication. But people were getting a little anxious here, and I did my best to keep them quiet. Their excitement at the moment subsided only too rapidly when it came to subscribing. At this moment the funds stand very poorly, although I have put your extra appeal into all the papers, and tried to get all the prominence I could for it. The fact is the Kitchener Fund was much too attractive a substitute for the General Fund.

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Sir C. Rivaz.

Sir Charles Rivaz has arrived, but I have not yet seen him. I am sorry you found him remiss as regards staying there at the time: it certainly would have produced a very bad impression had he come away.

Publication of papers relating to Afghanistan.

The Afghan paper will be out in a few days. We have included Lord Ripon's letter to the Amir, in order to complete the whole story. I was glad to see that you regarded the publication of the letter as unobjectionable on the whole.

Honour for Mr. Dane

I have carefully considered both your private and separate communications with regard to an honour for Dane. As regards your suggestion that last year I was inclined to protest against the inclusion of Dane in the Honours List at all, my question as to his merits was raised only on your own letters written just before leaving India, in which you deplored certain deficiencies of his in that particular post. Ampthill, I believe, found him very useful, and you yourself say that he acted with "equanimity and courtesy in the face of very "difficult circumstances". So far as I can ascertain, it would be unprecedented in the case of a Mission of this kind to refrain from giving any honours whatever, although I have not the slightest desire to make any distinction between him and Younghusband. Those of my Colleagues whom I have consulted, including the Prime Minister, think it would be out of the question to put him aside altogether.

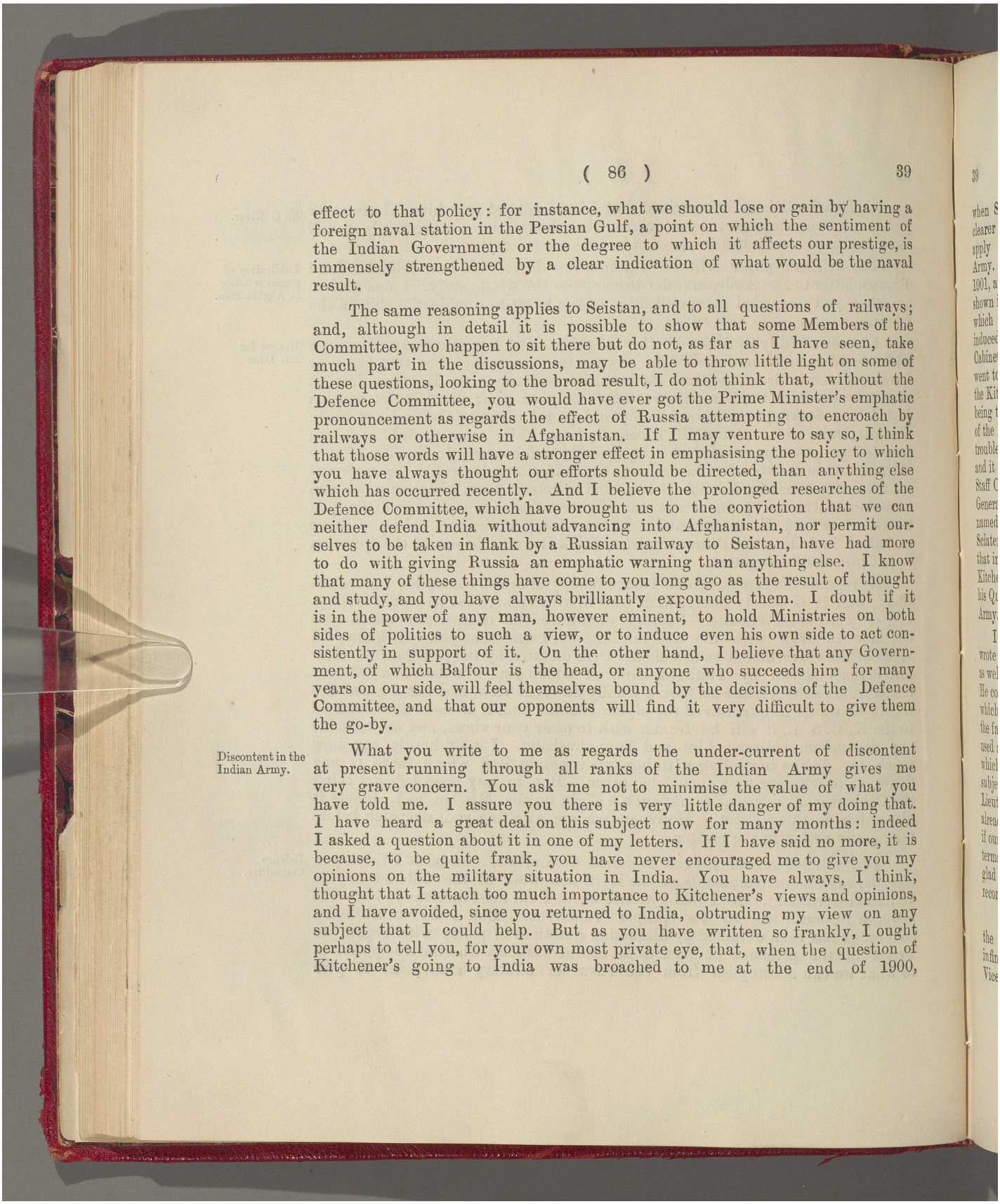
As regards his report, which I have read, you are of course his immediate Chief, and it is hardly likely, with your known views, that he would attempt to glorify his achievements. I rather deprecate the comparison which you continue to draw with the Tibetan Mission, because, as you well know, the views of the Government as to honours were dictated by the disregard of their instructions shown by Younghusband of which you, who desired a different result from the Government, took a wholly different view, and but for that disregard he would have received the higher honours and, if Dane is not advanced to the K. C. S. I., it will be from a wish to meet your views, and not to make any distinction between him and Younghusband. I need hardly say how much my dislike to dealing with honours is emphasised where there is any doubt as to whether they should be given. But in any case I do not think the Cabinet would consent to put such a slight on the Mission as to ignore it altogether in this respect. However, we are awaiting your despatch before taking any action in the matter.

Defence Committee.

You alluded again to the Defence Committee, and what I think you consider are its encroachments on the legitimate work of the Cabinet or the Indian Government. As I told you last week, I am most anxious to keep the Defence Committee to its proper functions. But I do think some advantage has been obtained by discussing questions of policy with regard to Persia in the presence of men who can give some authoritative opinion as to what we can accomplish from the naval or military standpoint to give

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effect to that policy: for instance, what we should lose or gain by having a foreign naval station in the Persian Gulf, a point on which the sentiment of the Indian Government or the degree to which it affects our prestige, is immensely strengthened by a clear indication of what would be the naval result.

The same reasoning applies to Seistan, and to all questions of railways; and, although in detail it is possible to show that some Members of the Committee, who happen to sit there but do not, as far as I have seen, take much part in the discussions, may be able to throw little light on some of these questions, looking to the broad result, I do not think that, without the Defence Committee, you would have ever got the Prime Minister's emphatic pronouncement as regards the effect of Russia attempting to encroach by railways or otherwise in Afghanistan. If I may venture to say so, I think that those words will have a stronger effect in emphasising the policy to which you have always thought our efforts should be directed, than anything else which has occurred recently. And I believe the prolonged researches of the Defence Committee, which have brought us to the conviction that we can neither defend India without advancing into Afghanistan, nor permit ourselves to be taken in flank by a Russian railway to Seistan, have had more to do with giving Russia an emphatic warning than anything else. I know that many of these things have come to you long ago as the result of thought and study, and you have always brilliantly expounded them. I doubt if it is in the power of any man, however eminent, to hold Ministries on both sides of politics to such a view, or to induce even his own side to act consistently in support of it. On the other hand, I believe that any Government, of which Balfour is the head, or anyone who succeeds him for many years on our side, will feel themselves bound by the decisions of the Defence Committee, and that our opponents will find it very difficult to give them the go-by.

Discontent in the Indian Army.

What you write to me as regards the under-current of discontent at present running through all ranks of the Indian Army gives me very grave concern. You ask me not to minimise the value of what you have told me. I assure you there is very little danger of my doing that. I have heard a great deal on this subject now for many months: indeed I asked a question about it in one of my letters. If I have said no more, it is because, to be quite frank, you have never encouraged me to give you my opinions on the military situation in India. You have always, I think, thought that I attach too much importance to Kitchener's views and opinions, and I have avoided, since you returned to India, obtruding my view on any subject that I could help. But as you have written so frankly, I ought perhaps to tell you, for your own most private eye, that, when the question of Kitchener's going to India was broached to me at the end of 1900,

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when Secretary for War, I declined to assent to it, until I had a much clearer indication from those qualified to judge whether he was likely to apply his drastic Egyptian methods to the *personnel* of the Indian Army. I had several conversations with Lord Roberts after his return in 1901, and what he said as to the degree of judgment which Kitchener had shown in the Transvaal, and what I saw myself as to the consideration with which Kitchener treated all personal questions which came before him, induced me to bring the question of the Command in India before the Cabinet, as desired by yourself and George Hamilton. Before doing so I went to Lansdowne, and put the whole case to him, and he strongly supported the Kitchener appointment; but I always realised there was danger that, being the first Commander-in-Chief who for fifty years had not had experience of the Indian Army, he might occasionally take action which would cause trouble. As you know, I was not at the India Office when he became Chief, and it was therefore not my business to attempt to influence his choice of Staff Officers. Moreover, as I think I told you at the time, when he appointed General Sclater, the only one of his senior Staff Officers who has been named in my day, the appointment had actually got so far that General Sclater had got his uniform before I ever heard of it. You agreed with me that in future such procedure could not be permitted. I think, considering Kitchener's very peculiar position, he would have been wise if he had chosen his Quarter-Master-General, as well as his Adjutant-General, from the Indian Army.

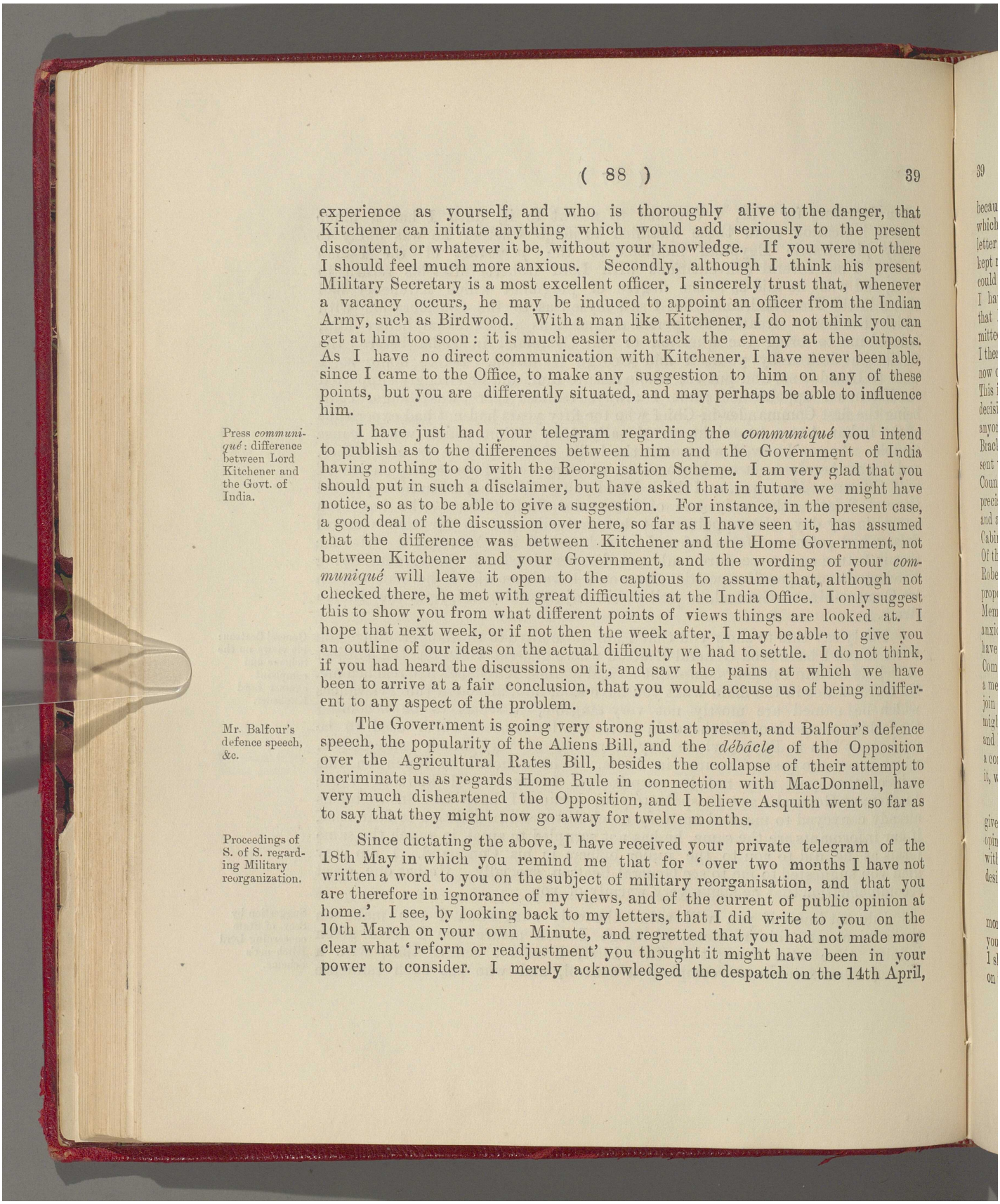
General Beatson: his views on the Scheme and complaint against Lord Kitchener.

I only say this to show you that I am quite alive to the danger. Since you wrote to me I have seen General Beatson whose general views on the subject as well as certain cause of complaint he had against Kitchener had reached me. He corroborates in the main what you have said, and, although the grievances which he named are mostly not very tangible, it seems to be becoming the fashion to speak of Kitchener in terms similar to those which used to be used about him in Egypt, where they were not of very much consequence, which is not the case of course in India. I have heard so much on this subject that you may not be surprised if I say that I know who the Lieutenant-General was who spoke to you, because I have had his opinions already conveyed to me, and am very much distressed in addition to hear that, if our informants are the same, he has not scrupled to speak in much the same terms as he did to you to the junior officers in his Command. I am very glad you suggested to me to see General Beatson specially. He has one great recommendation that he spoke very warmly of you.

Suggestion by Secy. of State concerning Lord Kitchener's Scheme.

I do not know if you will value the only suggestion I can make on the subject at this moment, although I can assure you I have given infinite time and thought to it. First, I cannot believe that, with a Viceroy who exercises so complete a control, and who has such immense

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experience as yourself, and who is thoroughly alive to the danger, that Kitchener can initiate anything which would add seriously to the present discontent, or whatever it be, without your knowledge. If you were not there I should feel much more anxious. Secondly, although I think his present Military Secretary is a most excellent officer, I sincerely trust that, whenever a vacancy occurs, he may be induced to appoint an officer from the Indian Army, such as Birdwood. With a man like Kitchener, I do not think you can get at him too soon: it is much easier to attack the enemy at the outposts. As I have no direct communication with Kitchener, I have never been able, since I came to the Office, to make any suggestion to him on any of these points, but you are differently situated, and may perhaps be able to influence him.

Press *communiqué*: difference between Lord Kitchener and the Govt. of India.

I have just had your telegram regarding the *communiqué* you intend to publish as to the differences between him and the Government of India having nothing to do with the Reorgnisation Scheme. I am very glad that you should put in such a disclaimer, but have asked that in future we might have notice, so as to be able to give a suggestion. For instance, in the present case, a good deal of the discussion over here, so far as I have seen it, has assumed that the difference was between Kitchener and the Home Government, not between Kitchener and your Government, and the wording of your *communiqué* will leave it open to the captious to assume that, although not checked there, he met with great difficulties at the India Office. I only suggest this to show you from what different points of views things are looked at. I hope that next week, or if not then the week after, I may be able to give you an outline of our ideas on the actual difficulty we had to settle. I do not think, if you had heard the discussions on it, and saw the pains at which we have been to arrive at a fair conclusion, that you would accuse us of being indifferent to any aspect of the problem.

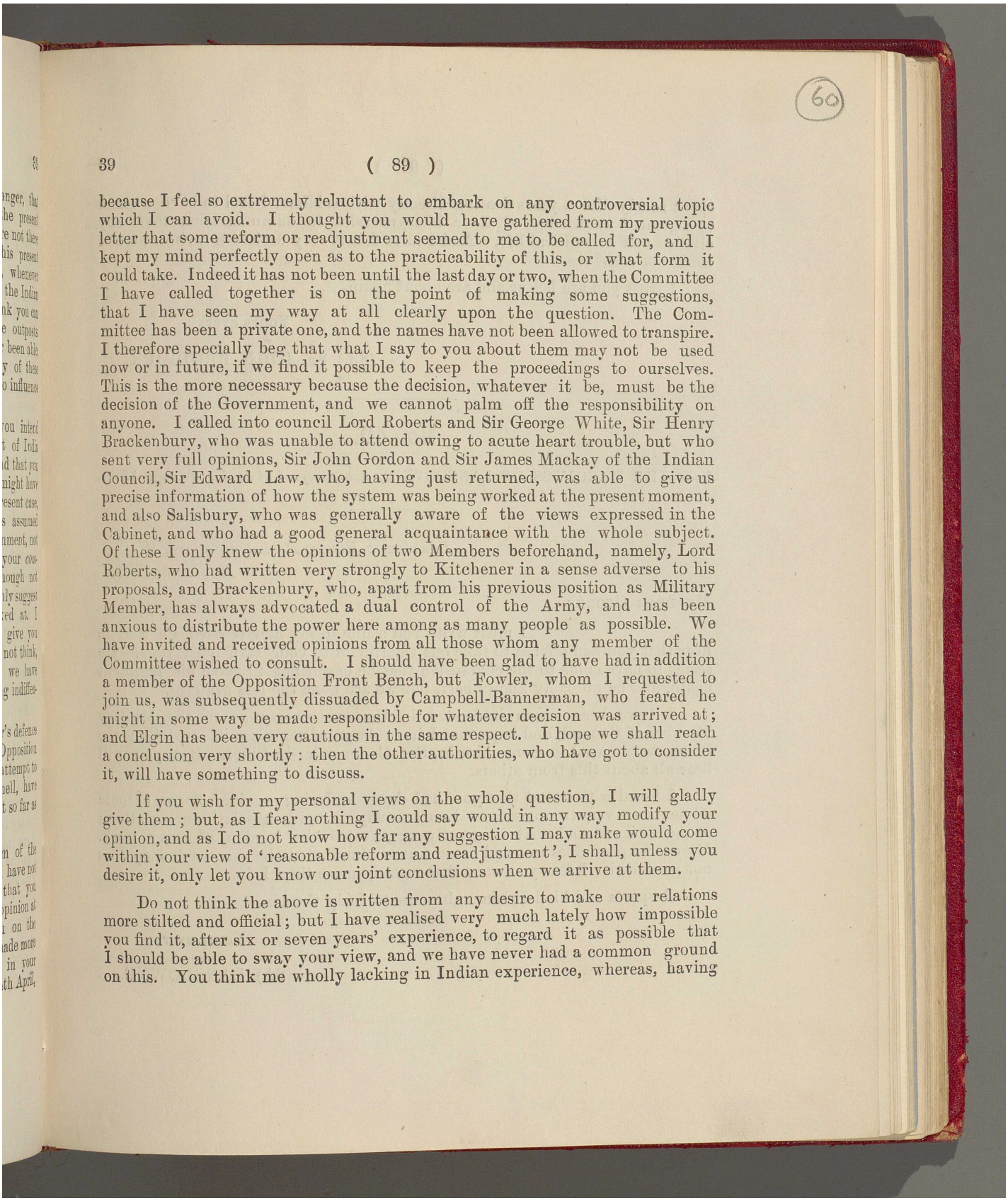
Mr. Balfour's defence speech, &c.

The Government is going very strong just at present, and Balfour's defence speech, the popularity of the Aliens Bill, and the *débâcle* of the Opposition over the Agricultural Rates Bill, besides the collapse of their attempt to incriminate us as regards Home Rule in connection with MacDonnell, have very much disheartened the Opposition, and I believe Asquith went so far as to say that they might now go away for twelve months.

Proceedings of S. of S. regarding Military reorganization.

Since dictating the above, I have received your private telegram of the 18th May in which you remind me that for 'over two months I have not written a word to you on the subject of military reorganisation, and that you are therefore in ignorance of my views, and of the current of public opinion at home.' I see, by looking back to my letters, that I did write to you on the 10th March on your own Minute, and regretted that you had not made more clear what 'reform or readjustment' you thought it might have been in your power to consider. I merely acknowledged the despatch on the 14th April,

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because I feel so extremely reluctant to embark on any controversial topic which I can avoid. I thought you would have gathered from my previous letter that some reform or readjustment seemed to me to be called for, and I kept my mind perfectly open as to the practicability of this, or what form it could take. Indeed it has not been until the last day or two, when the Committee I have called together is on the point of making some suggestions, that I have seen my way at all clearly upon the question. The Committee has been a private one, and the names have not been allowed to transpire. I therefore specially beg that what I say to you about them may not be used now or in future, if we find it possible to keep the proceedings to ourselves. This is the more necessary because the decision, whatever it be, must be the decision of the Government, and we cannot palm off the responsibility on anyone. I called into council Lord Roberts and Sir George White, Sir Henry Brackenbury, who was unable to attend owing to acute heart trouble, but who sent very full opinions, Sir John Gordon and Sir James Mackay of the Indian Council, Sir Edward Law, who, having just returned, was able to give us precise information of how the system was being worked at the present moment, and also Salisbury, who was generally aware of the views expressed in the Cabinet, and who had a good general acquaintance with the whole subject. Of these I only knew the opinions of two Members beforehand, namely, Lord Roberts, who had written very strongly to Kitchener in a sense adverse to his proposals, and Brackenbury, who, apart from his previous position as Military Member, has always advocated a dual control of the Army, and has been anxious to distribute the power here among as many people as possible. We have invited and received opinions from all those whom any member of the Committee wished to consult. I should have been glad to have had in addition a member of the Opposition Front Bench, but Fowler, whom I requested to join us, was subsequently dissuaded by Campbell-Bannerman, who feared he might in some way be made responsible for whatever decision was arrived at; and Elgin has been very cautious in the same respect. I hope we shall reach a conclusion very shortly: then the other authorities, who have got to consider it, will have something to discuss.

If you wish for my personal views on the whole question, I will gladly give them; but, as I fear nothing I could say would in any way modify your opinion, and as I do not know how far any suggestion I may make would come within your view of 'reasonable reform and readjustment', I shall, unless you desire it, only let you know our joint conclusions when we arrive at them.

Do not think the above is written from any desire to make our relations more stilted and official; but I have realised very much lately how impossible you find it, after six or seven years' experience, to regard it as possible that I should be able to sway your view, and we have never had a common ground on this. You think me wholly lacking in Indian experience, whereas, having

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spent nearly fifteen years dealing directly with soldiers, I feel to have a claim to a greater knowledge of their idiosyncrasies in administration than any civilian now in political life. And I have felt it very useless to write where I could not convince.

I trust you are better and are about again.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) Sr. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 40.

FROM THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, K. G., Secy. of State for Foreign Affairs.

Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, W.,
May 26th, 1905.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I must write you a line to say how pleased we were to hear that you had offered to take our Charlie on to your staff for a time. He seems to have come to the conclusion that he ought not to leave his regiment again, and he probably knows best, but we are none the less grateful.

I have been much interested in the controversy as to the Military Member of Council, and hope that I have been of some use in curtailing the insensate proposal to merge him in the Commander-in-Chief. But you will hear all about this from others.

I heard with regret that you had been suffering again. These chronic ailments are very troublesome. I am scarcely ever without sciatica or something of the sort, and find that it greatly aggravates the burden of heavy work. My doctor prescribes rest and cannot understand that the chemists' shop does not produce it; I fear you want that remedy more than I do.

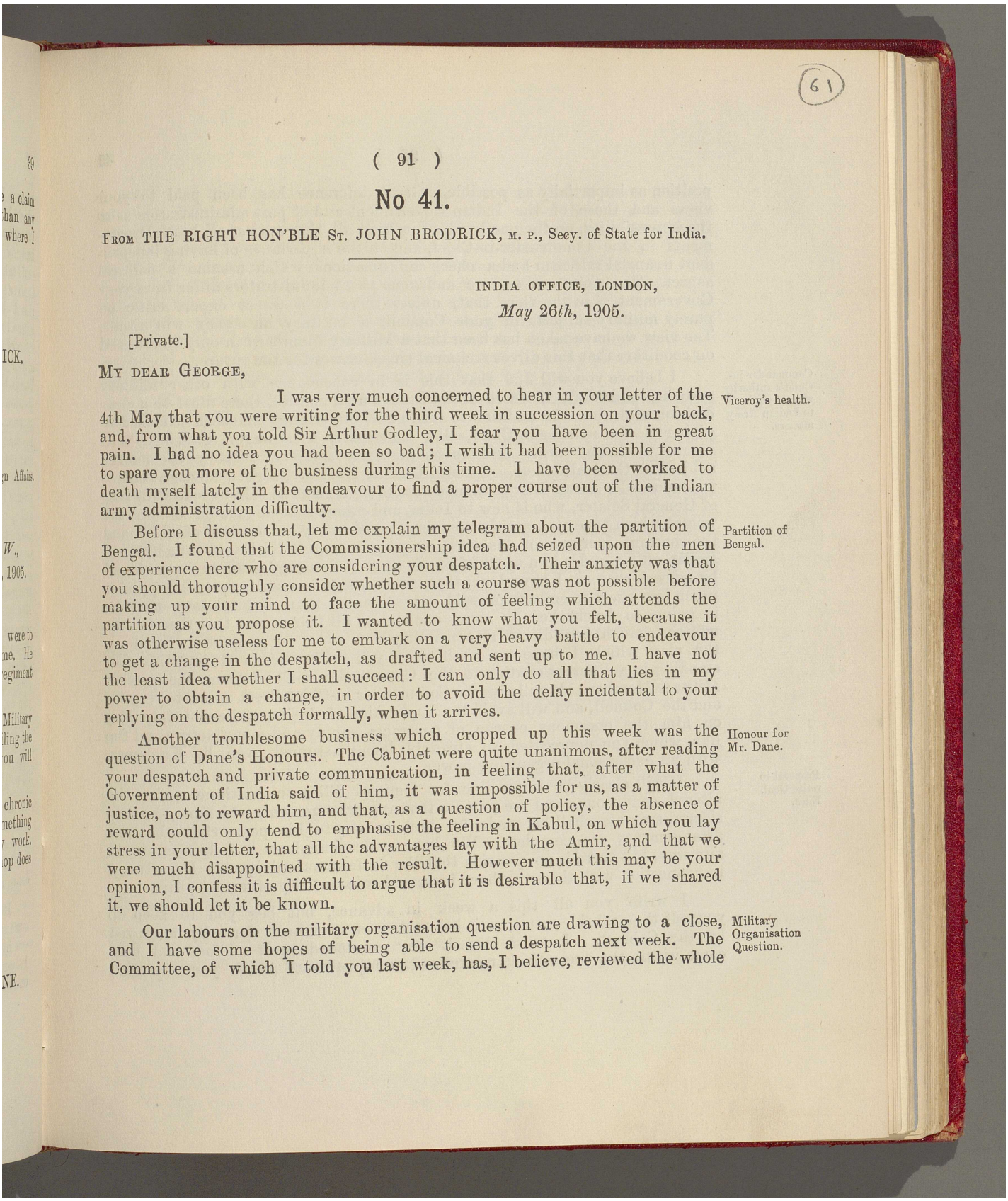
Respects and kindest remembrances to Lady Curzon.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) LANSDOWNE.

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No 41.

From THE RIGHT HON'BLE St. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
May 26th, 1905.

[Private.]

My dear George,

Viceroy's health.

I was very much concerned to hear in your letter of the 4th May that you were writing for the third week in succession on your back, and, from what you told Sir Arthur Godley, I fear you have been in great pain. I had no idea you had been so bad; I wish it had been possible for me to spare you more of the business during this time. I have been worked to death myself lately in the endeavour to find a proper course out of the Indian army administration difficulty.

Partition of Bengal.

Before I discuss that, let me explain my telegram about the partition of Bengal. I found that the Commissionership idea had seized upon the men of experience here who are considering your despatch. Their anxiety was that you should thoroughly consider whether such a course was not possible before making up your mind to face the amount of feeling which attends the partition as you propose it. I wanted to know what you felt, because it was otherwise useless for me to embark on a very heavy battle to endeavour to get a change in the despatch, as drafted and sent up to me. I have not the least idea whether I shall succeed: I can only do all that lies in my power to obtain a change, in order to avoid the delay incidental to your replying on the despatch formally, when it arrives.

Honour for Mr. Dane.

Another troublesome business which cropped up this week was the question of Dane's Honours. The Cabinet were quite unanimous, after reading your despatch and private communication, in feeling that, after what the Government of India said of him, it was impossible for us, as a matter of justice, not to reward him, and that, as a question of policy, the absence of reward could only tend to emphasise the feeling in Kabul, on which you lay stress in your letter, that all the advantages lay with the Amir, and that we were much disappointed with the result. However much this may be your opinion, I confess it is difficult to argue that it is desirable that, if we shared it, we should let it be known.

Military Organisation Question.

Our labours on the military organisation question are drawing to a close, and I have some hopes of being able to send a despatch next week. The Committee, of which I told you last week, has, I believe, reviewed the whole

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position as impartially as possible. Great deference has been paid to your views and those of the Indian Government and of past administrators as to the impossibility, on the one hand, of uniting all the duties of both Departments in the Commander-in-Chief, and on the importance of having independent financial criticism and a check on questions which assume a political aspect. The point, where we and some past administrators differ from your Government, is in the view that, unless there is a direct expert critic on purely military subjects in your Council, a military autocracy will result. The view we have taken has been that a Military Member can only be retained on condition that this direct technical check ceases for the future.

Commander-in-Chief's authority with regard to Indian Army matters.

I believe you will find that this is in consonance with other military systems, and that, if there is not to be a dual control, there must be a clear division of duties. In addition to this, great importance has been attached to giving a Commander-in-Chief, like Kitchener, a stronger guidance with regard to Indian army matters at an early stage before they become the subject of General Orders. General Duff is, I believe, a good adviser, but it is impossible, when his opinion comes to be registered side by side with that of General Sclater, who is new to India, and others that he should obtain the weight which two men acting together could carry. In view of this, and the constant increase of his work, we propose to give Kitchener an additional Indian officer under him as Chief of his Staff. You may possibly have found by experience, as I have done, that, when a man has real responsibility, he is much less likely to embark on wild cat schemes, than if he knows that he is going to be checked by some one else on all points, and that therefore he will have much less direct responsibility for what he proposes. In short, the plan which I hope we shall send you will retain a Military Member standing in a different relation to the Commander-in-Chief from the present Military Member. It will give the Commander in-Chief direct access to yourself and the Council, and will avoid the duplication of duties, while not imposing on him the enormous charge of contracts, supply and manufacture and the like, which you deprecated so strongly being assumed even by Kitchener, with his exceptional organising power.

Proposal to retire Genl. Elles.

It will clearly be impossible for General Elles to continue under the altered conditions, and we propose that any arrangement, which may be considered suitable, shall be made for him to vacate his post when the new arrangements are complete. We have endeavoured not to reflect on him in any way, but there is no question that the duties assumed by his Department in connection with the army have increased substantially of recent years.

I write you all this a week in advance, but beg you to keep to yourself the probable result, as it has not even yet been formally approved by the Cabinet. I trust that it may commend itself to you, and may come within the "reasonable reform and readjustment" which you expressed

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yourself as willing to consider. I can only say that I have had the greatest difficulty in bringing parties together upon this; and to avoid the Military Member being done away with. Lord Roberts, whose strong views you know, signs and concurs in the report and the proposed change. So far as my own part is concerned in the settlement, I can honestly say that I did not make up my mind as to what precise line should be taken till a fortnight ago, after I had heard the opinion of everyone within reach who had practical experience; and I believe a fair working arrangement, which can be honestly accepted by all parties, has been arrived at. If you agree with me in this, it will be peculiarly gratifying to me, after the many points on which the Cabinet here have, to my great regret, differed from you.

Sir Horace Rumbold.

I will try and put the stopper upon Sir Horace Rumbold: I entirely agree with you as to his intolerable importunities.

Military Secretary to Viceroy.

I hope your new Military Secretary will be a success. I did not know you considered that the Military Secretaryship had fallen in recent years. My own idea has always been that, without the Military Secretary assuming the position that Sir George Colley did, he might be a most useful adjutant to the Viceroy in getting at the truth of some military questions, if he were not so wholly occupied with social and other duties. I myself got incalculable benefit from Colonel Hanbury Williams' services at the War Office as my Private Secretary, and it says a good deal for him that he left in popularity with soldiers and civilians alike, which shows that such a post is not incompatible with the good feeling of an officer's military superiors.

I will not write any more today, except to say from my heart that I hope you are better and able to get about again.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No 42.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.,
May 26th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Viceroy's health.

Your last letter to me, May 3rd, is written in pencil, and I need not tell you that I greatly regret the cause. In several of my recent letters to you I have had to express my sympathy with you under this

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trial of pain and illness, and my hope that it might have passed off before I heard from you again. Such sentences tend to become monotonous, and I will say no more today; but you will believe that my feeling about this infliction, and my admiration of the courage with which you face it, is none the less on that account.

Army Administration: Composition of Committee.

We have now been more or less busy for nearly three weeks with the consideration of your Army Administration despatch, and during this last week the pressure has become rather severe. You know that a Committee was appointed, and you know what its composition was. The Secretary of State was at first determined not to have more than six men on it besides himself, *viz.*, a Member of the Cabinet, the two ex-Commanders-in-Chief, two Members of our Council, and (if he could have had his way) a representative of the Opposition front-bench. But this last he found he could not get, for reasons which applied with equal or nearly equal force to Elgin, whom he had thought of inviting. So he decided to depart from his original resolution, and to ask Brackenbury *and* Law to join. They would have made seven besides the Chairman; but, as it turned out, Brackenbury refused, and Law accepted, so the original limit was not exceeded. Lord Salisbury was selected as the representative of the Cabinet; the Chairman of our Military Committee (Gordon) was inevitable as one of the two Members of our Council: as for the other, the Secretary of State had selected his man, but was so much pressed by Lord Lansdowne to put Mackay on that he gave way and did so, abandoning his own nominee. I should not, myself, have selected Law; but Mr. Brodrick was very anxious to have on the Committee some one who was thoroughly up to date, and I am bound to state that he has been very useful. The Secretary of State insisted on making me Chairman of a small sub-Committee which was appointed to consider certain points that arose, but of course I acted, or tried to act, merely as the "honest broker," though my prejudices (as you may possibly remember) were rather in favour of unification. But the discussions have been interesting and instructive, and I have learnt a good deal that I did not know before.

A decision will probably be arrived at in the course of next week, *i. e.*, in time for the mail that goes out on June 2nd. So far as I can judge, things are taking a shape which may, I hope, be satisfactory to you, or at any rate not unsatisfactory: but in our present condition of uncertainty I do not venture to say more.

Partition of Bengal.

I turn from this battle of the giants to another subject in which I have the satisfaction of being in complete sympathy with you, *viz.*, the partition of Bengal. I believe I told you, some three or four months ago, that I thought we should take a long time over it, but that we should finally approve your proposals and to this second prophecy I adhere; as for the first, it has been fulfilled already, so I need say no more about it. You will have learned from

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a private telegram which we sent you that some of our Members of Council are making a difficulty—more than I expected—about it, and are much inclined to press on you an arrangement analogous to the Commissionership in Sind. I hope that we shall stave this off, and shall not waste three months by putting before you an alternative proposal which you are absolutely certain to reject with scorn: but of course the subject is one as to which the experts are in a strong position. I hope, nevertheless, that we shall succeed: as to the ultimate approval of your scheme I entertain little or no doubt. As for the delay, I regret it, and am ashamed of it: but the question is a *very* big one, and Members of Council have a lively sense of their responsibilities in a matter of this kind.

Honour for Mr. Dane, and the procedure of granting honours.

One more subject I must mention, though it is one which has not been dealt with officially: I mean the question of an honour for Dane and the consequent discussion about Indian honours generally. If I understand you aright, you maintain that you, as Grand Master, have the right—the sole right—to recommend men for appointment to, or promotion in, the Indian Orders, and that the Secretary of State has nothing to do but to submit to the King the names which you send him. (Of course I am speaking of those who are recommended for services *in India*.) As to this, I can only say that to me this doctrine is an entirely new one. I have been in my present post for 22 years, and have served under six Secretaries of State and had to do with five different Viceroys; and I believe I might say that every Secretary of State has consulted me, more or less, about every batch of honours which he has submitted to the Sovereign; and that I never, certainly, heard this doctrine even so much as hinted at until you had been Viceroy for two or three years, and never distinctly asserted until we received your recent telegram. In all conversations and discussions in which I have taken part, it has invariably been assumed that the Secretary of State alone had the right to submit names to the King (this of course you admit); that he alone was responsible to Parliament and to the public for the King's action in the matter of Indian honours: that he had, therefore, the fullest discretion to recommend or refuse to recommend anyone, just as he pleased; that the Grand Master was a purely ornamental officer, having (as such) nothing to do with the matter; and that the practice of consulting the Viceroy and accepting his list (as a rule) rested solely on courtesy and on the natural wish to get information and advice, as to the deserts of Indian Officers, from the person best qualified to give it. Of course, my impression may all this time have been quite wrong: all I can say is, that it was honestly formed, and that I am surprised to find that any other opinion exists. If the giving or refusing of an Indian honour for Indian service were attacked in Parliament, obviously the Secretary of State (who advised the King) must defend it. Is he to be asked to tell Parliament that he advised the King, not on the merits of the case, but because the Grand Master sent him a *sic volo sic jubeo*? But I will not

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argue the case, which I suppose has been, or very soon will be, settled by the King—on the advice of his responsible Ministers.

Reading over my letter, I find I have forgotten to speak of Lord Salisbury's illness, which deprived us of his services on the Committee after the first few sittings. He was a great loss, more especially as he went into the matter in a thoroughly judicial spirit.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 43.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.,
May 30th, 1905.

[Private & Confidential.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Army administration Despatch.

This mail will, barring accidents, take out to you our despatch on the great question of army administration. My comments on it will be brief. A compromise is generally, if not always, unsatisfactory to both parties, and this will doubtless be no exception to the rule. When I wrote to you last week, the final form which the decision of the Government would take was hardly to be foreseen, and I then ventured on the hope that you might not be altogether displeased with it. Now that I know what it is, I am afraid that you will not like it; but I am bound to say that it is much more favourable to you and to your views than I expected before the arrival of your very able and powerful despatch, or at any time until the later stages of its consideration were reached. It is difficult, perhaps, for you, who are now so familiar with the existing system, to realise how hopelessly unworkable and ill-conceived it appears at first sight to those who have not been in India, but argue from their official experience at home and from the practice of other Governments. The consensus of a considerable number of the highest Indian authorities was barely enough to save the Military Member from the fate which seemed to await him; but it *was* enough, and he is saved. On the main point therefore, *viz.*, the retention of a second military authority on your Council, you and your Government have scored a victory. Considering the aspect of the question as seen from this country, considering, too, the very great weight which Kitchener's authority carries in matters of military organization and military reform (I suspect you somewhat underrate this), it seems to me that in accomplishing this you have accomplished a good deal;

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and that you may reasonably be asked to accept the changes which His Majesty's Government think necessary as the condition of their assent to your opinion in this respect.

Our Secretary of State has managed the business with skill and energy, and has contrived to get behind him an absolutely unanimous body of opinion in favour of the decisions conveyed in the despatch, from the Committee of seven (which you know of), from our Council, and from the Cabinet (these last two saw and approved the despatch itself, as well as the proposed arrangements: the Committee of course did not see the despatch), and we were further told that the decision was strongly approved "in a higher quarter." I have spoken of the Committee of seven, but I should have said "six;" for Lord Salisbury was, of course, too ill to sign or to take any part in our deliberations after the first. Sir George White had to leave before we reported, but telegraphed his concurrence afterwards.

Partition of Bengal.

Meanwhile, the discussions about the partition of Bengal have been going on *pari passu*, and have at last reached an end. The Secretary of State will have told you that the matter is now finally settled in favour of your proposal, on which I heartily congratulate you. You complain, and I do not wonder at it, of our delays, but I can assure yourself that in a matter of this kind you may think it lucky that they have not been worse than they actually have. You may remember that I foretold that a decision would be reached by midsummer, not sooner; and when I said this I thought myself rather sanguine. And here we are, with everything over except the shouting, on June 2nd, and the formal consent of Council will almost certainly be obtained on Monday next, June 5th. If any accident should prevent this, the matter must, I am afraid, stay over till the 17th, on account of the Whitsuntide recess. Mr. Brodrick has, in this matter, given you his hearty support, and, by extracting your opinion upon the so-called Sind Commissionership proposal, and by making a judicious use of it, has induced the recalcitrant element in our Council to surrender at discretion. The matter required rather delicate handling; for of course it is one as to which those who, like the Secretary of State or myself, have no Indian experience, are at a prodigious disadvantage in dealing with Indian experts. However, all's well that ends well. This is a tremendously big thing that you have achieved, and I am only sorry that you will not be there yourself to carry the scheme into actual effect and practical working. As you know, I have myself from the first believed in your scheme, and felt sure that it would be carried: but without the vigorous help of the Secretary of State it might easily have been, and probably would have been, postponed for another three or four months, if not longer.

Your last letter, a printed one, said nothing about your health. I hope I may take no news for good news.

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Japanese naval victory.

How amazing is this Japanese victory! I cannot understand the failure of the Russians to do any damage to Togo's ships. Of course, one expected them to be defeated; but one thought that the Japanese would lose at least a couple of battleships: and the Russians will have five new ships, all very large and fine, ready by next Easter. But after this, of course, any idea of further fighting at sea is absurd.

Lord Newton's motion on Afghan Mission.

Lord Newton's motion on the Afghan Mission is being discussed in the House of Lords today. Don't you wish you were there, as a member of their Lordship's House?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 44.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
June 2nd, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

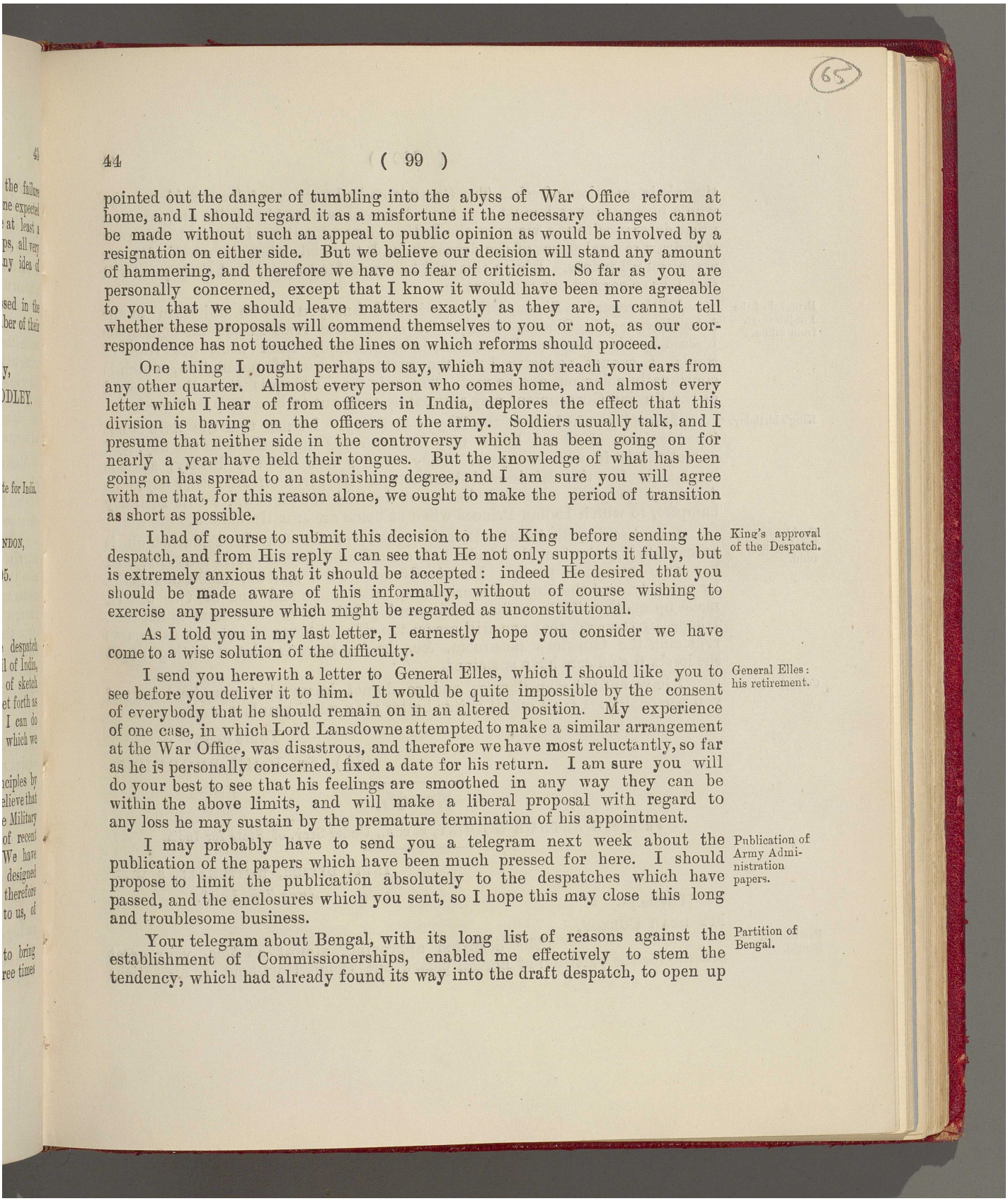
Army Administration Despatch.

I am now in a position to send you the despatch which has been unanimously agreed upon by the Cabinet and Council of India, with regard to the army administration question. I gave you a sort of sketch last week of what we should propose. You will see the reforms set forth as clearly as possible in the present despatch, and I do not know that I can do any good by recapitulating further the course of the discussions by which we have arrived at the present decision.

Perhaps the only helpful thing I can do is to tell you the principles by which we have been actuated in regard to the settlement. We do not believe that Kitchener has fully made out his case for taking over the whole of the Military Member's work, nor do we think that Elles' defence of the action of recent years is convincing from the point of view of good administration. We have framed our changes on these lines. They are not a compromise designed simply to avoid giving a rebuff to either party in the controversy, and therefore perhaps pleasing neither. They are a genuine solution, as it appears to us, of the difficulties which have arisen.

Incidentally I may say that the last thing we have desired is to bring about a disruption in the Indian Government. You have two or three times

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pointed out the danger of tumbling into the abyss of War Office reform at home, and I should regard it as a misfortune if the necessary changes cannot be made without such an appeal to public opinion as would be involved by a resignation on either side. But we believe our decision will stand any amount of hammering, and therefore we have no fear of criticism. So far as you are personally concerned, except that I know it would have been more agreeable to you that we should leave matters exactly as they are, I cannot tell whether these proposals will commend themselves to you or not, as our correspondence has not touched the lines on which reforms should proceed.

One thing I ought perhaps to say, which may not reach your ears from any other quarter. Almost every person who comes home, and almost every letter which I hear of from officers in India, deplores the effect that this division is having on the officers of the army. Soldiers usually talk, and I presume that neither side in the controversy which has been going on for nearly a year have held their tongues. But the knowledge of what has been going on has spread to an astonishing degree, and I am sure you will agree with me that, for this reason alone, we ought to make the period of transition as short as possible.

King's approval of the Despatch.

I had of course to submit this decision to the King before sending the despatch, and from His reply I can see that He not only supports it fully, but is extremely anxious that it should be accepted: indeed He desired that you should be made aware of this informally, without of course wishing to exercise any pressure which might be regarded as unconstitutional.

As I told you in my last letter, I earnestly hope you consider we have come to a wise solution of the difficulty.

General Elles: his retirement.

I send you herewith a letter to General Elles, which I should like you to see before you deliver it to him. It would be quite impossible by the consent of everybody that he should remain on in an altered position. My experience of one case, in which Lord Lansdowne attempted to make a similar arrangement at the War Office, was disastrous, and therefore we have most reluctantly, so far as he is personally concerned, fixed a date for his return. I am sure you will do your best to see that his feelings are smoothed in any way they can be within the above limits, and will make a liberal proposal with regard to any loss he may sustain by the premature termination of his appointment.

Publication of Army Administration papers.

I may probably have to send you a telegram next week about the publication of the papers which have been much pressed for here. I should propose to limit the publication absolutely to the despatches which have passed, and the enclosures which you sent, so I hope this may close this long and troublesome business.

Partition of Bengal.

Your telegram about Bengal, with its long list of reasons against the establishment of Commissionerships, enabled me effectively to stem the tendency, which had already found its way into the draft despatch, to open up

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the whole question afresh. The Committee had very carefully considered the whole business; but I must say they behaved extremely well, and showed great deference to the views of the Indian Government, as I induced them to withdraw several pages of the despatch, and to send what is practically an assent on all points. I hope this will be agreeable to you, and that you will feel I have carried out my promise.

Removal of the Punjab Govt. from Simla.

With regard to Simla, I think it is well that you see no objection to our interviewing Sir Charles Rivaz. Of course one realised how far he may be biassed by his present position; but, judging simply from what one reads of Simla, I cannot conceive how the great increase of population, which is continually going on, can be met. The only fear I have is that the removal of the Punjab Government may ultimately turn out to be a drop in the ocean.

King's birthday.

You telegraphed about the King's birthday. I trust that the date is not inconvenient. I do not know why the 26th was supposed to be the day, as I do not think it was last year. They always now take a Friday, as it is impossible for the Ministerial banquets to be given on any other day. In deference to your wishes, I have not invited the Gaekwar to the Birthday banquet, to which Indian Princes when at home are usually bidden.

Gurkha Earthquake fund.

I am backing Sir Charles Rivaz's appeal for the Gurkha Fund, which is accentuated by the fact that India has contributed £30,000, and that England has come forward so poorly. Practically out of the £5,500, £500 was given by one lady, and the Royal subscriptions, with mine and one or two others, made up another £500, so that the general public have done next to nothing. I hope, by the way, that you will err on the side of being handsome as regards replacing the Gurkha's messroom, &c., &c., as there is a lot of feeling about the losses the officers have sustained.

Colonel Baring.

I have not yet seen Baring, and so do not know what news he brings of you personally: I trust on all points better than when you last wrote.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No 45.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.,
June 7th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Partition of Bengal.

The despatch approving, almost *en bloc*, your great scheme for the partition of Bengal passed our Council without a dissentient

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voice on Monday last. I congratulate you heartily on this result. You will now, I hope, open your umbrella to receive the downpour of vituperation which will doubtless descend upon you: we, in this country, shall prepare for an undress debate and some criticism from the Liberal benches, inspired by the Congress-wallahs. The English Press will, I expect, be tolerably unanimous in your favour.

For the outcry which will be raised in India you are of course prepared. Such outcries are not new to you, and you can, I have no doubt, rate them at their proper value, whatever that may be. I hope and expect that, before you leave India, you may be able to get the new arrangements well started: their complete fulfilment must, I suppose, take several years.

Russian duties on Indian tea.

You refer in your letter of the 18th to the answer given to Mr. Runisman on April 13th about the Russian duties on Indian tea. That answer was founded upon information supplied to us by the Foreign Office, who distinctly stated that no negotiations had taken place, and suggested an answer in that sense. We have no information as to whether Lord Lansdowne opened the question in conversation with the Russian Ambassador. The protest was probably made at St. Petersburg by C. Hardinge, and there, no doubt, the matter ended. So far as we are aware, nothing of the nature of "negotiations" has taken place. But a correspondence is going on between us and the Foreign Office, and we are pressing them to re-open the question.

I am much obliged to you for the extract which you sent to me from the diary of the Political Officer in Sikkim about the Chumbi Valley. I have drawn attention to it "in the proper quarter."

Mr. Putnam.

Also I am glad to have your testimonial in favour of Putnam. We have just arranged for him to go back to India with Lawrence for the Prince's tour: as soon as this is over, we shall, I hope, be able to find appropriate work for him. I say "appropriate," because his experience in India ought to make him useful to us, and I should be sorry to put him anywhere but in the right place.

Miss Hawkin's copy of Warren Hastings' portrait.

What a funny little cracker that was that you exploded under the nose of the Secretary of State in Council about the ownership of that important work of art, Miss Hawkin's copy of the Warren Hastings' portrait! To change the metaphor, you could hardly have administered a more successful pinprick than by telling him (the Secretary of State in Council) that the said copy was "the property of the Government of India." I must confess that I did not know, until I read this passage, that "the Government of India" possessed any property—it certainly has no money, not a penny: but perhaps it has a collection of pictures. We put before our legal luminaries the story of the ordering and paying for this portrait, and asked them who owned it? Their

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answer was:—"The Crown; its ownership, that is to say, isexactly the same as that of anyone of the chairs or tables in this Office."

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 46.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. J. BALFOUR, M. P.

10, DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, S. W.,

June 9th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Your letter of May. The relations between the Commander-in-Chief, the Military Member, and the Indian Council, which were so often the subject of conversation between us when you were here, have, I fear, given us both a good deal more trouble than I at one time anticipated. We never *quite* saw eye-to-eye in the matter, and, though I recognised to the full the unique authority which your opinion must necessarily carry with it, I never could bring myself to believe either that the dual control in Army administration was the right system, or that what the despatch of the Government of India describes as a 'military autocracy' could be the result of its abolition;—while the view that it is necessary to have, as it were, an official opposition *within* the Indian Council to comment on, and, if need be, oppose, the suggestions of the Commander-in-Chief, though doubtless occasionally useful, must surely, on the whole, lead to endless friction.

I had very much hoped that the Commission, to which you agreed in the winter, would have been able to deal with these subjects in India, and with constant reference to yourself. This plan, however, unfortunately fell through, and we have been obliged to do the best we can, with the means at our disposal, on this side of the water. I hope that we have not been unsuccessful, and that you will feel that the compromise between Lord Kitchener's views and those of the Indian Council will prove not only of great administrative importance, but will conciliate the very various opinions which this controversy has elicited. We have certainly done our best to obtain the assistance of those who, either as Governors-General or as Commanders-in-Chief, or as Military Members of Council, have had to do with the working of the existing machine.

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I cannot help thinking that part of the difficulty may have arisen from the unintentional extension which, in the course of years, the Military Member has given to the duties of his office. I find it difficult to believe that, unless by the happy conjunction of two individuals specially adapted to work with each other, the Indian system could resist the sudden pressure of a great crisis. I hope the modification of that system which has now been devised will keep in it most of what was valuable and eliminate most of what was dangerous. One thing I am sure it will *not* do; it will not diminish the authority which the Governor-General has, and ought to have, over matters of Army as well as of Civilian administration.

I should be very grieved if I thought that the new scheme did not reconcile whatever there may be of opposition between your views and those of Kitchener.

I am not happy as to what I hear about your health. I know your illnesses are only due to overwork; but, overwork may become first a habit, and then a second nature; and one of the arts which you must not allow India to let you forget, is the art of taking a holiday.

With kindest regards to Lady Curzon,

pray believe me,
MY DEAR GEORGE,
yours ever affectionately,
(Sd.) ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

No. 47.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
June 9th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am telegraphing to you to tell you that the partition of Bengal despatch will leave today. It was a considerable exertion to get it settled in time, and we only did it by having two special meetings; but, as I told you last week, the Council have acquiesced in your view, and were very pleasant about it, even though it involved the whole of the draft, on which

Partition of Bengal.

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they had practically agreed. I have tried to modify the expressions in it so as not to cold-water in any way the new proposal, which, as it is to be a *fait accompli*, ought to show no divergence of opinion. I earnestly trust you may be able to see it through, as it will form a sort of climax to your work of internal reform.

Publication of Army Administration papers.

I am also telegraphing to you today about the publication of the Army Administration papers. The situation here is rather peculiar, as I have got Wednesday, the 21st June, settled for the Indian Budget. It will be, I believe, an unprecedented event that it should be taken so early, and one which will, I hope, be a precedent for earlier and better discussion of Indian subjects. If it had been possible I should have liked to have published the Army papers before the Budget discussion, but that would not have allowed sufficient time in India. I am very anxious to get the papers out, as there is much pressure here, and it is impossible to avoid remarks of every description getting into the newspapers. Nothing has gone out of this Office at all, and I have resolutely declined for many weeks past to discuss the question with any Editors while it was still in doubt. But people interested in one side or the other put any interpretation they like on chance expressions they pick up from others, and only two days ago a sort of notice appeared in two or three evening papers that Kitchener had got his own way all along the line, which of course is not the case.

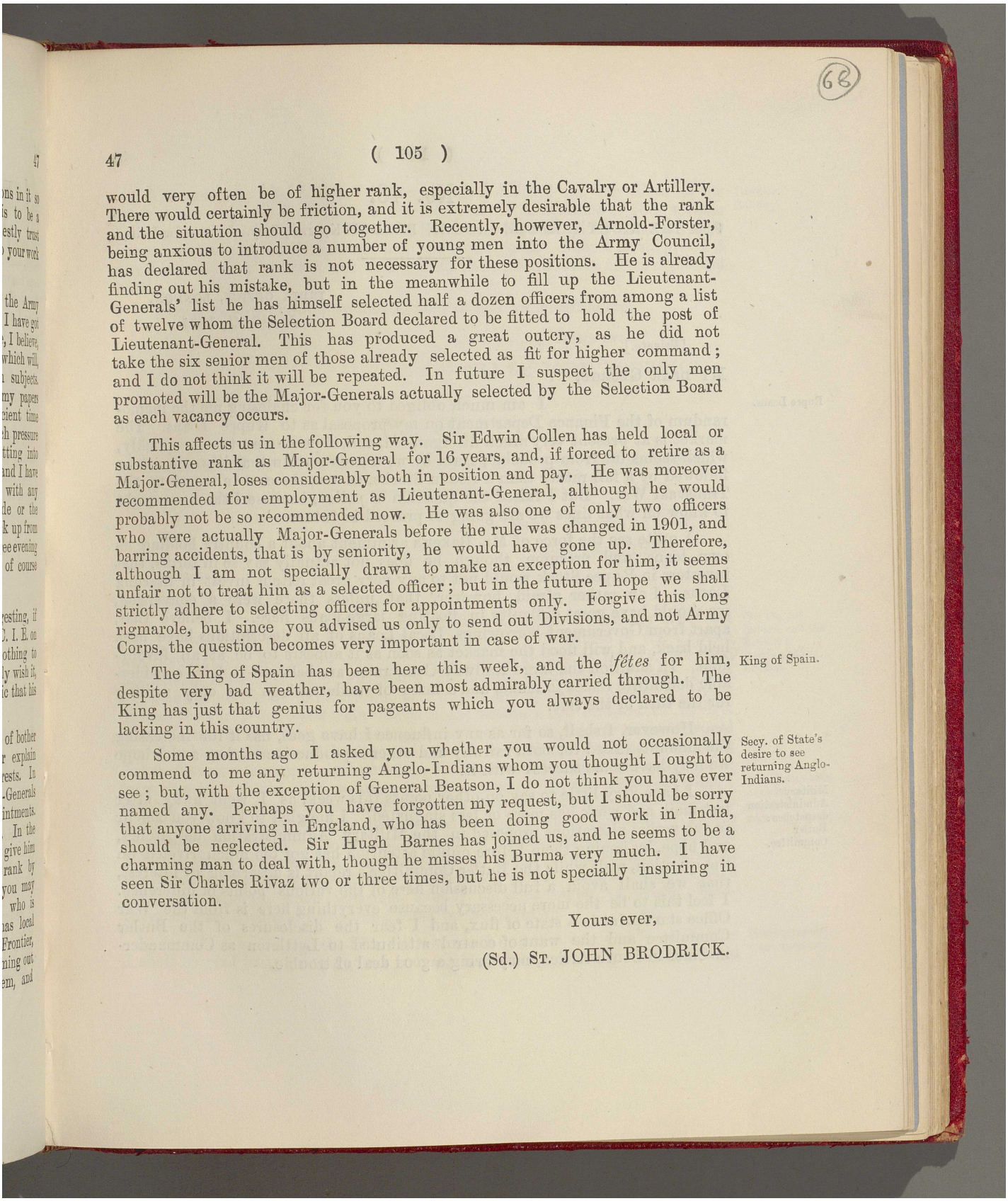
Honour for Sir E. Elles.

I propose to telegraph to you when you get the despatch suggesting, if you desire it, that General Elles should be put forward for a G. C. I. E. on his vacating the post of Military Member. Of course I have said nothing to anybody about this, but it occurred to me that you might probably wish it, and that it would be an agreeable method of showing the public that his services are appreciated.

Military promotions.

In connection with military promotions, I have had a great deal of bother about the selections for Lieutenant-Generals, and I think I had better explain the state of the case to you, because it really affects Indian interests. In 1901 it was laid down at the War Office that promotions of Major-Generals should in future be made only to fill Lieutenant-Generals' appointments. That I believe to be a sound principle, especially in the case of India. In the past it has been the habit to ignore a man's substantive rank, and give him local rank if necessary, leaving him to fall into the substantive rank by lapse of time. Knowing, as you do, what military men are, you may imagine how badly it acts on a campaign, when a General, who is senior in rank, finds himself serving a man, who, being his junior, has local rank. If there should ever be a mobilisation on the North-West Frontier, and the Indian Generals were not men of the higher rank, officers coming out from England commanding Divisions would have to serve under them, and

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would very often be of higher rank, especially in the Cavalry or Artillery. There would certainly be friction, and it is extremely desirable that the rank and the situation should go together. Recently, however, Arnold-Forster, being anxious to introduce a number of young men into the Army Council, has declared that rank is not necessary for these positions. He is already finding out his mistake, but in the meanwhile to fill up the Lieutenant-Generals' list he has himself selected half a dozen officers from among a list of twelve whom the Selection Board declared to be fitted to hold the post of Lieutenant-General. This has produced a great outcry, as he did not take the six senior men of those already selected as fit for higher command; and I do not think it will be repeated. In future I suspect the only men promoted will be the Major-Generals actually selected by the Selection Board as each vacancy occurs.

This affects us in the following way. Sir Edwin Collen has held local or substantive rank as Major-General for 16 years, and, if forced to retire as a Major-General, loses considerably both in position and pay. He was moreover recommended for employment as Lieutenant-General, although he would probably not be so recommended now. He was also one of only two officers who were actually Major-Generals before the rule was changed in 1901, and barring accidents, that is by seniority, he would have gone up. Therefore, although I am not specially drawn to make an exception for him, it seems unfair not to treat him as a selected officer; but in the future I hope we shall strictly adhere to selecting officers for appointments only. Forgive this long rigmarole, but since you advised us only to send out Divisions, and not Army Corps, the question becomes very important in case of war.

King of Spain.

The King of Spain has been here this week, and the *fêtes* for him, despite very bad weather, have been most admirably carried through. The King has just that genius for pageants which you always declared to be lacking in this country.

Secy. of State's desire to see returning Anglo-Indians.

Some months ago I asked you whether you would not occasionally commend to me any returning Anglo-Indians whom you thought I ought to see; but, with the exception of General Beatson, I do not think you have ever named any. Perhaps you have forgotten my request, but I should be sorry that anyone arriving in England, who has been doing good work in India, should be neglected. Sir Hugh Barnes has joined us, and he seems to be a charming man to deal with, though he misses his Burma very much. I have seen Sir Charles Rivaz two or three times, but he is not specially inspiring in conversation.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

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No. 48.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
June 16*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Rupee Loans.

I am much obliged to you for enclosing me the memorandum of the Finance Department on my proposal as to Rupee Loans. The market is at present very much disorganised, and, if peace were to come quickly, which seems far from probable, I am by no means certain that it would not be followed by a fall rather than a rise in Stocks, as was the case in regard to the Transvaal War. But I raised the question of policy, because I think we ought to know on what lines we are going to proceed in future.

I quite see the force of Mr. Baker's argument about a country holding its own loans, and presume, though he does not actually say so in terms, that investors in Rupee Stock would not to any very great extent invest in Sterling Loans. I am rather afraid, however, that unless there were a conversion, we should have great difficulty in floating large loans here. I believe that, apart from Government borrowings, Local Loans of all descriptions have been held back, and will flood the market as soon as it appears to be at all favourable. In addition the large Railway Companies are believed to have considerable debenture issues to make, and a mass of undertakings are only waiting for the turn of the tide.

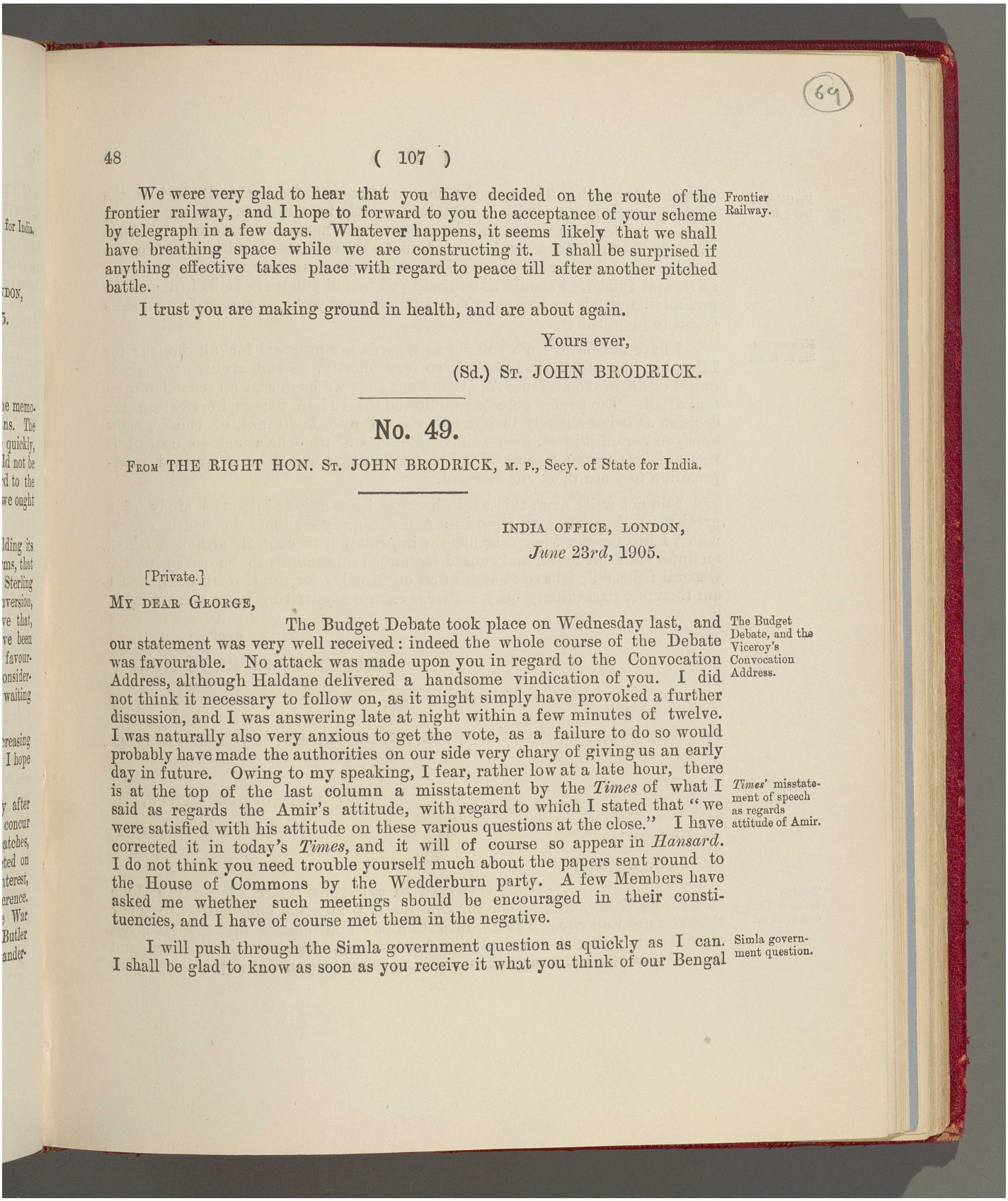
However, I shall, so far as any influence I have goes, use it for increasing the amounts raised for both railway and other reproductive works, and I hope we may have some success with it.

Military Administration despatches: Butler Committee.

I have very little to say on other points this week, as I went away after last mail, and work has more or less stagnated. I am glad to know you concur in the verbal alterations proposed in the Military Administration despatches, and hope, by issuing them before public attention has got too much riveted on the question, and, while the Butler Committee's report is absorbing all interest, that we shall avoid a full discussion here of the various points of difference. I feel this to be the more necessary because everything here is from the War Office standpoint in a state of flux, and I fear the disclosures of the Butler Committee and the want of control attributed to Lyttleton as Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, may bring a good deal of trouble.

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We were very glad to hear that you have decided on the route of the frontier railway, and I hope to forward to you the acceptance of your scheme by telegraph in a few days. Whatever happens, it seems likely that we shall have breathing space while we are constructing it. I shall be surprised if anything effective takes place with regard to peace till after another pitched battle. Frontier Railway.

I trust you are making ground in health, and are about again.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 49.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
June 23rd, 1905.

[Private.]

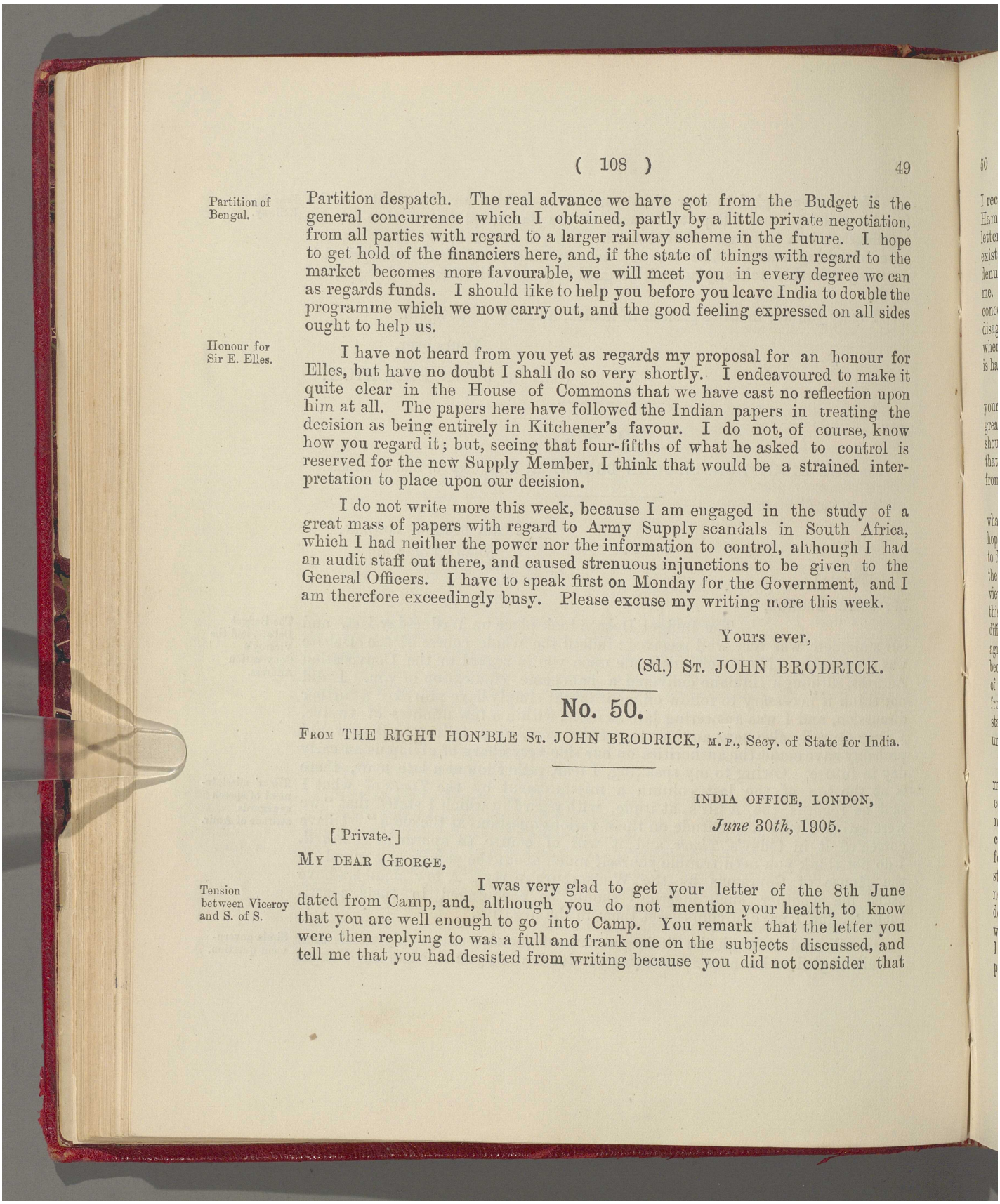
MY DEAR GEORGE,

The Budget Debate took place on Wednesday last, and our statement was very well received: indeed the whole course of the Debate was favourable. No attack was made upon you in regard to the Convocation Address, although Haldane delivered a handsome vindication of you. I did not think it necessary to follow on, as it might simply have provoked a further discussion, and I was answering late at night within a few minutes of twelve. I was naturally also very anxious to get the vote, as a failure to do so would probably have made the authorities on our side very chary of giving us an early day in future. Owing to my speaking, I fear, rather low at a late hour, there is at the top of the last column a misstatement by the *Times* of what I said as regards the Amir's attitude, with regard to which I stated that "we were satisfied with his attitude on these various questions at the close." I have corrected it in today's *Times*, and it will of course so appear in *Hansard*. I do not think you need trouble yourself much about the papers sent round to the House of Commons by the Wedderburn party. A few Members have asked me whether such meetings should be encouraged in their constituencies, and I have of course met them in the negative. The Budget Debate, and the Viceroy's Convocation Address. *Times'* misstatement of speech as regards attitude of Amir.

I will push through the Simla government question as quickly as I can. I shall be glad to know as soon as you receive it what you think of our Bengal Simla government question.

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Partition of Bengal.

Partition despatch. The real advance we have got from the Budget is the general concurrence which I obtained, partly by a little private negotiation, from all parties with regard to a larger railway scheme in the future. I hope to get hold of the financiers here, and, if the state of things with regard to the market becomes more favourable, we will meet you in every degree we can as regards funds. I should like to help you before you leave India to double the programme which we now carry out, and the good feeling expressed on all sides ought to help us.

Honour for Sir E. Elles.

I have not heard from you yet as regards my proposal for an honour for Elles, but have no doubt I shall do so very shortly. I endeavoured to make it quite clear in the House of Commons that we have cast no reflection upon him at all. The papers here have followed the Indian papers in treating the decision as being entirely in Kitchener's favour. I do not, of course, know how you regard it; but, seeing that four-fifths of what he asked to control is reserved for the new Supply Member, I think that would be a strained interpretation to place upon our decision.

I do not write more this week, because I am engaged in the study of a great mass of papers with regard to Army Supply scandals in South Africa, which I had neither the power nor the information to control, although I had an audit staff out there, and caused strenuous injunctions to be given to the General Officers. I have to speak first on Monday for the Government, and I am therefore exceedingly busy. Please excuse my writing more this week.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 50.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
June 30th, 1905.

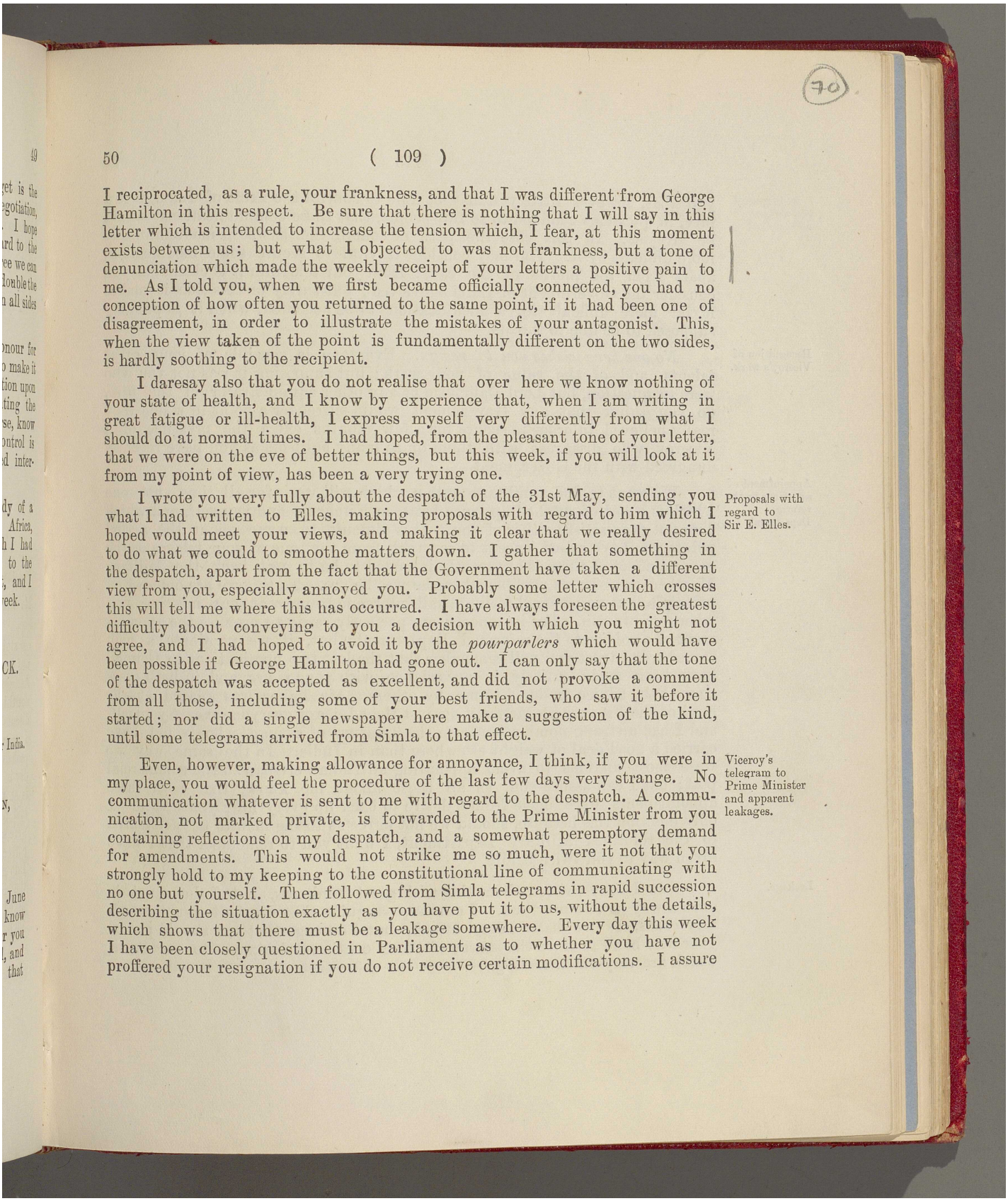
[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Tension between Viceroy and S. of S.

I was very glad to get your letter of the 8th June dated from Camp, and, although you do not mention your health, to know that you are well enough to go into Camp. You remark that the letter you were then replying to was a full and frank one on the subjects discussed, and tell me that you had desisted from writing because you did not consider that

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I reciprocated, as a rule, your frankness, and that I was different from George Hamilton in this respect. Be sure that there is nothing that I will say in this letter which is intended to increase the tension which, I fear, at this moment exists between us; but what I objected to was not frankness, but a tone of denunciation which made the weekly receipt of your letters a positive pain to me. As I told you, when we first became officially connected, you had no conception of how often you returned to the same point, if it had been one of disagreement, in order to illustrate the mistakes of your antagonist. This, when the view taken of the point is fundamentally different on the two sides, is hardly soothing to the recipient.

I daresay also that you do not realise that over here we know nothing of your state of health, and I know by experience that, when I am writing in great fatigue or ill-health, I express myself very differently from what I should do at normal times. I had hoped, from the pleasant tone of your letter, that we were on the eve of better things, but this week, if you will look at it from my point of view, has been a very trying one.

Proposals with regard to Sir E. Elles.

I wrote you very fully about the despatch of the 31st May, sending you what I had written to Elles, making proposals with regard to him which I hoped would meet your views, and making it clear that we really desired to do what we could to smoothe matters down. I gather that something in the despatch, apart from the fact that the Government have taken a different view from you, especially annoyed you. Probably some letter which crosses this will tell me where this has occurred. I have always foreseen the greatest difficulty about conveying to you a decision with which you might not agree, and I had hoped to avoid it by the *pourparlers* which would have been possible if George Hamilton had gone out. I can only say that the tone of the despatch was accepted as excellent, and did not provoke a comment from all those, including some of your best friends, who saw it before it started; nor did a single newspaper here make a suggestion of the kind, until some telegrams arrived from Simla to that effect.

Viceroy's telegram to Prime Minister and apparent leakages.

Even, however, making allowance for annoyance, I think, if you were in my place, you would feel the procedure of the last few days very strange. No communication whatever is sent to me with regard to the despatch. A communication, not marked private, is forwarded to the Prime Minister from you containing reflections on my despatch, and a somewhat peremptory demand for amendments. This would not strike me so much, were it not that you strongly hold to my keeping to the constitutional line of communicating with no one but yourself. Then followed from Simla telegrams in rapid succession describing the situation exactly as you have put it to us, without the details, which shows that there must be a leakage somewhere. Every day this week I have been closely questioned in Parliament as to whether you have not proffered your resignation if you do not receive certain modifications. I assure

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you that, however little you may be able to control the Press of India, it is a pity, in questions confined to so few people, that these communications cannot be arrested. In this case the path of conciliation has been made infinitely more difficult by it. You may consider it vital to secure some modification, apart from the merits of the case: from your telegram it is clear that you consider the Government of India aggrieved; but surely on this side it makes it far more difficult for a modification to be accepted, when it is publicly supposed to be due to threats.

Recognition of Viceroy's work.

No one here wishes you to resign. Everyone is sensible of your great talents, and of the value of your work; but supposing it was not you who were in question, but Lord Dalhousie or any other administrator of the past, do you think that any Government would surrender a point in which they really believed, in order to secure for a few months extra the presence of a Viceroy who disagrees with them on as many subjects as you have recently disagreed with the Government.

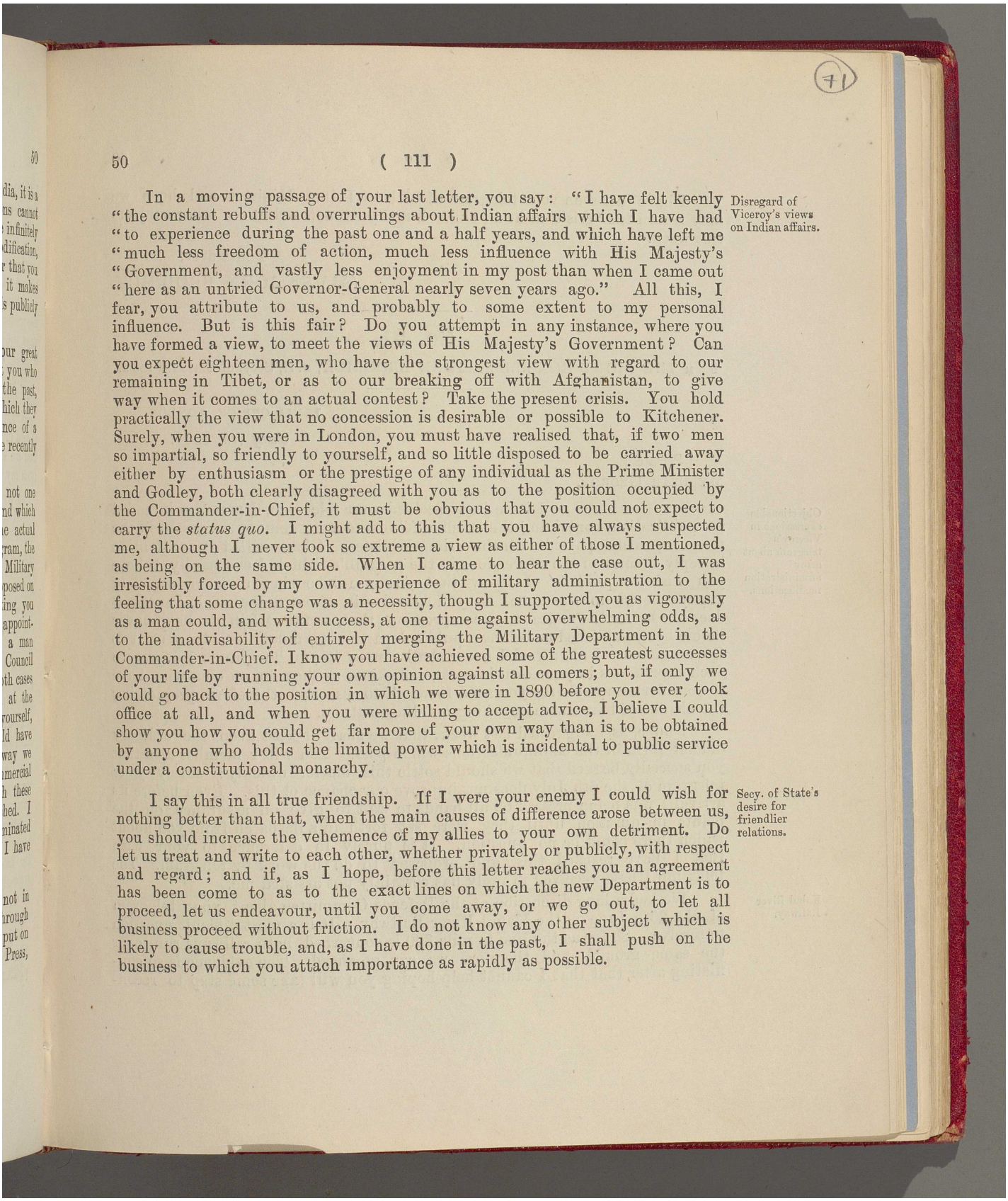
Appointment of an officer to the reformed Department.

We want to find a military system which will work for all time, not one which is a sort of patched-up truce between Kitchener and yourself, and which does not even satisfy either of you. It is difficult to write about the actual points you have raised, except to say that, from the tone of your telegram, the general effect of them is apparently intended to be to put back the Military Member as near as possible where he was before. To this we are opposed on principle, but no personal feeling shall intervene to prevent our meeting you wherever we can. For instance, I am perfectly ready to promise the appointment of a soldier to the reformed Department; but, if we nominate a man from here, I trust you will remember that the last two nominations to Council have been made entirely in accordance with your views, and in both cases against the advice tendered to me by others. Mr. Baker was placed at the head of the Finance Department against the advice of everyone except yourself, and I had a strong nomination from the Treasury of a man who would have carried a good deal of weight elsewhere than in India. In the same way we were most anxious to avoid appointing an Indian civilian to the commercial post; but I can assure you, as all those about me know, that both these appointments were made from a desire to back up everything you wished. I only mention this because, should we not agree as to the man to be nominated to the reformed Military Department, I want you to remember that I have given way to you twice before.

Leakage.

Now I have written about this with great frankness, but I hope not in such a way as to annoy you. I am very sanguine that we shall get through this crisis, as we have many others, but I do urge that you should put on your best hand to trace the source of these continual leakages to the Press, which are very embarrassing.

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In a moving passage of your last letter, you say: "I have felt keenly "the constant rebuffs and overrulings about Indian affairs which I have had "to experience during the past one and a half years, and which have left me "much less freedom of action, much less influence with His Majesty's "Government, and vastly less enjoyment in my post than when I came out "here as an untried Governor-General nearly seven years ago." All this, I fear, you attribute to us, and probably to some extent to my personal influence. But is this fair? Do you attempt in any instance, where you have formed a view, to meet the views of His Majesty's Government? Can you expect eighteen men, who have the strongest view with regard to our remaining in Tibet, or as to our breaking off with Afghanistan, to give way when it comes to an actual contest? Take the present crisis. You hold practically the view that no concession is desirable or possible to Kitchener. Surely, when you were in London, you must have realised that, if two men so impartial, so friendly to yourself, and so little disposed to be carried away either by enthusiasm or the prestige of any individual as the Prime Minister and Godley, both clearly disagreed with you as to the position occupied by the Commander-in-Chief, it must be obvious that you could not expect to carry the *status quo*. I might add to this that you have always suspected me, although I never took so extreme a view as either of those I mentioned, as being on the same side. When I came to hear the case out, I was irresistibly forced by my own experience of military administration to the feeling that some change was a necessity, though I supported you as vigorously as a man could, and with success, at one time against overwhelming odds, as to the inadvisability of entirely merging the Military Department in the Commander-in-Chief. I know you have achieved some of the greatest successes of your life by running your own opinion against all comers; but, if only we could go back to the position in which we were in 1890 before you ever took office at all, and when you were willing to accept advice, I believe I could show you how you could get far more of your own way than is to be obtained by anyone who holds the limited power which is incidental to public service under a constitutional monarchy.

Disregard of Viceroy's views on Indian affairs.

I say this in all true friendship. If I were your enemy I could wish for nothing better than that, when the main causes of difference arose between us, you should increase the vehemence of my allies to your own detriment. Do let us treat and write to each other, whether privately or publicly, with respect and regard; and if, as I hope, before this letter reaches you an agreement has been come to as to the exact lines on which the new Department is to proceed, let us endeavour, until you come away, or we go out, to let all business proceed without friction. I do not know any other subject which is likely to cause trouble, and, as I have done in the past, I shall push on the business to which you attach importance as rapidly as possible.

Secy. of State's desire for friendlier relations.

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I have just seen your telegram of 30th to Prime Minister and hope we may regard the 'crisis' as at an end. I really cannot write on other subjects this week.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 51.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
July 7th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Objectionable expressions in Viceroy's telegram about army administration modifications.

I have just received your telegram, I presume intended for publication, containing the 'réchauffé' of the arrangement suggested in the telegrams which passed with the Prime Minister. I have called your attention in reply to some of the expressions in the preamble, which I can hardly believe you wish to publish. I know that you are labouring under a sense of annoyance as to the tone, as you conceive it, of our despatch, but surely it does not better the matter to use expressions that, so far as I know, have never before been published as between public departments, much less between two Governments. I am afraid I never shall convey to you how much I deprecate such expressions in your own interest, reflecting, as they do, on men who have to consider every scheme you send forward to us, and therefore prejudicing the chance of harmonious working on other matters.

I hope, as I suggested last week, that we shall at least keep the ordinary official form in the communications which pass. You will remember also that you specially begged that we should settle this matter quickly: surely your telegram of the 6th July does not improve our chance of this. Even before its arrival I was being pressed on all hands to wait to give an assurance on the points in question until they were set forth in a despatch from you about which there could be no question. It is purely in deference to your wish that I have resisted this, and proposed to do the work by telegram. The telegram I have received in reply has certainly not assisted me.

Kabul River Railway.

We had a long discussion at the Defence Committee about your telegram of the 26th June on the Kabul River Railway. It is a most difficult question to resolve. So far as the line to mile 300 is concerned, both railways run over the same ground, and therefore we can go ahead. The evidence is so conflicting after that that I cannot help hoping you will take some step to recon-

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sider it. The engineering difficulties of the Shilman-Ghakke route, and the serious mischief to which the gradients on that line lend themselves, frighten people over here very much. Moreover, Lord Roberts is disposed to think that Lord Kitchener's estimate of four times as many troops being required to hold the Kabul River line, is excessive. I am writing you a despatch on the subject, and, as so much hangs on it, I have no doubt you will be able to resolve the doubtful points before any question could arise of actually making the railway.

Major Roos-Keppel's Memo. on attitude of the Mohmands.

It is specially observed, in Major Roos-Keppel's Memorandum, that the feasibility of the broad gauge line to Shinpokh will depend on the attitude of the Western Mohmands, and no opinion can be safely given until, by the test of the actual construction of the whole or part of the eastern sections, their attitude has been ascertained. This may perhaps induce you to see what the effect of work on the earlier section is before taking an absolute resolution.

Mr. Clarke as second Deputy Secy. for the Foreign Dept. Concessions to the Maharaja of Kashmir. Simla question.

As regards the points mentioned in your last letter, we shall certainly back you about the second Deputy Secretary in the Foreign Department, and the nomination of Clarke. We have also passed the proposed concessions to the Maharaja of Kashmir. I have hopes of forwarding the Simla question in a few days.

I do not know that there is anything else of importance outstanding between us now.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 52.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.,
July 7th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Army administration.

The question of Army Administration has so completely dwarfed all others during the last few weeks, and more especially during the last ten days or so, that it is impossible for me not to refer to it, though I must confess that my inclination is to write as little about it as possible. "I do not exercise myself in great matters, which are too high for me;" and, when the atmosphere becomes as troubled as it has been of late,

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I think it best, under existing circumstances, to confine myself as much as I can to my official duties. I can easily imagine a state of things in which I should feel very differently about this. If the members of His Majesty's Government who are most directly concerned with these questions were not intimate friends of your own—if, let us say, Campbell Bannerman were Prime Minister, and Lloyd George Secretary of State for India—then perhaps I might be of some use, and I should certainly be very willing to try. But, as things are, I think I have said in former letters all that I could say as to general principles, and it only remains for me either to say ditto to my chief (or chiefs) in this country, or to be silent. It is always a matter of sincere regret to me when, as in this case, I happen not to be able to agree with you on the main question, or when I cannot honestly admire your *modus operandi*. But this much I will ask you to believe:—if any "sharp or taxing" utterances have found their way into any official communications from this office to your Government,—if anything "invidious or derogatory" has been said (as to which, of course, I give no opinion) you may be quite sure either that I was not consulted, or that my opinion was overruled, or, perhaps more probably, that I saw no harm in expressions of which you think you have a right to complain. And if in this respect I have erred, I have certainly erred in good company.

Partition of Bengal.

It is a very curious thing that no notice whatever, so far as I am aware, should have been taken either in this country or in India of the announcement which the Secretary of State made a few days ago, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, to the effect that he had sanctioned your proposals for the partition of Bengal. I suppose that the press in this country did not recognize the importance of the answer, and that no one took the trouble to telegraph it to India. But the despatch in which that sanction was conveyed must have been in your hands for some time; and I suppose you are likely to publish without delay the fact that the partition as proposed by you will take place, though some of the details have still to be considered and sanctioned.

Removal of Punjab Govt. from Simla.

About another matter, the removal of the Punjab Government from Simla, and the creation of an Indian Washington, I am afraid that we are likely to have trouble with Council, and the matter is of course one in which they cannot be overruled. The Secretary of State and the humble individual who now addresses you are alike in hearty agreement with you on this subject, and you may be quite sure that we shall do what we can. But I am less sanguine than I was a fortnight ago.

Sir T. Raleigh.

We received yesterday your telegram about Raleigh, and his appearance before the Privy Council against the interests of the Government of India. In that telegram you apparently make two assumptions, (1) that he must, if he appears, be making an improper use of knowledge acquired by him as a Member of Council, (2) that the Secretary of State has the power of

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allowing or not allowing him to appear as counsel in the case. As to (1), Raleigh distinctly and expressly recognises that he has no right to make use of any such knowledge, and states (if I understand him aright) that he has no such knowledge of this case, and would not use it if he had. He has put the facts fully before Ilbert, who was clearly of opinion that he would be perfectly justified in appearing. Our Legal Adviser, Shephard, is of the same opinion; Edge, whom we should naturally have consulted, is away in Norway and not available. Whether it would not have been a graceful act on his part to forego, under the circumstances, his right to take the brief is another matter; but that we must leave to him. For, with regard to (2), it is obvious that Raleigh, who draws neither pay nor pension, is a perfectly free agent, so far as the Secretary of State is concerned; we, the India Office, have no control over him whatsoever. I suppose that, if any one were to interfere, it would be the Committee of the Bar which decides upon questions of legal etiquette.

Fountian on the Maidan.

Today I have a letter from the Master of Trinity, Cambridge, asking us to transmit to you the drawings for the fountain which you are going to erect on the Maidan. I was very much interested to hear that you had decided to copy the beautiful model which stands in the Great Court of Trinity, and—granting that you were not to try for a new design—I am quite sure that you could not have made a better selection. It will be a most imposing monument of your reign, and of the very gratifying event which it is to commemorate.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

No. 53.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.,
July 14*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I write merely in order to refer to a very small matter, *viz.*, the course which Raleigh has taken in the Kathiawar case.

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Sir T. Raleigh and the Kathiawar case.

You will remember that in your telegram you spoke of his "appearing" before the Privy Council against the Government of India. I, when I wrote to you last week, assumed that this was correct, and that he intended to appear and argue. It was the first that I had heard of any such intention on his part, but I wrote my letter on the assumption that it was so. This being so, I did not refer to the fact that he had come to me to ask whether we saw any objection to his advising on the case, never having had anything to do with it officially, and going exclusively upon knowledge open to both parties to the suit. I said I would ask Edge; I did so; Edge said that we had no ground for objecting, and I informed Raleigh accordingly. If we had been asked whether there was any objection to his appearing before the Privy Council, we must still have replied that we had no *status* for objecting, but we might probably have worded our reply rather differently. Then came your telegram, from which I gathered that he had gone further and proposed to *appear*. I wrote to you, as you know, and I also got Mr. Brodrick's permission to ask Raleigh unofficially what he had to say about it. He tells me he is writing to you, so I say no more; but I wanted you to know that, while we were equally impotent to interfere in either case, it made a difference to the sentimental aspect of the business, in my opinion, whether he was to appear or merely to advise. I am aware that he himself lays no emphasis on this distinction, but to my mind it is a substantial one. The fact, however, that it is a matter for him to decide, *in foro conscientiæ*, remains, and he *has* decided it. Edge, as I think I told you, is now away in Norway, so he has given no opinion on the question of *appearing*. The Secretary of State is telegraphing to you on the subject today.

Simla scheme.

I am sorry to say that we have failed to get the draft passed, approving your Simla scheme. Our answer has yet to be drafted, but it will mean a further postponement. It will not, however, veto your scheme; that is something. Mr. Brodrick has done his best for you, and presided today himself over the deliberations of our Committee on the subject, in vain.

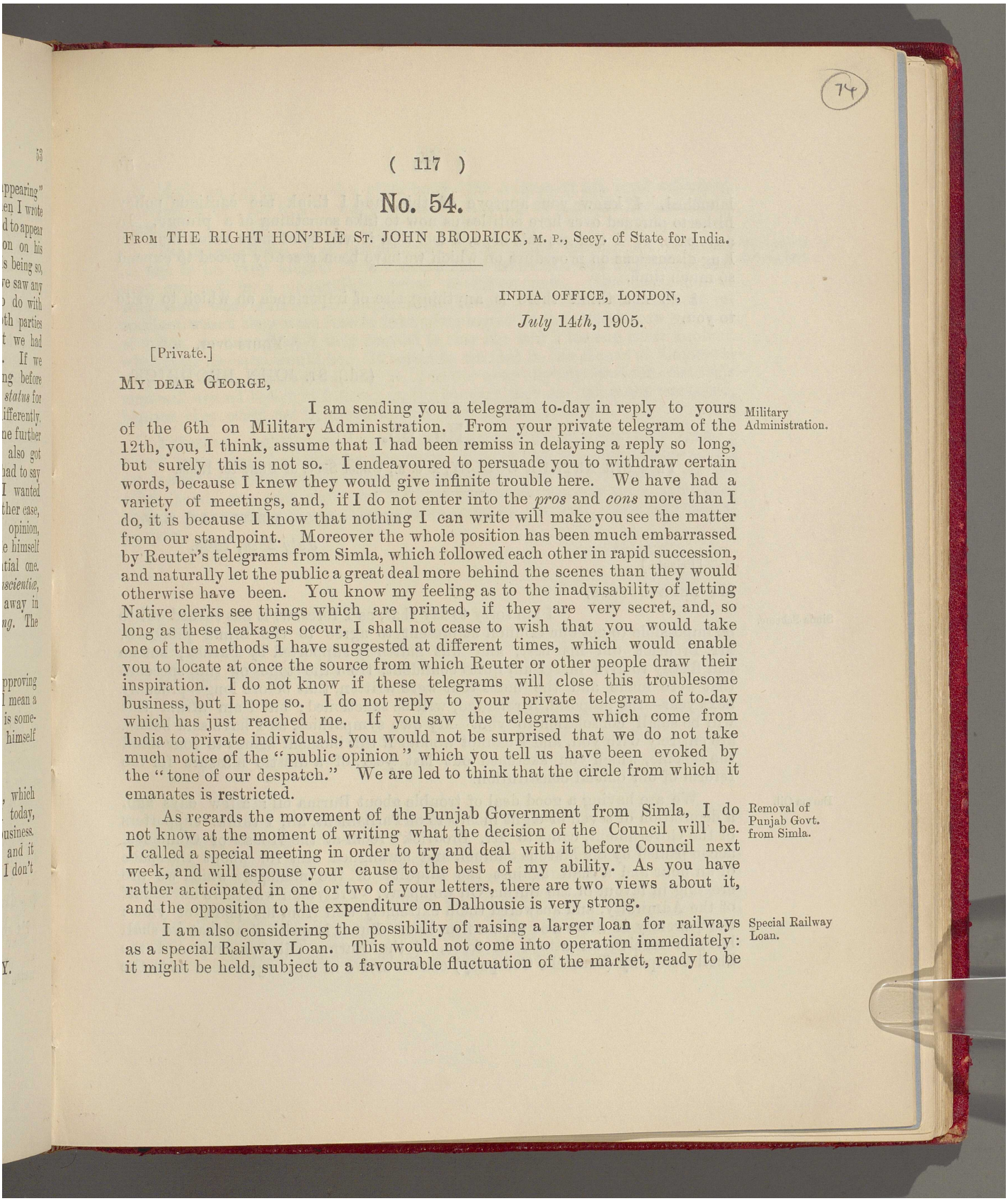
Military Administration and Re-distribution Scheme.

On Monday next the arrangements about Military Administration, which His Majesty's Government have sanctioned by telegram despatched today, will be announced. This, I hope, will end the first stage of the business. Meanwhile the Re-distribution Scheme is, by no means, well-received, and it seems to me not impossible that it may give serious trouble, though I don't expect it to prove fatal.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

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No. 54.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
July 14th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I am sending you a telegram to-day in reply to yours of the 6th on Military Administration. From your private telegram of the 12th, you, I think, assume that I had been remiss in delaying a reply so long, but surely this is not so. I endeavoured to persuade you to withdraw certain words, because I knew they would give infinite trouble here. We have had a variety of meetings, and, if I do not enter into the *pros* and *cons* more than I do, it is because I know that nothing I can write will make you see the matter from our standpoint. Moreover the whole position has been much embarrassed by Reuter's telegrams from Simla, which followed each other in rapid succession, and naturally let the public a great deal more behind the scenes than they would otherwise have been. You know my feeling as to the inadvisability of letting Native clerks see things which are printed, if they are very secret, and, so long as these leakages occur, I shall not cease to wish that you would take one of the methods I have suggested at different times, which would enable you to locate at once the source from which Reuter or other people draw their inspiration. I do not know if these telegrams will close this troublesome business, but I hope so. I do not reply to your private telegram of to-day which has just reached me. If you saw the telegrams which come from India to private individuals, you would not be surprised that we do not take much notice of the "public opinion" which you tell us have been evoked by the "tone of our despatch." We are led to think that the circle from which it emanates is restricted. Military Administration.

As regards the movement of the Punjab Government from Simla, I do not know at the moment of writing what the decision of the Council will be. I called a special meeting in order to try and deal with it before Council next week, and will espouse your cause to the best of my ability. As you have rather anticipated in one or two of your letters, there are two views about it, and the opposition to the expenditure on Dalhousie is very strong. Removal of Punjab Govt. from Simla.

I am also considering the possibility of raising a larger loan for railways as a special Railway Loan. This would not come into operation immediately: it might be held, subject to a favourable fluctuation of the market, ready to be Special Railway Loan.

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launched. I know you approve of this, and I think the cautious policy hitherto pursued over here entitles us now to take something of a plunge. In any case, if I can get this done, I feel that it will be of more value than the long discussions on procedure on which we have been recently forced to expend so much time.

I do not think there is anything else of importance on which to write to you.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) ST. JOHN BRODRICK.

No. 55.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.,
July 28th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

Simla Scheme.

I am sorry to say that, as I foresaw, it has turned out to be impossible to get our Council at present to agree to the Simla proposals. Mr. Brodrick did his best, and was gallantly supported by Barnes; but he had finally to give in. I am quite confident, from the tone of the speeches that were made and the notes that were written, that before long—probably next year—the proposal, if renewed, will be sanctioned; but I am afraid this will be small consolation to you. My own sympathies, as I have said before, are entirely with you, and I cannot wonder if this incident brings to your mind the scheme, which you sketched out last year, of a drastic measure for the reform of our official constitution.

Burma Oil.

We are having a good deal of trouble about Burma oil: a few days ago, a deputation of seven or eight members of Parliament, all, I think, supporters of the Government, came to Mr. Brodrick's room at the House of Commons, accompanied by Sir Marcus Samuel, and harangued him for about the space of an hour and a half against the iniquity of the monopoly which we are creating in favour of the Burma Oil Company. Pretyman was there on behalf of the Admiralty, and answered them extremely well from his point of view: the Secretary of State also took a firm line. But it is quite clear that we shall have to receive an attack in force, if the Burma Oil Company and the Shell Company (Samuel's Company) cannot arrive at some agreement as to the

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sale of oil in India. On the other hand, the Admiralty are most vehement in adjuring us "not to give way an inch." Luckily we are near the end of the session.

The condition of Government.

The defeat of last week has produced a slight moral effect, but it seems to me to be very slight. The Government were in a bad way before, and they are not in a perceptibly worse condition now. The discussion of precedents was hollow and unprofitable; every one knew that it was an accident which they were free to take advantage of if they wanted to get out of office, or to neglect if they wanted to stay in; and I for one never doubted what their decision would be. It seems to me that in the House of Commons they are none the weaker for it, perhaps even slightly stronger—for their men will attend better in future: in the country they are not much weakened, because they could not be much weaker than they were before.

I shall say nothing about contentious matters. It is some time since I heard from you, but whether you write to me or not, you may be sure that I am always very ready and willing to do anything I can for you: and I, on the other hand, am sure that you will not (whatever you may think about me) abstain from writing if you think that by doing so you can serve any useful purpose.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) A. GODLEY.

No. 56.

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

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S. W.,
August 18*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR CURZON,

I hardly know whether you will open my letter, still less whether you will read it?

But, however that may be, I cannot let this mail go without telling you of my profound regret at the turn which things have taken.

As you know, I am the servant of the Home Government, and I have neither the right nor the wish to say one word which is inconsistent with perfect loyalty to them. It has always been my desire to support you, your interests, and your measures, so far as was consistent with my duty to them:

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and, if there were any cases in which I could not do so, I have not scrupled to tell you so. Indeed I have, I am afraid, gone beyond the limits which in your opinion I ought to have observed in the matter of free speech: but, if I did so, it was because I was desirous of averting a catastrophe which, even then, was visible in the far distance, and because I was deeply grieved and vexed to see you, as I thought, declining to use your admirable powers of conciliation, at a time when a very moderate effort of yours in that direction might have given a totally different complexion to your relations with the Government.

Well, it seems that what I did was wrong: and there can be no doubt at all as to its having been futile. There is no use in pursuing that topic.

I do not know whether I am to interpret your cessation of correspondence with me as a sign of displeasure with me individually, or with the machine of which I form part: I hope it is the latter. But in either case I wish to say that my feelings towards you are and will always be (unless you deliberately prevent it) those of a friend and well-wisher, and that I adhere to every word that I have ever said as to my admiration of your great gifts, or as to my appreciation of your work in India.

Henceforward it is, I fear, unlikely that I can be of any use to you: but, if I can, let me assure you that, subject only to the claims of my duties here, I shall always be at your service, during the short period of office that I may still have before me.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) ARTHUR GODLEY.

P. S.—This letter is not intended to draw an answer from you: indeed, I hope that, except in the unlikely event of my being able to be of use to you in any way, you will not answer it.

No. 57.

FROM THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. J. BALFOUR, M. P.

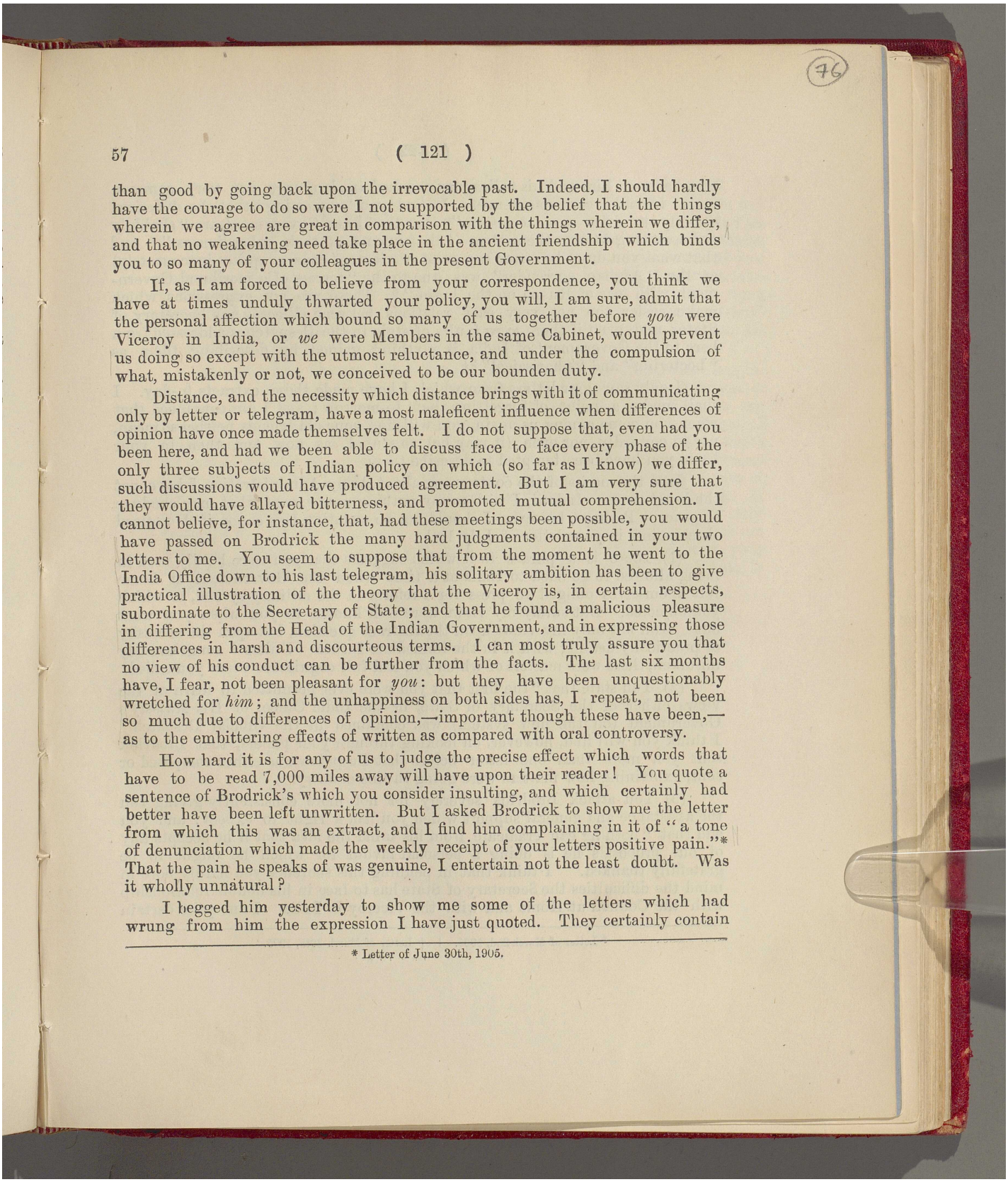
10, DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, S. W.,
August 23*rd*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GEORGE,

I only received your two letters, sent off on July 27th, after the melancholy formalities giving effect to your resignation had been completed. And I almost wonder now whether any good can be done by touching on controversies which, though their end has been—at least to me—very grievous, are yet *ended*, and whether I shall not be doing more harm

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than good by going back upon the irrevocable past. Indeed, I should hardly have the courage to do so were I not supported by the belief that the things wherein we agree are great in comparison with the things wherein we differ, and that no weakening need take place in the ancient friendship which binds you to so many of your colleagues in the present Government.

If, as I am forced to believe from your correspondence, you think we have at times unduly thwarted your policy, you will, I am sure, admit that the personal affection which bound so many of us together before *you* were Viceroy in India, or *we* were Members in the same Cabinet, would prevent us doing so except with the utmost reluctance, and under the compulsion of what, mistakenly or not, we conceived to be our bounden duty.

Distance, and the necessity which distance brings with it of communicating only by letter or telegram, have a most maleficent influence when differences of opinion have once made themselves felt. I do not suppose that, even had you been here, and had we been able to discuss face to face every phase of the only three subjects of Indian policy on which (so far as I know) we differ, such discussions would have produced agreement. But I am very sure that they would have allayed bitterness, and promoted mutual comprehension. I cannot believe, for instance, that, had these meetings been possible, you would have passed on Brodrick the many hard judgments contained in your two letters to me. You seem to suppose that from the moment he went to the India Office down to his last telegram, his solitary ambition has been to give practical illustration of the theory that the Viceroy is, in certain respects, subordinate to the Secretary of State; and that he found a malicious pleasure in differing from the Head of the Indian Government, and in expressing those differences in harsh and discourteous terms. I can most truly assure you that no view of his conduct can be further from the facts. The last six months have, I fear, not been pleasant for *you*: but they have been unquestionably wretched for *him*; and the unhappiness on both sides has, I repeat, not been so much due to differences of opinion,—important though these have been,—as to the embittering effects of written as compared with oral controversy.

How hard it is for any of us to judge the precise effect which words that have to be read 7,000 miles away will have upon their reader! You quote a sentence of Brodrick's which you consider insulting, and which certainly had better have been left unwritten. But I asked Brodrick to show me the letter from which this was an extract, and I find him complaining in it of "a tone of denunciation which made the weekly receipt of your letters positive pain."* That the pain he speaks of was genuine, I entertain not the least doubt. Was it wholly unnatural?

I begged him yesterday to show me some of the letters which had wrung from him the expression I have just quoted. They certainly contain

* Letter of June 30th, 1905.

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comments on him and his colleagues couched in language not very common in a friendly correspondence. I find you suggesting that he "desired secretly to drive you to resign,"* that the Home Government are "shabbily endeavouring to save themselves at the expense of their subordinates," * and that what you describe (from my point of view, of course, quite inaccurately) as the "Afghan surrender" was due to the "terrors of a moribund Government, with fear of Russia on the brain." * These are not expressions which make easier the not very easy relations between Viceroy and Secretary of State; and, even if there *were* faults of style in the Despatches addressed from here to the Government of India, is anything gained by describing them as "hectoring" and "pharisaical" ?†

I only saw your letters from which I have made these extracts to-day. I shall make a point of forgetting them to-morrow; and I am convinced that when you come among us again, you will find your old friends neither so mean, nor so cowardly, nor even (it may be) so stupid, as now and then in your haste you have been tempted to describe them.

Into the merits of the controversy about Army Administration I have not the heart to go. Indeed, I wish to say nothing now except what may conduce to peace. Perhaps, however, I should not be violating this canon if I noticed three points in your letter of July 19th:

(1) There is a phrase in it which suggests that you were hardly used in being allowed to go back to India at a time when the Government at home felt themselves obliged to press for a reform in the military system, to which you objected. But surely my views were well known to you when you went out. And not only my views upon the abstract question, but upon the necessity of practically dealing with it in the immediate future. Unless I am grievously mistaken, these were matters of which you had full cognisance when you sailed.

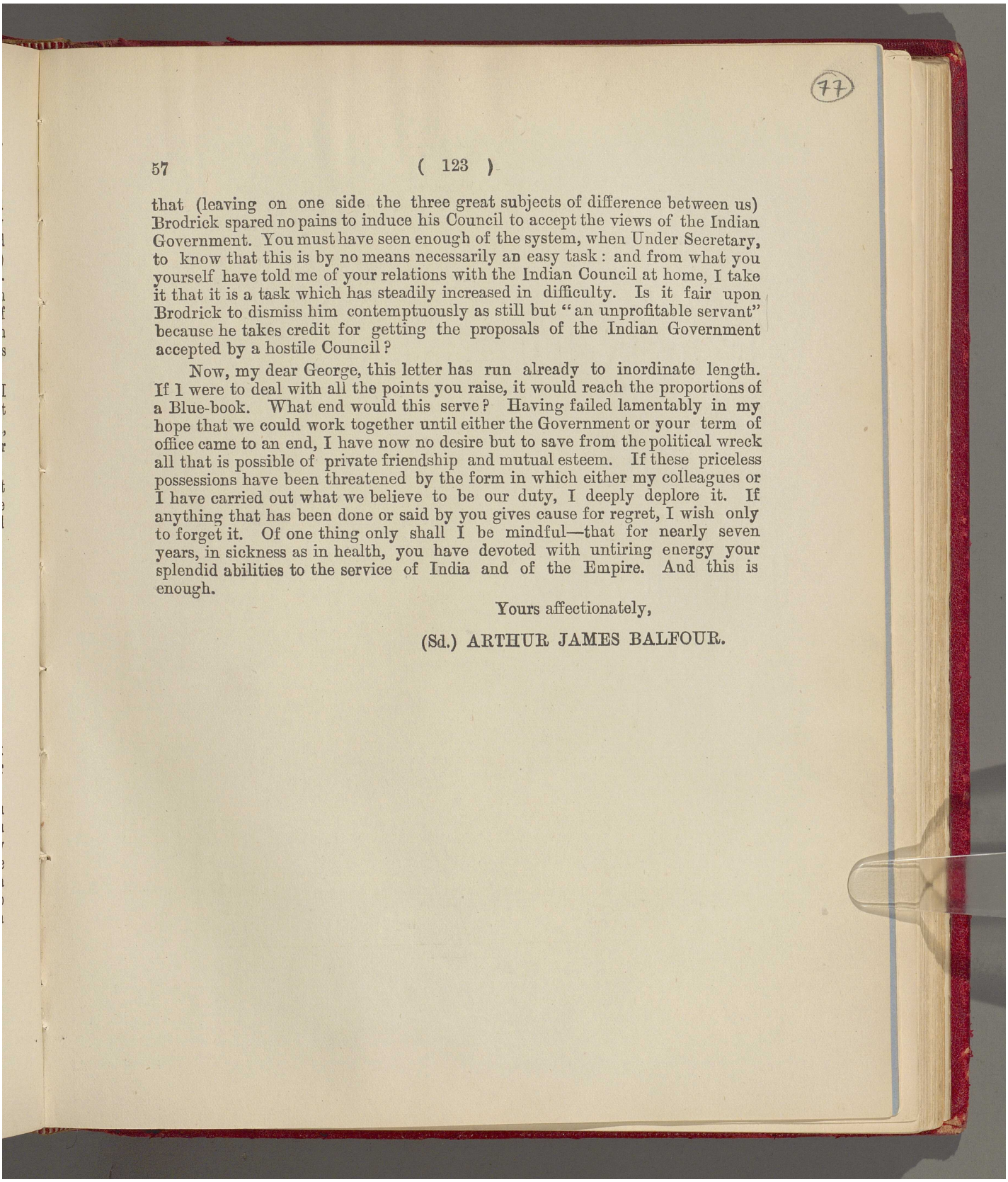
(2) You state that "the first that you were ever permitted to learn of the views either of the Secretary of State, or the India Office, or His Majesty's Government (on the new system) was contained in the Official Despatch." I think you will find, however, on looking through your papers, that Brodrick sent you more than one letter before that Despatch was either composed or sent, explaining how matters were going in this country.

(3) You attack Brodrick severely for not more consistently giving you the assistance and general support which you had a right to expect: and you add that "nothing can eradicate from his mind the idea that if he accepts any of our proposals he is doing a personal favour for which he ought to be gratefully thanked." I think that in penning this sentence you hardly bore in mind the difficulties the Secretary of State has to face in his double relationship with the Council at Home and with the Viceroy in India. I am quite certain

* Letter of March 2nd, 1905. | † Letter of March 30th, 1905.

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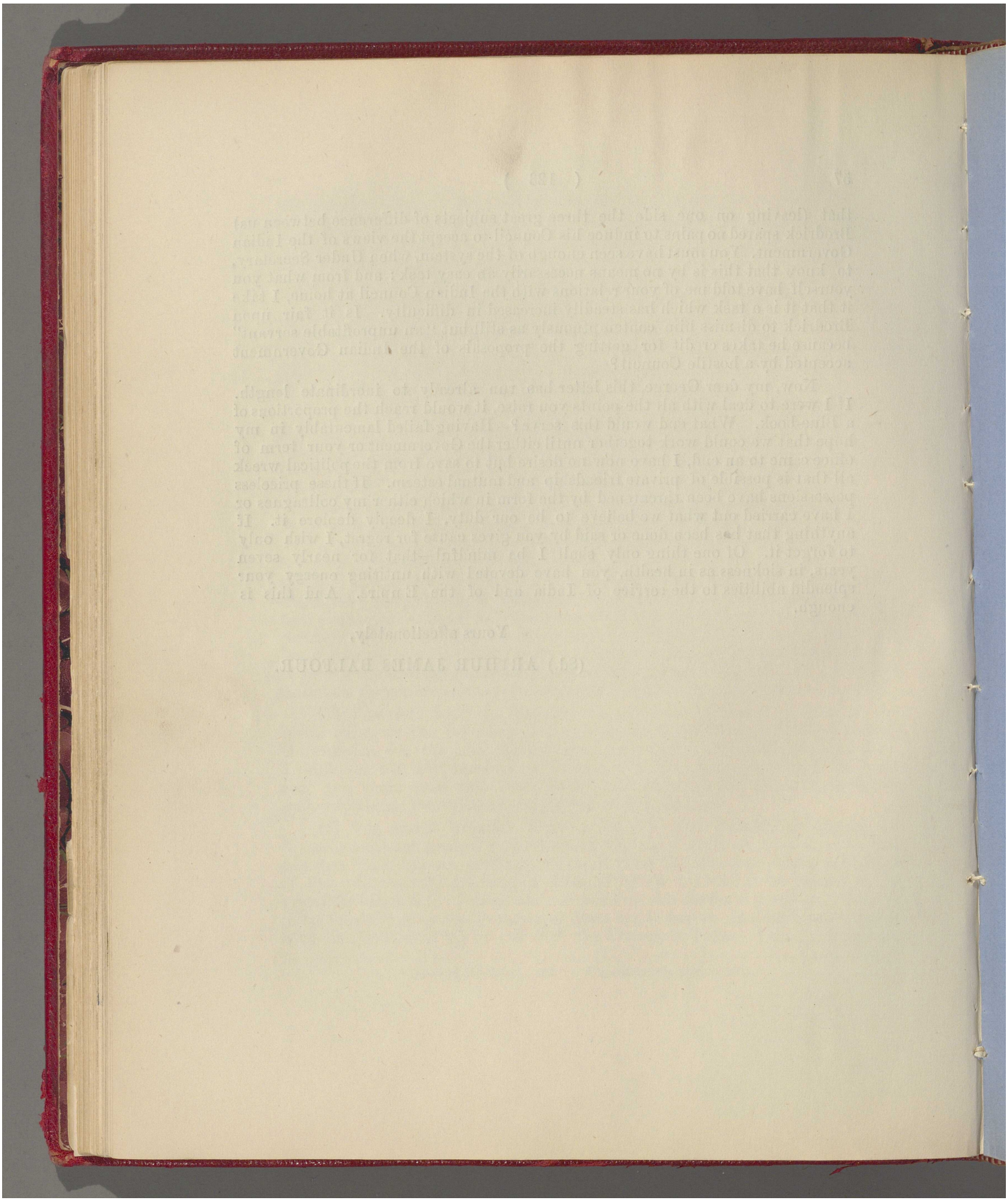
that (leaving on one side the three great subjects of difference between us) Brodrick spared no pains to induce his Council to accept the views of the Indian Government. You must have seen enough of the system, when Under Secretary, to know that this is by no means necessarily an easy task: and from what you yourself have told me of your relations with the Indian Council at home, I take it that it is a task which has steadily increased in difficulty. Is it fair upon Brodrick to dismiss him contemptuously as still but "an unprofitable servant" because he takes credit for getting the proposals of the Indian Government accepted by a hostile Council?

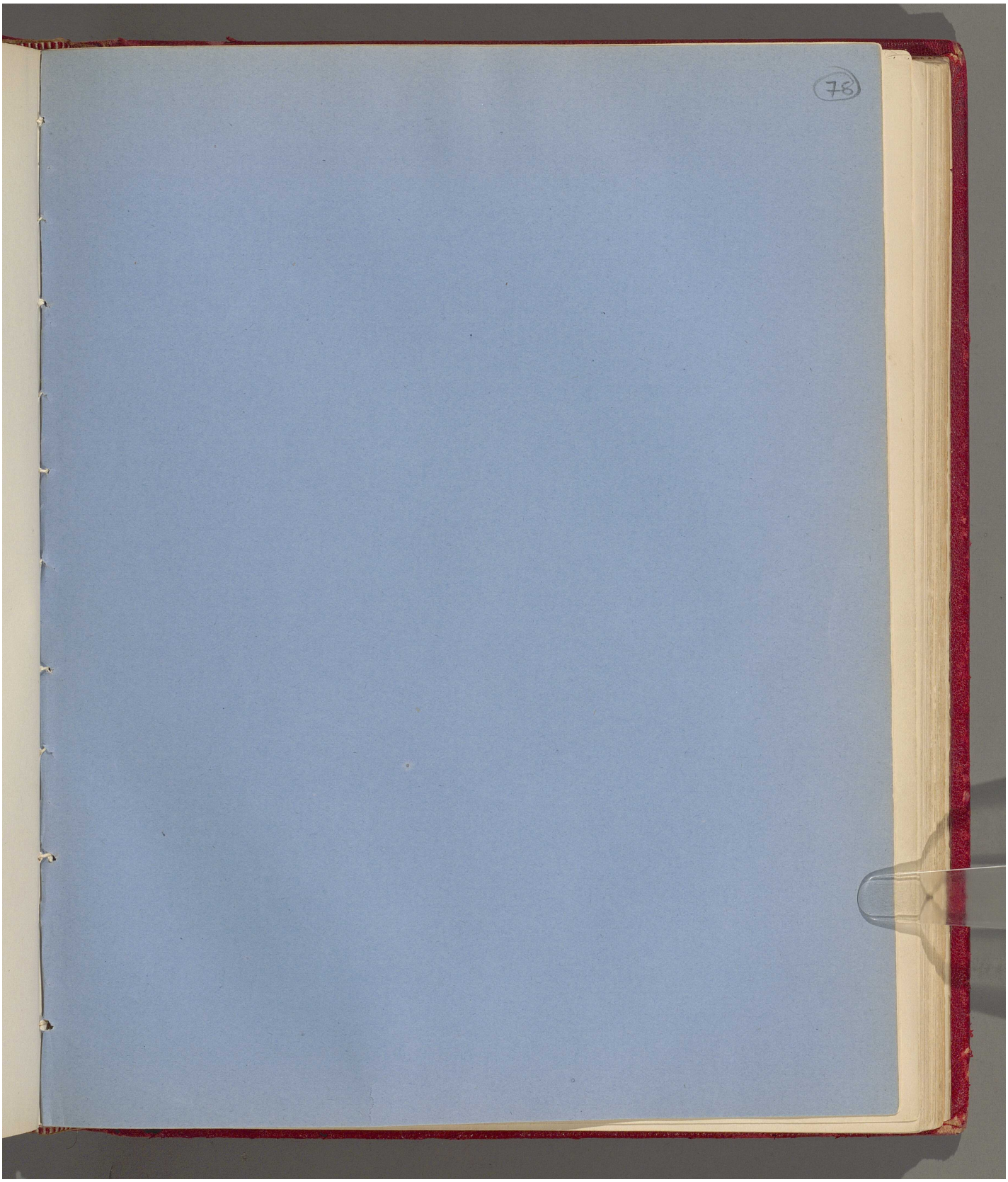
Now, my dear George, this letter has run already to inordinate length. If I were to deal with all the points you raise, it would reach the proportions of a Blue-book. What end would this serve? Having failed lamentably in my hope that we could work together until either the Government or your term of office came to an end, I have now no desire but to save from the political wreck all that is possible of private friendship and mutual esteem. If these priceless possessions have been threatened by the form in which either my colleagues or I have carried out what we believe to be our duty, I deeply deplore it. If anything that has been done or said by you gives cause for regret, I wish only to forget it. Of one thing only shall I be mindful—that for nearly seven years, in sickness as in health, you have devoted with untiring energy your splendid abilities to the service of India and of the Empire. And this is enough.

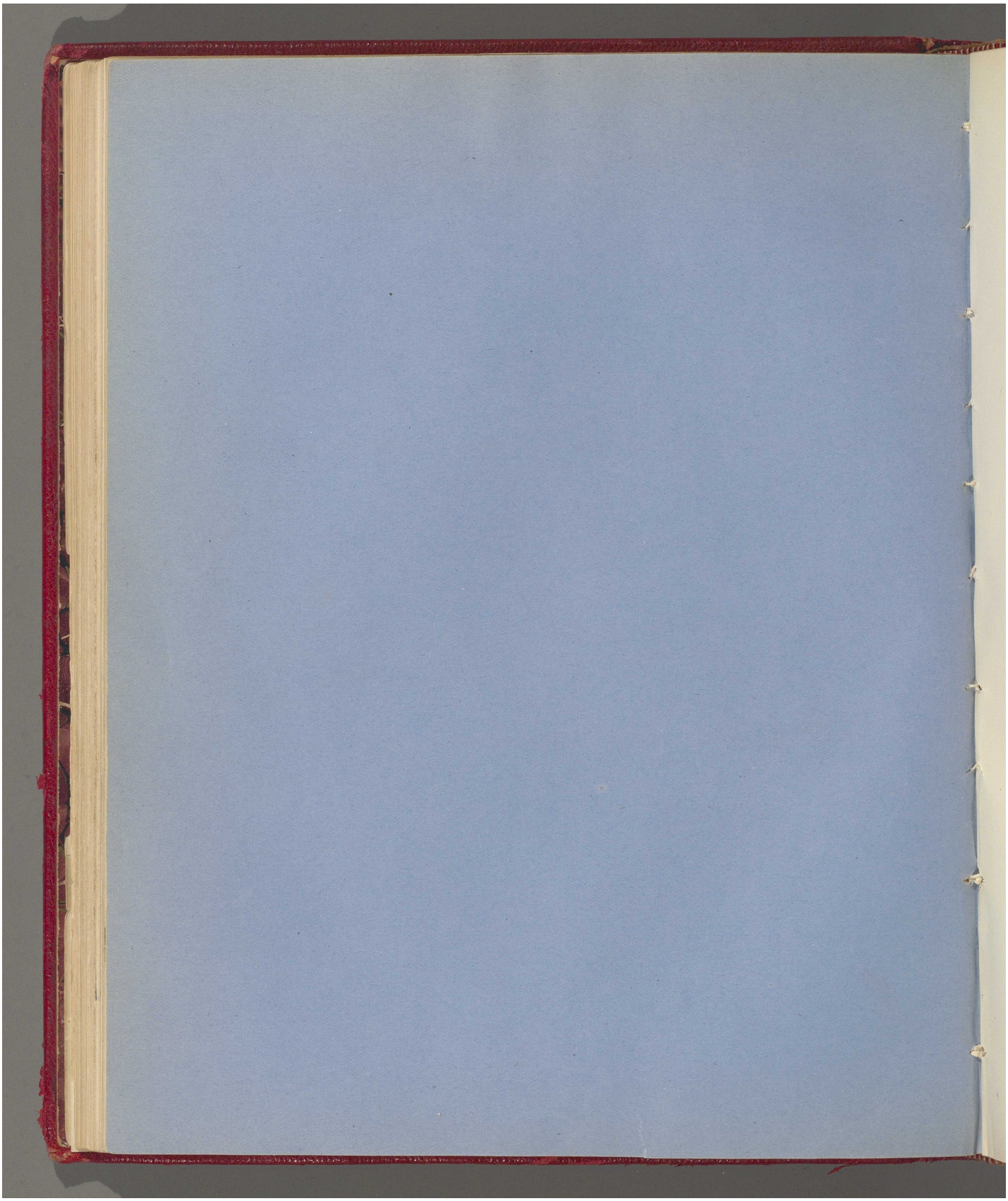
Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

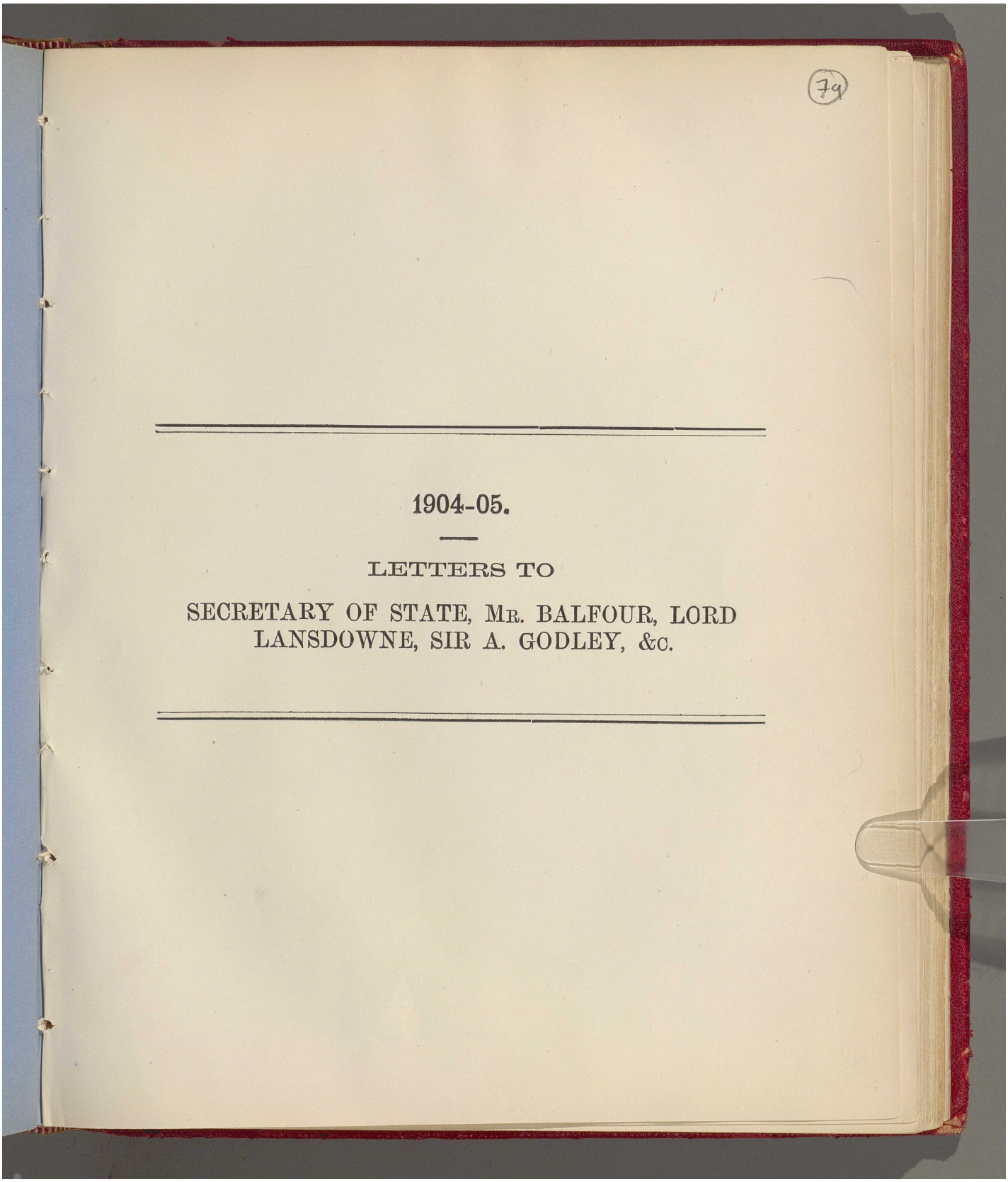
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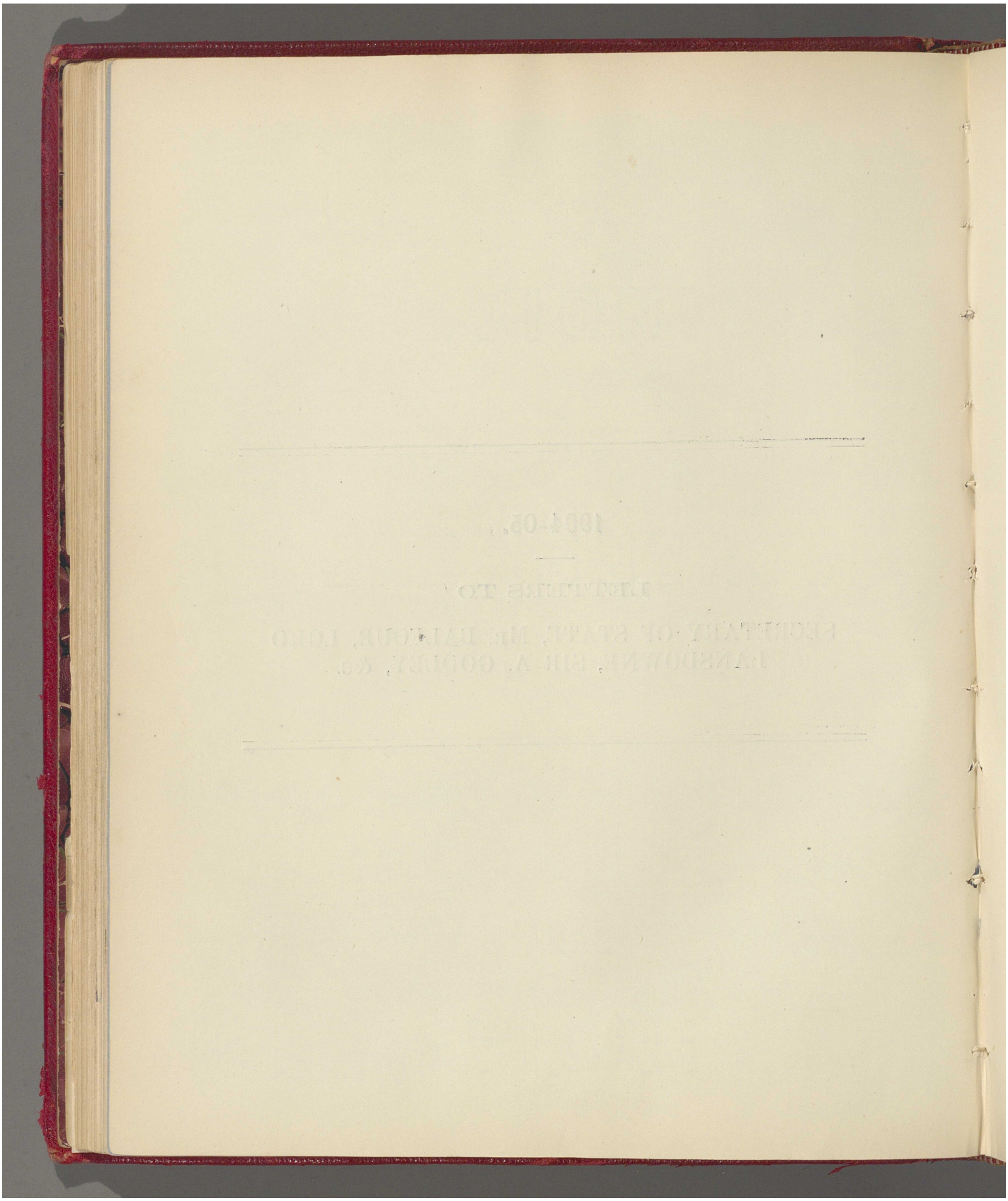
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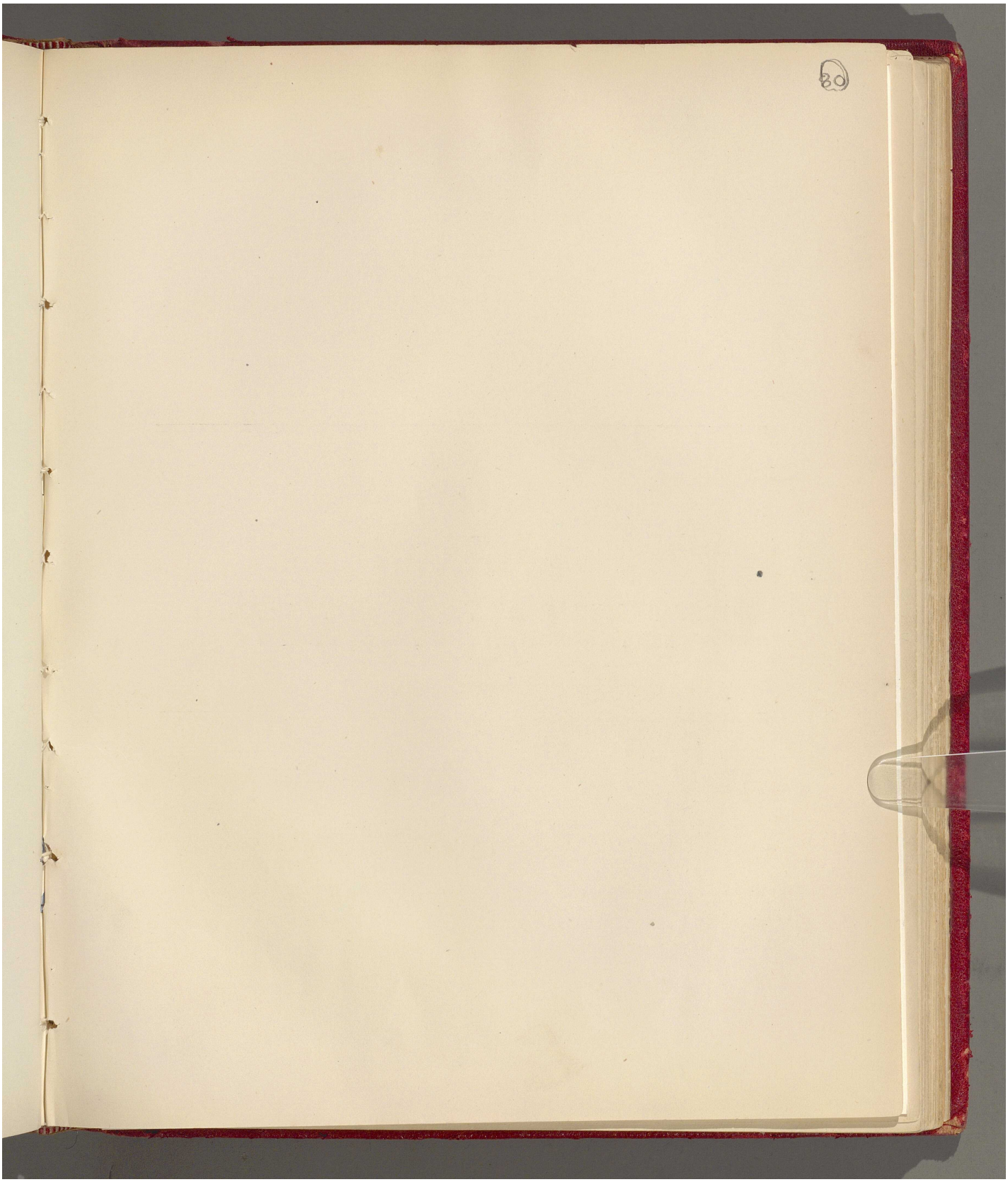
LETTERS TO

SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. BALFOUR, LORD LANSDOWNE, SIR A. GODLEY, &C.

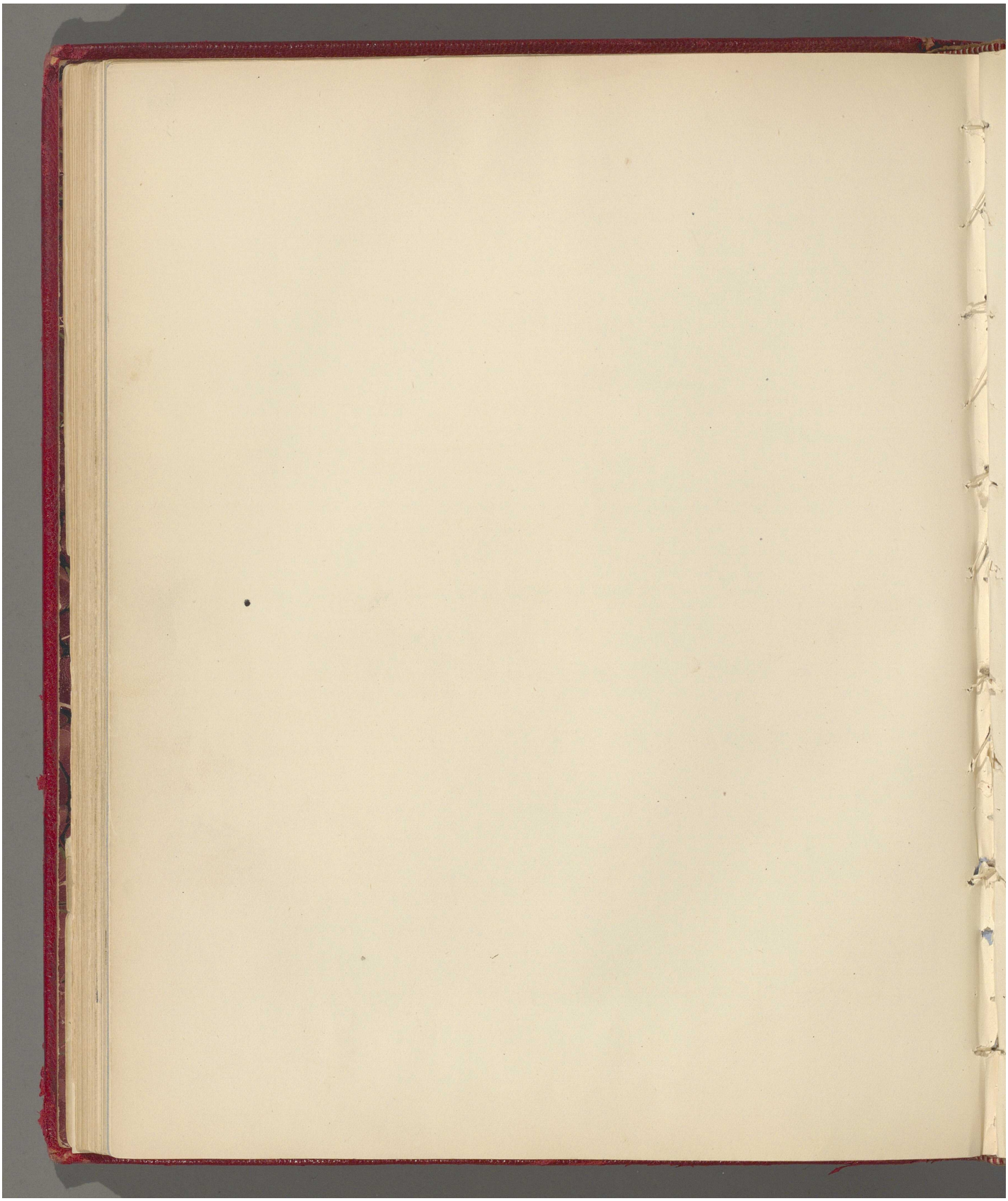
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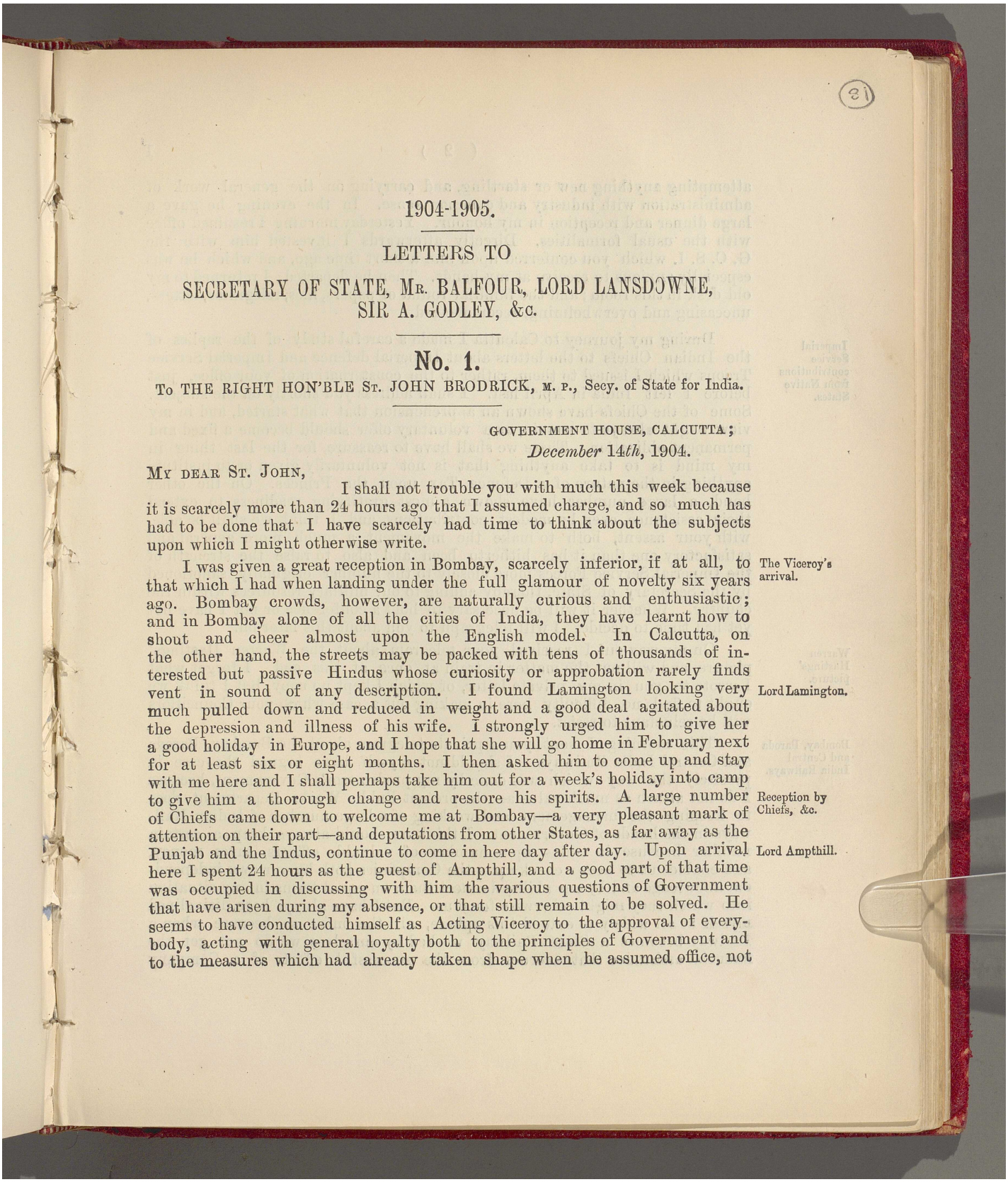


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1904-1905.

LETTERS TO

SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. BALFOUR, LORD LANSDOWNE, SIR A. GODLEY, &c.

No. 1.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
December 14*th*, 1904.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

I shall not trouble you with much this week because it is scarcely more than 24 hours ago that I assumed charge, and so much has had to be done that I have scarcely had time to think about the subjects upon which I might otherwise write.

The Viceroy's arrival.

I was given a great reception in Bombay, scarcely inferior, if at all, to that which I had when landing under the full glamour of novelty six years ago. Bombay crowds, however, are naturally curious and enthusiastic; and in Bombay alone of all the cities of India, they have learnt how to shout and cheer almost upon the English model. In Calcutta, on the other hand, the streets may be packed with tens of thousands of interested but passive Hindus whose curiosity or approbation rarely finds vent in sound of any description. I found Lamington looking very much pulled down and reduced in weight and a good deal agitated about the depression and illness of his wife. I strongly urged him to give her a good holiday in Europe, and I hope that she will go home in February next for at least six or eight months. I then asked him to come up and stay with me here and I shall perhaps take him out for a week's holiday into camp to give him a thorough change and restore his spirits. A large number of Chiefs came down to welcome me at Bombay—a very pleasant mark of attention on their part—and deputations from other States, as far away as the Punjab and the Indus, continue to come in here day after day. Upon arrival here I spent 24 hours as the guest of Ampthill, and a good part of that time was occupied in discussing with him the various questions of Government that have arisen during my absence, or that still remain to be solved. He seems to have conducted himself as Acting Viceroy to the approval of everybody, acting with general loyalty both to the principles of Government and to the measures which had already taken shape when he assumed office, not

Lord Lamington.

Reception by Chiefs, &c.

Lord Ampthill.

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attempting anything new or startling, and carrying on the general work of administration with industry and common sense. In the evening he gave a large dinner and reception in my honour. Yesterday morning I resumed office with the usual formalities. Directly afterwards I invested him with the G. C. S. I. which you conferred upon him a short time ago, and which he was especially anxious to receive at my hands. Then he departed; I returned to my old desk in this room; and the familiar round of papers, files, telegrams, letters, unceasing and overwhelming, recommenced.

Imperial Service contributions from Native States.

During my journey to Calcutta I made a careful study of the replies of the Indian Chiefs to the letters about Imperial defence and Imperial Service Troops which I issued to them, rather to the consternation of your office, just before I left India in April last. I shall address you shortly on the subject. Some of the Chiefs have shown an apprehension that what started, and in my view ought always to remain, as a voluntary offer should become a fixed and permanent obligation. These we shall have to reassure, for the last thing in my mind is to take anything that is not voluntarily given or to institute anything in the nature of a Defence Tax upon the Princes. On the other hand, a large number have shown a most gratifying readiness to extend their assistance, even by modest contributions, and I think we shall be able, with your assent, both to make the movement a much more general and satisfactory one than it has hitherto been and also to raise the strength of the Imperial Service Forces more closely to the number originally sanctioned by the Secretary of State, thereby adding to our military resources within the country. Whether it will be necessary to hold a conference or not I have not yet had time to decide. I will telegraph to you about this later on.

Warren Hastings' picture.

On my way out I received your telegram about the Warren Hastings' picture, and will put the matter in train at once at this end. I forget what I wrote to you in my private letter, of which I kept no copy, but I think we ought to find no difficulty here in making out a case which your Councillors will be reluctant to resist.

Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways.

This morning I sent you a private telegram about the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways. I should not myself have argued the case in precisely the way which was done by my predecessor's Government, because I do not attach as much value as the present Public Works Department does to keeping the management and working of a large number of Indian Railways in the hands of Government. I think we should always keep a certain number because it trains up a number of valuable officers, saves money, and enables us to keep a check upon the Companies both by our own independent knowledge and by our ability to meet them on equal terms in any situation into which they might otherwise force us. But I have always been disinclined myself at all widely to extend this sphere, all the more so because when a Railway becomes a State Railway worked by ourselves we do not get the financial assistance that accrues from the successful efforts of a Company

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to raise money under the sanction of the Secretary of State. On the other hand there appeared to me to be point in the argument about keeping the future connection between Bombay and Karachi entirely in the hands of Government; and also in the fact that the new Railway Board would be in a stronger position to start with if it had a good deal to do on its own responsibility as well as in controlling and managing others. For my own part, however, I shall be quite content to accept your decision whichever way it goes.

The Calcutta High Court.

Last night, too, I read your reply about the holidays of High Court Judges and measures to relieve the congestion in the High Court at Calcutta. I see that you are animated very strongly by the desire to do nothing that may be thought to reduce the attractions of a judicial career in India, and no doubt there is much force in that point of view. On the other hand, those who have had an experience similar to my own cannot fail to see that the standard of work in the Judicial Department cannot compare with that which obtains among executive officers in general, and the Judges of the High Court treat themselves and their obligations with a leniency unparalleled in any other branch of the public service in India. However, as you have decided the matter in the opposite sense nothing more remains to be said, and we will see what we can do to remedy the existing abuses in other ways.

Honour for Colonel Younghusband.

My private telegram about Younghusband was the result of an apprehension expressed to me in conversation by Ampthill that the serious view taken by His Majesty's Government about his alleged infraction of orders at Lhasa—a view which, as you know, I neither share nor think justified by the facts of the case—might lead His Majesty's Government to discriminate between him and Macdonald and to deprive him of the honour which, in my view, he deserves far more than the Military commander. I think the most painful impression would be produced throughout India if Macdonald received an honour which Younghusband was refused, and inasmuch as I hold such measure of success as we obtained to have been due to Younghusband and to Younghusband alone, such a discrimination would also, in my judgment, be unjust and unfair.

Financial outlook.

And now let me give you good news about our finances. A despatch going out to you today will inform you that our realised surplus of the present year will be between four and five crores. That is good in itself, but our anticipated surplus of next year will, in my judgment and from the facts so far put before me, be in all probability very much more. We shall be able to make the maximum provision for Kitchener's Reorganisation Scheme, for Irrigation, for Education, for Police Reform, for the higher administrative standards which we have been enforcing all round, and yet I believe that, giving all that we reasonably can in all these respects, we shall have so large a surplus that we must seriously contemplate a further reduction of taxation. It is not fair, while indulging in administrative outlay on a large and liberal scale, to go on permanently taking from the people so much more than we actually

Contemplated reduction of taxation.

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want. My own inclinations lead me *a priori* to consider a further reduction of the Salt Tax, though there are other matters such as Customs duties and local cesses into which I shall look carefully before arriving at a final judgment. I must also consult Law upon the matter, though whether he will be here to carry through the Budget or not depends, I suppose, upon the result of your endeavours to find a successor at home. In any case I anticipate putting before you shortly figures that will render my next Budget speech and yours the most flourishing that has been placed before the public within the memory of the living generation, and that should go a long way to increase the feeling of confidence in the stability of Indian prosperity and finance which has been growing so rapidly in recent years.

Suggested Honour for Mr. Knox.

I have this morning received your telegram about old Knox and his Knighthood. I can put him forward next time. Last night I asked Miller, who is a United Provinces man, what was his opinion and local opinion generally about Knox and Burkitt. He said that Mr. Knox was by far the more deserving of the two men, because he had done other than merely judicial work, but that Burkitt's Knighthood had been received with general surprise, since he had nothing but antiquity to recommend him, and was neither an able nor a distinguished Judge. This opinion, which was impartial (for it rated Knox higher than I should have done), was in strict accordance with what I told you about Burkitt this summer.

Powers of the Maharaja of Kashmir.

There is one respect in which I have been a little disturbed by the action of my *locum tenens*. When you wrote to me about Ampthill's going to Kashmir and I assented, I remember adding that of course this would be on condition that he did not interfere or commit me at all in the matter of the restitution of powers to the Maharaja—which has been under discussion for some time, but had been suspended owing to the attitude of the Maharaja and the strong adverse opinions of the Resident. I also asked that this condition should be communicated to Ampthill, and in your reply to me of October 18th from Gosford, you undertook to do so. Now that I am back, I find that Ampthill had two long conversations with the Maharaja on the subject, in one of which he said that "if the Maharaja was prepared to agree to the condition which Lord Curzon made at his interview with His Highness at Peshawar in April 1902, he (Ampthill) *felt confident* that Lord Curzon would be willing to carry out the offer which he then made." I thereupon asked the Private Secretary if you ever communicated my wish, by letter or telegram, to Ampthill; and he informs me that you did not do so. I am afraid therefore that I have been committed in precisely the manner which I desired to avoid. Please do not mention the matter to Ampthill, for as he received no warning from you, he acted in perfect good faith, and he tells me that the Resident (Colvin) has now swung round. I shall probably therefore have to come up before you with proposals on the subject; for the Maharaja, from a letter of his that I have just read, is also clearly of the opinion that the concession is promised and

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is about to be bestowed. But I should have preferred a perfectly free hand, since the situation has been complicated by the birth of a son and heir to the Maharaja during the past few weeks, thereby cutting out his brother Sir Amar Singh who, with his son after him, has hitherto been the heir, and who was to be Prime Minister to the Maharaja under the arrangement proposed in 1902. Now that both are cut out of the succession, he cannot be expected to work quite as loyally with the Maharaja as he might otherwise have done, but we must make the best arrangement that we can.

I will not trouble you with more today, but will conclude by wishing you a merry Christmas and a successful survival of the perils of the forthcoming Session.

Believe me,
yours ever,
(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 2.

To THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, K. G., Secy. of State for Foreign Affairs.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
December 20th, 1904.

MY DEAR LANSDOWNE,

I venture to plead for your consideration of the Macartney question at Kashgar. His Majesty's Government decided, after full forethought and consultation both with Sir E. Satow and ourselves, to appoint and even to gazette Macartney Consul. The Chinese were of course put up by the Russians to object, and now for eleven months the matter has remained in suspense—Satow waiting for a favourable time at which to bring pressure to bear on Prince Ching, Macartney occupying a very invidious and rather humiliating position at Kashgar, and the Government of India not knowing even how to address him in their official letters. Mr. Macartney's position at Kashgar.

Is not this a case which, having taken up, we are bound to see through? Our prestige in Kashgar is already not very high, after our defeat in the Raskam affair. I hardly think that it would survive another rebuff. I earnestly hope that, as soon as you see a favourable moment, you will make the Chinese see that we are in earnest. It would almost have been better not to have acted, than to act and then acquiesce in defeat.

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I am well aware that all these considerations are better known to you than to anyone else, but things sometimes get pushed on one side. Hence my plea to get poor Macartney out of his corner.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 3.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
December 22nd, 1904.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Appointment of Mr. Baker and Mr. Hewett as Members of Council.

I have just made the two offers to Hewett and Baker which you authorised me to do and I do not know whether they were more flattered or surprised at the sudden realization of what is generally one of the main objects of a Civilian's career in India. Baker certainly had not expected to attain the rank of a Member of Council for some years to come; nor of course, had you been able to secure a Financier of repute at home, would he have done so. I have not any doubt, however, that he will justify the confidence that you have been willing to repose in him, and will make one of the most successful and capable Finance Members of modern times. There is another point in his favour which you may have overlooked. Law is, I believe, the only Finance Minister from the outside who has stayed anything approaching his full term during the last half-century. Lord Cromer comes next, and he was here for less than three years. On the other hand, you will get from Baker five full years of service, a fact to which from the administrative point of view I attach no small importance.

Hewett's appointment may be subjected to the charge from the critics or enemies of Government out here that we have created the post as a job for some member of the Service. But I think it is generally known, or at least suspected, that attempts have been made to get an outside expert, and, if these failed and a Civilian had to be appointed, I expect that the reception which his nomination will meet with in the newspapers will justify my assurance to you that he was the very best man who could have been secured.

I telegraphed to you that he was willing to forego his leave in order to start the new Department, and should he in the time of my successor attain what is no doubt the summit of his ambition, *viz.*, to succeed LaTouche two years hence in his own province, he will no doubt be permitted before

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passing on there to take the leave which he has shown considerable unselfishness in foregoing now. The fact is it is most important that he should be here at this moment, for as soon as Upcott comes out the new Railway Board will, I assume, start into being; the general redistribution of offices and officers consequent upon it will take place; and it would have been extremely unfortunate if the new Member for Commerce and Industry had been absent at such a moment.

The reception which I anticipate for these two appointments has already been secured, as I think I prophesied to you that it would, in the case of Upcott and Wynne. It has been recognised without a dissentient voice that the former is the best man to start the new machinery without too violent a rupture from the old, and that Wynne is the most capable railway man not in the direct service of Government at present in India. If only you can get as good a third man at home and send him out with Upcott, and if the pair can be here, as I earnestly hope, early in February, we shall be able to get the new Board into working existence before the end of the Calcutta season.

Tibet.

I will not say anything about Tibet for the reason for which you also cut your remarks on that subject as fine as possible. You will not be surprised to learn that I am not in agreement with either of the despatches which came out from you by the last mail, and that I also hold Younghusband to have been deserving of a higher honour. At the same time one object, at any rate, of my constant appeals has been attained, namely, that there has been no public discrimination between Younghusband and Macdonald; and, after all the main thing in the Knighthood of an Order is that a man becomes 'Sir' and his wife 'Lady,' irrespective of the particular Order which conveys the distinction.

My own view of the Tibetan Expedition is that the Dalai Lama will be back again at Lhasa in the spring, and that then only shall we be able to see how far the operations culminating in the hasty retreat of the past year have been successful. I shall be only too pleased if they survive the test of time; but I confess that my own inner belief is that the Tibetan book is not closed, and that clearer writing will have to be made upon its pages in the future.

Kabul Mission: Mr. Dane.

I am not quite sure from the telegrams that we have reported to you that Dane did not open at Kabul in a somewhat over-dashing and buoyant strain. That is the temperament of the man, just as it is the temperament of others to err on the side of timidity and caution. He is so thoroughly acquainted, however, with the views of His Majesty's Government, which I have further explained to him minutely in private letters, that I do not think when the *pourparlers* are over and the two parties actually get to business that he will be found to diverge much, if at all, from the track which has been marked out in front of him, while, should he do so, the telegraph will at any moment enable us to set matters right.

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Major Bird's impressions of the Amir.

I was having a long talk with Bird last night about his impressions of Kabul and the Amir, and his view is that the latter, naturally amiable and friendly and extraordinarily amenable to flattery, which Bird seems to have administered with a most judicious hand, is watched like a hawk by his brother and the principal Sirdars, for fear lest he should abate in any degree the pretensions which they are accustomed to put forward on behalf of their country, and that where the element of distrust, contumacy, or rudeness comes in, it is more often the result of their machinations than of any design or premeditation on his part.

Non-statutory Bishops.

I will look into the question of the non-statutory Bishops to which you referred, but have not yet had time to take it in hand.

Police Commission Report.

I agree with the despatch about the Police Commission Report which was sent home to you in my absence, and it would be a great relief to all of us here if we could remove the cloud of suspicion with which our proceedings have been involved by the decision of your advisers, by a publication of the Report and of the main lines upon which we are authorised to proceed before the Government leaves Calcutta.

Suggested permission for the Viceroy to return to England during his period of office.

You will have noted that, in the proposals I sent home to you and to the Prime Minister for possible reforms in the Government of India, I laid great stress upon permission being given to the Viceroy to return to England in urgent cases during his period of office. One of the arguments that has most frequently been used against that change is that it would be extremely unpopular with the Indians themselves, and would create a feeling of unrest and disturbance out here. I have always thought this belief to be absolutely fallacious, and I find an indirect confirmation of my views in an article, that I saw yesterday in the *Indian Spectator*, which is, as you probably know, the only thoughtful Native journal in India. The change must come sooner or later, and the sooner the better. My own experience during the past year, from whichever point of view you regard it, is surely in itself no mean argument in its favour.

Proposed reorganization of the Political Department.

We are just sending home to you most important proposals for the reorganization of the Political Department, arising out of the changes that became inevitable when the new Frontier Province was created. These proposals have caused an infinitude of trouble, discussion, correspondence, and compromise of conflicting views, for a period of more than four years. I can scarcely tell you how many hours of worry and study they have caused to myself personally. I do not say that the scheme proposed is a perfect one. It is open to criticism, as any scheme for regrading might and must be. In theory the dual grading which we recommend may be thought by some neither an ideal nor the best arrangement. All I can say is, that this is the only scheme to which, after examining and threshing out four or five entirely

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independent methods of dealing with the difficulty, we have been able to get everybody to agree, and I hope therefore that in its broad outlines it may commend itself to your advisers at the India Office.

I have written a line to Lansdowne urging him to bear in mind the suspended Consulship of Macartney at Kashgar, and I am afraid that our weak policy in those parts has exposed our interests there to a good deal of detriment. The latest news is that the Mir of Hunza is actually making friends with his fratricidal brother, Safdar Ali Khan, whom we expelled from Hunza twelve years or more ago, because he sees that our efforts have been unavailing to secure him what he regards as his rights in Raskam, and thinks it may be to his interest to stand well with the Russians when they occupy Kashgar and seize the Taghdumbash in the future. It is scarcely possible that any other result can accrue when we energetically take up a case, and then allow ourselves to be absolutely defeated in the face of every variety of promise by the sinister influence of Petrovski at Kashgar, vigorously backed of course by his own Government at home. This was our fate with regard to the Raskam lands: it looks as though it might be our fate with regard to the Consulate at Kashgar. We shall shortly address you again about the former, in connection with which, whether we do or do not abandon the claims of the Mir, I think we must, at any rate, sever the conection between himself and the Chinese. As regards the latter, I hope that Lansdowne may find a convenient opportunity at an early date of being a little stiff with the Wai-wu-pu.

Mr. Macartney's position at Kashgar.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Extract from the *Indian Spectator* of the 17th December headed "A Viceregal Giant."

No. 4.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
December 22nd, 1904.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I must acknowledge your friendly but somewhat pessimistic letter.

Like you I was deeply disturbed and distressed at the sudden death of Hardwicke though I did not share the very high estimate of his powers which

Death of Earl of Hardwicke.

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you, from much superior knowledge, had no doubt correctly formed. I did not regard his abilities as more than rather above the ordinary; and I thought that his powers of speech had declined. But your confident judgment has always led me to think that I must have been wrong; and in any case I mourn the loss of a most charming, modest, and high-minded man. Reuter has not yet informed us of his successor. I suppose if Lytton had not been thought disloyal for adhering to the older convictions of his party, he would have had a good chance.

The C.-in-C. and the Military Member.

The quarrel between our two military big wigs is simmering here, and has taken many amusing forms since I left. One phase is that the Commander-in-Chief sends for the Secretary to the Military Department (a very good little man named DeBrath), informs him that the views of his Department and his Chief are all "tommy rot", and that such and such a thing *must* be done! The faithful Secretary then has to go off and repeat this message to his Hon'ble Member. Another ingenious development is that the Commander-in-Chief will not allow promising young officers to enter the Military Secretariat. Two such were recently offered posts which they were both anxious to accept. But each explained that it had been intimated to him that acceptance would be regarded as a bar to future promotion elsewhere.

One was prepared to brave this peril, whereupon a place carrying higher pay was found or constructed for him in the rival military establishment, and he was thus spirited away. This is in pursuance of the policy inaugurated before I left India under which Barrow and Mullaly had already been seduced from their former allegiance.

No doubt when the real encounter begins we shall have some diverting scenes; though Kitchener has been to explain to me that he hopes all personal considerations (by which he has never been animated) will be excluded from the tourney.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 5.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;

December 29th, 1904.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Tibetan Blue Book.

The Tibetan Blue Book, which you mentioned in your last letter of the 8th December, did not come by the same mail. Probably

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I shall receive it by the next. I am not quite sure if you want my opinion upon it. Presumably not, as I imagine the entire correspondence to be confined to the period within which I was out of India. I hardly think that the Despatch of Ampthill's Government defending Younghusband ought to be described as a shot at you. The Government of India formed the same opinion of the case as I did independently at a distance, and in these circumstances it seems to me that they were bound to make the best defence that they could for their own man, if they regarded him as having received an unmerited censure.

Attitude of the India Office towards financial proposals.

Talking of shots, how you do rake us with broadsides from the India Office whenever we venture upon some financial proposal. I have almost come to the conclusion that it is no use to put forward any new financial idea or scheme to the India Office, so great are the chances of its being refused. I remember in quite recent times, just before I left India, our proposals about the investment of Savings Banks deposits, about Exchange compensation allowance, and the Famine Insurance Fund. Then by the last mail came two more despatches in which your Financial advisers danced with evident glee upon certain proposals that had come from the Government of India involving some change in the existing financial system. One was a proposal that the Local Governments should be allowed to guarantee interest to Companies for the construction of local lines of railway.

Presidency Banks.

The other was our plan for removing restrictions that had been placed on the Presidency Banks. Here the Finance Department, and Law in particular, are very much dejected at your attitude, for we have now been negotiating with the Presidency Banks for close upon four years, and had at last, after much difficulty and correspondence, secured the acceptance by them of the principle to which we attached so much importance, namely, the obligation to maintain a cash reserve in fixed proportion to their liabilities. You have now brought the Exchange Banks on to the scene, and their well-known hostility to the Presidency Banks, of whom they have always shown great jealousy, will mean that both parties will now bombard each other, while the Government of India in the middle will receive the fire of both. The Exchange Banks have not, like the Presidency Banks, a large or abiding financial interest in India, and their interests are often sharply divided from those of trade. We had anticipated perhaps considerable modifications in our plans, but we regret the delay that has now occurred because we think that every legitimately interested party would have been able to have his say when the Bill was published, whether they were Chambers of Commerce, Exchange Banks, or anybody else.

Sardar Inayatullah Khan in Calcutta.

This morning I paid my return visit to the young Afghan heir-apparent, Sardar Inayatullah Khan. At both interviews, which were of about twenty minutes' duration each, he conducted himself with perfect dignity and politeness, and with a composure which it would be almost impossible to find in an

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English youth of the corresponding age of 16. He is a bright and amiable-looking boy, with a pleasant smile and an easy manner, and I should judge him to be possessed of an open and unsuspicious disposition. In this respect he is very unlike the majority of the Afghans, most of whom have rather a hang-dog look and adopt a manner that is often reserved and sometimes repellent. I think that the young boy is immensely pleased with the attentions that have so far been paid to him and with the success of his visit up to this date. "Hastings House," the old country residence of Warren Hastings outside Calcutta, which I bought for purposes of State visits four years ago, is an ideal place for the purpose, and the Sardar and his motley retinue are probably better accommodated in the house and grounds than they ever have been in their lives. Beyond the exchange of the necessary formalities between us I did not attempt to talk politics to him in any way, but devoted myself to the attempt to win his confidence and to give him interest and pleasure in all that he sees. What the Afghans like to learn about is the personal side of European existence. For instance, Bird told me that when he was at Kabul the Amir was always asking him about the size of the house I lived in, the appearance of the rooms, the number of servants, the uniform or dresses I wore, and so on. Similarly here nothing has seemed to please the young Sardar more than my invitation to him to come here and see my work-room, and go over all the big State rooms in this house. I am also sending his party and himself up to Barrackpore for a day, looking in at a jute-mill on the way. The ceremonial side of Government is so magnificently done here that the opportunity should never be lost of impressing an oriental visitor; while a man's own scale of doing things never seems so small as when he unconsciously contrasts it with the vastly superior scale of somebody else. We are also showing the young Sardar our military factories and workshops, the Mint, and so on, and shall send him down the river one day to have a look at the sea. On their way down to Calcutta one of his attendants dropped his rifle by accident out of the window of the train: the door being locked, he immediately jumped out after it, imagining, I suppose, that this could be done as easily as from an ordinary carriage in motion, and was surprised when he landed with some severity on his head.

Negotiations at Kabul.

As my telegrams to you will have shown, I was a little disturbed at the way in which Dane opened the ball at Kabul. He seems, however, now to be settling down to business and to be bringing forward his points in a better and more logical sequence. The method adopted, namely, long written memoranda from the Amir and oral discussion on our part, does not seem to be very well adapted to the rapid discharge of business, but I do not like to criticize at a distance, and, after all, the main thing is that, whatever comes of the negotiations, neither party should feel or complain that he has not had his full say. I am rather surprised at the readiness shown by

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the Amir to accept our proposals for a personal treaty, but it shows, I think, that I was right in laying stress upon this point at home, and that his own insistence upon the opposite view for the last three years has been mainly, if not exclusively, for the purposes of debate.

Sir H. Barnes.

Barnes arrives here this evening to stay with me for a week. I wish he were up at Kabul instead, for he has an admirable manner with Natives, suave, courteous, dignified, and yet full of authority. A week after he had refused the chance on the score of ill-health in September last he was miserable at having done so and wrote to me to ask if I could not possibly take him back. Meanwhile, however, Dane had got the billet.

Sir H. Cotton and the National Congress.

Sir Henry Cotton has been delivering a visionary speech as the President of the Congress at Bombay. It is very amusing to note that the authorities who run that institution, and whose popular cry has been for some time past that I ought to be recalled at once and am the most dangerous enemy that India has ever had, have suddenly swung round to the view that the Congress does not gain much by mere rampant hostility and that the only way to rehabilitate its own very battered influence is by conciliating, instead of exasperating, the Government. Accordingly, no one proposed my removal either from India or from this sublunary sphere; the Official Secrets Bill, which a year ago was supposed to be the death-blow to all constitutional liberty, was not even mentioned; and Cotton (my arch-denunciator on Tibet) is coming here with folded hands to ask me to be so good as to receive the resolutions which the Congress has passed. The apocalypse that he placed before the imagination of his audience as the political aspiration of the future was that of a federated India, in which apparently each part of the country is to be ruled by its own people, the Punjab by the Punjabis; Bengal by Bengalis; the Deccan by Mahrattas, and so on: and in which the English, as I understand, are to have no share in the Civil Government at all, but only to provide the soldiers with which to maintain internal order or to keep off foreign aggression. Is it not astonishing to find a presumably sane man deluding an audience with such claptrap?

Prince of Wales' tour.

I am not able to send to the Prince of Wales this week the alternative tours for which he asked. It is an immense undertaking working out a programme for some five months extending over the whole of India, and as I am the only person here who has visited the whole country, the task falls perforce on my own shoulders. I have not a doubt that we can improve immensely in every way upon the tour of the present King thirty years ago. On that occasion the plans broke down frequently from lack of proper forethought and arrangements; the divisions of time, labour, and distance

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were most imperfectly thought out, and useless days and hours were spent in some places while other important centres were neglected altogether. Since those days there has been a remarkable shifting of the balance of political interests, and places or States which it was not important to visit then have assumed a prominence which renders it impossible to pass them over now.

Lord Kitchener and the Military Department.

I am not aware that Kitchener is fretting in the manner which you describe in your telegram of this morning. He came up to spend Christmas with me at Barrackpore, and in a long talk of two or three hours on military matters he did not once allude to the subject. He has the case with him, and the speed with which it passes through here will largely depend upon the manner in which he opens it. He told me, when we talked it over ten days ago, that he was by no means confident of having formulated any individual scheme to replace the Military Department, and that he even thought of suggesting more than one alternative in his Note. You cannot hustle the Government of India more than a certain degree in dealing with a great question of this character: neither, if I may venture to say so, would any undue haste be beneficial to the side to which I understand you to incline.

Proposal that Sir D. Ibbetson should act as Lieut.-Govr. of the Punjab.

I think there must have been some misunderstanding connected with your other telegram about Ibbetson, for, so far as I can see, the points of his being over-worked and of the Council requiring to be strengthened are satisfied rather than ignored by the proposals which I have put forward. Let me ask you to consider the injustice that might in an extreme contingency result if Ibbetson were now passed over and a junior Punjab Civilian appointed to act for Rivaz in his place. Supposing Rivaz to have been at home for four or five months and then to die or resign, it would be a little difficult to oust a *locum tenens* if he had done well, and yet how unfair to Ibbetson to deprive him by such an accident of the legitimate aspiration of his entire career. I further think that the important questions concerning the future administration of Simla, which will have to be settled between you and ourselves in the forthcoming summer, will be greatly facilitated by having at "Barnes Court" an official who so thoroughly understands the point of view of the Government of India, but who, at the same time, is not in the least likely to be untrue to the interests of his own Province.

Believe me, yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 6.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
January 5th, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

There are several matters upon which I have to address you this week, and the first that I will take are those which have been raised in recent letters from you.

Military armaments.

I think that we have done our best to meet your wishes about the supply of military armaments. We have already ordered a hundred maxims, which is, I suppose, about as much as we are likely to get for some time to come, one thousand rounds of gun ammunition for all the new batteries now in course of being supplied, and fifteen million rounds of small arm ammunition, in addition to the raw material required for increasing our reserves of that class of ammunition in this country. We have thus spent the whole of the 42 lakhs available. We are not keen to order an extravagant amount of small arm ammunition in England because, as you know, we can make it ourselves, and it is much more expensive to procure it from home.

Number of Army Corps Commanders in India.

You asked in your letter of December 16th what was my view about the necessity for three Army Corps Commanders in India in time of peace. I do not think we can altogether dissociate times of peace from times of war: the former are a preparation for the latter and sometimes insensibly glide into them. With an Army of the size of that which we possess in India we cannot on the declaration of war move forward on two lines of defence alone. We must have three lines of defence and therefore three Commanders in the field; and, this being so, it seems desirable that they should be ready in their places instead of having to be created at the last moment for a job which they do not understand. There is a further point which you will readily appreciate—that it would be very unfortunate to give the higher Commanders in the Indian Army nothing to look forward to. With an Army of our numerical strength, three superior Commands are little enough as it is; and I imagine that there would be a good deal of annoyance and resentment were the number further reduced.

Lord Kitchener and Army Reorganisation.

Two days ago I took Kitchener out for a drive and asked him how he was getting on with his constructive proposals. He did not exhibit the faintest symptoms either of being in a hurry or of being annoyed at delay.

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He said that he had just completed a new scheme, entirely different from any which had preceded it (it will be the third that he has submitted in less than two years), and of merit so overpowering that he believed the whole of his critics and opponents, including the Military Department, would lay down their arms at once and not attempt to argue the case. I said I thought this was somewhat sanguine, but would wait to see this miracle-working production. I do not know if you are aware in the Government at home that the papers which emanate from Kitchener are not composed by himself, for he is not much of a writer, but by Mullaly, the man whom he sent home as his mouthpiece during the past summer. The Reorganisation Scheme was drawn up by Mullaly as well. Kitchener no doubt corrects and polishes up the drafts, but he has a great gift for collecting round him the few smart writers that there are in the army and then making them do his work. He does not seem to me at present to be vexed or mortified as to his own position. On the contrary, he talks in rather triumphant tones about all that he has accomplished and the success with which he has wheeled his various victims into line. The fact is, of course, that in the army and with the prodigious sense of discipline that there prevails, no officer of lower rank can stand up against the Indian Commander-in-Chief. Take the case of the mixed Brigades. I believe at the start that most of the General Officers who were consulted were not in favour of Kitchener's proposals. One or two, including Gaselee, most certainly were not. Kitchener told me, however, the other day that he had now drilled them all into shape, and the appearance of Gaselee in Calcutta as his guest, wearing a very docile and sheep-like manner, indicates the final stage of the process by which this victory has been achieved. The five principal Commanders have now been consulted officially—their previous letters, which I think you saw, having been private—and we shall shortly have on record their official views, for what they may be worth.

Mixed Brigades.

We take in Council tomorrow the case of the Warren Hastings' picture and we shall address you by Despatch next week. My Colleagues concurred with me in thinking that we can present to you an irrefutable case and their notes show complete unanimity on the subject. From our Despatch you will learn that the grounds upon which Lord Dufferin recommended his Council to agree to the proposal seventeen years ago do not admit of being sustained, and I think it fair that you should also know that although out of deference to the Viceroy a unanimous Despatch was issued, the proposal was in reality dissented from both by Sir Auckland Colvin, who was Finance Member, and by Sir Theodore Hope. I may further mention that Lionel Cust, of the National Portrait Gallery, will raise no objection, even if he could, to the portrait being taken away. Hearing that I had been to the Gallery one day this autumn, he volunteered to me the remark that I must have been there to recover the picture, which he was only astonished that the Government of India

Warren Hastings' picture.

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had ever consented to part with. He added that as they already had two portraits and a bust of Warren Hastings, there was no reason why they should possess a third, particularly when it belonged to somebody else, and if the picture could be properly preserved at Calcutta, which is really the main point at issue, he could not see why it should not go back to the place for which it was painted and where it had already hung the best part of a hundred years. I really think our case is such that you will find it impossible to resist it, and I should certainly feel very great vexation if you did.

Prince of Wales' tour in India. [Enclosure.]

I am sending home to you a copy of my alternative skeleton tours for the Prince of Wales. I have written a full letter to him explaining the principles upon which I have throughout proceeded, and as I have sent him several duplicate copies of this letter in print, he can, if he likes, show it to you or to anybody else. Knowing the reluctance of the Prince of Wales to undertake a very laborious tour, and his desire to exclude business and ceremonial as much as possible, I have introduced the minimum rather than the maximum of what he would be expected to do. Every detail and distance have been worked out from the actual experience which I have myself enjoyed during the past six years, since I have had the good fortune to visit each of the suggested localities myself.

Question of cost.

Now as regards cost. You have not so far given me any idea of the views which His Majesty's Government are likely to entertain on the matter, nor have I yet been able to procure the papers from our Departments which will show me exactly what was done in this country thirty years ago. I believe, however, that what occurred was more or less as follows. Parliament voted a sum to the present King of £60,000 for what were called personal expenses, the greater part of which, I imagine, went in presents; then I believe that the Admiralty expenses for the *Serapis* and other ships amounted to something over £50,000; while I fancy that the Indian revenues were charged with a sum of some £30,000 for the expenses of the Prince's travel and entertainment during the period that he was in this country. It seems useless for me to offer remarks on any of these headings until I know whether on the present occasion you propose to place any charge upon Indian revenues at all.

Question of presents.

A very important question, however, which must be settled at an early date is that of presents and return presents. I hold most strongly to the opinion, which I expressed repeatedly to the King, to the Prince of Wales, to Knollys, and to Bigge, that present-giving by the Indian Chiefs must be absolutely forbidden, and forbidden in advance. The calls of recent years have made a very heavy drain upon their purses, and it is not fair that a Chief who, if he entertains the Prince, will have to spend at least £20,000 upon it, should spend another £20,000 upon giving a jewelled sword and scabbard; while even those Chiefs who do not actually entertain the Prince will be put to very considerable expense by having to come to the provincial capital or some other

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place and to provide themselves with a camp or with quarters of a character that will admit of their receiving and being received by the Prince. Whatever orders you may issue in advance in the attempt to limit the scale or character of the presents received, so long as they are permitted at all nothing will restrain the emulation of the Indian Princes or greatly modify the total value of the gifts that would, in these circumstances, ultimately be taken out of the country. If it is said that only small personal offerings are permissible, a Chief will give the Princess of Wales an emerald which is worth £10,000; if only products of the State itself are permitted, he will have an enamelled gold vessel made by his Court jewellers, and heavily incrusted with gems. You have merely to go to the room in Buckingham Palace in which the collection brought by the present King from India is displayed in glass-cases around the walls, to form some idea of the manner in which, if the Chiefs are left to themselves, or even if a certain option is left to them (as was the case in 1875), they will interpret the permission. In my view the Heir-Apparent ought not to come to this country to extract presents on a large scale from the Feudatories of the Crown. He ought to come here to visit as many of them as he can in their States, to make their acquaintance, to exchange civilities with them, and himself to give handsome presents to all those who have been put to great expenditure on his behalf. But he ought not to carry out of the country a costly collection of valuables to line the walls of a Royal museum at home. The only way in which to stop this is by letting it be known in advance that no presents from the Chiefs will be received, and by making the Princes' presents the acknowledgments of hospitality received rather than a return of inferior value for gifts of much greater richness already presented by them.

Lawrence, I know, agrees with me in holding the strongest views upon the subject, and I told both the King and the Prince of Wales that I should be most reluctant to assume responsibility for a tour that was conducted upon other lines. Of course, what I have written to you here is only for your own eye, and must not be seen by those who are interested: but I think that you are entitled to a full exposition of my views.

Survey of proposed Railway towards Dakka.

The results of the preliminary survey of the Railway which Kitchener desires to construct through the country to the north and east of the Khyber in the direction of Dakka are very disappointing. The line will both be longer and more expensive than the alternative alignment following the gorge of the Kabul River which we rejected because of its length and costliness some time ago; it is very doubtful whether a descent can in reality be effected through the Shilman-Ghakke Pass to the level of the Kabul River; and even if this be feasible it hardly seems as if the railway would be worth making unless we can get permission from the Amir to take it out on to the Dakka plain.

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In view of what is passing at Kabul this seems most unlikely. I regret to say that I am very much dissatisfied with what is passing there, and I must also add with the manner in which negotiations are apparently being conducted by our representative. I have hinted these doubts to you in my two last letters, but I preferred to reserve judgment until I had further details. The papers which are going home to you this week tend, I think, to show that Dane has so far justified the doubts which I so freely expressed to you of his capacity to undertake this job, and which I hear from Kitchener were shared by the whole of the rest of Council except Ampthill, and leave little doubt in my mind that, by opening as he did, he not only departed from the correct method of approach laid down for him in the *Aide-Mémoire*, but handed over a capital advantage to the Amir. Please just refer to Dane's account of his own questions. He begins by asking the Amir whether he admits the inferiority of the Afghans to the Russians. How could the Amir make any such admission? It is foreign to his entire pretensions. It was Dane's business clearly but courteously to state our opinions upon the matter, not to invite the Amir for his. Then Dane goes on to say (I am speaking from memory) 'if you admit this, will you expect to receive military assistance from us?' the one question which I understand he was instructed not to put to the Amir at all, and about which our contention is that the option in the last resort rests exclusively with ourselves. Even if these two admissions are made by the Amir, neither of which is he the least likely to make, Dane then proceeds with another contingent question as to the inspection of the Afghan passes and positions by British officers. At each stage the matter is put in such a light that the Amir, if he chooses to do so, can decline to give an answer at all, or can refuse to pledge himself until he knows what we are going to give him in return. Finally Dane actually enquires if the Amir is prepared to adopt a friendly attitude towards railways *within the British border*!! There has been a lull of news during the past few days, and it may be that our Envoy has recovered some of the ground which he had apparently lost, but here my Colleagues as well as myself are very despondent, and they all now realise what a mistake was made in sending off Dane in such a desperate hurry before he could receive definite and final intructions from me as to the manner in which he was to proceed. There was no such urgency about the case as was represented at the time. If the Amir's eldest son is going back to Kabul as he is next week, there is no reason why our Mission should have found it impossible to travel at the same season of the year. The delay of another fortnight would have brought a request from Barnes that his preliminary refusal might be cancelled, and that he might again be entrusted with the Mission, and even if the Government of India had gone too far with Dane to render this possible, at least I should have been able to drill Dane as to the line of action which he should take. When I look back upon my requests that some such action as this

Negotiations at Kabul.

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should be adopted, and remember how they were refused, and when I now read from day to day what is passing at Kabul, you will perhaps understand what I then meant by laying stress upon the importance of personally conducting negotiations for which I should be held responsible, and what are my feelings now at seeing things move apparently in the very direction which I most desired to avoid. I hope that before another week has passed I may have more encouraging news to give you, but I quite anticipate that before we come to any conclusion at all, some frank words may have to be spoken to the Amir, while confidence in our Envoy's ability to carry the matter through at all will not survive the strain of many more such shocks as it has already received.

Aden Medal.

As you asked me, I looked into the question of the Aden medal on my return. I found that, as the period of absence of the troops is to be counted as war service, the Military Department did not wish to contest the view of the Commander-in-Chief about the medal. I have therefore not pursued the matter any further.

Yours ever,
(Sd.) CURZON.

P. S.—Since dictating the above a fresh batch of papers has come in from Kabul amplifying the information contained in the last telegram that we sent to you. We now have the text of a fresh Memorandum from the Amir couched in a most unsatisfactory and at times objectionable tone, and containing misrepresentations of our arguments and despatches which are both deliberate and unscrupulous. Dane seems to have replied with dignity, but the conclusion is forced upon me that unless there is a speedy change of attitude on the side of the Amir some very plain speaking will be required on our side. I have not time to go into the matter in greater detail before issuing this letter.

No. 7.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
January 5th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Partition of Bengal.

I have not much to say to you today, having already dictated a letter of some length to the Secretary of State. The big measures which were held back during Ampthill's tenure of office (though it is far from true that no progress was made with them) will shortly be again launched, and you will hear from us at an early date about the proposed

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partition of Bengal—which is an administrative reform of the first magnitude—and about the future of Simla. Everyone is now agreed as to the former except the Congress party, who see in the subdivision of Bengal a weakening of Bengali influence in the future and a cruel postponement of the day when Cotton's ideal of an emancipated Bengal, under a Babu Lieutenant-Governor, will be realised.

Simla.

We shall also present you with a very strong case as regards Simla: its strongest advocate being Sir Denzil Ibbetson who is about to act as Lieutenant-Governor.

Sir Mackworth Young.

By the way I see that my old friend, Mackworth Young, has been firing off at me in England. The severance of the frontier is of course a pernicious and retrograde measure due to an imperious and ignorant Viceroy! I see that he even dragged out against me from the arena of official privacy, the proposal to take the Phulkian States under the political management of the Government of India, which was put forward because of their gross and persistent mismanagement by the Local Government, but which I abandoned exclusively from personal deference to Mackworth Young's susceptibilities. I am even held responsible for abolishing old Hutchison from the Aitchison College at Lahore—a proposal which was unanimously agreed to at the Conference about Chiefs' Colleges, and was accepted without demur by the Punjab Government!

Attitude of retired Indian Civilians.

I have a high respect for the Indian civilian. But really, the retired Indian civilian with a grievance—well, he sometimes seems to me to have said good-bye to all considerations either of self-respect or fairness, when he begins to orate or to write at home. I am favoured with the attentions of quite a respectable crowd of these individuals. It cannot add to their placability that no one seems to pay the slightest attention to what they say.

Warren Hastings' picture.

I was very much concerned to hear from the Secretary of State that you were opposed to the restoration of the Warren Hastings' picture. I am, however, really so vain as to think that your hostility will not survive our Despatch of next mail. It seems absurd to be arguing that the Devis' picture is too good or too precious to come back to India, when we are just hanging on the walls of our Victoria Memorial Collection an exquisite little picture of Sir William Jones by Sir Joshua Reynolds, which has survived the Indian climate (and is still in perfect condition) for the best part of 100 years. It belongs to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and they have loaned it permamently to us.

Disposal of Budget Surplus.

Next week I shall have a good deal to say to the Secretary of State or to you about Finances and the Budget. We shall certainly come up with a proposal to knock another 8 annas off the Salt Duty: and this will, I think, be agreeable to the India Office, who are always strong on the merits of a powerful financial reserve.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 8.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE St. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
January 12th, 1905.

My dear St. John,

Negotiations at Kabul.

The most important of the questions upon which we are at present jointly engaged is undoubtedly that of Kabul. The force of circumstances and the regrettable misunderstandings that have developed at the Afghan capital have compelled us to assume a considerable initiative here. But such telegrams as we have received from you have left us in no doubt that we were proceeding upon general lines that will be approved by His Majesty's Government, whose object it must be, as it is also ours, to conclude as satisfactory an agreement with as little delay as possible. I will not trouble you with a narrative of the reasons that led me to think that the deadlock at Kabul has been due to a failure on the part of Dane to make our attitude and offers understood rather than to a deliberate refusal on the part of the Amir to come to an understanding at all. I send you, however, a copy of the Note in which I argued the case for the information of my Colleagues in Council. As the matter strikes me, there are three points at issue between the Amir and ourselves, concerning which he desires to be reassured, and uncertainty about which is probably in the main responsible for his obstinacy in other respects. They are (1) the subsidy; (2) the undrawn arrears of subsidy; (3) conditions for the future import of arms.

[Enclosure.]

The subsidy.

Let me take each of these in turn. Dane seems to have let him know that the new treaty will carry with it the old subsidy; though there has been some obscurity even about this. As far as I can gather, he has never mentioned the arrears at all: what may have been his object in keeping these in the background I cannot imagine. They have been throughout the *quid pro quo* for a reasonable attitude on the part of the Amir concerning all the minor points mentioned in the *Aide-Mémoire* and the Subsidiary Agreement. Now that Dane has received our further instructions upon the matter, the Amir can no longer be in the dark on this score.

Import of Arms.

As regards the import of munitions of war, the uncertainty has been due not to our attitude here but to the instructions deliberately issued to us by the Government at home. You will remember that Balfour and the Defence Committee expressed the opinion that the fewer arms there were in Afghanistan the better, and that from this point of view we should even abandon the attempt to ear-mark any portion of the subsidy for purposes of military defence. His Majesty's Government introduced into the *Aide-Mémoire* the

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phrase about a liberal estimate of the requirements of Afghanistan, which from their point of view is right enough but will be regarded as suspiciously vague by the Amir. When condensed by Dane in the phrase "reasonable quantity," a fertile field of controversy was at once opened up. In my view it does not much matter what qualifications you attempt to apply: I have always regarded the situation as given away by Durand in the clause about arms that was added to his Agreement in 1893. If you allow the Amir to buy arms through you or from you, you practically surrender the right to qualify that permission except in cases so serious that they would justify a rupture with him altogether. In practice the checks upon his making an unwise use of the permission accorded to him will be two in number—first, a limitation of the financial means at his disposal, which is indeed the strongest argument against increasing his subsidy; second, the fact that we have it at any time in our power to detain the purchases while on their way. We have now given Dane instructions on the lines of what you have said to advance somewhat from his former position and to indicate that, save in exceptional circumstances, the Amir will be able to import pretty well what he pleases. I do not say that I regard this situation with equanimity, but it seems to me the logical sequel of concessions made by my predecessors, and it is part of the price that we have to pay for the peculiar position in which we are placed.

The Amir's proposals.

There are two other points to which I must allude. In my Note I expressed the opinion that it would be unwise to snub the Amir on the first occasion on which an Afghan ruler has ever put forward serious plans (for, although in many respects fantastic, I regard them on the whole as genuine) for the combined cooperation of Great Britain and Afghanistan in the defence of his country. When we came to Council, Kitchener produced a note which he had written independently after study of the same news from Kabul. It turned out to be an almost verbatim reproduction of the views and arguments on page 12 of my Note. Indeed the resemblance was so close as almost to have suggested collaboration, though we had had no opportunity of speaking to each other on the matter. Perhaps the most surprising feature of the scheme put forward by the Amir is this. You will remember what enormous difficulty I had with the Prime Minister, the Defence Committee, and yourself, in obtaining permission to say anything to the Amir about Seistan at all. Over and over again I was told that the Amir would be alienated and his suspicions aroused. It needed a special appeal from me to Balfour to obtain permission to moot the matter at all. How often did I not state that I believed these alarms to be entirely groundless, and that in any case it was our duty to consult the Amir as much about Seistan as about any other portion of his frontier. Now may I not point with some pride to this scheme put forward by the Amir himself in justification of my view? You thought at home that the Amir would be seriously alarmed if we even suggested the intrusion of British influence in the south-west corner of Afghanistan, and yet here he is of his own accord

The Seistan Question.

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proposing a railway through Afghan territory to Seistan, and not only thither, but along the entire Afghan border up to Hashtadan—with British occupation, British forts, and British soldiers along the entire line of route. Such an idea goes far beyond anything that I had thought it likely any Afghan ruler would even contemplate, but it also indicates that I had good ground for the infinitesimally smaller degree of confidence which I displayed when arguing that branch of the subject at home.

Subsidiary Agreement.

The second point is this. I do not at all like Dane's Subsidiary Agreement. I never saw it until I was on the sea coming out to India, it was agreed upon between Dane and Ampthill here, and neither the Commander-in-Chief nor any other Member of Council—the Government having broken up at Simla when it was composed—ever expressed an opinion about it. We have not heard that the Amir has objected to its form, because, so far as I understand, it has never yet been submitted to him. But if he sniffs at the new draft treaty, which is identical with the old assurance, what will he not probably do when the Subsidiary Agreement is put before him. I am not speaking of the contents; I am referring only to the form. The contents, or the bulk of them at any rate, we must get in return for the subsidy and the arrears, but if the Amir shows any objection to what seems to me the needless pedantry of the form, then I think we may well be prepared to modify it and to state what is agreed upon, if an agreement is arrived at, in the form of an exchange of signed notes or something of that description.

Sirdar Inayatullah's visit to Calcutta.

Exchange of presents.

The Amir's son left here yesterday after a visit which I believe he thoroughly enjoyed. The only hitch that occurred was in connection with the presents. In our desire to treat him with exceptional liberality, we had arranged to give presents to him and his followers amounting to a total of Rs. 50,000; Rs. 22,000 of these were for the Sirdar himself. The presents had been bought and they had already been forwarded for presentation to "Hastings House," when it was ascertained that the Sirdar's presents to me, which had in the meantime been deposited in the *Toshakhana* and valued, were estimated at a total value only of less than Rs. 9,000, while some of them were entirely unfit for presentation to the head of the Indian Government. The disparity was so glaring as to call for some attention, since, according to Eastern custom, it almost involved the placing of a slight upon the recipient of the grossly inferior gift. The affair is still plunged in mystery, but there is some reason to think that the Afghan Envoy here, who is a man of no character, made away with certain of the presents which were originally sent from Kabul and only presented a fraction of them at the end. There is considerable consternation in the Afghan Camp at the exposure of their meanness, whether it be due to the rascality of one of their own officials or to imperfect appreciation of the situation by the Amir.

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The matter had gone too far for my return presents to be modified or withdrawn, but the case illustrates the extraordinary care that has to be taken in these matters in the East, where even present-giving becomes an instrument of diplomatic intrigue.

Disposal of Budget surplus.

I now bespeak your friendly consideration of the financial proposals contained in the despatch which is issuing to you today. We have argued the matter so fully there that it is hardly necessary for me to say much here. We have endeavoured to distribute our bounty as fairly as possible between the different classes of the community and to assign it to the quarters where relief is most needed or expenditure most urgent. The reduction of the salt duty will probably be accepted by you without demur. It carries forward to a still further stage, but not, I think, to any dangerous or inconvenient pitch, the declared policy of the Government of India. It strengthens our financial reserve, and, should our revenues continue to advance in the future as they have done in recent years, and the maximum calls upon them to leave the very large surpluses upon which we can reasonably reckon, we shall still have the opportunity of reducing another 8 annas at some future date, thus bringing the taxation down to one rupee, below which I do not think it ought ever to fall. Primary education and Agricultural development stand side by side as among those administrative needs for which money is most required, but which, owing to the pressure of other applicants, the Local Governments can never be trusted to satisfy if left to themselves. I could easily put facts and figures before you shewing the scandalous neglect of primary education in India, and more particularly perhaps in Bengal. Higher education is so much more vocal and insistent that the interests of the masses are always pushed on one side and forgotten, and the history of official pronouncements upon the supreme importance of Primary Education is not more abundantly stocked than is the record of failures to carry out the policy accepted and prescribed. Without a direct impetus from the Supreme Government, Local Governments cannot be trusted to pursue a consistent policy in these matters, and I need hardly add that unless the impetus is backed by money grants it also has a very short existence. Concerning Local Taxation I have been trying ever since I came to India to find some means of giving relief in this respect. The difficulty has been that the Local Governments objected to parting with resources which were almost indispensable to them and to which the people had grown accustomed, and that the majority of District and Local Boards would have become hopelessly insolvent at once had their resources been withdrawn. I think we have hit upon a scheme which, while giving positive relief in the shape of the famine cesses, which are really quite anomalous, will place the local authorities in a stronger position than before to carry out the duty imposed upon them, for which their present means are often entirely inadequate. Agriculture falls into almost the same

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category as Primary Education. You may preach Agricultural development to Local Governments; they cordially accept it in theory, but they do little or nothing to carry it out. I believe that an enormous future lies before Agricultural research, experiment, demonstration, and education in India. Could we start straight away with institutions and officers, which of course we cannot do, ten times the sum per annum would not be wasted. As it is let us make a beginning and our seed will one day grow into a mighty tree.

Perhaps in justification of our proposals as a whole I may point to the fact that in each year the schemes of financial relief which I have put before you and which have been accepted, sometimes not without criticism, at home, have in no case failed to justify the expectations that were entertained of them. Nor have they ever failed to excite the general approbation and gratitude of the community in India at large. Throughout the year I am always making a careful study of the possible means of disposing of our surplus revenue at the end, and the resultant proposal, when it comes before you, is no mere hurried concoction of the last few weeks, but is a careful deduction from a long period of previous study.

Financial policy and grants-in-aid to Local Govts.

Speaking of Finance we have just addressed you in reply to a recent Despatch from you about grants-in-aid to Local Governments. We accept your general principles which I think are generally sound and which I have never myself contested. But I believe it to be both impossible and undesirable to apply them in the very strict and narrow manner which you propose, and I think further, if this were imposed upon us, that the India Office would be exacting an altogether unwise degree of control. How many times during the last few years have I not received intimations from the Secretary of State that the policy of decentralisation and more particularly financial decentralisation is the true ideal in any administrative system. I am again so much in agreement with the general principle thus enunciated that we have in our new scheme of Provincial Agreements just inaugurated the most extensive measure of financial decentralisation that has been undertaken in India for many years. But would it not be a curious thing that just at the moment when we were loosening the screw upon Local Governments, you should seize the opportunity to tighten it upon us? This is really a branch of the subject to which I alluded in a recent letter. The unlimited financial powers possessed by the India Council, which, as you know, I deprecate and would like to change, are only rendered supportable in practice by the degree of moderation and discretion with which they are exercised. The tendency of recent years seems, however, to be to draw the cords tighter at every turn; but the more you do so, the more you lessen our responsibility here, and I think it would be a bad thing for the Government of India if they were so placed as to realise that financial responsibility had gone away from them to the India Office, and that it was only their business to accept orders from home. If a list

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were drawn up of all the cases in which this sort of interference has been exercised in modern times and compared with any earlier period, I am disposed to think that the results would be of a rather startling description.

Pension of non-Statutory Bishops.

In your letter of December 2nd you call my attention to the question of non-Statutory Bishops and ask me if I agree with the views recently expressed by the Government of India. I do, because the case is not as it has been represented to you. You wrote—"Even with a five years' concession a man appointed at forty would have to serve well into the sixties to get his pension." This is not the case. He would only have to serve till the age of 58: that is 40 + 23 — 5— not at all an unreasonable age in my opinion to be the starting point of a pension. Let me show you how the rule will apply to the existing non-Statutory Bishops:

	Age when appointed.	Age at which penson will be due.
Bishop of Nagpur ...	39	58
„ Rangoon ...	39	57
„ Lucknow ...	44	62
„ Lahore ...	45	63

It does not seem to me to be at all an unreasonable thing that if a man only enters Government service at the age of 44 or 45, he should have to serve 18 years for a pension.

Salaries of Members of Council.

There are two matters mentioned in your last letter about which I will briefly return to the charge. I do not think it capable of being contested that the salary at present given to a Member of Council (I do not speak of the salary of the new Railway Board, which is quite a different matter) is in excess of anything that is demanded by the local requirements of the post. You seem to think that Councillors continue to entertain as they once did on a large scale. Alas, those days are over! When they come down to Calcutta they frequently share a house together; they dispense the most limited entertainment, and as social figures they are almost unknown in the Calcutta world. At Simla they are now obliged to live up to a certain style, because we give them good houses for which we require them to pay a reasonable rent; but even this is only £300 a year, no extravagant sum.

In the old days the Members of Council used to give balls and dances and to share the responsibility of entertaining with the Viceroy. During the whole time that I have been in India only one Member of Council has ever given a dance. As for the number of tourists who tend to come to India it is not upon Members of Council that they settle down. I have never heard of a Councillor entertaining a tourist unless he were already a personal friend. Indeed the houses that they take are too small to admit of it.

Tourists as a rule have the free run of Government House at Calcutta, and when they travel throughout the country, and more particularly in Native States, are an incubus, not to Members of Council, but to Heads of Local Governments

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and more particularly to our political officers. It may well be that a salary of £5,300 a year, without a pension, will not attract the best men from England, but I doubt very much whether £6,000 would attract them either, and in any case I am convinced that the salary is ample for a promoted Civilian and is quite sufficient for the class of man whom we get from home.

Knighthoods for Judges.

The other point is that of rewards for Indian Judges. You advance the following proposition: "Surely it will not be too much to say that after a certain number of years' service in the Indian climate a Judge, if he has done well, should be able to look forward to a Knighthood." I must frankly answer that I think it would be a good deal too much to say this, unless you are prepared to accept the ancillary proposition that a Civilian who has satisfied the same conditions of service and merit should be equally rewarded. As a matter of fact it is easy to show that as it is the judicial service has the best of it. At the present moment there are 41 Judges in India who enjoy 9 Knighthoods among them. In addition to that the following honours have been conferred upon Judges or Barristers in quite recent years:—Knighthoods upon Macpherson, Banerjee, Stevens, Prinsep, and Paul in Bengal; upon Candy in Bombay, Aiyengar in Madras, Colvin at Allahabad, Agnew at Rangoon. If, on the other hand, you take the whole of the Indian Civil Service, Judges excluded, they only possess 13 Knighthoods among them. Or let me put the case another way. If you take all the posts above Rs. 1,000 a month (A) on the Executive and Administrative side, and (B) on the Judicial, you will find that the former enjoy 10 Knighthoods out of 433, or a proportion of 2·3 per cent., while the latter possess 9 Knighthoods out of 239, or a proportion of 3·8 per cent. I therefore do not think the Judges are ill-rewarded, or that the prospects of decoration enjoyed by those who accept the Judicial side are such as to constitute any deterrent. As regards Mr. Justice Crowe, I have never heard of him in my life, nor was his name ever submitted to me by any of Lamington's predecessors in their recommendations for honours. Moreover, surely it is the proper thing that recommendations for honours should reach the Secretary of State exclusively through the Viceroy, and that a Governor should not utilise his power of correspondence with the India Office to make recommendations behind the Viceroy's back. Lamington will be with me in a few weeks' time, and I will ask him about Mr. Justice Crowe, but I really hope that you are not going to subvert the position which, as I understand it, has invariably been accepted by your predecessors, and which was certainly never impugned by the late Secretary of State during the five years for which I served him, that the guiding authority in all these matters should be the head of the Government in India rather than anybody else. If he is not fit to make honest and fair recommendations applying to the whole service in India he is not fit for his position, and I should certainly

The Viceroy's position as to Honours recommendations.

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myself ask to be relieved of the responsibility if I found that it were attempted seriously to impair it.

The Viceroy's scheme for reforming the India Council.

I will not pass any comments upon the few observations that you were good enough to devote to my scheme for the reform of the Council in England. I hardly expected that His Majesty's Government would be likely to take up the case, nor should I myself have taken it up at a time of great stress except at the personal request of the Prime Minister. You say, however, that "in order to make good my case I must prove that a Secretary of State genuinely supporting the Viceroy has been over-ruled." Of course I cannot tell at this end how far the support of the Secretary of State has been genuine or not. I can only judge of its sincerity from what the Secretary of State tells me in his letters. Thus, for instance, when you have told me that you agreed with me and were arguing the same views as were held by the Government of India about Cooper's Hill College, or Savings Banks deposits, or other matters, I think I am entitled to assume that you are genuinely supporting the Viceroy, and therefore that if you fail in the undertaking you have been over-ruled. While George Hamilton was at the office he certainly more than once assured me of the same fact. I remember particularly his telling me that he had been over-ruled in respect of an application that we more than once sent up about the continued employment of Major Daly in the Foreign Office. I also remember his saying that the Imperial Cadet Corps and the new Frontier Province were only sanctioned, because he took the case to the Cabinet before it went to his Council and placed the latter in a position of some difficulty by informing them of the wishes of His Majesty's Government before they were called upon to express their own.

Leave for the Viceroy, C.-in-C., and Governors.

As regards leave for the Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief, and Governors, it is of course a purely hypothetical and most unlikely contingency that there would ever be two Governors at home at the same time, nor does the case for reform apply to Governors in anything approaching the same degree as it does to the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief. I only propose it in the case of the Governors, because it would be illogical and unfair to leave them out, and because the consideration, if not of public urgency, at any rate of private convenience, is as applicable to them as to their superiors. For instance, I think you will find that Lamington will not stay out his full time at Bombay, because under the existing rule he is not able to go home in the interim. The case, however, of the Governors is trivial and unimportant. It is different with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, and there you have to balance the public advantage that might result from being able to summon them home with the very slight practical inconveniences to which it might give rise. My experience is that each time the case is brought up some new argument is excogitated in favour of the *status quo*, and that the weakness of the opposition is really best shown by the perpetually changing and sometimes

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inconsistent character of the arguments advanced in its defence. Some day, when I have returned home, and am no longer personally concerned, I hope to be able to exercise an influence that may benefit my successors in some of these directions. In the meantime I am very glad to learn from your concluding assurance that you think there will be greater harmony between the Government of India and the India Office in the course of the next year. If I can do anything to promote it, I shall be only too glad to do so, but it seems really to rest not so much with us as with others, since the refusing and controlling power, which is the commonest source of annoyance or friction, is not here, but with you.

Sir H. S. Barnes and the India Council.

It was a curious coincidence that just before your telegram reached me about Barnes, he should have been consulting me (he was my guest here as to the chance of his getting on to your Council before long. Did I think that he had any chance of Crosthwaite's vacancy or Sir S. Bayley's? I of course could say nothing, because I did not know your views. I could merely say that in my opinion he had the highest claim to a place on Council, and that it would be much strengthened by his being added to it. This *is* my view, as you know. Barnes' political knowledge will correct many of the vagaries of Lee-Warner, while he has considerable all-round experience, charming manners, and great tact.

Engineers for the P. W. D. in Egypt.

I wish you would show the accompanying advertisement to Lansdowne. For years we have given Lord Cromer the best of our Engineers for Egypt. The last application, however, we had to refuse, because we are so short-handed ourselves. In these circumstances it does not seem quite fair for the Egyptian Government to advertise in Indian newspapers and try to tempt away our best men by offering them better terms than we can give. We train our Engineers not for Egypt, but for India: and when we have just refused one man to Egypt it is rather stealing a march upon us to entice away another by these means. For the bribe *was* successful: a young Punjab Engineer of 11-12 years' service saw the advertisement, applied for the place, was accepted, and has in consequence resigned our service. I might very easily write to Lord Cromer myself. But it seems to me better that it should come through you, and that you should know what is going on.

P. W. D. Establishments.

Talking of Engineers I do hope that before long we may have a reply to our despatch of 10th November last about Public Works establishments, and to the earlier letters from the Local Governments which have remained so long unanswered. The present cadre of the Public Works Department is 800, though, owing to insufficient recruitment in recent years, our actuals are only 770. In May last you agreed to raise the cadre to 850. But nothing

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short of 900 will do. We are stinted and straitened all round for want of men, while we always have 50 or 60 on deputation. Is there any valid reason why our request should not be granted?

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

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(1) Note by His Excellency the Viceroy on the negotiations at Kabul, dated 8th January 1905.

(2) Extract from *Indian Engineering*, dated 3rd December 1904.

EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

NOTICE.

Applications are invited for the post of Inspector of Irrigation in the above service, for a period of five years, at an annual salary of 1,000 Egyptian pounds, and a gratuity of one year's salary at the end of this period.

Applicants must be of English birth, and their age must not exceed 45 years.

They must have had at least 15 years' service in the Irrigation Branch of the Indian Public Works Department.

Applications, which should contain a full statement of services, with certificates or references, should be addressed to—

The Under Secretary of State,
Public Works Department,
Cairo,
EGYPT.

Dated CAIRO,
11*th October* 1904.

No. 9.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
January 12*th*, 1905.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

There is one sentence in your last letter which has given me food for thought. Have I really caught you and your colleagues tripping? Sir E. Law's pension case.

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"We are discussing Law's application for a pension." Now am I not right in saying that you can discuss no such application unless (according to the Memorial Rules) it is submitted through the Government of India? As far back as July 1903 Law informed me of his desire to memorialise the Secretary of State, and I acquainted him with the above fact, as well as with my own inability to support him. I repeated this when he came up again in April 1904, and I left on record a statement to assist Ampthill should Law return to the charge in my absence. He did not do so. The Government of India are to this hour ignorant of his petition or claim. And yet it is apparently being discussed by the Council in the India Office.

Surely it would be a very dangerous innovation if a Member of Council, whether a civilian or not, be permitted to go up without the knowledge of his colleagues, and without reference to the Viceroy, to the Secretary of State for a personal improvement in his own position; and is it not worse still when it is the Finance Member who is thus proposing to place an additional charge upon Indian revenues for his own benefit?

I have the whole private correspondence, proving that Law has not the vestige of a claim, and I have quoted to him the passages which establish this conclusion. Perhaps it is this knowledge that has induced him to give the Government of India the go-by. But if this be so, then I think that the Council at home ought to be parties to no such procedure, and that it would be desirable to provide against its repetition.

Meanwhile I am giving a parting dinner to Law tonight. He has, as you know, been sometimes a stiff-necked and rather riling Minister: because he has fought so fiercely with some of the Departments, and has so often attempted to judge Indian financial questions by exclusively European standards. But I should say that he had rendered himself more acceptable to the commercial community than any Finance Member of modern times, and that he has shown a most broad-minded sympathy with agricultural and industrial development.

His ambition is to succeed LeMarchant on your Council.

With many thanks for your kind wishes for the ensuing year,

I am,
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 10.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
January 18*th*, 1905.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Point is lent to my recent argument about Sir E. Law's petition by a passage which I have just read (in another context) in a Despatch from the Secretary of State, dated 7th October 1904: Sir E. Law's pension case.

"It appears to me desirable that it should be made clear in both sets of Rules, *that all memorials to the King or Secretary of State* and all petitions to the Government of India *must be submitted through the authorities in India*, no matter where the memorialists or petitioners may happen to be residing at the time of writing."

I wonder whether you agreed on the whole with my final presentation of the case about the India Council, which the Secretary of State said he would show to you. The India Council.

Reuter says that Bath has been appointed Under Secretary—worthy but stupid. Newton would have been ten times better. Parliamentary Under Secretary at the India Office.

I have written you a separate letter about Irrigation.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 11.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA:
January 19*th*, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Before you receive this I hope that the troublesome question about George Hamilton's Commission will have been solved. I really do not quite understand what the dispute is about, nor can I make out why the Government, if they want to send a Commission, will not do it off Army administration: proposed Commission of Enquiry.

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their own bat. No manipulation of dates can possibly make your Commission wait before starting, if they are to follow your plans, until the Government of India have considered the case. The earliest day on which we can possibly do this is the 10th February, and yet I infer from what you say that in all probability George Hamilton will be leaving England on that very day. Why, therefore, do you not assume the responsibility of sending him? I told the Prime Minister plainly in England that there were two ways of doing the thing: one by consulting us, the other by enquiring over our heads. He decided to adopt the former, but you now appear to desire to combine the features of both procedures, whereas they seem to me to be irreconcilable. I do not understand Lord Roberts's constant allusions to the trepidations of Kitchener, for the latter most emphatically assured me that nothing that he had written justified any inference of the sort, and that he was in no state of mental disturbance or agitation whatsoever. There is one other aspect of the case which you have doubtless considered. You are being asked to consider and to adopt a complete revolution in the system of military administration in India by a Commander-in-Chief, who says he will leave the country if his advice be not accepted, but who is quite likely to leave it in any case, whether your decision be favourable or not. My own belief is that should the Government fall and the other party take your place, and Kitchener be offered the place of Secretary of State for War, he would, under certain conditions, most decidedly accept. You might then find yourself in the position of having destroyed the military system in India in favour of a particular individual who had left the country before the changes which he insisted upon, and which were really personal to himself, had been put into effect. I have no *arrière pensée* in the matter myself, and Kitchener and I seldom meet without talking it over with the utmost friendliness and candour. The matter will hardly affect me one way or the other. I am only concerned for the military administration of the country when I have gone, and what I am standing up for the whole time are not my views as against Kitchener's, but the right of the Government of India to enjoy the prerogative of the most ordinary criminal by being fully heard in the constitutional way before sentence is passed.

Negotiations at Kabul.

Nothing has reached us from Kabul for the past few days, and we have no idea whether Dane's instructions have produced a modification in the situation with the Amir or not. I carried out the instructions conveyed to me in your last telegram with fidelity, though I was not at all in agreement with the argument about a meeting with myself. To say that the treaty will be imperilled by a proposal for the Amir to meet the Viceroy while it would not be imperilled by a proposal to submit his plans to the consideration of a number of Military experts, seems to me quite unsound. The Amir has hitherto refrained from meeting me, partly because he was afraid to leave

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Kabul, partly because he wanted to escape a new treaty altogether. We now propose to pin him to the latter, but we decline for the moment to discuss his strategical ideas. Is it a greater compliment to him to suggest that these must be talked over by himself with the Viceroy, or that they should be examined by the Military advisers of Government, with the result of a prolonged and probably abortive correspondence? I have little doubt myself that he would much prefer the former, and if anything is ever to come of the strategical proposals, it will only be, in my judgment, by the adoption of some such procedure. I do not regard it as by any means impossible that he himself will make the suggestion later on. It now transpires that the very proposals in the Seistan direction which were the source of the liveliest alarm to the Government at home are the very ones which the Amir is pressing of his own initiative, and to which he seems to attach the greatest importance. I do not think therefore that it is wise to dogmatise at all strictly as to what he may either think or do.

Sir H. Barnes' appointment to the India Council.

Barnes is anxious not to leave Burma till the beginning of May, and I hope you will be able to meet his wishes in this respect. He has for long contemplated and made arrangements for a tour in the Southern Shan States culminating in a Durbar at Taunggyi. I think it important that he should carry out this programme, as indeed he does himself, and I undertook to write to you that it would be greatly in the public interest if you could spare him for a few weeks longer.

Intimation of announcements *re* appointments.

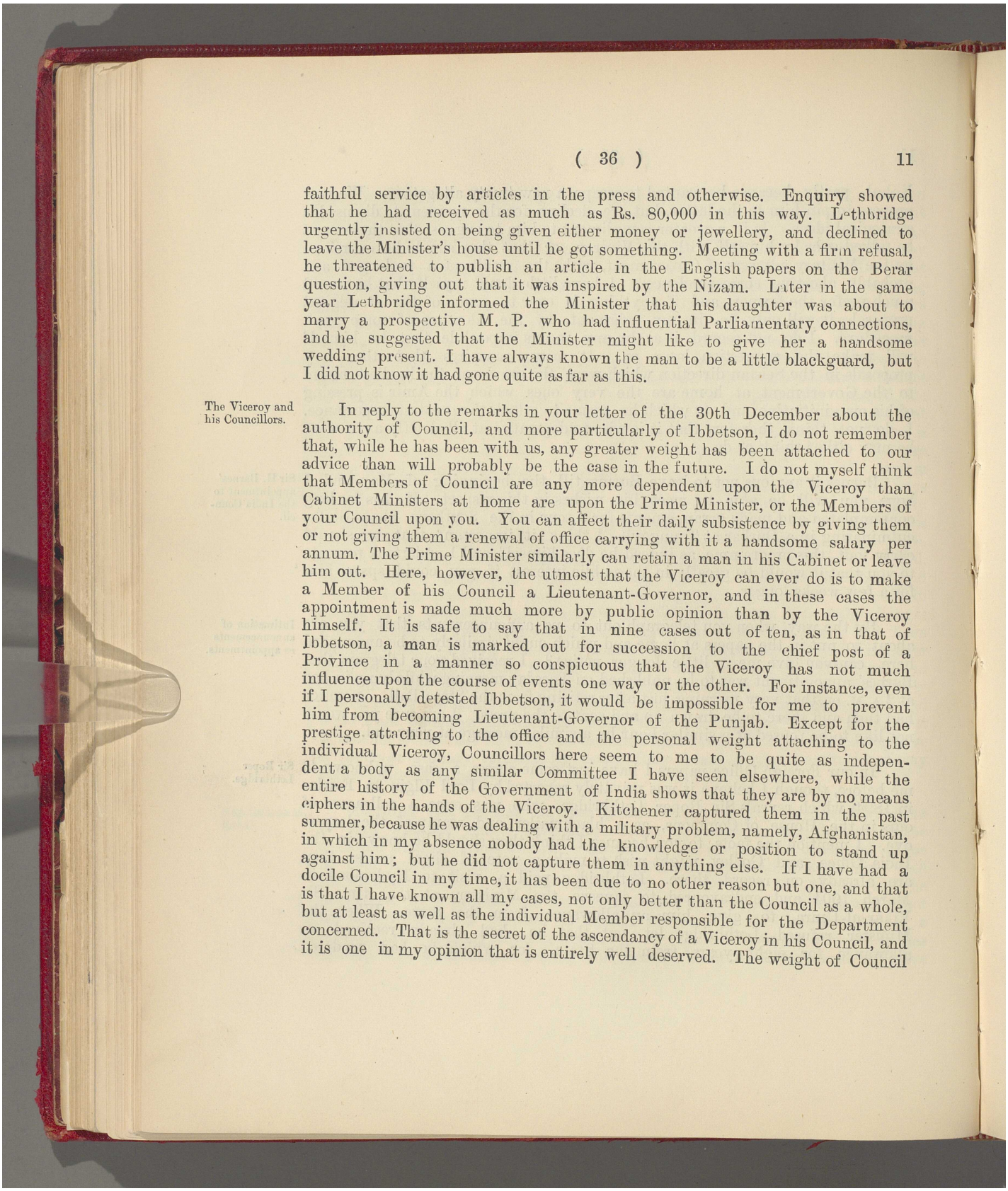
By the way, when you telegraph out to us announcements that you are about to put in the papers at home and which ought similarly to be announced here, can you give me a little longer notice? I received your telegram that Barnes' appointment was to be published on Tuesday morning while lying in bed at 2 A. M. on that very morning just after retiring from the State Ball. A notice had then and there to be drawn up and sent to the press. I am sure you would not like to be roused at a similar hour by a similar message at your end.

Sir Roper Lethbridge.

In our Foreign Office papers I have just come across a case, unknown to me before, though I believe it was privately reported by Lord Elgin to Fowler in 1894, which reveals Sir Roper Lethbridge, who was once a colleague of ours in the House of Commons, as a blackmailer and scamp of the deepest dye. I mention the facts to you because I think they should be known in the India Office, and Godley might wish to make a note of them unless they are already on record there. Lethbridge paid a visit to Hyderabad in March 1904 and endeavoured to squeeze the Minister, at that time Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, to give him an allowance from the State. When the Minister refused, Lethbridge let out that he had already received an allowance for eight years from the State, for which he had rendered

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faithful service by articles in the press and otherwise. Enquiry showed that he had received as much as Rs. 80,000 in this way. Lethbridge urgently insisted on being given either money or jewellery, and declined to leave the Minister's house until he got something. Meeting with a firm refusal, he threatened to publish an article in the English papers on the Berar question, giving out that it was inspired by the Nizam. Later in the same year Lethbridge informed the Minister that his daughter was about to marry a prospective M. P. who had influential Parliamentary connections, and he suggested that the Minister might like to give her a handsome wedding present. I have always known the man to be a little blackguard, but I did not know it had gone quite as far as this.

The Viceroy and his Councillors.

In reply to the remarks in your letter of the 30th December about the authority of Council, and more particularly of Ibbetson, I do not remember that, while he has been with us, any greater weight has been attached to our advice than will probably be the case in the future. I do not myself think that Members of Council are any more dependent upon the Viceroy than Cabinet Ministers at home are upon the Prime Minister, or the Members of your Council upon you. You can affect their daily subsistence by giving them or not giving them a renewal of office carrying with it a handsome salary per annum. The Prime Minister similarly can retain a man in his Cabinet or leave him out. Here, however, the utmost that the Viceroy can ever do is to make a Member of his Council a Lieutenant-Governor, and in these cases the appointment is made much more by public opinion than by the Viceroy himself. It is safe to say that in nine cases out of ten, as in that of Ibbetson, a man is marked out for succession to the chief post of a Province in a manner so conspicuous that the Viceroy has not much influence upon the course of events one way or the other. For instance, even if I personally detested Ibbetson, it would be impossible for me to prevent him from becoming Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Except for the prestige attaching to the office and the personal weight attaching to the individual Viceroy, Councillors here seem to me to be quite as independent a body as any similar Committee I have seen elsewhere, while the entire history of the Government of India shows that they are by no means ciphers in the hands of the Viceroy. Kitchener captured them in the past summer, because he was dealing with a military problem, namely, Afghanistan, in which in my absence nobody had the knowledge or position to stand up against him; but he did not capture them in anything else. If I have had a docile Council in my time, it has been due to no other reason but one, and that is that I have known all my cases, not only better than the Council as a whole, but at least as well as the individual Member responsible for the Department concerned. That is the secret of the ascendancy of a Viceroy in his Council, and it is one in my opinion that is entirely well deserved. The weight of Council

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is moreover not sensibly diminished by Ibbetson going off it, for meanwhile Hewett has come on, who has a far longer experience of the Government of India than Ibbetson ever had, while on revenue questions, Tupper, who is to act for him for the few months, is one of the highest existing authorities.

Proposal to hoist the Union Jack at entrance to Persian Gulf.

I entirely agree with what you say both about the Musandim case and about naval science in general. If we want to be able to close the mouth of the Gulf, to have a flying naval base of our own, and to prevent other Powers from slipping in and acquiring a harbour or base for themselves, we ought to ear-mark the whole of the indented promontory from Kubbat Ghazira on the east to Shuam Peak on the west. Inasmuch, however, as this might raise disputed questions of ownership, our idea was to plant our flag (1) on Telegraph Island in the Khor-ash-Shem, which has already once been occupied by us and may therefore fairly be claimed as British territory; (2) on the Maklab Isthmus, across which our cables have already once been taken and of which the same may therefore be said; and (3) upon Jezirat-al-Ghanam or Sheep Island, commanding Khor Kawi, which is unoccupied and has never been occupied by anybody. Upon these places it seems to me that the Union Jack should be flown in order to indicate that they are British territory. The question would then arise, what is the area of surrounding country which the flag might be said to cover? That is a question upon which I am not competent to give an opinion, but I suppose if you take a place for strategical purposes you claim, or can claim, so much of the surrounding area as would be included within the zone of fire; that is to say, you would not allow an enemy to place himself in any position from which he could shell you. That it seems to me is all that we want in the present case. If our flag is on Telegraph Island, we command the entrance to the western fiord; if it is on the Isthmus, we command the inner parts of the eastern fiord also; if it is on Sheep Island, we command the flying base of Khor Kawi. It is extremely unlikely in these circumstances that any one would come and plant himself in the neighbourhood. I talked about the matter to our Admiral here a fortnight ago. He was extremely strong upon the advantages of this position and could not understand the doubts that have developed at home. We shall, I suppose, sooner or later get the reasoned reply of the Defence Committee or the Admiralty. But the matter is one which we shall be exceedingly reluctant to drop and in which we shall be glad of your support.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 12.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
January 19th, 1905.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Mr. Hirsch and Irrigation works in India.

There is a matter of some importance about which I should like to take the India Office into consultation before anything is done. My brother, Frank, who is in the city (Panmure Gordon & Co.) has a friend named Hirsch, a millionaire of, I believe, unquestioned integrity and sound financial position, who would rather like to do for India what Sir E. Cassel has done for Egypt, *i. e.*, to devote very large sums (I have even heard them mentioned as millions sterling) to irrigation works in this country. Of course he would not do this from purely unselfish motives. He would expect his return, though not, I fancy, an unreasonable return. The question is whether such an idea should be encouraged or vetoed at the start.

There is a good deal to be said on both sides. It is quite true that the only experiments ever made in India in entrusting the construction of canals to private enterprise, *viz.*, the Orissa and Madras Irrigation Companies, many years ago, proved a failure. But there were special reasons for this into which I need not enter here; and they have not prevented the Government of India at a later period from seriously considering cognate proposals, the last of which was a scheme put forward by Colonel Ottley in 1897 to construct the Montgomery Canal in the Punjab. Eventually this came to nothing, because Sir Mackworth Young disapproved.

The most obvious argument in favour of keeping Irrigation Works in the hands of Government is that they are or have hitherto been so very lucrative that the Government has never felt disposed to share the spoils with any outsider.

Further, whereas a railway capitalist can engage and bring out his own engineers and staff, this is almost impossible for an Irrigation Capitalist in India. We should probably have to construct the works with our own establishment—already, as you know, greatly depleted—and whether this was done or not, I imagine that it would be imperative to maintain and manage them with Government Officers, since so many questions of land revenue and administration would arise. In some parts of the country difficulty in providing the requisite labour might also be experienced. The capitalist therefore would do little more than provide the capital upon which he would expect a return, which might or might not take the form of a direct guarantee, but which would in any case

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be secured by means of an arrangement under which, after working expenses had been defrayed, he would divide the surplus profits in a fixed proportion with Government.

So far the gain to Government is not very clear. But there comes in the larger point of view. Shall we, if we admit private enterprise, be able to undertake important works which would otherwise have to be postponed, and would the gain to the revenues and prosperity of the country resulting from their early execution balance the loss to Government that would result from a division of the profits with an outsider? In this context I was reading only today a despatch from the Secretary of State in which, in accepting the big schemes that we have just sent up from the Punjab, he said something to the effect that their acceptance would exhaust our programme, and prevent or retard the inception of others for years to come. There are two other points. Shall we not, if by accepting outside assistance, we reduce the amount that we have to raise by loan for capital expenditure on irrigation works, *pro tanto* increase the amount that will be available for other Public works expenditure, *e.g.* Railways, and if so will not this very greatly assist the solution of the Railway problem? In this connection it would no doubt be desirable to dispense, if possible, with a State guarantee for any Irrigation enterprise since, in accordance with the views of your office, such a guarantee might compel us to include the capital provided by the outsider within our budget of capital expenditure, and would extend to irrigation one of the limitations which have pressed so heavily upon us in respect of our Railway programme. Secondly, might we not, by giving an opening to an outside capitalist in some initial scheme that promised a certain return, encourage him, if he were bitten with the idea, to embark upon some of those larger projects which, because of their costly or speculative nature, Government might itself be unwilling to take up? I know of at least three or four such schemes in different parts of the country which will not be undertaken for at least 15 or 20 years, if ever.

There is one advantage in the appearance on the scene of a millionaire capitalist, *viz.*, that there is no investing public to be considered, and that an attractive prospectus need not therefore be drawn up. It may be, of course, that the capitalist will not come, unless the prospects are such as would equally have allured the public. But on the other hand he may, and the share market point of view is in any case eliminated.

Perhaps you might be willing to see Mr. Hirsch and find out something about him, and his views.

There is yet one further aspect of the case. The city, as you know, fights shy of India. It is frightened of our departments, our rather niggardly attitude, and our delays: and (pardon the statement) it is much more frightened of the fine old crusted deportment of the India Office. If a great capitalist were

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found, shovelling his millions into India, might this not be an example that would tempt others into a field, sorely neglected, but yet admitting of immense exploitation? These are some of the considerations that occur to me at the outset. Perhaps you will think them over and give your advice. Mr. Hirsch would, I believe, be willing to come out and look round, if he thought there were any chance of success at some early stage. Local Governments would have to be consulted. But for the moment I seek only to find out what would be the probable attitude at head-quarters. Here I expect that the Public Works Department would sniff: but that our financiers and administrators would not *a priori* be unfavourable. Of course you may, and probably will, show this to the Secretary of State.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 13.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE St. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
January 26th, 1905.

My dear St. John,

Negotiations at Kabul.

Dane has acted upon our various instructions to him with the Amir, and the latter has for some days made no sign. Presumably he realises that the time is coming when he must make up his mind, one way or the other, and that our limit of concession has almost been reached. It is not a good sign that he should be investing his brother with the title of Viceroy and contemplating the assumption of the royal title himself. He must be both extraordinarily ignorant and vain. In any case I hope that no further concession will be made. We are already, I think, reaping the harvest of the unnecessary deference and timidity that we have shown to him throughout the past three years, and any further weakness now would, in the opinion of the whole of my Colleagues, as well as myself, be attended with most mischievous results. If then the Amir's attitude of contumacy continues, there will be no alternative but to inform him that, anxious as we are to come to a friendly arrangement with him, generous as are the terms which we have offered, and reluctant as we should be to retire from Kabul without any results and to bring to an end the happy relationship that has existed between the Afghan ruler and ourselves for so long a time, there is yet no alternative but to withdraw the Mission and to leave our relations in a

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state of uncertainty which cannot fail to be injurious to both parties, but for which the responsibility will not be ours. I hope very much that we may avoid this conclusion, but if we come to it and stand firm, my own impression is that the Amir will give way. There has yet been no occasion in the last 25 years in which either he or his father, if presented with an ultimatum, has not yielded. Of course the present position differs from any preceding one; both because the Amir is more ignorant and less clever than his father, and because his mental equilibrium seems to have been shattered by the recent defeats of Russia and victories of Japan. Nevertheless, just as he yielded about the Seistan Mission when I told him more than two years ago that it would start on such and such a day whether he cooperated or not, so I am inclined to think that if he realised that our limit of squeezability had been reached and that we were prepared to withdraw the Kabul Mission, say on a certain date, he would even at the last moment give in. This, however, is a conjecture upon which I need not add more at the moment.

Sir D. Ibbetson. Lord Kitchener's proposals for Army control.

The reason for which you attached importance to the continued presence of Ibbetson on our Council during the forthcoming summer will surely be satisfied by the existing arrangement. I understand that in your view the opinion of Council on Kitchener's proposals will be more valuable if it contains Ibbetson's advice than if it does not. Well, as Ibbetson will be with us until April, and as Kitchener's proposals will be examined by us in the course of the next few weeks, you will get exactly what you desire. I know of no particular subject during the ensuing months in which a strong independent opinion is likely to be required, and as a matter of fact we are trying to get off all our big cases to you before we leave Calcutta: firstly, because we hope to get them finally settled during the summer, and secondly, because from what the papers say we are a little doubtful about the continued existence of the Government at home.

The suggested Commission under Lord George Hamilton.

And here let me add that I now begin to feel glad that you did not send out George Hamilton in the course of February or March; for it is clear to me that we shall not be able to get our reasoned opinion home to you with as much rapidity as I had hoped. Today is January the 26th, and although I know that Elles has been working day and night at his Minute and has lost no time, it has not yet reached my hands. It will be absolutely impossible for me, even though I work ten hours and sometimes more in the day, to examine his and Kitchener's arguments, to study the literature of the question, and to advise the Government in a comprehensive Minute in less than a week: for the simple reason that it is only once a week, on Sundays, that I can ever settle down to three or four hours' continuous work on any one subject. During the rest of the week the stream of files, interviews, functions, duties, and official routine is so unending that it is out of the question to do anything on end. When I have written my Minute this will have to be printed, and the file will then make the round of the Hon'ble Members in turn. What they may decide

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to do I do not know—I have never spoken to one of them on the subject—but at least they must take some time to read the voluminous papers that will be before them, and to formulate an opinion of their own. It is hopeless to expect that this operation can be conducted in a shorter period than two or three weeks. I believe, therefore, that it will be found that my original estimate was correct, and that our despatch will not get off to you till the beginning of March. When I recollect that proposals of by no means the first importance frequently remain in the India Office for the best part of a year before they are accorded a reply, I think you will concede that, if we are able, with a Government containing eight independent Members, each entitled to consider and to write, to push through a momentous question of this description in two months and a half, we shall have shown an almost unparalleled despatch, and shall have set an example to which I shall probably frequently refer when pleading for similar promptitude at home.

Disposal of Budget Surplus: proposed expenditure on Education.

In view of what I had said to you about our remarkable financial position, and of your comments upon it in your last letter of January 6th, I was greatly surprised to read the Despatch that came from you of the same date, that is the 6th of January, relating to expenditure upon Education, the concluding paragraph of which, No. 14, must, I think, have been penned at an earlier date, since it seems to me to be quite irreconcilable with the facts that I had put before you and with the information now at your disposal. In that paragraph you state that the proposals for additional expenditure which you have recently considered and sanctioned, that is the expenditure on Army Reorganisation, may for some years to come absorb the whole of the surplus yielded by existing taxation, and may even require special borrowing to be incurred in order to meet certain of the charges. You further say that the imposition on Imperial revenues of additional expenditure for Education must be regarded for the time as impracticable. You will know now that this is not at all the case. Our recent Despatch, containing our Budget suggestions, is indeed a sufficient answer. We have ample funds not only for all probable expenditure, both military and civil, but also for the remission of taxation to the extent of nearly two crores, and for the strengthening of District funds to the extent of 55 lakhs in addition.

Question of grants to Local Governments.

Your next point in the paragraph in question can, I think, easily be shown to be equally mistaken You say that grants to Local Governments for the development of education are incompatible with the object at which the new Provincial Settlements are directed. This is not at all the case. I think you must have overlooked paragraph 8 of our letter from the Finance Department to the Bengal Government dated the 19th March 1904. Therein we expressly informed that Government, as we have done other Local Governments, that the revenues assigned to them in the new settlements do not include such contributions as the Government of India may find it necessary to make in furtherance of large schemes of importance connected with Police, Education, and Irrigation. If, after giving this deliberate assurance, we now take up the line enjoined in

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your Despatch, and inform the Local Governments that they must look to the growth of their own revenues only for the above purposes, we shall be justly charged by them with an open breach of faith. Further, you must remember that, generous to Local Governments as the settlements for the most part are, it is improbable that any Local Government will be able to provide funds from its share of the growing revenues of the country for carrying out any really large and costly measure of reform, except very slowly indeed. If they ask us to move fast, or if we require them to move fast, we must in the future, as we have done in the past, provide them with funds. The question, therefore, for the moment, is, not as your advisers seem to have thought, whether we are not unduly jeopardising or dissipating our resources; it is on the contrary whether, even after all the proposals that we have made to you for dispensing them, we shall not still be leaving an undue margin of revenue over expenditure. In your own letter to me you somewhat deprecate the large excess of realised surplus over estimates, and you say, with much force, that this is not a symptom of good finance. I quite agree with you in the general proposition, although there are circumstances in the finance of India which render accurate forecasting well-nigh impossible. I shall allude to these in a future letter. The anomaly, however, of which you speak becomes more, not less, accentuated if, when a handsome surplus is contemplated, even with cautious estimating, the Government do not at the same time propose to utilise it for the benefit of the people.

Sir H. T. White's appointment as Lieut.-Governor of Burma.

I am obliged to you for accepting Sir Herbert Thirkell White for Burma. Not that I know him myself or have ever had an opportunity of forming a first-hand opinion as to his character and capacity. I have always, however, heard him very highly spoken of, and I obtained from Barnes, when he was staying with me the other day, a full account of his qualifications and work. He is not a man who will set anything on fire, nor probably does he possess any considerable initiative. As you already know, that is not a feature for which Indian Civilians, as they approach the end of their service, are as a rule conspicuous; but he is an exceedingly hard-working man, he has good abilities, and his appointment will be uncommonly popular in Burma itself. From time to time a Commission must be given the encouragement of seeing that its own Members attain to the highest places. Burma has now seen one man after the other brought from the outside and put at its head. When no candidate stands out pre-eminently in the rest of India and when the local Commission can produce a man obviously qualified, even if not of conspicuous merit, it seems to me that they establish a strong claim to be given the post. These are the arguments that prevailed with me, and I have no doubt prevailed with you also at the other end.

Suggested arrangement of outstanding questions with China.

You may have noticed that since I came back to India I have been endeavouring to suggest to His Majesty's Government settlements, by a sort of all round composition, of some of the troublesome foreign questions with which we have in recent years been vexed. For instance, I recently submitted a sort of

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omnibus solution of our troubles with regard to Seistan. By the outgoing mail I am sending you a somewhat analogous scheme for terminating our quarrels with the Chinese over the question of the Consulship of Macartney, the allegiance of Hunza, the settlements on the Raskam, and the line of the Anglo-Chinese frontier. There is some compromise in the proposal, but if it were accepted we should really get all that we desire. These petty questions loom very large in the eyes of the local officers and people whom they concern, and from time to time it seems to me to be a good thing to endeavour to clear the board of irritating encumbrances.

Lord Kitchener's scheme and Lieut.-Generals.

I see that you have now addressed us officially about the three Lieutenant-Generals. I was talking about the matter to Kitchener last week, and he told me that it is undoubtedly his intention that they should ultimately disappear, and that there should be no one above the nine Divisional Commanders, except of course the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief. But he said that he had not proposed this for the present for the reasons mentioned in my earlier letter, namely, that it was difficult to get rid of the existing men; that he did not wish to start with too great a dislocation; and that he wanted to avoid arousing antagonism as much as possible. I gather that when Sir Bindon Blood goes—I think some time in 1906—he will be prepared to modify the present system and, in all probability, to dispense with the three Lieutenant-Generals altogether.

Yesterday I heard the astonishing but gratifying news that my wife has been told by the doctors, not only that she may come to India, but that in the interests of her health she ought, and long before you get this she will be on the ocean.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 14.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. J. BALFOUR, M. P., 10, Downing St., London, S. W.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
CALCUTTA;
January 26th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR ARTHUR,

Suggested amendment of the Govt. of India Acts.

Thank you very much for your letter of January 1st. If not in this session of Parliament, I hope that in some future session time may be found to deal with the anomalies of Indian Government as conducted

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at home. I shall not profit by the change; but my successors will; and I should be proud to be the last of those who have suffered from the exasperating checks and the occasional tyranny of the present system.

The Viceroy's plans.

I had expected to be telegraphing to you about this time asking to be relieved of my position here, and to be allowed to come home. Of course the situation was somewhat altered when, instead of getting back to India early in October, as had been arranged, I did not arrive in Calcutta till the middle of December, *i. e.*, it became more difficult to resign at an early date unless some good reason, either in my own ill-health or in Mary's, or in the existence of a clear political sky—were available.

Negotiations at Kabul.

The deadlock at Kabul, and the possible complete breakdown of negotiations—with the troubled field of political uncertainty which would thereby be opened—have compelled me up to the present time to put aside all ideas of relief, and will of course require me to stay at my post. I could not run away, or be suspected of running away, at such a time.

Lady Curzon's health.

The situation has now been rendered clearer, or more obscure—according to the point of view—by the news which I received yesterday by telegram that the doctors not merely allow Mary to travel, but want her to make the sea journey out to India, and that she actually starts on February 10th. This has taken me absolutely by surprise, for I had not dreamed that she could move before April. Anyhow, to my intense joy, she will be with me before long: and it looks as if, in the circumstances which I have just described, we must hang on here till the increasing heat will render it impossible to journey either to or from England before the autumn.

Then comes the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales which we should have to see through. As far as I can see this seems to be the direction in which things are drifting: though when Mary joins me I shall be in a better position to speak, both as to her wishes and as to the Afghan situation, which will then presumably have cleared.

The Amir and the Seistan Question.

Do you remember our correspondence and conversation about the Seistan aspect of the Afghan question, when, not without a good deal of difficulty, I obtained permission for Dane to broach it to the Amir? You were seriously alarmed lest he should be frightened and estranged by the suggestion. May I claim the small amount of credit for correct foresight that results from the fact that my suggestion, in an even more precise form, has actually emanated from himself, and, as Dane tells us privately, is the one upon which he is most insistent and which he will be most disappointed if we do not in any way meet?

Attitude towards the Amir: views of the Government of India.

And from this justification may I proceed without rashness to argue that the Indian view of the Amir and the way in which to handle him may frequently be more right than the London one? For instance, I feel certain that if during the past three years we had sometimes been allowed to speak plain

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language to him, instead of avoiding the controversial points and indulging in generalities—we should not now have found him puffed up with conceit as he is, and almost impracticable in argument. I still hope that we may not leave Kabul bootless: and I think myself that even at the last moment a firm stand, if we are permitted to make it, will probably bring him to reason. But my own view is that the occasion even would never have arisen had we shown a little more mettle ever since he succeeded. If you were to question my recollection, I think I could easily give a list of occasions on which our proposals at this end for addressing him have been watered and toned down at home, until not very much remained.

I am not complaining: I am only asking that, if there have been mistakes in the past, they should not be repeated.

The Viceroy's successor.

Now I must not trouble you any more. I only hope that you may stay in long enough to add to your own laurels and achievements, and to render possible at a rather later date the arrangement as to my successor which we discussed in England, and which I believe to be in every way the best for the future interests of this country.

Lord Kitchener.

Do not be disturbed about Kitchener—at any rate for the present. He is not in the temper which so many of his home friends and correspondents seem bent on making out.

Yours affectionately,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 15.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
February 2nd, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Negotiations at Kabul.

The whole of my letters for some weeks past will have shown you that in my view matters at Kabul were approaching a crisis, which would eventually compel us to decide whether we do or do not make a stand. The recent telegrams from Dane which I am summarising to you to-day will show that that position has been reached. I am about to circulate them at once to Council, and we shall have a special meeting on Monday next in

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order to decide what advice we shall offer. Long before this letter reaches you the matter will have been decided one way or another. My own impression is that Council will be unanimously in favour of a firm line. That has been their attitude on every occasion on which we have hitherto discussed the matter. Kitchener has always strongly expressed the same views. We are all of us aware that on the few occasions on which the British Government has ever put down its foot, either with the late Amir or with the present, the Afghans have always given way. The latest illustration in my own experience was that of the Seistan Mission which I told the Amir would start on a certain day whether he liked to cooperate or not. This brought him at once to his knees. In the time of his father your advisers will similarly recollect the incidents of Wana and Mitai. Of course it may be that the Amir is secretly disloyal to us, has already entered into negotiations with Russia, and is prepared, as he frequently hints, to accept the terms from her which we decline to give. That would raise an issue of the most serious character and one which everyone either here or in England would anticipate with the greatest alarm. But we have to consider not possibilities, but probabilities. Is it the least likely that the Amir will break away *in toto* from the traditional policy of his father and his country, which has been pursued with only one break since the time of Dost Mohammed? Is it likely that he will forget the experience of that single break, which cost Shere Ali his throne and his life? Is it likely that the Amir will forthwith proceed to make friends with the power against whom he has been inciting us to plunge into war, with whose defeats at the hands of Japan he is perfectly acquainted, and whom he is always boasting of his capacity to repel by means of the Afghan army alone? Even if he or Nasrulla were at all disposed to take such a line, is it at all likely that it would be accepted with contentment either by his army or his country? They have had a long experience of the British alliance and they know our policy and intentions. What do they know of Russia except that which must fill them with horror and alarm? My own impression has always been that if the Amir went over wholly to Russia his life would not be worth a year's purchase, and that he would have signed the sentence of his own doom. On the other hand, is it not a much more reasonable hypothesis that he is playing the old Afghan trick of trading upon our traditional weakness, that he knows perfectly well that we have not the slightest desire or intention to fight Russia, and that he thinks he has only to stand fast in order to get us to yield to whatever terms he may dictate? I do not know whether you are satisfied with the position at Kabul. To me it seems a profoundly humiliating one for a great power. That our representative, sent there in order to negotiate a treaty by which this petty potentate will be the recipient of our bounty, and by which he obtains the advantages of British protection, giving practically nothing in return, should be treated as Dane has been—his arguments misrepresented, his statements of our intentions ignored, and his civility met with impertinence—is, in my opinion, a

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spectacle neither creditable to ourselves nor capable of being tolerated. In the last resort I know of no way but one of dealing with any Oriental power, and that is to acquaint them with the simple fact that beyond a certain point we do not mean to be trifled with, and that there is a "thus far and no farther." Not until that point is reached is diplomacy ever able to effect much, whether at Tehran, at Kabul, at Lhasa, or at Peking. These remarks are not tinged by the faintest spirit of arrogance or bravado: they represent a life-long study on my part of the various aspects of the Asiatic question, and I do not think there is any Asiatic expert in the world by whom they would not be endorsed.

Dismissal of Major Cleveland by the Amir.

A further symptom of the discourteous and unfriendly attitude of the Amir has been furnished by his treatment of the English doctor who was only sent up there at his own request last autumn. This was a Major Cleveland. The whole affair was conducted in my absence from India, and I did not hear of it till I returned. The Amir insisted upon the entry into the agreement of a clause giving him power to dismiss Cleveland at three months' notice. The unfortunate man went up to Kabul. He has never been allowed to do any work, his position has been one incompatible with any dignity or self-respect, and he has finally, without any cause whatsoever, suddenly received notice of dismissal from the Amir. I have always thought it myself the greatest mistake to send up Englishmen to take service in the Court of Afghanistan. When I was at Kabul in 1894 I found that Pyne's position, which he always represented in India and England as one of great authority, was, on the contrary, one of extreme insignificance and almost contempt. There is nothing that an Asiatic potentate of the type of the Afghan likes better than to have a number of European officers hanging about him whom he can afford to humiliate before his own countrymen. Had I been in India, I would not have allowed Cleveland or anyone else to go up except with the Mission, and would have left or withdrawn him according to its success or failure. As it is, the conduct of the Amir has provided one more source of irritation between him and ourselves.

Probable movements of the Baltic fleet.

The telegram which I have received from you this morning about a probable visit of Rozhdestvensky's fleet to the Persian Gulf is a singular confirmation of the hypothesis which I submitted to Balfour and yourself as far back as October last. I have never believed the Baltic Squadron was meant to go to the Far East, or, if it was meant to go there, that it would ever arrive. It was for this reason that, looking about for a possible destination, my eyes fell upon the Persian Gulf, and I felt it a most likely thing that the Russians would endeavour to recover some measure of prestige, and at the same time do a provocative thing to ourselves, by making a demonstration in that quarter. Whether such a demonstration will involve measures of actual menace or hostility it is of course impossible to say: that must depend upon whether the War party in Russia is in the ascendant or not, and whether the Emperor does or does not desire to force on hostilities with ourselves.

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If he wants them, it will be easy enough for him to secure them, either in Afghanistan or in the Persian Gulf, and the challenge is one which of course we must be in a position to accept. I can hardly think, however, that even Russian statesmen will be anxious to see the whole of the remaining vessels of their fleet sent to the bottom of the sea, or to have another great war upon their shoulders when they are still reeling under the blows that are administered to them by Japan. I admit that Russia is like a wounded and vindictive bull, seeking to gore whomever it can, but there is nothing to control the purely animal passions of the bull, while Russia has a good deal to make her pause and hesitate at the present juncture.

The Commander-in-Chief and the Military Department. Consultation of Generals by Lord Kitchener.

I now turn to the most odious subject of Kitchener's proposals for a change in our military administration, and I send you upon this point a correspondence which I beg you to read most closely. It consists of two parts. Firstly are some letters which I exchanged with him a year and a half ago when George Hamilton had called my attention to an exceedingly irregular correspondence that was already at that time proceeding between Kitchener and Lord Roberts on the very question which is now before us. The letters will show the conditions which Kitchener then accepted as to the manner in which the correspondence, if continued, should in future proceed. Now turn to the second batch of letters. Only a week ago I heard incidentally, to my great surprise, that Kitchener had privately consulted the leading Generals in India as to their views upon this matter, which has now been formally submitted to the Government of India and which is under examination by our Council. I also heard that the only leading General whom he had not asked for his opinion was the only one, namely, Sir Edmund Barrow, who was quite certain to give it against him. As for the remainder, I know enough of military discipline in this country to be aware that no General in high position dare oppose anything which the Commander-in-Chief puts forward, and that if he does criticize it in the first place, steps are very soon taken to induce him to modify his attitude. As it was certain that these opinions could only have been sought for the influencing of the judgment of some parties to me unknown, I made enquiries of Kitchener on the subject. The correspondence reveals the rest and requires no marginal annotations from me. Now I want to address to you a frank but most serious appeal on this question. You are the constitutional defender in this matter of the rights of the Government of India. You are bound to see that, if our constitution is impugned or subverted, it is only done in the proper way. And yet is not the whole history of the case a record of attempts to influence the final judgment in a manner unfavourable to the position which it is understood that the Government of India is likely to take up? There is Lord Roberts as a sort of *amicus curiæ* in the back-ground, consulted by the Home Government, writing weekly to our Commander-in-Chief, sending him Minutes which are never shown to the Viceroy, and asking for information, which it is then proposed without the consent of the Government of India to procure.

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There is Kitchener here, proposing to utilize this information, behind the back of the Viceroy and his Colleagues, to influence the judgment of Lord Roberts, in order that Lord Roberts may go and influence that of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and the Cabinet. Then on the top of all this came your proposal, designed, I fully believe, with the intention of making matters run as easily as possible and of appointing the most highly competent arbiter to advise, and yet, if closely examined, incapable of any other interpretation than an attempt to override the constitutional privileges of the Government of India, and to take the decision out of their hands. Now, I fully understand the desire of the Prime Minister and His Majesty's Government not to have a row with Kitchener, or to be forced to contemplate his resignation. No one recognizes more clearly than myself the sort of artificial prestige that attaches to a great soldier, or the degree of the pressure that he is in a position to apply. But do not let a full recognition of this fact tempt the authorities at home into an attitude of positive unfairness to my Colleagues and myself, and above all pray remember that, as Secretary of State, it is your duty to see that justice is rendered not to a single one of us, but to the entire body. Is not the publication of the Tibetan correspondence and the reception that it appears to have met with, an indication that the view taken by the public of differences between the Home Government and the Government of India does not necessarily coincide with the view entertained by the former. You have not seen our case; you are not aware that three-fourths of Kitchener's contentions have been absolutely knocked to pieces by the Military Department's reply; you do not know what form the strong protest that is going to emanate from the Viceroy, who has been head of the Government of India for the longest period for half a century, will take; you do not know what attitude is going to be taken by his Colleagues; you are unaware what impression will be produced by the whole of these documents when they are published in a Blue-book. I desire to warn you in advance that I think it quite conceivable that the result may be the reverse of what some anticipate; and that the Government, unless they proceed with great circumspection in dealing with the matter, may only be preparing for themselves serious trouble. I further beg you to reflect that the matter should not be looked upon exclusively from its bearing upon the fortunes of a particular individual, but that as Secretary of State it is incumbent upon you to consider the future military administration of this country long after the present Commander-in-Chief has disappeared, and when other figures dominate the scene. I shall not in future letters repeat this warning, and I ask your pardon if you think it intrusive now.

Proposed Commission of Enquiry.

A most annoying question has just arisen. When Rivaz visited me here the other day he told me that he was about to apply for leave to England, and I consulted you as to replacing him by Sir Denzil Ibbetson throughout the summer. I had not at that time ever seen the rules upon which the grant of leave to a Lieutenant-Governor is based, nor the form of medical certificate

Sir C. Rivaz's application for leave.

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which, by the Civil Service Regulations, he is required to submit. When the formal application for leave came, it was accompanied by a certificate which presented no sort of correspondence to these conditions, and did not allege ill-health at all. Indeed, it is notorious that, although any man who has served in India without a break for five years would be greatly the better for a change, and Rivaz not less than others, he is at the present moment in a more robust condition than he has been for years. Accordingly, we have had to draw his attention to the orders that exist on the subject, and to say that, unless a certificate can be submitted that is in accord with the spirit of the Regulations, we shall not be in a position to give the leave. I do not conceive that it is any part of our duty to go behind the certificate or to enquire into the integrity of the officer who signs it; but at least I think that we ought not to connive at an open breach of the rules. Possibly the required certificate may still be forthcoming, but if not, the arrangement that I proposed to you will fall to the ground and your object will be secured by the retention of Sir Denzil Ibbetson in our counsels.

Partition of Bengal.

We are sending off to you by the present mail our final despatch about the so-called partition of Bengal. The matter is argued with so much minuteness in the despatch, in the composition of which I have taken a considerable hand, that I need not recapitulate any portion of our case here. Its most noticeable features, I think, are these. In the first place, the necessity for relief is indisputable. The administration of Bengal is bad, and it is bad because the work is far too great for any individual man, and because, therefore, there is complete lack of touch between the centre and the extremities. Secondly, no paltry readjustments can effect the necessary reform. Indeed, in a sense they would make it worse, because they would tend merely to reproduce the situation which already vitiates the administration of Assam, namely, the existence of a small province having no service of its own, but drawing its men from its more powerful neighbour, which takes good care invariably to send it of its worst. Thirdly, the proposals we are submitting to you represent what I should take to be an almost unparalleled unanimity of opinion among all the officers consulted, though the matter is one that might well admit of the most opposite views. Fourthly, the rival proposal of appointing a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor, with an Executive Council, for Bengal is one which the whole of my Colleagues as well as myself think would be fraught with grave injury to the future of the Province, and to which we should ourselves be unwilling in any circumstances to give our assent. Fifthly, the opposition to our scheme, though not without considerable force in the form in which the scheme was at first put forward, is now, in relation to our final plan, an outcry of the Congress party alone, inspired by political motives and directed to a political end. Calcutta is the centre from which the Congress party is manipulated throughout the whole of Bengal, and indeed the whole of India. Its best wire-pullers and its most

The National Congress.

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frothy orators all reside here. The perfection of their machinery, and the tyranny which it enables them to exercise, are truly remarkable. They dominate public opinion in Calcutta; they affect the High Court; they frighten the Local Government; and they are sometimes not without serious influence upon the Government of India. The whole of their activity is directed to creating an agency so powerful that they may one day be able to force a weak Government to give them what they desire. Any measure in consequence that would divide the Bengali-speaking population; that would permit independent centres of activity and influence to grow up; that would dethrone Calcutta from its place as the centre of successful intrigue, or that would weaken the influence of the lawyer class, who have the entire organization in their hands, is intensely and hotly resented by them. The outcry will be very loud and very fierce, but as a Native gentleman said to me—"My countrymen always howl until a thing is settled; then they accept it." Though the case is a very long and complex one, I hope that you may be able to give a decision upon it in time to start the new arrangements, if accepted, in the course of the forthcoming summer, so that any agitation may have disappeared before the probable visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Calcutta next winter. I shall consult you later on as to the desirability of acquainting the public with our proposals here; in the meantime I send you two private notes which were written a year ago by Fraser and Fuller, and which contain their opinions on aspects of the case which they thought undesirable to mention in their official replies.

[Enclosures.]

Press announcements; brief notice given by Secy. of State.

You will remember my appeal to you to be a little more considerate in respect of announcements about to appear in the press. The same thing happened again last week. I only received at midnight your telegram to the effect that White's appointment to Burma was to be announced next day. Do please remember that when you telegraph at 12 o'clock at London it is nearly 6 P. M. here, and that your telegram does not accordingly reach us till midnight? Surely your Secretary ought to have warned you of this, and I am sure the matter only has to be mentioned in order to prevent a repetition of the trouble.

Education of Native Princes: son of the Gaekwar of Baroda.

In the advice that I have so frequently given to Indian Chiefs, there is nothing upon which I have laid more stress than that the education given to a young man at an English Public School or University is not that which best fits a young Indian Prince for the future rule of his country. Moreover, it has been with the object of some practical alternative here that I have started the Imperial Cadet Corps and done so much to improve the education at Chiefs' Colleges. I have persuaded the Maharaja of Cooch Behar to take away his sons from Eton and Christ Church, and I dissuaded the Rao of Cutch from sending his to the same destination. In some other cases I have been unsuccessful and the results are frequently appearing to confirm the justice

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of my apprehensions. I heard the other day that Fateh Singh Rao, the eldest son of the Gaekwar of Baroda, whom the latter persisted in sending to Oxford, had to be taken away because of idleness and misconduct there, and that since his return to India he has developed great extravagance and consorts with low people. Although his father professes the strongest antagonism to the social prescriptions of the Hindus, he has allowed him to marry a girl of only 13, who is now *enceinte*, and I think it is very doubtful whether the young man will ever come to any good. The fact is that a youth, either at Eton or at Oxford, acquires ideas and tastes which are incompatible with subsequent residence in a Native State, or with sympathy for the people over whom he may be called upon to rule.

Prince of Wales's proposed tour.

In connection with the Prince of Wales's visit, I hope very soon to hear from you your views as to the course to be adopted in respect of payment. In 1875 the expenditure incurred in India was debited to general revenues, no separate Budget provision was made, and no separate head was opened in the accounts. Hence the Finance Department cannot give me the total expenditure. The amount debited to the Government of India Accounts was 4½ lakhs. Then of course there was the expenditure incurred by Local Governments as well, which I cannot ascertain, except in the case of the Punjab, who spent about half a lakh.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

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(1) Copies of letters to His Excellency Lord Kitchener, dated 12th and 13th May 1903, and from Lord Kitchener, dated 13th May 1903 (2 letters).

(2) Copies of letters from His Excellency Lord Kitchener, dated 31st January and 1st and 2nd February 1905, and to Lord Kitchener of same dates.

(3) Notes by Sir A. Fraser and Mr. Fuller, dated 21st April 1904 and 5th April 1904 respectively, on the political aspect of the question of the partition of Bengal.

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No. 16.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
February 2nd, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Lord Kitchener and the Military Department.

I have written to the Secretary of State very seriously about the constitutional aspect of the question of our military administration. I will only add a few words to you about the personal. It is of all things most essential that I should not quarrel with Kitchener personally over the matter. I do not intend to do so if I can possibly escape it. But if all the subterranean paths are pursued that I have depicted in my letter to the Secretary of State, then it will be scarcely avoidable. Do please let us act in the ordinary way and not be flustered out of it by Kitchener or anybody else.

You regard the friction between him and the Military Department as *primâ facie* evidence of the unsoundness of the present system. I regard it as irrefutable evidence of the personal character of the dispute. I administered the Government of India for four years before Kitchener appeared upon the scene, and I cannot recall a single similar quarrel. He has created them entirely by his own attitude, which is one of peevish and often puerile antagonism to everything that the Military Department does. Only the other day Elles proposed to address you (the despatch has issued or is issuing) about a readjustment of the scale of pay inside the Department, in order to enable its officers to divide the duties better and to offer sufficient inducement to the Deputy Secretary. Kitchener took it to Council, quite lost his head in the discussion, showed conclusively that he was animated only by personal considerations, and found himself in a minority of one! Let me give you another illustration. He complains in his Minute that the Army Head-Quarters and Military Department occupy different buildings and is always comparing them to the War Office and old Horse Guards in London. Three years ago I started raising a new building in Calcutta for their accommodation. The two offices and sets of officers are now located on two floors of the same building with only 20 steps between them. There is a charming room specially reserved for the Commander-in-Chief. When I went to inspect them the other day I found that Kitchener had not once been there since we all came to Calcutta. He complained when the Military Department were elsewhere. He now refuses to enter the same building. DeBrath (the Secretary) is going on leave this summer. We wanted to get another officer (General Nixon) to take his place. When he was sounded confidentially he replied that he would be glad enough,

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but that he dared not accept, for he knew that it would be an end to his military career under the present *régime*.

Mixed Brigades.

I have never seen the opinion of the Generals on the question of mixed Brigades. The correspondence that you have was private and was conducted and forwarded in my absence. At the instance of the Secretary of State we asked the Adjutant-General to consult these officers officially soon after I had returned. Six weeks have elapsed. But their replies have not yet been submitted.

Tibetan Blue-book.

I wonder if His Majesty's Government are satisfied with the reception that their Tibetan Blue-book appears to have met with. The telegrams to India represent it as receiving the applause of the Radical Press alone. What would even they say if they knew that the most important telegram had had to be doctored, and that in order to censure Colonel Younghusband with consistency it had been found necessary to conceal the fact that when his action was first reported the Government had given it their support without qualification. But are not these Blue-books shams in a wider sense? You and I know, and the public dimly suspects, that the Tibetan Mission, though the local provocation was entirely adequate, was mainly undertaken in order to prevent Tibet from passing under the Protectorate of Russia. The Government have themselves shown their sense of the reality of this danger by the elaborate safe-guards with which they have provided in the Treaty against its recurrence. And yet from cover to cover of the Blue-book not one word about Russia, her intrigues or designs, is permitted to appear, except Lord Lansdowne's defiant pronouncement to her in the beginning, and the frantic efforts to secure her good-will and compliance in the end. The Blue-book is indeed the most striking evidence that I have seen of the almost paralysing influence that Russia exercises over the nerves of British Governments.

To me the Blue-book is even more interesting in the opportunity that it has afforded to the public of expressing an opinion upon the spectacle of the Home Government openly trampling upon the Government of India. If you study the English papers in India, you will find but one opinion here. So far as we can gather from the telegrams, the same view is entertained at home. Perhaps if this be so, it may impose some slight check upon the extraordinary eagerness of the Government in recent times to vindicate their consistency at our expense and to treat the Government of India as people who do not even know their own business.

This claim may be made with plausibility, even if not always with prudence, in cases where "the course to be pursued must be laid down by His Majesty's Imperial Government (quite a new phrase) alone". Shall we shortly have it extended to a wider sphere? Will our military constitution fall into this category? Will it be held to apply to Afghanistan? These problems are in the lap of the gods, but they will shortly be in the hands of some mortals.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 17.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
February 9th, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Negotiations at Kabul: telegram to S. of S.

My letter must be very short this week, since my afternoon is about to be broken into by a meeting of Council to consider the most important telegram that we are about to send you on the subject of Afghanistan. The telegram that we were to have sent at the beginning of the week was suspended owing to the sudden and unexpected arrival of a batch of fresh information from Dane showing that the situation had rapidly come to a head, and that he had been obliged to speak out to the Amir in somewhat clearer language than he has hitherto employed. These telegrams reveal the Amir in a state of mind, or rather I would say of mental obscurity and perverseness, with which it is extremely difficult to know how to deal. He is himself a martyr to gout and there are indications that his life is not a very good one. He appears, though weak and amiable himself, to be entirely in the hands of advisers who are bitterly opposed to England. Our impression is that Nasrulla is playing for his own hand and for the ultimate succession, and that the insistence laid by the Amir upon the permanent character of the arrangements is in the main due to Nasrulla's desire to pave the way for himself. However that be, the predominant influences at Kabul are latterly of such a character as to render the future a matter of the gravest doubt and peril. Whatever agreement we may now conclude, there does not seem to be much chance that it will be kept, and the continued existence of Afghanistan as a buffer is likely to be even more imperilled by the attitude of its rulers than it is by the assaults of the Russians. I cannot say what view Council may take in an hour's time, for I have circulated the papers to them, and have not had time to receive their opinions, but there has hitherto not been the slightest wavering on the part of anyone of us that the right policy is one of firmness and strength. Kitchener has more than once used the remark that weakness now would be the surest prelude to war. These are not the views apparently that prevail at your end, and the telegram that we received from you on the 4th of February did not give much indication of support in the line that we are disposed to take. I do not at all know why you said in it that you gathered from our telegram of the 2nd that we might possibly acquiesce in Dane's suggestion that he should return to India to

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represent the situation, for there was nothing in it to suggest any such inference. I imagine therefore that you merely set up this peg in order to knock it down, and to acquaint us with the fact that His Majesty's Government prefer any sort of arrangement to no arrangement at all. Of course it is possible to surrender all round, but if you do so you will have permanently surrendered our influence in Afghanistan; you will not have settled a single one of the questions which Dane has been sent up to arrange; and though you may escape a crisis for the moment, you will have done it at the expense of your successors and will render the future conduct of relations with Afghanistan an impossibility. I have pushed loyalty to the views of His Majesty's Government to the extreme in endeavouring to suggest some form of compromise that would meet your views without sacrificing ours, and just as much as yourselves I realise the gravity of the situation and the responsibility that would be assumed. Long before this reaches you the matter will have been decided one way or the other, and many remarks that I am now making will be superfluous because they will be obsolete.

Relations between Lord Kitchener and Mily. Dept.

I do not wish to add much about the Kitchener question. I am reluctant to accept the opinion that any delay that occurred in England was in any degree due to myself, for I could easily quote passages in letters both from Balfour and you which are inconsistent with any such hypothesis. Even if it were true I should congratulate myself upon having saved the Government from a serious error; since it would have been an indefensible step to send a Committee out here in order to investigate, and possibly to revolutionise, our constitution simply upon a threat of resignation put forward by the Commander-in-Chief in a fit of what you know to be personal temper and for a cause which was absolutely childish. As it is, I am now heartily glad that your proposal of an enquiry in March has fallen through, for it is clear to me that it would have been impossible to conduct it with anything like propriety. Working as I do until the early hours of every morning, I have yet only just succeeded in completing my Minute upon the subject raised by Kitchener. It will now pass into circulation. It will be quite impossible for Council to take it for another 3 weeks; and I was right in telling you, as I originally did, that our views could not in any case be formulated and sent off till the early part of March. You now hint that when our despatch arrives you may have to settle the question upon it and without further enquiry. That is a matter for the Government to determine: the responsibility will rest with you and not with us. But I think that those who are in favour of the change suggested by the Commander-in-Chief had better wait before making up their minds until they have seen the case that the Government of India is likely to put forward. What my Colleagues may say I have no idea; I have never spoken to one of them on the subject; but it is inconceivable that the change can

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be made, if His Majesty's Government decide to order it, without the publication of the papers, and, until you have seen these, I think it would be well not to be too sure that the change, or any change, can be made by a mere stroke of the pen. I shall be quite content for the case to be decided on its merits as revealed in the papers, and when these are published I will confidently accept the decision of public opinion. Please do not think that I am treating you as a partisan in the matter, for I know full well that you have kept your mind open and that you are, so to speak, the Chairman of the Jury whom we are about to address. But I think you will admit that the impression generally conveyed by your letters is that, whatever opinons you may ultimately form, the pressure exerted by Kitchener will be so great that, irrespective of the merits, you will be forced to yield to it. All I desire to point out at the present stage is that I think the merits will play a very much larger part in the case than you at all anticipate, and that when those who are called upon to decide are acquainted, not merely with what Kitchener proposes to destroy, but with what he desires to set up in its place, of which you are not yet aware, there will be a considerable change of opinion even amongst those who are at present theoretically in favour of his scheme.

Appointment of Marquess of Bath as Under Secy. at the India Office.

I hope that Bath will make a satisfactory Under Secretary, though I do not suppose that in any case he will have a long tenure of office. I have never heard him speak, and should not myself have credited him with the powers that you predicate. But, after all, the Under Secretary has not much to do in the Lords, and I daresay that the ordeal will not be beyond his powers.

Mr. Balfour and the Ministry.

I cannot help, however, being very much struck, as a general phenomenon, by the degree to which Balfour reinforces his Ministry from the aristocratic order. His view would seem to be that the influence of the great families must be recognised by giving prominent places to their members. It is difficult to account in any other way for some of the appointments that he has made. Personally I should have doubted the wisdom of this policy. I should have thought it wiser to democratise the Conservative Party rather than to emphasize its aristocratic flavour. A front bench of Marquesses and Earls does not in my judgment carry any greater weight with the public than one of untitled mortals.

Budget proposals.

I was glad to receive your telegram this morning saying that our Budget had passed through your Committee without alteration, and am grateful for your personal efforts in securing this result. From a Reuter's telegram which came yesterday summarising a speech that you had made, I gathered that this would be the case, as you seemed to me to foreshadow the various methods of distributing our surplus which we had proposed.

Faulty estimating.

In our estimate for next year we are bearing in mind your caution as to under-estimating, with which, on the whole, I am entirely in agreement. We shall accordingly budget for a larger surplus than would otherwise have

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been necessary, because we have gone carefully through the estimates of the Local Governments in the various departments, which always err on the side of caution, and have revised them in such a manner as to estimate our revenue fully under all heads, and not to over-estimate our probable expenditure. Upon the general question I should like to make the following remarks in explanation of the Indian situation.

An undue excess of the actual over the estimated surplus is ordinarily due to an under-estimate of revenue and an over-estimate of expenditure.

The habitual tendency to under-estimate the revenue is the legacy of a long period of financial stress, of which the most important factors were the 30 years' exchange difficulty, the violent fluctuations in opium revenue, and the strain on resources arising from occasional famines.

Certain heads of revenue show (except in famine years) a very considerable progressive increase. It has been the constant practice to estimate for an increase much smaller than past experience would warrant, and in this manner to secure what may be called an insurance fund, which would mitigate the evils of any of the frequently recurring financial disasters. Such heads of revenue are salt, excise, assessed taxes, stamps, and registration. The caution shown in dealing with these stable heads was naturally exceeded when the framers of the budget came to the more fluctuating items, as for instance, forests, railways, and irrigation, and again the guess at the opium revenue did not err on the side of extravagance.

It is obvious that if, during a series of years, the calamities under which the above system of estimating grew up cease, or operate only in a small degree, the actual revenue obtained must very largely exceed the estimate. And this is what has occurred during the period 1900-01 to 1903-04.

The tendency to over-estimate expenditure is largely due to the circumstance that the budget is a sanction as well as an estimate. It is the constant tendency of the departments to estimate for what they may possibly spend, instead of for the amount which past experience shows they are likely to spend. The Finance Department frequently cut down such estimates, but the influence thus exerted is often insufficient to reduce the estimate to the actual level of expenditure.

The Amir and the Seistan question.

Looking through one of your letters the other day, I came across rather an amusing passage in which you quoted old Bayley as your chief authority for the reluctance experienced at home in making any mention to the Amir of my suggestions about Seistan. This was what you said, "Sir Steuart Bayley, who is generally a moderate man, registered his opinion that nothing but a threat of war would cause the Amir even to consider it." Of course he knew no more about it than any of the rest of us, but the remark is an interesting indication of how far removed from actualities the retired expert may sometimes be.

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Governors and the National Anthem.

I do not think you quite understand what I meant by the National Anthem question. This is not a question that was first raised by us. It had been decided before I came out to India, by George Hamilton, in a sense adverse to the claims of Madras and Bombay. Orders had been issued on the subject to Madras which were consistently violated, first by Havelock and afterwards by Ampthill. They had never been communicated to Bombay. We then addressed your predecessor again on the question and invited him to lay down definite orders. He had the opportunity of receding from the position that he had before taken up if he wished to do so. Nevertheless, the orders came out repeated and confirmed. They were indeed officially communicated by him to the two Governors. In the case of Ampthill they were not to apply during his tenure of office: in the case of Northcote they were to start with his successor. If then these orders are violated, and if the matter comes under the attention of the Secretary of State, he is naturally the person to see that his own rules are obeyed. There is no question of going to the King or of doing anything else. You are usually so very explicit about securing obedience to the orders of Government at home that I can hardly imagine you would acquiesce in their being violated within a year or two of the time at which they were issued. If that be the case, why not withdraw them altogether? It is not for the Viceroy to have friction with his subordinate Governors by rubbing in the orders of the India Office. It is rather for the Secretary of State, if he finds that they are being neglected, to remind the offender that he will do well not to repeat the transgression.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 18.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
February 15th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I am glad to receive from you in your letter dated 26th January so encouraging an account of the probable future of certain of our schemes.

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The difference between Ellenborough and myself (if I am successful) will be that he got back the sham gates while I shall recover the original picture. My vocabulary, though not ordinarily supposed to be jejune, will not be equal to the effort of a Proclamation! — Portrait of Warren Hastings.

The Native Press have tried to create a petty storm about an insignificant little piece of legislation that we had to introduce and carry in order to prevent the work of our new University Syndicates from being stopped by litigation entered into for obstructive purposes. It is one of those storms in a tea cup which have only to be allayed in order to be forgotten. — Universities Validating Act.

Upcott and Wynne are setting to work with the new Railway Board, and both appear to be sanguine and happy. — Railway Board.

My work in the Foreign Department is very hard just now, for in the absence of Dane I have no Foreign Secretary for the majority of Foreign cases, Fraser, who is acting for him, having no knowledge or experience in such cases. The result is that I have to be my own Foreign Secretary as well as Foreign Member. One of my reasons for not wishing to send Dane to Kabul was that, not only did I distrust him there, but I felt that he would be useful to me in putting up the cases here. As matters have turned out, I have the wrong man at Kabul and nobody here. Clarke, who is acting as Deputy Secretary, and who takes the Afghan and Frontier cases, is doing extremely well. But he is necessarily lacking in status and authority. — Work of the Foreign Dept.

You may have heard of a Madras celebrity named Sir Fredrick Price. The other day I was shown the following literary gem contributed by him under the name of Sporting Notes to a Railway Guide:— — Sir F. Price.

"It is desirable to have a stout rattan tiffin basket, which, unless the sportsman is prepared, when at the close of the day and after he has changed, he sets to work to mix for himself the peg which he has been longing for, but from which he has virtuously refrained, to find that the whisky has evaporated, 'God knows how,' as the tiffin cooly will tell him, should be kept fastened with a good padlock."

Somers Cocks, who came out to us from the Foreign Office in London, is not at present doing as well as I had hoped. He is wanting in clearness of mind and crispness of judgment. I hope that he may improve. — Mr. Somers Cocks.

Richards is so far no good for general administrative purposes, though useful in his own subjects. He speaks fairly, but with nothing of the forensic ability of Raleigh. — Mr. Richards.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 19.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
February 16*th*, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Negotiations at Kabul.

I do not think that there is anything I can say about Afghanistan. I have been waiting here for five days in the hope of getting the reply of His Majesty's Government to the very important telegram that we sent off nearly a week ago. I do not for a moment complain of the delay, because the issues are so important, the points of view to be considered so many, and the responsibility of the decision so serious, that I can well believe that not one, or even two, Cabinet Meetings will suffice for a solution. All the more must this be the case in a week when Parliament is meeting and when you are all harassed with other work. The delay happens to have been a source of great inconvenience to me, for I had arranged to take Lamington a trip into Assam, and he came here specially for the purpose. We had less than a fortnight in all for this object, and a considerable slice out of this has been cut away. He is leaving tonight without me, and upon the nature of your orders it will depend whether I am able to join him for a day or two later on.

Proposed trip to Assam.

Tibetan Blue Book. Mr. Ian Malcolm's motion.

I see in Reuter this morning that Ian Malcolm is going to move an amendment about the publication of the Tibetan Blue Book. I need hardly say that I have had no communication with him about this and was wholly unaware of his intention. I think that the publication of the Blue Book was a great mistake, and so apparently does a large section of the public at home. But the matter of Tibet is one upon which we have disagreed so profoundly throughout that for some time past I have said nothing about it, and I only mention it now in order to remove the impression, should it exist, that I have had anything to do with the expressions of dissatisfaction that have been heard at home.

Murder of Colonel Harman: the Waziristan Militia.

My Colleagues and I have been greatly concerned during the past week at the lamentable outrage that has cost us the life of Colonel Harman, the Commanding Officer of the Southern Waziristan Militia. It is one of those terrible episodes inseparable from Frontier politics in the present backward

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stage of ethical evolution. Valuable officers have been cut down by fanatics before, and will be sacrificed again. It is the price that we pay for attempting to deal with Pathans. But in the present case the incident has been rendered more serious because the local officers seem to have rushed at once to the conclusion that it was not merely an incident but a symptom, that every Mahsud Militia-man was a potential murderer, and that security could only be re-established by the disarmament and disbanding of the entire Corps. It is a most unfortunate thing that the Political Officer at Wano at the moment happens to be a young Civilian of only four and a half years' standing. He and the Adjutant seem equally to have lost their heads. Colonel Deane was rather more cautious, but he also seems to have suffered from an attack of nerves. The result was that, almost before we knew what had occurred, we found ourselves on the verge of being committed to action which might have resulted in a complete rupture with the Wazir tribe and in a military expedition. I hope that the orders which I issued, and of which I send you a copy, [Enclosure.] may prevent any such calamitous issue. Up till this outrage we have never received a hint of insubordination or disloyalty in the Southern Waziristan Militia. Everybody, from Kitchener downwards, has extolled their success and urged an expansion of the scheme, and it would surely be both premature and unstatesmanlike on the strength of this single incident to abandon the entire experiment and to break off our relations with the tribe. Of course the pessimism of the local officers may be justified upon enquiry, but I earnestly hope that this will not be the case and that we shall not be asked to condemn the entire structure, because a single chimney has fallen down and killed somebody standing below.

Lord Kitchener's Scheme and Lieutenant Generals.

You allude again to the question of our surviving Lieutenant-Generals and the future Divisional Commands. In a recent letter I explained Kitchener's attitude to you. He has kept the Lieutenant-Generals for the present for the reasons that I named, but he wants to sweep them away later on. I should tell you that this is all part of his scheme for destroying the Military Department and bringing everything more directly under himself. The nine Divisional Generals would then report directly to him. I need hardly say that this would impose a strain upon Army Head-quarters which would be positively intolerable and would result in centralisation of the most injurious description. I can scarcely believe that the Government of India would agree to it. As it is, the existing Lieutenant-Generals' Commands, now that there are only three, are beyond the capacity of any ordinary individual, and many are the complaints that are already being made. I have never felt it to be my duty to criticize the military aspect of Kitchener's schemes. I have been content to examine them from the administrative, political, and financial points of view, and until he set to work to destroy the Military Department, which is of course a con-

Feeling in regard to Lord Kitchener's schemes.

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stitutional question of the gravest character in addition, I have never contested his purely military proposals. I should tell you, however, from information that has reached me from many quarters, that his schemes are by no means received or regarded with the unanimity that appears to be imagined at home. There is a deep and serious feeling of opposition growing up in all parts of India to his drastic changes. The Generals resent many of them intensely, and the Native Army is also reported to be much alarmed. None of the Generals dare speak to Kitchener with any frankness; it would be more than their position or prospects are worth. But their talk gets out and reaches my ears, and I foresee clearly enough that many of these reforms, about which so much fuss is being made, will have no longer existence than [Enclosure.] their author's term of office in this country and will then disappear. I send you herewith an advance copy of my Minute on the system of Military Administration, in continuation of the argument which has been opened by Kitchener and carried on by Elles.

Homogeneous *versus* Mixed Brigades.

The question of mixed Brigades is one with which it is exceedingly difficult to deal. I have never seen the private letters from the various Generals to which you refer, but their official answers in reply to our official enquiries have now come in, and they have all fallen into line with their imperious master. Some of them are dumb dogs and say nothing: the others repeat the arguments with which he has supplied them. The case is now about to come before Council. The Military Member is so tired of the incessant conflict which Kitchener is always forcing upon him that he does not make any very clear or definite stand, and the rest of Council of course do not know much about it. I have not formed any opinion myself, never having heard the case discussed, and not being aware of the *pros* and *cons* except in their general form. I can promise you, however, that whatever be the decision arrived at here, it will not be without a full examination of all sides of the case.

Kabul Mission: Mr. Dane's appointment, negotiations, &c.

I did not mean to suggest that you had any share whatever in the appointment of Dane to the Kabul Mission: nor I think did my letter convey any such impression. The appointment was made by Ampthill, and was reported to me in circumstances which left me no alternative but to express my acquiescence. What I do complain of, though here again the complaint is not personal to yourself, is that when I pressed so urgently, as you will remember, that the despatch of the Mission should be postponed until I had returned to India and been able to talk to Dane myself, this eminently reasonable request was refused on the ground that the immediate despatch of the Mission was a necessity and that the golden moment must not be thrown away. This of course was an entire miscalculation. In view of what has happened I do not say that even had I been able to see and to coach Dane in advance, we should have escaped the position in which we now find ourselves, but at

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least he would not have contributed his quota towards reaching it by the unfortunate manner in which he opened the discussion. The entire impression left upon me by the controversy between the Amir and himself is that of two persons who fundamentally misunderstand each other, whether accidently or by deliberation, and who never succeed in getting into touch at all. Dane always seems to me to be harping upon the wrong things. He spends hours in discussing the personal or the permanent nature of the treaties instead of saying to the Amir, "Considering that we are going to give you exactly what we gave to your father, with no reservation and in the same language and that the treaty with your father thereby becomes permanent and continuing in its relation to yourself, what is there to squabble about? Let us pass on and discuss more practical questions." Then, again, I strongly object to this exchange of written memoranda, each party sheltering himself behind his entrenchments and firing off these heavily charged projectiles at each other. Not that I blame Dane for the form of his statements. They have always been courteous, usually clear, and, with a few notable exceptions, fairly sound. The Amir's, on the other hand, are ignorant, frivolous, and often impertinent. I have often remarked to the Government at home that a mistake frequently made by Home Governments in dealing with potentates like the Amir is to regard them and their institutions as though they were European, and to pursue diplomatic methods with them on the ordinary and well-accredited lines. You could not have a better illustration of the futility of such a procedure than the present case. There is nothing ordinary or European in the Amir at all. You cannot even in dealing with him get on to the platform of mutual intelligibility and commonsense. There is no contact between the two points of view or the two states of mind. That is the meaning of those of us who say that it is useless to treat people of this description as though they were versed in the methods of European politics. They are not. They are only half-tutored savages with a veneer of civilisation, and the sole way to get on with such individuals is by the exercise of personal influence tempered with fear.

Proposed visit of H R. H. the Prince of Wales.

As regards the Prince of Wales's visit, we shall make no difficulty about paying the cost of his entertainment in this country. In your letter you used the words "his actual entertainment on landing," but I think it is clear that you must mean his entire entertainment after landing and during the period for which he remains in this country. I am glad that my views about presents have been accepted. They will not be incompatible with the offer by the Prince himself of reasonable gifts in return for hospitality received. I shall of course have to inform our Political Officers in a confidential circular at an early date, that the question of presents has been settled in this way. Otherwise the moment the announcement of the Prince's visit is made every Chief in India will order his costly gift, and the harm will be done. Will you kindly let me know at some date between the receipt of this letter and our

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Budget Debate whether I shall then be in a position to announce officially the impending visit? All the Local Governments are waiting for orders, and it will be inconvenient if the declaration is any further delayed.

Policy in the Persian Gulf.

I am not conscious of pursuing any forward or aggressive policy in the Persian Gulf, and the incidents of which you speak and which disturb the equanimity of His Majesty's Government are only the normal consequences of the relations into which we have been brought by a century of political action with a number of imperfectly organised Governments, and disturbed and warring tribes. At Koweit I would certainly have adopted a stronger line than we have done, because I think our position there is inconsistent, rather humiliating, and likely to lead to complication instead of escaping it. I am not the least interested in the tribal fighting in Nejd, except in so far as I should be very reluctant to see the Turks establish their authority in the interior, on the ground that it would tempt them down to the sea-coast and produce ferment and intrigues there. The coercion of the Sheikh of Bahrein is a petty incident that has happened over and over again before, and would in former times have been carried out by the Government of India without any reference to the authorities at home. Similarly, all these bothers about flags and telegraph stations would never have arisen in earlier days. They are due to the suspicions of the Persian Government, deliberately played upon by Russia. The time will soon come, I can assure you, when the Persian Gulf will be a very important question, and when the soundness of the position taken up by Lansdowne three years ago, if it be contested, will require to be vindicated as an accepted principle of our policy. I hope myself that I shall be in England when that time occurs, because I think that the future of the Persian Gulf is vital to the future of the British Empire, and that it would be an act of national treachery to admit the most formidable of our enemies to an area where he has no interests but those of aggression, and the security of which is essential to the security of India.

I am keeping pretty well, but my back is, of course, a source of constant weakness and frequently gives me pain.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

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1. Copy of telegram from the Foreign Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the N.-W. Frontier Province, No. 573-F., dated 15th February 1905, regarding disarmament of the Mahsuds.

2. Copy of Minute by His Excellency the Viceroy on Indian Military Administration, dated 6th February 1905.

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No. 20.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEROY'S CAMP, KALABARI, ASSAM;
February 21*st*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Your letter of 3rd February has followed me into camp and will only demand a brief reply.

Military Administration.

The Military Administration File is in circulation among my Colleagues. How long they will take to write about it or when it will come back from circulation I have no idea. In a matter of such grave constitutional importance I have no right to hurry the expression of opinion. Nor is it to be expected that any individual can formulate an opinion upon such a matter, or even read the mass of papers, without several days' thought and study.

The Viceroy's position as to Honours recommendations.

I think that you fully understand my position about Indian Honours, since I have more than once explained it to you both verbally and in writing. I have no objection to making any enquiries about any person: and if at any time you ask me to do so, I will readily accede. It is quite reasonable that the Secretary of State should satisfy himself, and that the Viceroy should assist him in the operation. What I object to, and I think that any of my predecessors would have done the same, is that the Secretary of State should insist upon introducing into the list, against the wish and protest of the Viceroy, the name of an officer still serving in India which the latter has not put forward upon its merits and which he declines to recommend. You did this in the case of Mr. Burkitt, in the face of my most urgent protest: and it is against the repetition of any such occurrence that I have uttered and must continue to utter an emphatic warning.

Mr. Justice Crowe.

Lamington is with me here, and I have asked him about Mr. Justice Crowe. He says that he never put his name forward for an honour: but that after the Judge had left he expressed his opinion to you that it was hard luck that a worthy official of Mr. Crowe's type should, upon leaving India, lose even the prefix of "Honourable" which he had enjoyed while on the bench, and pass into a wholly obscure retirement. That is a different question, and I will not discuss it now.

Tibetan Blue Book.

By the last mail I have received the newspapers from home criticising very freely your publication of the Tibetan Blue Book. I think it a pity that His Majesty's Government placed themselves in a position where they

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have secured the enthusiastic applause of the *Daily Chronicle*, *Daily News*, *Echo*, *Morning Leader*, and *Star*. I hear from a number of quarters that the condemnation passed in private conversation is even more severe than that of the majority of the Press. I hope that the experience may lead His Majesty's Government to be a little less keen about rebuking the Government of India in the first place, and then publishing the rebuke in the second. Our views were absolutely honest, fearless, and independent: and I think it is the general impression that they also carried a good deal more authority than those of the Cabinet. The latter could of course disavow them, as they did. But to represent the Government of India as having erred against propriety for daring to disagree with the Cabinet, and to censure their agent for having failed strictly to carry out instructions, at a time when it was impossible for him to do so, and when his ability and adroitness had already secured for you much more than you had any right to expect—this in my opinion was injudicious, uncalled for, and wholly undeserved. What would the public say if they knew that the Government had originally supported Younghusband without qualification, and had afterwards been obliged to interpolate words into their telegram in order to vindicate their own consistency?

Mr. Brodrick's letter to Newspapers.

But I have a much more serious bone to pick. By this mail I have heard from two independent quarters (and have even had the text sent to me) of a letter issued by you to the Editors of certain newspapers in England enclosing advance copies of the Tibetan Blue Book a day or two before it was issued to the public, in which you bespoke the assistance and support of the Editors in question in defending the attitude of the Government, and censuring that of the Government of India and of Younghusband. This letter contained the following passage:—"This view (*i. e.*, the view of the Government) *though repeatedly pressed upon the Indian Government* from the beginning of 1903, and laid down formally in the telegram of 6th November 1903, did not prevent our representative pursuing a somewhat more adventurous policy, and it was therefore impossible for us to ratify the Convention he had obtained in its entirety. *Trustworthy evidence has since reached us that the points in the Convention, which were modified by the Government, were those which were most strongly resented by the Tibetans* and which would have most certainly led to trouble."

As to the first paragraph, I have only to say that, while no one on either side advocated a policy of annexation or administrative interference, the remaining questions were still such an open matter that I was invited to the Cabinet in June 1904 to discuss them, and Lansdowne told me in the same month that there was nothing in his assurances to Benckendorf that need prevent our permanent occupation of Chumbi.

As to the concluding statements about the attitude of the Tibetans, I should be grateful to know from what quarters you have procured your trustworthy

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evidence. I have never seen it. The 75 lakhs and the 75 years, so far as I know, caused no resentment: indeed the second of them was introduced at the urgent request of the Tibetans themselves. The remaining provision which you vetoed, *viz.*, the right of the Trade Agent at Gyantse to go to Lhasa, is one that I do not think was ever referred to the Tibetans: so that it had no opportunity of being resented by them. I wonder therefore what was your authority for these remarkable statements.

But the letter raises a much wider question. You constantly depict yourself to me as waging battles in the Cabinet or elsewhere on behalf of myself or the Government of India: and although I have frequently but unavailingly deprecated the phrase—as implying that the proposals of the Viceroy or the Government of India are so normally unsound as to be incapable of being carried without a struggle—I have always been grateful for that support at home without which even the strongest of Indian Governments must come to a standstill. But is the Secretary of State who gives these assurances to be at liberty to write privately to newspapers at home and solicit their support for his own action as opposed to that of the Government of India or its agents: and in fact to invite the London Press to join with him in censuring the Government of India and their representative, of whom he is, by virtue of his office, the accredited spokesman and champion? If he is at liberty to do this, may not the Viceroy write equally to the Indian newspapers in cases in which the Government of India disagree with the Home Government, inform them of the fact, give them his own version of the occurrence, and solicit their support for his action? If I had done such a thing, what would you have said, and what would the Cabinet have said? I have heard myself called disloyal by members of the Government because I dared sometimes to hold an opinion different from theirs and declined to surrender it. But at least I have never disclosed or advertised the fact: nor has a hint of it ever escaped from me into the public press: though I might have been a hero in India half a dozen times over had I allowed the real history to transpire. Is the Secretary of State to be bound by a less rigid rule? Is he really to manufacture, in his own interests, a Press opposition against the Government of India and the Viceroy? The thing is really so unthinkable, and you, who are the most loyal of men, are so fundamentally incapable of such conduct, that I am convinced there must in the present case have been some complete failure to apprehend the real nature of the act. I write to you quite frankly about it, with more sincere pain than I have ever felt in writing to you before, but I hope without any rancour, in the hope that you may be able to give me some explanation that will modify an impression that must otherwise colour our future relations. I regard the matter as so serious that I have been thinking of referring it to the Prime Minister. But before doing so, it seemed to me to be better that I should await your reply.

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Should the defence be that you were inviting the papers to join with you in censuring, not the Government of India, or the Viceroy, but only Younghusband—though I do not think that that would make matters one bit better—I should yet be unable to accept it. It is not at Younghusband that Campbell Bannerman and others have directed their shafts. It was not even at Ampthill that the Radical newspapers aimed their headlines. Though I was lying ill at home at the time, and had nothing to do either with the indemnity, or the 75 lakhs, or the 75 years, or the visits to Lhasa—it is at me, as you know very well, that the attacks have been aimed: and your conduct has had the result of fixing a public slur upon the Viceroy who, as you know, had no more to do with these particular occurrences than your own valet, and whose advice on the main issue has never wavered from the start, and will assuredly be justified by events. There is no incident in the whole of my conduct of the Tibetan business which I would not delightedly submit to public scrutiny: and had not my tongue been tied by office, I could hardly have maintained silence during recent events.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 21.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

Train, March 2nd, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

The India Council and proposals of the Government of India.

Your letter of February 10th, which I am now answering in the train, affords a curious corroboration of certain statements which I made in my letter to you from the jungles a week ago. Does it not occur to you that if the views or proposals which are put forward by the Government of India require such tremendous struggles in order to escape mutilation or rejection in the India Office, there may possibly be something amiss in the temper or the knowledge of those who shape its decisions? Once again you speak of our views as "being those of one man," *i. e.*, myself. I wish I could convince you that they are not my views, but the views of the Government of India as a whole, and very often of a whole phalanx of provincial authorities as well. That is why I feel so much annoyed

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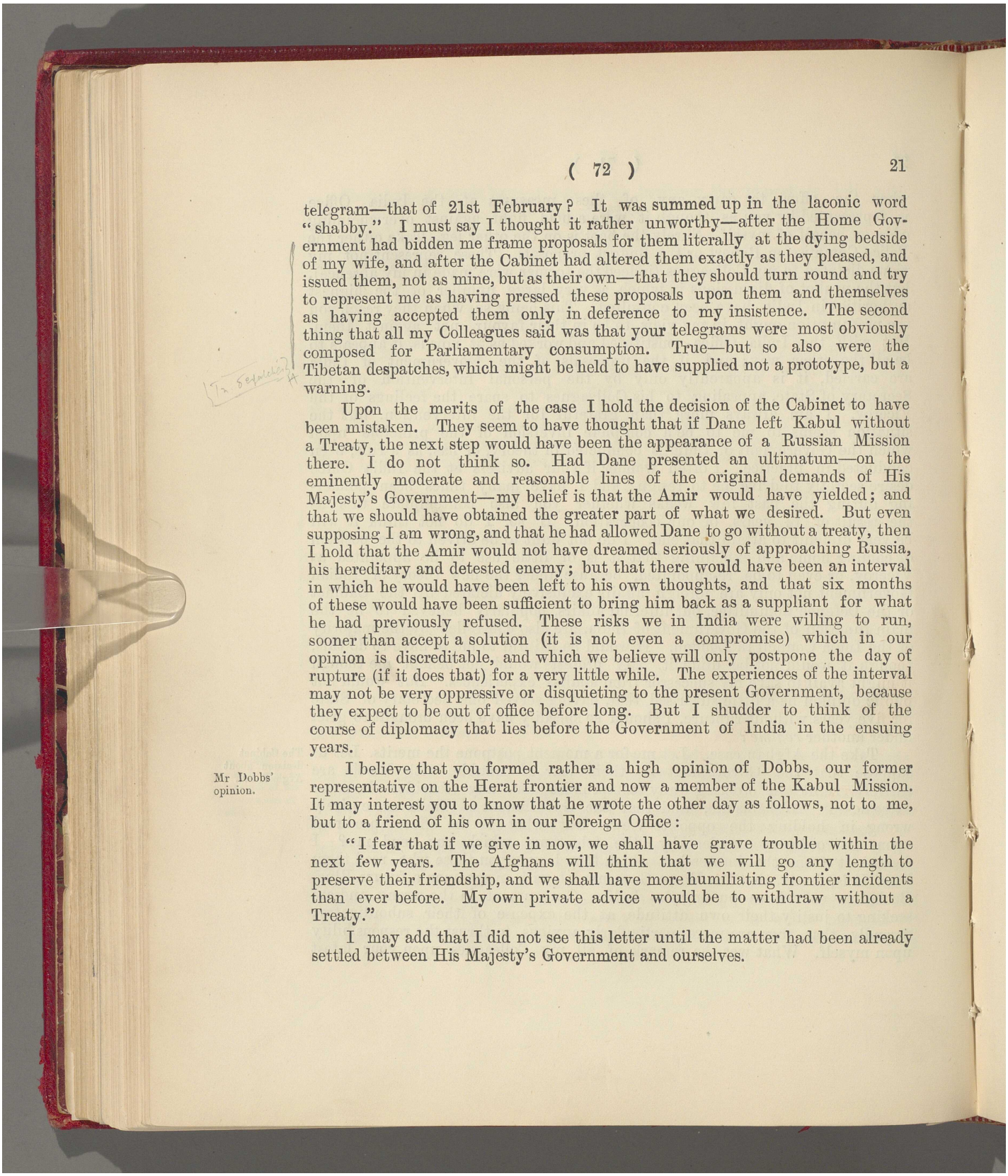
when the effort to carry any of these measures at the India Office is represented by you as though it were a bold fight against overwhelming odds on behalf of myself. Surely the boot is on the other leg. Take either the Police Commission Report or the Budget proposals. These represent not my views dictated to my Colleagues (indeed the former were made in my absence), but the upshot of discussions in which a very large number of the highest authorities in India have been consulted. This being so, when they reach you the presumption ought, in my view, to be in their favour, not against them. But with the India Office constituted and worked as it now is, it appears to be all the other way; and if the proposals of the Government of India are carried, it is apparently only by the personal intervention of the Secretary of State, appealing to his Colleagues to spare the feelings of the Viceroy. I am always more than grateful for the intervention, but the situation seems to me to be a complete inversion of the principle upon which the Government of India is conducted in theory, or has, as a rule, been conducted in practice. I often wonder if your advisers at the India Office desire secretly to drive me to resign; and I have many times been pondering during the past few weeks whether you also contemplate this as the result of 1½ years of our cooperation. If so, I do not think it will be very difficult to attain that end. I do not want to be driven to the position of coming home and explaining that it is of little use to be appointed as Viceroy, or even to be re-appointed, because under the new theory of Indian Government not only are foreign affairs exclusively dictated by the Cabinet or the Defence Committee, but internal affairs, popularly believed to be the main function of the Government of India, are also controlled by the majority of the India Council in London. It would be painful to me to have to do this, though it would not be difficult. My protest would not benefit me though it might avail to save my successor from similar experiences. But would not public opinion be a little surprised that, having served one Secretary of State for five years without rupture, I should so speedily have been brought to grief under another *régime*?

The Cabinet decision about Afghanistan.

Take the Afghan case. Let me for a moment postpone the merits. Let us suppose that the Government in their fear of trouble with Russia are entirely right in ordering any compromise or any sacrifice—however extreme—in Afghanistan; and that the Government of India are entirely wrong in holding the opposite view. But what is the effect produced upon an ordinary reader by the telegrams which you send me? I deduce it from the impression which they leave upon those who read them here. It is, firstly, that the Home Government, with an eye upon a future Blue-Book, are not above putting the Indian Government in the wrong, and are seeking to justify their own attitude at the expense of their subordinates; secondly, that they are more particularly anxious to thrust the responsibility upon myself. What was the remark of all my Colleagues upon your latest

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telegram—that of 21st February? It was summed up in the laconic word "shabby." I must say I thought it rather unworthy—after the Home Government had bidden me frame proposals for them literally at the dying bedside of my wife, and after the Cabinet had altered them exactly as they pleased, and issued them, not as mine, but as their own—that they should turn round and try to represent me as having pressed these proposals upon them and themselves as having accepted them only in deference to my insistence. The second thing that all my Colleagues said was that your telegrams were most obviously composed for Parliamentary consumption. True—but so also were the Tibetan despatches, which might be held to have supplied not a prototype, but a warning.

Upon the merits of the case I hold the decision of the Cabinet to have been mistaken. They seem to have thought that if Dane left Kabul without a Treaty, the next step would have been the appearance of a Russian Mission there. I do not think so. Had Dane presented an ultimatum—on the eminently moderate and reasonable lines of the original demands of His Majesty's Government—my belief is that the Amir would have yielded; and that we should have obtained the greater part of what we desired. But even supposing I am wrong, and that he had allowed Dane to go without a treaty, then I hold that the Amir would not have dreamed seriously of approaching Russia, his hereditary and detested enemy; but that there would have been an interval in which he would have been left to his own thoughts, and that six months of these would have been sufficient to bring him back as a suppliant for what he had previously refused. These risks we in India were willing to run, sooner than accept a solution (it is not even a compromise) which in our opinion is discreditable, and which we believe will only postpone the day of rupture (if it does that) for a very little while. The experiences of the interval may not be very oppressive or disquieting to the present Government, because they expect to be out of office before long. But I shudder to think of the course of diplomacy that lies before the Government of India in the ensuing years.

Mr Dobbs' opinion.

I believe that you formed rather a high opinion of Dobbs, our former representative on the Herat frontier and now a member of the Kabul Mission. It may interest you to know that he wrote the other day as follows, not to me, but to a friend of his own in our Foreign Office:

"I fear that if we give in now, we shall have grave trouble within the next few years. The Afghans will think that we will go any length to preserve their friendship, and we shall have more humiliating frontier incidents than ever before. My own private advice would be to withdraw without a Treaty."

I may add that I did not see this letter until the matter had been already settled between His Majesty's Government and ourselves.

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Lord Kitchener.

You have felt so much difficulty in accepting my assurances about Kitchener's attitude concerning the speed with which his proposals are handled, that I think I had better send you his latest views in his own handwriting.

Army Administration.

The *Standard* article had an effect not wholly anticipated, I expect, by either of us. It produced a chorus of disapprobation from every leading organ of English opinion in India. They all concurred in saying that the Military Department supplied an indispensable guarantee for consistent and economical Military administration in India; and that its abolition could not be seriously contemplated. It is, I think, clear from this that the change proposed by Kitchener will be vigorously resisted, not merely by the Government but by public opinion here. I shall be surprised if there is not a very powerful echo of the same feeling at home. I think, indeed, when you go into the matter you will find that you have raised a much bigger question than you anticipated, and that not even the prestige of Kitchener will pull the Government through, should they decide once more to overrule us. The discussion on the Council shows that my Colleagues are quite unanimous. Indeed their opinions are much more emphatically expressed than were my own. In case you should doubt their independence, let me say that I have never once mentioned the question to any one of them. We shall take the case in Council next week and shall then address you.

I shall try to have a talk with Kitchener in the interim, and see whether he will not even now give way. For, as I forecast the issue, he is steering straight upon the rocks. If he is defeated and resigns, it will be for having pinned his faith, largely on personal and petty grounds, to an impracticable proposal. If he wins, it will only be because the Home Government take the unprecedented step of overruling the whole of India (except Kitchener and his few Generals) in order to enable him for a few months or years to impose upon us a constitution which everyone will resent, and which will break down as soon as it comes into operation.

Lord G. Hamilton.

I had a letter from George Hamilton, who said that he had only agreed to come out to India in the belief that it was with my consent, and that he would still be ready if required in the autumn.

From what you have said I rather fancy that you think a decision can very quickly be reached at your end. Please do not be too sure of this until you have heard what we have to say.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Original letter from His Excellency the Viscount Kitchener, dated 23rd February 1905.

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No. 22.

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

TRAIN;
March 2nd, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Tibetan Blue Book.

I am writing this in the train on the way to meet Lady Curzon. Let me thank you for your letter of 10th February. You know exactly what are my feelings about the Tibetan Blue Book. They are not unfairly summed up in the passage with which the *Spectator* closed its article—"We may prefer in the abstract (of course I do not go as far as this) the Government policy, but for the ineptitude with which they carried out that policy, we have nothing but contempt."

Negotiations at Kabul: decision of the Cabinet.

You may imagine also what are my sentiments about the Afghan surrender. But I have known all along that, with a moribund Government with fear of Russia on the brain, there would be no other ending. I placed this before my Colleagues. But they insisted that in that case the responsibility must not be ours, and that as the custodians of Indian interests we must state our case, and leave the capitulation to be ordered by our superiors instead of suggested by ourselves. In fact they were rather suspicious about the second alternative, which I evolved in order to provide a ladder by which His Majesty's Government might effect a graceful descent; for they said "If we are to be ordered to surrender in any case, had not His Majesty's Government better be responsible for the particular form of surrender?" This aspiration has now been satisfied. But I look forward with sincere sympathy to the position of my successor, when his first squabbles with the Amir about the new Treaty begin, and when, Habibulla or Nasrulla having said quite plainly that it does not mean this or that in their eyes, he is instructed by His Majesty's Government to reply—"Oh, but the wise Lord Halsbury said it does." Of course we had counted very carefully the costs of presenting an ultimatum. His Majesty's Government believe that the first result would have been the appearance of a Russian Mission at Kabul. I do not believe this at all. I believe that the Amir both distrusts, loathes, and in some measure despises the Russians. Nor do I think, if he broke away from the policy of his father and went over to the Russians, that he would have been long for this world. His Majesty's Government have in reality yielded in this matter, not to the obstinacy of Habibulla, but to the machinations of Nasrulla: and it will be interesting to observe the results. I think it quite likely that you may one day be standing at the bar in

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the House of Lords when a retired Viceroy is explaining to that dismal Areopagus how it is that a rupture in our relations with Afghanistan (which will be the topic of the hypothetical discussion) was originally brought about.

Sir E. Law's pension case.

I have nothing more to say about Law and his pension except that the higher the official rank of the person concerned, the less justification is there, in my opinion, for irregularity.

The Viceroy's speech at the Convocation of the Calcutta University: Bengali agitation.

About three weeks ago I delivered an address as Chancellor of the Calcutta University on the dangers in their surroundings and national character to which the youthful Undergraduates whom I was addressing seemed to me to be exposed. I told some plain truths somewhat plainly, but not unkindly. The Congress party, who are very angry with me for not officially receiving Cotton, for defeating a little attempt made by them to bring our new Universities to a standstill, and most of all for the contemplated partition of Bengal, have been holding secret meetings, wiring hither and thither, and trying to get up protest meetings in all parts of India. I believe that one is to take place in Calcutta where, at 24 hours' notice, one can get up a meeting of Babus to denounce the Government or its head for anything or nothing. The object of the whole thing is not to produce an impression in India, where everyone appraises the matter at its proper value, but to enable the Calcutta correspondent of the London *Daily News*, Babu Surendra Nath Banerji (widely known to fame) to send a telegram to that receptive organ that all India is boiling over with rage at the insults inflicted upon her by a Tory Viceroy, and so to bring pressure to bear upon a Radical Government (which they think will be in power in a few months' time) to recall the offending and offensive autocrat before the Partition project can take effect. That is the whole explanation: and to you, who know the ingenuous Bengali, it will convey no surprise.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 23.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
March 9th, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Decision of the Cabinet on the Afghan question.

Just now we received your telegram announcing what seems to us (you perhaps will not share this opinion) to be the final climb-down on the part of His Majesty's Government about Afghanistan. I refer

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to the omission of the word "renewal" and the substitution for it of the word "continuance" as applied to the Agreements concluded with the late Amir. To us at this end it is now even more clear than it was before that the Amir is being invited to sign his own draft treaty in one sense, while His Majesty's Government interpret it, and hope to be able to interpret it in the future, in another. I am afraid that we regard this as a disingenuous proceeding, and we entertain little doubt that the penalty will have to be paid later on. Of course the main difference between yourselves and us lies in the entirely different conception which we both entertain of the manner in which the Amir would behave if we took a firm line. You anticipate that he would commence an immediate campaign of intrigue with the tribes (forgetting that this is already in full swing); that he would probably coquet with the Russians, and might even receive a Mission. We in India do not believe that he would do anything of the sort. It would not even be necessary, as you say, that the altered state of our relations should be known all over India. Dane would have come back to report to us the opinions or proposals of the Amir, and in my own view we should only have had a little while to wait before the Amir came in, very likely not upon our terms, but, at any rate, upon terms very different from those which he has now successfully dictated at Kabul. I am sure that you fought energetically in the Cabinet for our view of the situation, but even the support of the Secretary of State does not seem to be of much avail in cases where His Majesty's Government, on *a priori* grounds, decide to overrule their advisers in distant parts. I regard this as a somewhat serious portent for the future: for a Cabinet of twenty men will always be more timid than a Cabinet of ten or an inner committee of three or four, and if the new rule is to prevail that all these matters are to be decided in Downing Street, I foresee that the prestige and authority of your representatives on the spot will seriously diminish. In the present case, for instance, has any one of you paused to think what will be the effect produced on the Amir of Afghanistan? We have always believed him to possess spies in our Foreign Office, though we are unable to detect or to prove it. In any case it is tolerably certain that he will know that the Government of India have taken a strong line in a certain direction and have been overruled on every point by the Ministers at home. Do you think this will strengthen the hand of the Government of India for the future? I tell the Government plainly that they are crippling their representatives and preparing for us a series of future humiliations and rebuffs. The Cabinet will be scattered hither and thither in all probability in a few months' time, and it won't matter to them, but the poison will go on working here for years.

The Amir's attitude: illustrations.

Let me mention to you one or two cases in which the Amir is already showing his intention to profit by our weakness. I have previously acquainted you with his rude dismissal of Major Cleveland and his refusal up to date to offer any explanation. Then again Dane asked him a little while ago to

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issue orders for the adequate preservation of the British cemetery at Kabul which is trampled upon by animals and defiled by the ordure of Afghan soldiery. No notice whatever has been taken of this request. In the course of 1903 we civilly protested against large subscriptions given by the Amir to a Mahomedan Anjuman at Lahore and asked him to be good enough to desist from a practice which he would greatly resent if we endeavoured to do the same in his own country. It is an interesting comment upon this that his son the other day on his way back to Afghanistan presented Rs. 30,000 to the same institution. Last week we had a raid upon a post called Matanni in the Peshawar District by a gang of Hazaras from Afghanistan. These were led and the whole thing was engineered by men who are actually in the pay of the present Amir. These little straws show which way the wind is blowing and give us a fair idea of what is likely to be the conduct of the Amir when Dane is back again within the borders of India.

I will now turn to other and less disagreeable topics.

Public Works Engineers establishment.

I am grateful to you for according your sanction to our request for a large increase to our establishment of Public Works Engineers.

Police Commission Report: despatch from the Secretary of State.

As regards your Police Despatch which I have only just had time to read, it seems to me to give us the greater part of what we desire, and the modifications which you have introduced do not strike me as very serious or important. In one respect, indeed, I agree with you. I was myself opposed to the year's study at an English University which I thought ill-judged and unsuitable. It was put into the draft while I was away from India, and I am glad that you have cut it out.

Lord Meath's suggestion for an "Empire Day."

As regards the letter which you sent me from Lord Meath, I am afraid that he has no understanding of the Indian situation. He seems to think that as it is an easy thing to teach loyalty in the schools of England, the British Colonies, and Japan, it will be equally easy in India. But in those schools the inmates are homogeneous and both pupils and masters are of the same race as the dynasty whose merits it is desired to extol. Lord Meath is perhaps under the impression that every school in India has an English schoolmaster who could naturally be trusted to expatiate with safety upon the advantages of the British Empire or the virtues of the British Sovereign. But when you remember that the schoolmasters are not Englishmen but Natives, that their sense of loyalty is quite different from our own; that it is almost impossible to keep control over what they may do or say, while at the same time their influence over their pupils is unbounded, I think you will readily see that they might take advantage of the opportunity to preach a very different loyalty from that which we should desire, and to inculcate political doctrines of a most serious description. In fact, I do not hesitate to say that if this power were extended to them, the next move of

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the Congress Party would be to capture the whole of the village schoolmasters throughout the country and to secure that on "Empire Day" the political doctrine which they expounded should be of the requisite Congress complexion. Let it be remembered, too, that while the Empire thrills the mind of the Englishman or the Japanese, it conveys nothing whatever, or next to nothing, to the average Indian. He is used to a foreign dynasty, because he has existed under it from time immemorial, and he has that passive acceptance of authority which induces him to accept with contentment the rule of any sovereign who impresses him with power and justice. But if you ask the average Indian of intelligence whether his feeling of loyalty to the Sovereign is identical with loyalty to the Empire, he will answer, most certainly not. The Empire, he will point out, does not pay much attention to him. It puts an excise duty on his cotton fabrics in order to benefit the manufacturers of Lancashire; it imposes insulting disabilities upon Indians in South Africa because they are not liked by the people of those Colonies; it makes him pay for the Tibet expedition, although His Majesty's Government publicly declared that on imperial grounds they were bound to direct its policy and to overrule the opinions of the Government of India. These and many other instances he will quote as an illustration of what the Empire means to him; and the day is as yet far distant when a wider conception of Imperialism can be expected to penetrate the Indian mind.

The Bishop of Bombay's leave.

You telegraphed to me a little while ago asking us not to be too hard on the Bishop of Bombay in respect of his taking leave without permission. I find that it is too late. Our letter to the Bombay Government communicating what we had said to you and what you in reply had said about him issued more than a month ago. It is not a matter in which I ventured to interfere, since the whole of the action connected with it had taken place in the time of my predecessor.

Policy in the Persian Gulf.

With reference to your telegram of the 28th February about the Persian Gulf I hope that the Defence Committee will not be allowed to lay down a policy for pursuance by His Majesty's Government in future without the Government of India being heard in the matter.

Military Administration.

We take the case of Military Administration in Council tomorrow, and I am to see Kitchener in advance this evening in order to ascertain what is the line that he proposes, in view of the unanimous hostility of the Government of India, to adopt. I may tell you that his own entourage here are of opinion that his case has been pretty well smashed.

Resignation of the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports.

I could not tell you about my resignation of the Cinque Ports because I was placed under an obligation by the King and the Prime Minister not to mention it. Having accepted the office on the condition of residence at Walmer Castle, I could not honourably continue to hold the title when it became impossible for me to fulfil the condition. I therefore resigned in

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November last. My resignation was not at first accepted, but when I pointed out that it was rather hard to expect me while in India to continue to discharge the pecuniary obligations, which are heavy, while I knew all the time that I could never live at Walmer again, it was finally accepted. I was told, however, to observe silence until a public announcement was made. The matter was not mentioned to me again until the appointment of the Prince of Wales appeared in the papers a few weeks ago. It was never even hinted to me that it would be possible for a subject to retain the title while abandoning the residence and surrendering the obligations. The solution arrived at seems to me in every way the best: and I have no fault to find with it.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 24.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
March 9th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I spent most of last week in the train going to and from Bombay to fetch Lady Curzon. She had such a reception there, and still more here, as I venture to say that no English woman (I forgot she is American) has ever had in India before. The Calcutta streets were decorated and crowded as though for some great public ceremonial. She was presented with a valuable jewel, purchased by the Corporation out of their own pockets, at the Railway Station: while the ladies of Calcutta, who were assembled at Government House in hundreds, handed her a very costly carved ivory casket and address. The Calcutta Light Horse turned out voluntarily to escort her: and her return was in every sense an ovation. Lady Curzon's reception.

What is even happier is that she has continued to improve in health ever since she arrived, and is already, in less than a week, a different woman from the one who landed at Bombay.

The Bengalee Congress-wallahs are going to hold their protest meeting tomorrow afternoon. As they cannot very well muster up an agitation about the University speech alone, they have incorporated in their Resolutions all the *crambe repetita* of the past few years: University Reform, Official Secrets, and so on. I send you a copy of the Convocation address should you care to glance at it. The Bengalee agitation.

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Possible Parliamentary question.

In the event of any Parliamentary question being asked, I beg to remind you that I delivered it not as Viceroy of India but as Chancellor of the Calcutta University: and that the Secretary of State has not any control of my conduct in that capacity. Further, when he is called upon to comment upon my deeds in the House (as, *e. g.*, about the reply concerning Sir H. Cotton and the Congress Resolutions), it would be more agreeable to me if he did not qualify his observations by the remark " as at present advised."

Letter from Mr. P. M. Guha.

I also send you a rather interesting letter from a Vakil in good practice in Calcutta who hails from Bikrampur in Eastern Bengal. So far from taking part in the purely political agitation being raised by his friends, he throws a a good deal of interesting light on to their motives and conduct. We know something of political agitation in England. But I assure you that we are not in it with the Bengalis. Fortunately they cannot quite resist giving each other away, and the insight that we sometimes get from volunteer informers into the proceedings of the inner camarilla is useful and diverting.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

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(1) Copy of His Excellency the Viceroy's Convocation address.

(2) Original letter from Mr. P. M. Guha, Vakil, High Court, to the Private Secretary, dated 8th February 1905, enclosing a statement of his views regarding the partition of Bengal.

No. 25.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
March 16*th*, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Army administration: correspondence between Lords Roberts and Kitchener.

In speaking of the correspondence between Lord Kitchener and Lord Roberts you mention side by side the questions of Army Administration in India and that of Mixed Brigades as though they were *in pari materia* and were illustrations of the same proposition. That of course is not the case. I have not the slightest objection to

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the Commander-in-Chief here corresponding with an officer of the prestige and knowledge of Lord Roberts at home. Indeed, if you will refer to my letter to Kitchener of May 12th, 1903, you will see that it contains this paragraph—"Confidential communication between you and Lord Roberts is not only according to custom, but is most desirable." Such a case, for instance, as that of the Mixed Brigades is one upon which it is in every way reasonable that the present and the ex-Commander-in-Chief should exchange views, and that the man with little or no experience of India should profit by the opinions of the highest living authority on the Indian Army. I have never said one word to discourage this sort of correspondence. On the other hand, the question is clearly entirely different when, a constitutional question of the gravest importance having been referred at home to the Government of India, and being under discussion by them, the Commander-in-Chief, without the knowledge of his Colleagues, collects information from his General Officers and maintains a correspondence with Lord Roberts at home with the admitted intention of influencing the minds of those who will ultimately be called upon to constitute the jury. Correspondence of the one kind is legitimate, of the other kind is unconstitutional. I have myself been very scrupulous in this matter. It would, I imagine, have been perfectly open to me to write to any Member of the Cabinet at home, particularly those who are my friends, about either this question of Military administration or our differences concerning Afghanistan or Tibet. I have never done anything of the sort. During the six years that I have been in India I have never sought to influence the views of a Cabinet Minister by even mentioning any of these questions. If you consulted my greatest friends in the Cabinet, *viz.*, Selborne and Wyndham, with whom I occasionally correspond, you would find that neither the word Tibet nor the word Afghanistan has ever been mentioned in my letters to them. You are the constitutional channel of my communications with the Home Government, and with the exception of a very rare letter to the Prime Minister, perhaps five or six in all, and an occasional letter to the Foreign Secretary about some matter relating to the Foreign Office at home, I have never communicated with any authority in England about the proceedings of Government here except the Secretary of State.

Viceroy's correspondence with Cabinet Ministers.

Neither, had you been aware of the facts, would you have attempted to use as an analogy my correspondence with the King. You write as follows:—"In old days Lansdowne once told me it was the practice for the Viceroy to write a private letter occasionally to the Queen, but that controversial topics were rarely touched upon. It has, I believe, become the practice in recent years for the Viceroy to write constantly, if not every week, to the Sovereign. It may be perhaps for this reason that the King scarcely ever sees the Secretary of State or applies to him for information." You are under a complete misapprehension. Out of the period for which the present King has reigned since his accession in 1901 I have been Viceroy in India for 184 weeks. The

Viceroy's correspondence with the King.

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total number of my letters to him during that time has been 47. I may truthfully say that I have never once discussed with him any political question. I have scarcely ever mentioned any controversial topic. On not more than two or three occasions have I even alluded to the views of His Majesty's Government. On no single occasion have I ever mentioned the Secretary of State. My letters to the King, which you seem to regard with so much suspicion, but the whole of which I should be willing to submit for your perusal tomorrow, relate exclusively to such questions as Native Chiefs, Chiefs' Colleges, the Delhi Durbar, the Victoria Memorial Hall, my tours, proposed Royal visits to India, the state of the monsoon, general condition of the country, personal details about my wife and myself. On no one occasion have I ever said a word to influence the mind of the King on political matters, unless you regard the famous case of the Delhi Durbar as an exception: nor have I ever said or done anything that could in the smallest degree induce His Majesty to desist from treating the Secretary of State as his official adviser on Indian affairs.

Lord Ampthill's telegram to the King *re* Tibet.

As regards Ampthill's telegram to the King to which you refer, I have seen it and fail to observe that it gives any support to your contention. Had I been Viceroy in India at the time I should not myself have sent the telegram; but even if incorrect it was entirely innocent. In the telegram Ampthill acquainted the King with the fact that the Tibetan Convention had been signed and said that the greatest credit was due to the Civil and Military Officers who had concluded the affair so happily. The King replied expressing his high approval of the admirable manner in which the Mission had been brought to a conclusion. Why this should have embarrassed the Government, or what it had to do with the telegram of support to Younghusband sent by yourself which you afterwards modified, I do not see.

Equally, while defending myself, do I recognise the constitutional correctness which you have observed in your own correspondence, though I have sometimes heard of rather amusing questions which you have put in letters to the Governors of Madras and Bombay.

The Secretary of State's correspondence.

I fear that I cannot quite say the same about the George Hamilton question. Nothing, I am afraid, can alter the fact that to send out George Hamilton or any Commission whatsoever to India, before you had received and studied the full and exhaustive opinions of the Government of India upon a case which the Ministry had formally remitted to them, and when you could only have received, if that had been possible (which now turns out not to have been the case), a telegraphic summary of the fact that they were unanimously opposed to the Commander-in-Chief—and still more to take this step without the consent of the Government of India—would have been an unconstitutional proceeding; and that this was the view

Army Administration: suggested Commission of Enquiry.

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of George Hamilton himself is shown by the fact, as he wrote to me, that the moment he heard we could not ask for him under such conditions he declined to come.

You appear to regard the matter at issue as merely a personal difference, to use your own words, "between Kitchener and another Member of my Council." Surely, however, no words are required at this stage to convince you that it is much more than that. If it had been a mere difference between Kitchener and Elles you would never have thought of sending out an ex-Secretary of State to compose it. It is a difference, as you know well, between a Commander-in-Chief and the whole of his Colleagues in the Government of India over a matter of the most vital character affecting the entire future administration of the country. Such a question is necessarily endowed with the gravest constitutional importance, as I think no one at home will fail to realise when the correspondence reaches you in a very short time.

I had hoped, indeed, that our Despatch might have issued this week. It was composed immediately after our discussion in Council last Friday. But some time is necessarily spent in procuring the assent or in accepting the suggestions and modifications of seven coequal authorities, living in different places. This has been done. But then comes the Minute of Dissent (as distinct from his original Minute, raising the whole question) of the Commander-in-Chief: and here Kitchener has committed himself to one or two statements so little in accord with the facts that I think they will have to be modified. In any case the full papers will issue to you next week.

I will only now add a few words (*a*) about the discussion, (*b*) about the general question.

Discussion in Council.

At the Council Meeting Kitchener read a brief statement expressing his regret that his Colleagues unanimously disagreed with him and his unwillingness to discuss the matter further. There I think that the subject would have dropped had not Elles made a most effective and dignified appeal to the remainder of his Colleagues to tell him whether he had their support in his replies to the charges that had been made against him and his Department by Kitchener in his original Minute, and in his conduct of the military business of Government, in the face of the most unfair and unjust treatment from Army Head-Quarters, during the past two years. He wished to know whether, apart from the constitutional issues raised, he was held to have established his case, and whether Council associated themselves with the attack or the defence. Thereupon every Member of Council in turn said that, in his opinion, the charges against the Military Department had wholly broken down, that Elles' vindication was complete, and that Council ought to associate itself with him without reserve. It must have been a painful moment for Kitchener, who was practically told to his face that he had hurled a number of reckless and unsupported

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charges against a Colleague which he had wholly failed to sustain, and who learned, not only that he had failed to convince the minds of his Colleagues, but that he had not attracted even one ray of their sympathy.

I had had a long private conversation with Kitchener for an hour and a half the night before, in which I discussed the matter with him and put before him certain suggestions which he is still considering and about which I will write next week. He realises that on the case as it has so far gone he is hopelessly beaten, and that there can be but one issue. I have never concealed from him that he had the theoretical support of the Prime Minister and other high authorities at home, and that his chances of persuading the jury were, owing to his peculiar prestige, in any case very high. I think that, in view of the Minutes, the discussion, and the Despatch he has given up this hope. None of us can forecast the effect of published papers. But he is shrewd enough to see that even his reputation could not be favourably affected by a demonstration that he has indulged in wild and whirling words without any foundation in fact, and that he can get no support whatever in India for a scheme for subverting our constitution and substituting for it a military autocracy directed by himself. He is also conscious that, though the present Government seem to entertain little respect for the unanimous views of the Government of India in external affairs, it would be an unprecedented situation, leading to large and unforeseen issues, if the Cabinet whose acquaintance with the details of Indian administration may perhaps be not unfairly estimated from George Wyndham's recent confession, should attempt to overrule us in a matter affecting the daily discharge of the business of Government, and to force upon us a change which the Viceroy and every one of his Colleagues pronounce to be disastrous. In fact, he sees that it is not impossible that the Home Government might in such a case suddenly find themselves with no Government of India at all, and only a Commander-in-Chief, a situation which would also be without precedent.

In the meantime I am glad to say that the relations between Kitchener and myself continue to be quite harmonious, and he is frequently in this house. He has more than once expressed his gratitude for the language employed with regard to him both in my Minute and now again in the Despatch. He knows that I regard his services here as of great value, and that I would go to the breaking point to retain them. He also knows that it is on public grounds alone that we all resist him. It is quite likely that he may have written home naming the date of his return, for he wrote to my wife in January telling her that he was packing up and would not be in Calcutta to meet her. Nevertheless, he is talking to her at this moment. It is also true that he has made his plans for the entire autumn and winter in India, and is going still further to alter his Calcutta house for next cold weather. I do not think, therefore, that you should attach too much value to these passing

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symptoms of a feeling that is constantly oscillating between the extremes of confidence and disappointment.

Decision regarding Afghanistan: attitude of the Afridis.

We shall, I think, very soon begin to reap the consequences of the Cabinet surrender about Afghanistan. Only yesterday we had a demi-official letter from Colonel Deane in which he said "the Afridis have got hold of the idea that the Amir has refused to exclude them from Afghanistan. If this is so, I think we shall have a lot of trouble on this side of the frontier." I have little doubt that if I remain here for another year I shall have a good deal more evidence of this description to place before you or your successor.

The second wife of the Amir told Miss Browne, the lady doctor at Kabul, that the enemies of England were in the ascendant at Kabul, that the Amir wished his eldest son, Inayatulla, to succeed him, but that, if he died before long, Nasrulla would get the throne. His Majesty's Government in their attitude have yielded therefore not to Habibulla, but, as I have frequently remarked before, to that poisonous Anglophobe Nasrulla.

Mr. G. Wyndham and Sir A. MacDonnell.

I am sorry that George Wyndham has come to grief over his relations with Sir Antony MacDonnell. I think that anyone in India could have told the Government very clearly in advance what was the purpose for which MacDonnell was willing to go to Ireland. Indeed he may be said to have stated it equally clearly himself, and the real mistake, if mistake it was, was made in accepting him on his own terms in the first place.

Lord Selborne's appointment to South Africa.

Willy Selborne's appointment to South Africa appears to me by far the best that could have been made in the circumstances. I only hope that when he is serving another Government he may not too often or too bitterly experience the situation in which his views and those of his advisers are not accepted by the Ministry at home.

Tibetan Convention: negotiations with Mr. Tang.

I enclose, for your confidential perusal, a note of the negotiations that have taken place up to date about the Tibetan Convention between my officiating Foreign Secretary, Mr. Fraser, and the Chinese Envoy, Mr. Tang. Fraser understands the case perfectly and has good temper and tact. As to the Chinaman—who ever fathomed one of that inscrutable race? I think, however, that he now realises that it is we who hold the trump-cards, not he; and that whereas we can afford to dispense with Chinese adhesion, China will lose a golden opportunity if she does not give it.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

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[ENCLOSURE TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.]

CONFIDENTIAL NOTE ON PROGRESS OF TIBETAN NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINA.

Negotiations with Mr. Tang, the Chinese Plenipotentiary, began in Calcutta on March 2nd, and up to the present have been conducted in informal interviews, which afford to our representative a convenient latitude in conveying that clear explanation of our position, which it is necessary that the Chinese should thoroughly grasp if their proposals are ever to take a practicable shape. It is not yet certain what line they are going to take, but the progress of the discussions have been briefly as follows:—

In a preliminary conversation with Mr. Wilton (of the Chinese Consular service and now on special duty for these negotiations) Mr. Tang remarked that China could not recognize the so-called Convention signed at Lhasa on September 7th, 1904, as it had been made without China's assent. This uncompromising attitude he has not, however, taken up in his interviews with Mr. Fraser, the British Commissioner, and at the first informal meeting held on 2nd March to exchange credentials, Mr. Tang abstained from advancing any objection on principle to the Lhasa Convention, but referred generally to the difficulties presented by some of its provisions, and particularly by Article IX, which it was desirable to explain in such a way as to deprive Foreign Powers of any pretext for interference in China. To this it was replied that a clause explaining Article IX might doubtless be incorporated in the Agreement to be signed with China, provided that such explanation did not affect our interests under the Tibet Convention, and Mr. Fraser suggested that Mr. Tang should furnish him with a draft of the explanation which he desired. At the same time it was emphatically impressed on him that His Majesty's Government would never consent to any alteration in the terms of the Tibet Convention itself, and that discussion must be strictly confined within the limits laid down in the Royal Commission furnished to the British representative. A private conversation between Mr. Tang and Mr. Fraser took place on 4th March in which the main points made by the latter were that China and ourselves were the only parties concerned in the future of Tibet and that it was equally in the interest of both to exclude all foreign interference. It was pointed out that the Convention which we had concluded with Tibet fulfilled this object, embodied all that we wished to obtain and was one which we were in a position to enforce. Consequently we were in the fortunate position of being satisfied and should never entertain the idea of altering a line of the Convention which had been formally ratified. Mr. Tang replied that he fully realized this and all that he wished to do was to conclude a separate Convention on the part of China which, while affirming the Lhasa Convention, would explain its terms in such a way as to recognize Chinese suzerainty and put China in a position to aid effectively in the maintenance of our interests. It was agreed that he should supply a draft of the Convention as he would like it to run. This he did a few days later, but unfortunately the terms of his draft were not consistent with the eminently satisfactory general views he had expressed at the meeting of the 4th March. Briefly, he had taken the Lhasa Convention and substituted throughout the Chinese Government for the Tibetan Government, while introducing minor changes which had the effect of whittling away the special position of Great Britain and throwing the country open to foreign trade. The Lhasa Convention was never alluded to, and in short Mr. Tang's proposal came to this that we should conclude with China a separate main Convention which would supersede that recently signed with the Tibetan Government. Thereupon Mr. Fraser invited Mr. Tang to a private interview which

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took place on 11th March and had a long conversation in which he thought it advisable to explain our position once more in greater detail and in the most explicit terms. He told Mr. Tang that his draft was impossible and could not form the basis of the formal negotiations as it violated the fundamental condition upon which we were prepared to treat, namely, that the Lhasa Convention must stand unaltered and unaffected. Mr. Tang said that his draft was in accordance with his instructions, and if we did not accept it, he supposed the Chinese Government would send another man to negotiate. He was surprised at our objections, as he had closely followed the provisions of the Lhasa Convention. The futility of this argument was pointed out to him and he was assured that whoever was sent by China would receive the same reply, if he put forward the same impossible proposal.

In reply to his request that we should now formulate our proposals, it was again explained to him that it was not incumbent upon Great Britain to make any proposals. She had obtained the Convention that she wanted from Tibet, and as it was a self-contained instrument, was prepared, if necessary, to regard it as valid without the adhesion of China. At the same time Mr. Fraser repeated that on account of the friendly feeling entertained by Great Britain for China, we should be only too happy to meet her wishes, if possible, and negotiate a Convention with her confirming the Lhasa Convention.

Mr. Tang again returned to his demand for explanations of the Convention, to which Mr. Fraser replied that we should certainly be willing to explain what our intentions were in framing the Convention, but, of course, the explanations could not be such as might be interpreted as altering anything we had done, and, as instances of what we should be willing to say, he cited the following :—

(i) The British Government recognize China's suzerainty over Tibet.

(ii) In view of the geographical position of Tibet relative to India, the Chinese Government recognize that Great Britain occupies among Foreign Powers a predominant position with regard to Tibetan affairs.

(iii) The British Government engages that so long as no other Foreign Power endeavours to interfere in the affairs of Tibet, Great Britain will not attempt either to annex Tibet, to establish a Protectorate over it, or in any way to control its internal administration.

The views thereupon expressed by Mr. Tang will be sufficiently gathered from the fact that Mr. Fraser had to remind him that after being compelled to expend much money and valuable time in Tibet we must insist that our position as regards this neighbouring country was altogether different from that occupied by any other Power. As regards the suzerainty of China and her responsibility for Tibet, on which Mr. Tang laid stress, it was pointed out to him that we were not concerned to define what exact powers that suzerainty imported, and for the purposes of the Convention we regarded Tibet as an autonomous country, which managed its own administration and made its own treaties with its neighbours.

As regards responsibility, if China laid emphasis upon this, then surely we must hold her to account for the attack by the Tibetans upon the Mission and for the indemnity we were compelled to exact. Further, it was found necessary to explain to him that the reason why we had dealt direct with Tibet on this occasion instead of with China was to be seen in the history of the Sikkim Convention of 1890, which China had proved utterly unable to make the Tibetans observe, and this failure on her part was the cause of all the recent trouble and the present situation.

Mr. Tang then asked to be supplied with a draft of the Convention we would be prepared to sign. In agreeing to this, Mr. Fraser warned him that the draft would not contain any

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details, as all we asked was the simple adhesion of China to the Lhasa Convention. His Majesty's Government having sanctioned the revised form of the Convention which we proposed, this will now be supplied to Mr. Tang.

The position at present, it will be seen, stands thus. We have considered informally his draft and rejected it. He will now consider ours likewise informally, and will then reconsider his position, consult his Government if necessary, and say what he proposes to do. It is to be hoped that he now understands that we are in earnest in the determination to confine the negotiations within the narrow limits prescribed by His Majesty's Commission to the British Commissioner.

Within these limits, every effort will be made to bring the negotiations to a successful issue, and a friendly informal method of discussion has been adopted hitherto by Mr. Fraser with the express object of preventing Mr. Tang from putting forward formally proposals of a nature which would have to be formally rejected and thus bring the negotiations to a standstill. Mr. Tang appears to be in no hurry to take up his appointment as Minister in London, and says that in any case he must first return to Peking. It seems not impossible that the appointment is not intended to serve any other purpose than as a veiled threat to the Government of India, that negotiations may be transferred along with Mr. Tang to London, in the event of our proving unaccommodating to his demands.

No. 26.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;

March 16th, 1905.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Afghanistan: decision of the Cabinet.

I have no desire to dispute one word that you say about the attitude of the Cabinet except that when you use the word 'forward policy' in relation to Afghanistan, you seem to forget that the terms upon which the Government of India desired to insist were the terms of His Majesty's Government themselves, that they involved nothing new or forward, but only a clearing up of matters in dispute, and a regularisation of future conduct, and that they were regarded by every one of yourselves as recently as December last as the very minimum, in fact, the most backward policy upon which it was possible to insist. One of the things that caused us a good deal of irritation here was what seemed to us the unfair attempt of His Majesty's Government to represent us as the bellicose people and themselves as the Janitors of the Temple of Peace. It is rather like the attempt of the Fiscal Reformers in England to represent the Free Trade Conservatives as disloyal to the party. Like them the Government of India were merely proposing to stand still where we were. The Home Government, on the other hand, was anxious to run away.

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Of course the man who stands still finds himself before long in a more forward position than the man who has retreated: but this is a result of movement not on his part, but on that of others.

Lord Kitchener's correspondence with Lord Roberts.

I have explained my views about the correspondence question to the Secretary of State. There is, in my view, the broadest distinction between the general proposition as stated by yourself, and the particular incident now under discussion. While a matter of this character is under reference to the Government of India, I do not think that it is open to a Member of Council to circulate, by private correspondence with high officials at home, his own *ex parte* views of the case. I should not dream of doing such a thing myself. Since I have been Viceroy I have never endeavoured to influence any individual at home in favour of my views, except through the constitutional channels. I have never influenced any newspaper at all. The whole of my Colleagues here are in the same position: and we feel the impropriety of the single member of our body who is in disagreement with the rest of us, utilising every available means—not open to us or at any rate not used by us—to press his views.

Mr. G. Wyndham and Sir A. MacDonnell.

The MacDonnell affair has greatly interested me, partly from my knowledge of the *dramatis personæ*, still more from the delightful admission unthinkingly made in debate by Wyndham: "I who am colossally ignorant of Indian affairs." "I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word." Yet this is the confession of a Cabinet Minister, not by any means the least able, in fact one of the three or four ablest, of the body who find no difficulty in overriding, upon questions of which they admit their colossal ignorance, those who have devoted years of study to the same questions and who are responsible on the spot for the conduct of Indian administration. I shall often have occasion, I daresay, to refer to that priceless word.

Viceroy's Convocation speech: Congress agitation.

Since I wrote last week we have had an interesting object lesson in the methods and ethics of Indian Congress agitators. After a month of wire-pulling and manipulation, the Native meeting to denounce me came off in the Town Hall last Friday. I am now not unused to these demonstrations. It is, I think, the seventh that has been held in the same building for a similar object in my time. This time, however, a special effort was put forward to eclipse all previous efforts. It was considered very important to impress the Liberal Party and the future Cabinet at home. Accordingly Mr. Gokhale was sent to Bombay to organize a meeting there. Another man was sent to Madras for a similar purpose. Similar demonstrations were to take place simultaneously in other great centres of population. The impression was to be given of a great wave of indignation overspreading the country and finding irrepressible and universal outlet. Well, the Calcutta meeting came off, and I send you the Lieutenant-Governor's description of it. Not a man of mark, in spite of the most tremendous pressure,

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could be persuaded to attend, and a platform of Congress Editors, professional agitators, and noisy vakils confronted an audience of shouting schoolboys. After the meeting a telegram was sent to the London *Daily News* and other organs about the unique and unparalleled demonstration against the reactionary Viceroy. Meanwhile, though five weeks have elapsed since the Convocation address, they have not been able to muster a single meeting in any other part of India. Bombay is still silent. Madras, though cogitating, is mute: nobody else seems to take the faintest interest; and the Calcutta Congress, after thus exhausting one more damp squib from their pyrotechnical armoury, will presently be sitting down to arrange for the eighth meeting to denounce the Viceroy for the dismemberment and destruction of Bengal. The tricks and arts of political agitation are no new thing to us in England. But I doubt if we have anything quite so squalid, so mendacious, or so mean as the practice of the same gentle art in modern Bengal.

Persian Gulf: proposed British Customs Officer at Maskat, &c.

I saw your name appended the other day to a letter in which you spoke of the proposed appointment of a British Customs Officer at Maskat as "so considerable a departure from the *status quo*." Is the poor old *status quo*, which has done such valiant duty at Koweit, now to be pulled out at Maskat? I thought that the entire point of the international position was that Maskat is a free country, and its Sultan, though subsidised by us, an independent Sovereign. May not the latter appoint a foreign Customs Officer—did not the Shah appoint M. Naus? And if he does, from what other nationality can he take him but that which protects and subsidises him, and monopolises his trade? Perhaps, however, a Customs Officer is a symptom of a forward policy. So, I suppose, were our proposals about Bahrein, and yet they effected in six hours what we had not been able to secure in six months. I see that the Admiralty are shying about the flagstaffs at Musandim, and the Treasury about the cost of Indian Consuls in the Gulf. The time will come before very long when every shred and symptom of influence that we possess in the Persian Gulf will possess a definite value to the Empire. Do not begin to throw away the cards before the other party has even taken his seat at the table.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

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(1) Copy of letter from Sir A. Fraser, dated March 11th, 1905, and enclosure.

(2) Extract from *Pioneer* of March 15th, 1905, headed "Calcutta" dealing with the Town Hall Protest meeting.

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No. 27.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
March 23*rd*, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

I have been lying ill in bed for some days, with a recurrence of my back trouble, the pain in my right leg being so severe that I cannot walk about. Dictating this letter as I am under such conditions, you will not expect very much. Viceroy's health.

This has been a busy week in our administrative world. Yesterday, in my absence for only the second time during six years at a meeting of the Legislative Council, Baker introduced the Budget. We made a useful innovation. Hitherto our practice has been rather absurd. In front of each Hon'ble Member as he took his seat at the table has always been placed a printed copy of the entire Financial Statement, including the speech of the Financial Member. The latter has then proceeded to extract from this huge mass of print such portions as he thought most interesting or least tiresome, and as could be conveniently compressed for the purposes of delivery within the space of an hour. The audience, according to the inclination of the individual, has either exhibited an affected interest, or audibly groaned, or resigned itself to peaceful slumber. No purpose was served, for both Hon'ble Members and the agents of the press then walked away with their printed copies and proceeded to write their speeches for next week or their articles for the newspapers upon them. I never could get Law to desist from this rather foolish practice. With a voice as raucous and strident as the grating of a thrashing machine in a barn, he persisted in taking his hour's enjoyment at the expense of his Colleagues, and usually made a great virtue of keeping the performance within those limits. When Baker, who is a very practical man of business, succeeded, I suggested to him that the situation was rather ridiculous. He gladly jumped at the idea, laid his Statement upon the table, and delivered a brief summary of its main features, which cannot have occupied more than five or six minutes of time. The newspapers this morning, so far as I can see, are full of praise of the Budget and the manner in which we have distributed our surplus, and of the narrower estimating which we have confessedly indulged in for next year. I expect that this verdict will be universal. Budget.

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Police Resolution.

We were very much concerned at your first telegram about our Police Resolution and the publication of the Report, mainly for the reasons which I named in wiring to you, namely, that public suspicion and resentment would have been caused here, but still more because of the attitude of suspicion or antagonism, protracted right up to the end, that it seemed to indicate on the part of your advisers. I am very glad that you were able to persuade them to adopt a more reasonable and generous frame of mind. Looking through your own telegrams the other day I came across one, dated I think January 1904, in which you contemplated the publication of the report before Parliament met a year ago. And there has been more than one occasion on which, when I have pointed out the long delay that would be involved by the procedure that you required, doubts have been thrown at home on my estimates of time. These have been fulfilled to the letter, but as the controversy is now at an end, and as you have met us in the concluding stages, for which my Colleagues and I are truly grateful, I will not say any more about it.

Military Administration.

Our despatch and the accompanying Minutes about Military Administration issue by the outgoing mail. I am writing a letter about the inner history of the case and the manner in which its decision at home will affect the Government of India and myself, to the Prime Minister. My illness will prevent me from getting it off till next week: but I do not think that this delay will make any difference. It will of course be for your perusal.

Partition of Bengal.

I am glad that the scheme for the partition of Bengal is likely to go through without material amendment. Assuredly I have nothing to gain by it; for, *persona ingrata* as I already am to the Congress Party, the enactment of this most necessary and salutary measure will make me, during the remainder of my time, the most unpopular Viceroy against whom the Bengali wire-pullers and agitators have ever poured forth their illimitable resources of invective, vilification, and scorn. You can scarcely have any idea of the utter want of proportion, moderation, or sanity that characterises native agitation in this country. Starting with some preposterous fiction or exaggeration, the Bengali, after repeating it for a few times, ends by firmly believing in its truth. He lashes himself into a fury over the most insignificant issues, and he revels in his own stage thunder in the happy conviction that owing to the circumstances of the case it can provoke no reply. English newspapers take no notice of it because they despise it; the British officials take no notice of it because it is not their duty; the Viceroy himself can take no notice of it because it is beneath his dignity. And so all these petty volcanoes scream and screech from one year's end to the other and throw their torrents of mud into the air. One could afford to laugh were it not that the constant repetition of this sort of invective tends sooner or later to sway the minds of the educated classes, and I doubt not in my own case that the impression exists among them, which men like Cotton and Wedderburn

Native Agitation.

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have done their best to propagate, that I, who am regarded in England as ultra-Indian, am in India ultra-English, and am inspired by the most dangerous and reactionary designs.

Forestry students.

I know nothing about the question of Forestry students, but my sympathies would be with you in your desire not to give a monopoly to any one University.

Warren Hastings' picture.

We are very grateful to you for giving back to us the Warren Hastings' picture. That you should want back our bad copy (which by the way we paid for) is rather surprising, unless it be that some of your advisers at home wish to see with their own eyes what an admirable work of art it is. The matter has not yet been put officially before me, but I think I shall advise that we should certainly let it go and ask to have another and better copy of the original picture made in its place. We shall want two specimens of the picture here—the one for the Council Chamber and the other for the Victoria Hall.

General Stuart Beatson.

General Beatson, who is to assist Lawrence in conducting the tour of the Prince of Wales in India, will leave Bombay on April the 8th and be in England for five or six weeks in consultation with His Royal Highness and of course, should you require it, with yourself.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 28.

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

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;

March 23rd, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I am writing from bed, so you must expect no high measure either of legibility or coherence.

Afghanistan: decision of the Cabinet.

In allusion to what you say I may mention that I seriously considered, and even discussed with some of my Colleagues, whether I should resign over Afghanistan. I was quite willing to do so, and was only deterred by the following considerations:—

(1) My Colleagues wanted me to see them through questions and issues not much less important which are impending.

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(2) My resigning could not affect the policy one way or the other, *i. e.*, no public purpose as regards Afghanistan would be served.

(3) From the nature of the case and the momentous issues involved I could not in self-defence in either House of Parliament tell the whole truth without grave injury to the public interest.

(4) It is a moot point how far in matters of imperial policy, raising possible questions with foreign powers, the Viceroy should regard himself as the Agent of the Home Government or as their quasi-independent adviser. In a sense he is both: but the line of discrimination is hard to draw.

From what I have written recently, however, I daresay you know that on the next occasion my decision will be different, and that there is a limit to the extent to which over-ruling of the Government of India can be carried without producing any consequences as regards its head.

Attitude of the Amir.

Meanwhile I could not have wished for a speedier confirmation of my prophecies than the Kabul telegrams are providing us with from day to day. The Amir evidently does not intend to be committed by the cheerful subtleties of the Lord Chancellor. He means not merely to get his Treaty in his own sense, but to make us accept it too. Were the matter not so serious, I could smile. But if the Amir gets his way, then what becomes of the whole argument of the Cabinet, who were going to procure for us in their own way all that we desire? Had I dreamed for a moment that such would be the attitude of any Cabinet at home, I would never have recommended any Kabul Mission, and it is to me quite certain that after this experience none of my successors is likely to recommend another.

The Japanese.

I agree with you that we could not have done what the Japs have done: for as a nation we are growing stale, flaccid, and nerveless. In point of national ardour and power of self-sacrifice the Japs stand about where we did at Agincourt. But admitting all that, I see no reason why we should tremble like an aspen leaf at every faint growl that emanates from the bear's den. Sometimes they are only the stertorous breathings of physical repletion and obesity, frequently the premeditated snarl that is merely intended to warn the rival denizens of the forest away.

Retirement of Sir C. Crosthwaite.

I welcome the disappearance of Crosthwaite from your Council, not because I had any personal feeling against him: for I only met him twice and at once recognized his capacity: but because his policy, whenever I saw any traces of it, appeared to me to be obstinate and mistaken. He destroyed Cooper's Hill and would have ruined our Railway Board at its inception.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 29.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, M. P.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;
March 30th, 1905.

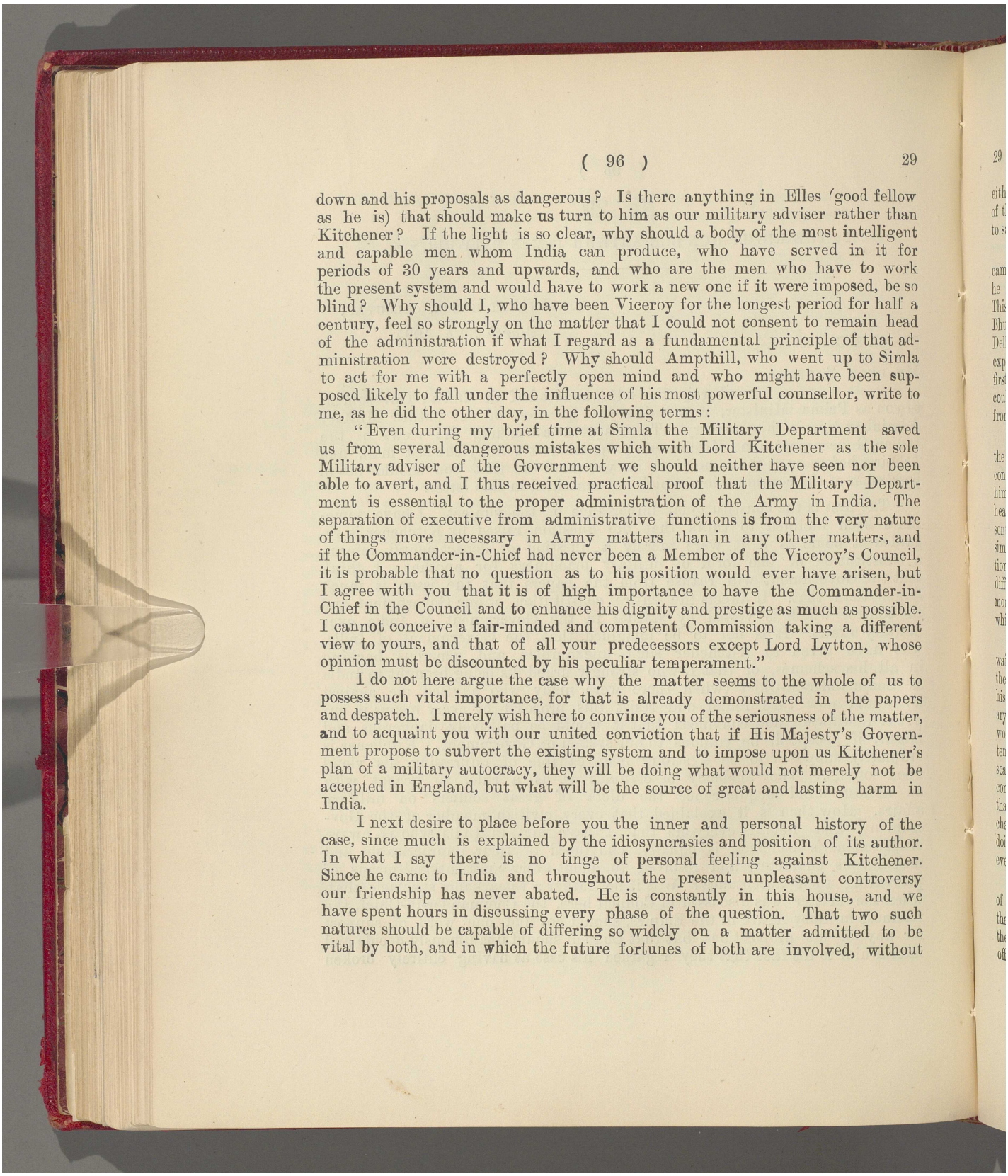
[Private & Confidential.]

My dear Balfour,

I write this letter as Head of the Indian Government to you as Prime Minister, concerning the question of our future Military Administration in this country. The despatch containing the views of the Indian Government upon Kitchener's proposals left here by the last mail, and I desire, before or at the same time as you read it, that you should be in possession of the considerations which are contained in this letter.

The first is the constitutional importance of the subject. I have sometimes been inclined to think that the question raised by Kitchener is regarded at home as if it were merely a question of departmental reform, a substitution of one form of military machinery for another. I think that the Government will realise from the papers that the issue is much larger than that. It affects the entire constitution of our Government and the control which is vested by statute in the Government of India over military affairs. It is not to be imagined that the Government of India, who have given to Kitchener such unexampled and generous backing in all his schemes, or that I, who strongly urged his being brought to India as Commander-in-Chief (when there were many who advised me against it) would now turn round and resist this proposal by every means in our power if we were not convinced that it would be positively dangerous and might, if accepted, be ruinous to our system of Government. Kitchener is ordinarily supposed to be a strong man, capable of impressing his views upon others. The tendency of civilians is, as a rule, to accept with an almost blind acquiescence the dicta of great soldiers on military affairs. How then is it explained that every civilian member of the Government, and indeed everyone that I have met in India who is aware of Kitchener's schemes, is equally convinced of their impracticable and mischievous character, and resolved to adopt every constitutional means of preventing their acceptance? Was it not rather a remarkable spectacle that, when the matter was discussed in Council here, the Commander-in-Chief, the foremost military figure in the Empire, should not find one word of support for any of his propositions, but that Council should unanimously decide and inform him to his face that they regarded his case as having entirely broken

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down and his proposals as dangerous? Is there anything in Elles 'good fellow as he is) that should make us turn to him as our military adviser rather than Kitchener? If the light is so clear, why should a body of the most intelligent and capable men whom India can produce, who have served in it for periods of 30 years and upwards, and who are the men who have to work the present system and would have to work a new one if it were imposed, be so blind? Why should I, who have been Viceroy for the longest period for half a century, feel so strongly on the matter that I could not consent to remain head of the administration if what I regard as a fundamental principle of that administration were destroyed? Why should Ampthill, who went up to Simla to act for me with a perfectly open mind and who might have been supposed likely to fall under the influence of his most powerful counsellor, write to me, as he did the other day, in the following terms:

"Even during my brief time at Simla the Military Department saved us from several dangerous mistakes which with Lord Kitchener as the sole Military adviser of the Government we should neither have seen nor been able to avert, and I thus received practical proof that the Military Department is essential to the proper administration of the Army in India. The separation of executive from administrative functions is from the very nature of things more necessary in Army matters than in any other matters, and if the Commander-in-Chief had never been a Member of the Viceroy's Council, it is probable that no question as to his position would ever have arisen, but I agree with you that it is of high importance to have the Commander-in-Chief in the Council and to enhance his dignity and prestige as much as possible. I cannot conceive a fair-minded and competent Commission taking a different view to yours, and that of all your predecessors except Lord Lytton, whose opinion must be discounted by his peculiar temperament."

I do not here argue the case why the matter seems to the whole of us to possess such vital importance, for that is already demonstrated in the papers and despatch. I merely wish here to convince you of the seriousness of the matter, and to acquaint you with our united conviction that if His Majesty's Government propose to subvert the existing system and to impose upon us Kitchener's plan of a military autocracy, they will be doing what would not merely not be accepted in England, but what will be the source of great and lasting harm in India.

I next desire to place before you the inner and personal history of the case, since much is explained by the idiosyncrasies and position of its author. In what I say there is no tinge of personal feeling against Kitchener. Since he came to India and throughout the present unpleasant controversy our friendship has never abated. He is constantly in this house, and we have spent hours in discussing every phase of the question. That two such natures should be capable of differing so widely on a matter admitted to be vital by both, and in which the future fortunes of both are involved, without

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either acrimony or loss of personal esteem is, I think, an incidental illustration of the importance of the subject. It will also acquit me in what I am about to say of any personal motive.

The entire history of the case is coloured by the fact that Kitchener came out to India in order to destroy the Military Department (of which he then knew nothing) and to set himself up as Military Dictator in its place. This he disclosed in his first conversations when he was with me at Bhurtpore within a week of landing in India in December 1902. After the Delhi Durbar when he came down to Calcutta, and before he had any experience whatsoever of the working of the machine, he submitted to me his first proposal for destroying the Military Department. I pointed out that it could not possibly rest upon personal experience, and I urged him to refrain from drawing up any scheme until he had been a longer time in the country.

Three months later he startled everybody by suddenly sending over to the Military Department in Simla a fresh edition of the same scheme containing many rash and unsupported statements. As this must have brought him to immediate grief, I again urged him to desist. He did so, and I heard no more until, just as I was leaving for England last summer, he sent over to me a copy of the Note which it appears that he sent simultaneously to the Defence Committee or to yourself. Upon the invitation of the Home Government he has now placed before us a third scheme, differing essentially from either of its predecessors, but, if anything, even more drastic in its main resolve of crushing out of existence the organisation which stands between him and the complete autocracy which he desires.

It will be evident from this brief narrative that Kitchener has not waited or required to be convinced by experience. He came out to destroy the Military Department: he has been compelled, from time to time, to hold his hand; but he has never abandoned his purpose, and whoever the Military Member had been, and whatever the Military Department had done, he would not have spared them. You would find difficulty in believing the persistency and even pettiness with which he has conducted his campaign. He has scarcely treated Ellies (who has shown a quite remarkable temper and self-control) with common courtesy. He has constantly written notes on the file that revealed the temper almost of a school boy. He has brought absurd charges of obstruction against the Military Department when it was merely doing its duty (as the Government of India in its military capacity), and, whenever he has been especially angry, he has sent in his resignation.

You may wonder why all this should be. Everyone in the Government of India knows the reason. It is simply because Kitchener cannot brook that his schemes (which I can assure you are not uncommonly framed in the most startling ignorance of Indian conditions, with which his subordinate officers have not the courage to acquaint him) should be criticised and their

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flaws sometimes exposed by a General Officer of greatly inferior prestige and rank. This is the sting. I have served here with two other Commanders-in-Chief. Excepting one small dispute between Palmer and Elles (which the former most unwisely passed on to Kitchener when he landed at Bombay) I have never seen this friction before. In my own belief it is entirely unnecessary: and if Kitchener chose to be even ordinarily considerate, it could end tomorrow.

This attitude on his part culminated in the Minute with which he opened the present discussion in December last. In such a world apart does he live that his officers told him that as soon as his case was read the Military Department would throw up the sponge, the Viceroy would be won over, and the Government of India captured. They allowed him to put his name to a series of charges which, as it has been my duty to investigate them, I am in a position to say, are wholly incapable of substantiation, and to give a description of the situation as he sees it which is not only constitutionally erroneous, but quite inconsistent with the facts. When we discussed the matter he could not sustain one of these charges: he did not attempt to argue the case. All he could do was to write a Minute of Dissent to the effect that he adhered to his former views.

Now let me put before you my own position. This is not a controversy which I have provoked. I told you in the House of Commons that I did not want to take it up. It was only in deference to your strongly expressed wishes (and these were in the main due to Kitchener's threat of resignation) that I was driven to take it up at all. Having obeyed your orders, I have striven throughout to treat the matter in a constitutional way. It was for this reason that I could not acquiesce in Brodrick's proposal to send out George Hamilton to adjudicate before we had even written our Despatch: and it is on the same grounds that I now appeal for the dispassionate consideration to which we are entitled.

Your Government has not made the position of the Government of India very easy lately: firstly with the publication of the Tibetan Blue Book, and secondly in respect of Afghanistan. I have not complained to you in either case. But I now desire to point out that the situation is a very different one when the Government of India address you unanimously and with as much earnestness as we have done on the matter of our own constitution, of which we must necessarily be better qualified to speak than any but a few of your advisers at home, and that to overrule the Government of India in such conditions would be a proceeding unprecedented in the relations of Great Britain and India. If you think that my Colleagues have been talked or persuaded into agreement with my views you would do both me and them an injustice. Till our discussion the other day I have never mentioned the subject to any of them. Indeed, as you know, I was absent for 7 months of last year. Their views were formed, therefore, in complete independence of me.

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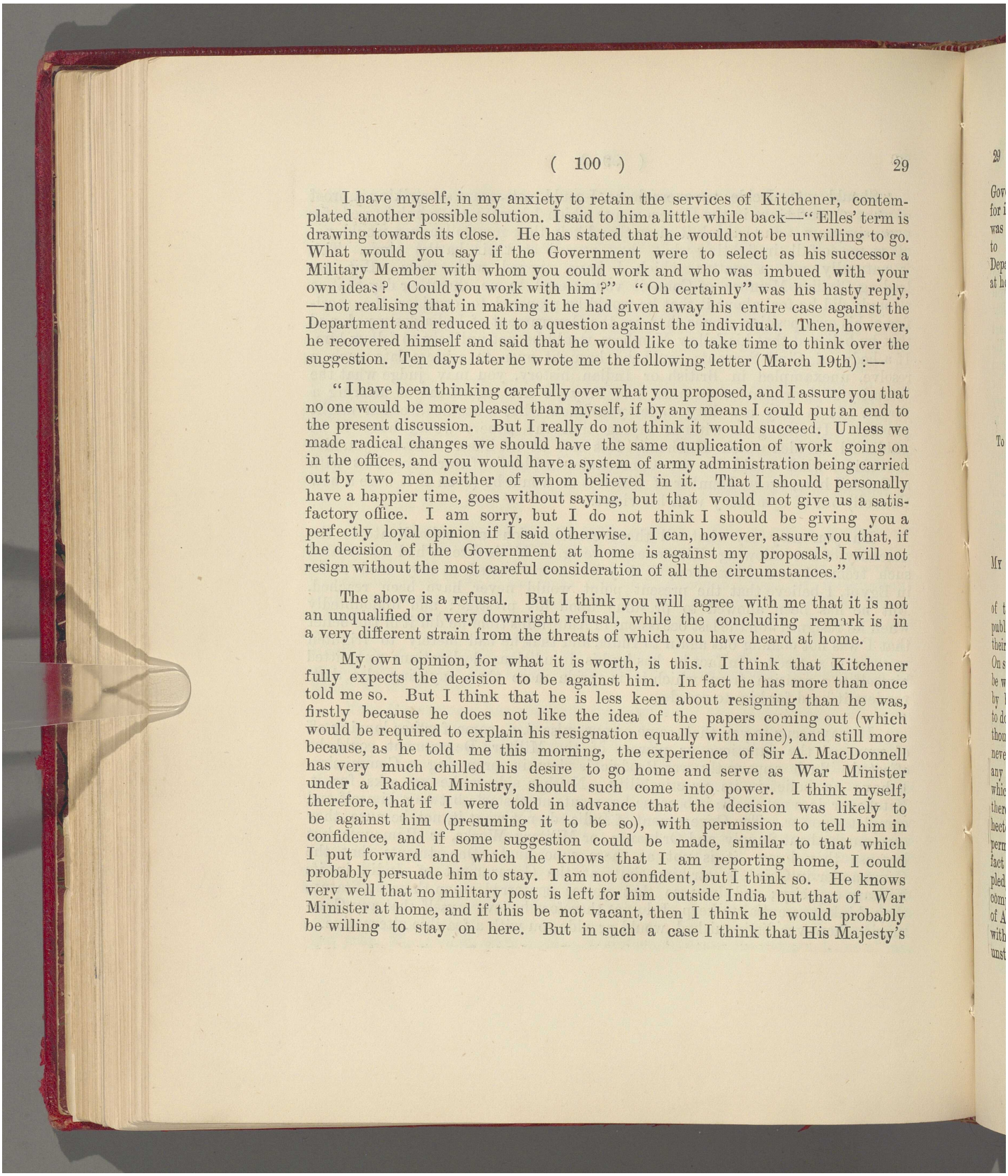
Should you decide to overrule us, I could not accept so striking a proof of want of confidence in the Government which I have now administered for over six years. ButI think it more than likely that my Colleagues would not allow me to fall (in fighting what they regard as their battle) alone. This is naturally not a matter which I have opened with them. But my leading Civilian Member of Council volunteered to me the other day that so strongly did he feel about it that he would be prepared to consider the sacrifice of his own position sooner than see the Government of India destroyed, and that he believed that his fellow Members would be not unlikely to follow him. If a body of Civil Servants could be brought even to contemplate such a resolve, unexampled in British or Indian history, you may judge what the intensity of their convictions must be. Pray do not regard me as uttering a threat. It is only my duty to let you know what a hostile decision might provoke. It also goes without saying that the papers would have to be published (an idea which Kitchener does not at all like). I invite you also to consider what would be the Commander-in-Chief's future relations with a Council here, every Member of which is or would be (even if it were a new Council) out of sympathy with his views.

But you may say that all these considerations are subordinate to the necessity of not allowing Kitchener to resign. If his threats had not created such tremendous consternation, if they had been treated as they used to be in Egypt, I believe that the present point would never have been reached. But he has been allowed to presume upon his prestige; and undoubtedly when he resigned (on the last occasion), in Ampthill's time he did it in the belief that I was not coming out again to India, and that he had merely to frighten in order to succeed. In fact he has by his injudicious declarations committed himself to a position from which it is pride more than anything else that renders it hard for him to recede.

It may occur to you that some compromise, *i. e.*, some further lopping off of some of the functions or powers of the Military Department could be effected. Such apparently was Brodrick's view in proposing a Commission. I have no belief in its practicability. Neither side wishes or asks for it. Kitchener does not desire it because he wants no obstacle between himself and complete power. The Government of India do not want it, not because they care much about Supply and Ordnance, or Military Works, or Remounts, but because they know it is not at these subordinate Departments that the Commander-in-Chief is striking, but at the Government of India in its military capacity; and because that power conferred upon them by Statute they think it essential to keep. I do not therefore believe myself that any Commission, however distinguished, would provide you with a feasible alternative.

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I have myself, in my anxiety to retain the services of Kitchener, contemplated another possible solution. I said to him a little while back—"Elles' term is drawing towards its close. He has stated that he would not be unwilling to go. What would you say if the Government were to select as his successor a Military Member with whom you could work and who was imbued with your own ideas? Could you work with him?" "Oh certainly" was his hasty reply, —not realising that in making it he had given away his entire case against the Department and reduced it to a question against the individual. Then, however, he recovered himself and said that he would like to take time to think over the suggestion. Ten days later he wrote me the following letter (March 19th) :—

"I have been thinking carefully over what you proposed, and I assure you that no one would be more pleased than myself, if by any means I could put an end to the present discussion. But I really do not think it would succeed. Unless we made radical changes we should have the same duplication of work going on in the offices, and you would have a system of army administration being carried out by two men neither of whom believed in it. That I should personally have a happier time, goes without saying, but that would not give us a satisfactory office. I am sorry, but I do not think I should be giving you a perfectly loyal opinion if I said otherwise. I can, however, assure you that, if the decision of the Government at home is against my proposals, I will not resign without the most careful consideration of all the circumstances."

The above is a refusal. But I think you will agree with me that it is not an unqualified or very downright refusal, while the concluding remark is in a very different strain from the threats of which you have heard at home.

My own opinion, for what it is worth, is this. I think that Kitchener fully expects the decision to be against him. In fact he has more than once told me so. But I think that he is less keen about resigning than he was, firstly because he does not like the idea of the papers coming out (which would be required to explain his resignation equally with mine), and still more because, as he told me this morning, the experience of Sir A. MacDonnell has very much chilled his desire to go home and serve as War Minister under a Radical Ministry, should such come into power. I think myself, therefore, that if I were told in advance that the decision was likely to be against him (presuming it to be so), with permission to tell him in confidence, and if some suggestion could be made, similar to that which I put forward and which he knows that I am reporting home, I could probably persuade him to stay. I am not confident, but I think so. He knows very well that no military post is left for him outside India but that of War Minister at home, and if this be not vacant, then I think he would probably be willing to stay on here. But in such a case I think that His Majesty's

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Government should enquire for how long he would consent to stay on; for it would not do to be threatened with renewed resignations, and he was speaking to someone the other day as though in any case he only meant to stay here a short time longer, whether he destroyed the Military Department or not. This is a sequel that has not perhaps been contemplated at home.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 30.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE St. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA;

March 30th, 1905.

My dear St. John,

With regard to the opening remarks of your letter of the 10th March, I cannot agree that any case is established for the publication of the Tibetan papers. Governments have constantly upon their own responsibility declined to publish papers in the public interest. On such an occasion the practice commonly adopted is for a general despatch to be written, either by the Home Government or the Government of India, or by both together, summarising the situation. I remember being instructed to do this six years ago in the case of Muscat; but even this summary, though promised to the House of Commons by the Secretary of State, was never laid. I am unable, therefore, to accept the contention that there was any obligation upon the Government to publish the distressing controversy which they did. Still less, as you know, can I accept the position that there was any ground for them to address the Government of India in the hectoring and pharisaical language which they employed, and which will have a permanent effect upon the prestige of our Government for years to come. The fact is that, in order to vindicate their Parliamentary position and pledges—pledges in my opinion quite uncalled for—the Cabinet were willing seriously to compromise the reputation of the main agent of their authority in the continent of Asia, and to humiliate us before all the various Asiatic princes and powers with whom we have to deal. It was in my opinion one of the most unwise and unstatesmanlike decisions that has been taken in my time. It will react upon

Tibetan Blue Book.

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us in every diplomatic controversy in which we are engaged, be it with China, Persia, or Afghanistan. I doubt not that its effect is thoroughly appreciated at Kabul, while it has already been visible on more than one occasion in our negotiations with Mr. Tang.

Army Reorganisation : Lord Kitchener's Minute.

I have written today at some length to Balfour about the situation created by Kitchener's Minute and the decision of Council upon it. You will no doubt see the letter, and I need not therefore repeat myself here. But when you speak of readjustments to which both parties might agree, I must say frankly that there are none which Kitchener desires or would take. He was given the executive control of Supply and Transport last summer and has been making trouble about it ever since. You might lop off further branches from the Military Department, but you would only ruin the Military Department without satisfying the Commander-in-Chief, and as soon as Kitchener went they would all have to go back again. What I want you all to understand at home is that the question is not one of mere readjustment of functions, but a proposal striking at the roots of our Constitution. I have endeavoured week after week to bring this home to you, but in none of your letters have I yet seen any evidence that I have fully impressed you with the far-reaching character of the case. It is in such matters that the Viceroy and the Government of India look to the Secretary of State as their champion, and the success of Fowler, to which you refer, was in some respects due to the fact that he fought so hard for the Indian point of view.

Viceroy's Budget speech. [Enclosure.]

I send you a copy of the speech which I made yesterday in the Budget Debate. It covers a good deal of ground as these speeches usually do, but contains some information which may be of interest to you. I concluded by a covert deprecation of the shameful attacks directed against me by the Congress Party, exclusively for political purposes and in close connection with the expected General Election at home.

Vacancy in the India Council.

As regards a new Member for your Council I hope myself that you will not make any appointment, for the argument contained in the Minute that I sent you from Aden on my way out to India will show that in my view your Council is already unnecessarily large, and that I regard the decision of George Hamilton gradually to reduce its figures as extremely wise. It would therefore, in my judgment, be a great mistake to fill Crosthwaite's place, when you have a chance of leaving it empty.

Colonel Yate.

Colonel Yate is not at all fitted to be a Member of Council. His knowledge is confined entirely to the frontier and only to certain sections of the frontier. He has never had the confidence of his officers and never been popular with anybody. He has always been exceedingly loyal to myself, because I have befriended him for twenty years, knowing that his heart was in his task and aware that by rigid control he could be kept straight. But I have been almost his only friend in

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Government, and you will find very few highly-placed officers of the Government of India who have a good word to say for him. His judgment is not reliable, nor is he a man of generous temperament.

Sir D. Barr.

Sir David Barr, on the other hand, is a delightful personage—a political officer of the very best type, suave and courteous, but withal resolute and strong. If you want a Member of Council to advise you exclusively about Native States, Barr is the man, but then I imagine that such cases only come with extreme rareness before the India Council. For other purposes he would be comparatively useless. He knows little or nothing of administration, and has never had experience other than that to which I refer. I am so much attached to Barr that I would gladly see him get any good place, but that he would be a source of strength to your Council for general purposes I should be inclined to doubt. If I were you, I should wait for a little bit until someone with stronger claims appears upon the scene.

The Gaekwar of Baroda.

We have been having a disagreeable dispute with the Gaekwar, who has shown his usual nastiness and contumacy in respect of his projected visit to England. He absolutely declined to come back to India for the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and has announced his intention of staying away abroad for a year and a half. This decision, which we earnestly and most courteously pressed him to recede from, has compelled us to demand much greater powers in the control of the administration of the State during his absence than we should otherwise have asked for, and matters came to a head the other day when we were obliged to tell him that he could not be allowed to leave by the steamer by which he had taken his passage on Saturday next unless he yielded to our views in the matter. Thus cornered he was obliged to surrender, and has accepted an arrangement for the management of Baroda in his absence exactly analogous to that which was adopted under somewhat similar conditions when he went away to Europe once before in 1894. I hope that no civility whatever will be shown to him in England if he comes there. His conduct about the visit of the Prince and Princess should lose him the favour of the Court, if he had it, while his general attitude towards the Government of India is one of habitual rudeness and calculating insubordination.

Appointment of Mr Adamson as Chief Judge of the Burma Chief Court.

In case you are asked any question in Parliament about our decision to appoint Mr. Adamson Chief Judge of the Burma Chief Court, Adamson being a Civilian, in preference to Mr. Fox, the local barrister nominee—the Rangoon Bar being certain to revive their former agitation for the appointment of a barrister Judge—you should know that we unanimously decided upon Adamson's appointment exclusively because we regard him as a much better man than Fox, of whose conduct and judgments at earlier stages we had good reasons to form a very poor opinion.

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The Treaty with the Amir.

Dane is, I suppose, on the way back from Kabul, and I daresay that His Majesty's Government are congratulating themselves upon having procured their treaty. To our mind here the situation gives no cause for congratulation, but, on the contrary, much for regret and dismay. Not one of the disputed points which we sent the Mission to Kabul with the intention to settle has been advanced one iota towards a solution, and in return for the extraordinary document which we have signed, and which concedes without question all the main points which we held it advisable to dispute, the doles that the Amir has been good enough in his gratitude to shovel out to us are :—

(1) The repair of the cemetery wall at Sherpur ;
(2) A higher seat for our Agent in Durbar at Kabul ;
(3) Arbitration at Musabad—which is a favour to the Amir and not to us ;
(4) A sort of peripatetic frontier Commission—to which it is more than doubtful if he will allow any powers ;
(5) The discussion of the Mohmand border—not taking us one inch beyond where we stood nine months ago ; and
(6) The acceptance of his father's principles—which were in open contravention of his engagements—about the frontier tribes.

His Majesty's Government did not allow us to bring back much from Lhasa, but the Lhasa bag was large in comparison with this.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Copy of His Excellency the Viceroy's Budget Speech.

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No. 31.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

CAMP;

April 6th, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Suggested honour for Mr. Justice Crowe.

I think that Lamington was quite correct in saying that he had never put forward the name of Mr. Justice Crowe for an honour, for the only official channel through which such a recommendation can be made is the Viceroy. Mr. Crowe's name has never been submitted or suggested in my time: it was not included in the list submitted by Lamington to Ampthill during my absence; and the reference to the matter contained in a private letter to you, of which the Viceroy knew nothing, is a very different thing from an official recommendation.

The Agricultural Institute at Pusa.

Upon leaving Calcutta last week I went to lay the foundation-stone of our new Agricultural Institute at Pusa in Behar. I was very much struck with the apparent suitability of the Estate, which is about 1,350 acres in extent. The movement has been welcomed by all shades of opinion throughout the country, and I think that we have now opened an era of definite and scientific treatment of the problem of agriculture in this country.

Simla.

Before leaving Calcutta we sent off to you our despatch about the future of Simla, involving the transfer of the Punjab Government from that place. We have tried to look at the matter from the wider point of view which you suggested to us; and strong as was the case for removing the Punjab Government on its own merits, it is much stronger still when considered in relation to the larger scheme of the future government of our summer capital. Here the case seems to me to be quite overwhelming, and I think it will carry conviction to the minds of your Councillors.

Budget: disposal of surplus.

If you either peruse our Budget Debate or study the Indian newspapers you will, I think, scarcely find a single note of dissent as to the manner in which we disposed of our surplus this year. You will recollect that when we sent our proposals home to you in February I expressed no small confidence on this point, and I am perhaps entitled therefore to point to the complete justification of the prophecies in which I indulged.

The Earthquake.

Two days ago a serious earthquake spread over parts of the north of India and has caused considerable damage, notably in the Punjab. Many lives were lost at Lahore, the whole station of Dharamsala—where the first Lord Elgin died and was buried—is said to have been wiped out, several Europeans having been killed, Mussoorie and other places suffered severely; while at

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Simla Viceregal Lodge seems to have borne the brunt of the attack. It is a very badly built house, the stone employed being friable and rotten, and the work of building having been scamped in the most reprehensible way in order to allow Lord Dufferin to enter into occupation during his last summer. We have always looked forward since to the first earthquake to bring it down, unless indeed it were destroyed by fire before this could take place. As it was, nearly the whole of the chimneys and the upper part of the house appear to have fallen in, and my wife was only saved by a most fortunate accident from an awful death. A chimney weighing 20 tons broke through the roof into the room immediately over that in which she was sleeping. There its descent was arrested by a big double bedstead immediately over the place occupied by her bed in the room below. The bedstead was crushed to powder, but it broke the fall and saved her life. There were similar escapes elsewhere.

Rupee paper and interest on Indian Securities.

As soon as I get up to Simla I will look into the question of the Note that you have submitted to me about Rupee paper and the interest on the different forms of Indian Securities. It is a matter which we have frequently discussed in the Finance Department since I have been in India, and concerning which we have more than once addressed the Secretary of State. But, so far as I know, none of our proposals of the least importance have ever had the good fortune to be accepted, and I told the Finance Department some time ago that it was of no use to revive them. If, however, the Secretary of State himself takes the initiative, the outlook is more hopeful, although there are some points in your Memorandum with which I expect that we shall not be found to agree. Without any papers in my possession I am not in a position to say more now.

Lord Kitchener.

With regard to Kitchener's intimation to Lord Roberts that he might be expected back in England in the month of May, it may interest you to know that he has summoned all the Lieutenant-Generals to stay with him at "Snowdon" for an important conference on military matters at the end of June and beginning of July.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

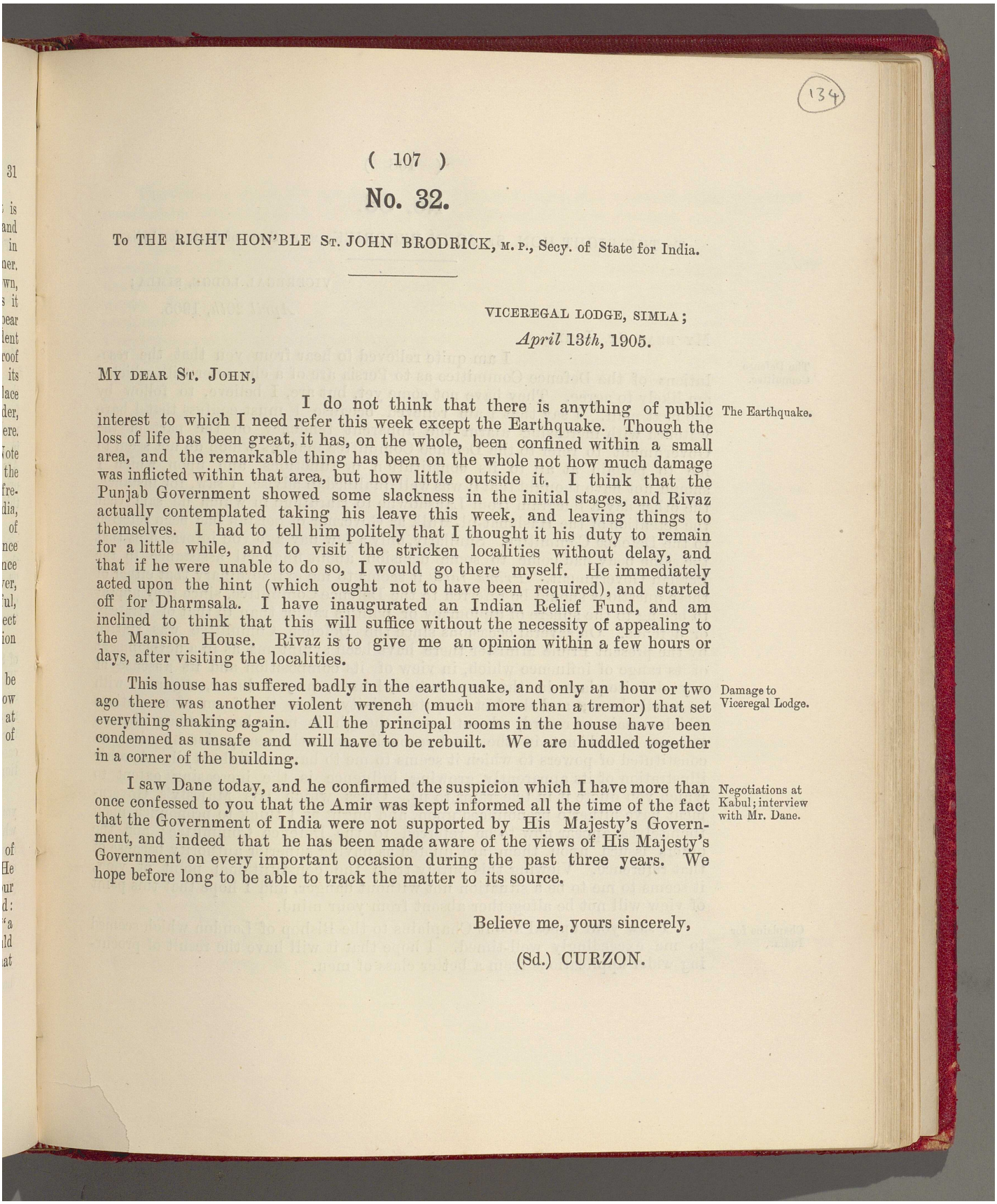
(Sd.) CURZON.

P. S.—Since dictating the above I have had put up to me a copy of a Note sent by Lamington to Ampthill on September 30th, 1904. He explained that he had been unable to recommend Crowe for an honour because he had only been for 4 years in the High Court when he retired: but that, as a matter of general application, he (Lamington) regretted that "a man whose career may not have singled him out for special recognition should lose his titular distinction of 'Honourable.'" This is identical with what Lamington said to me.

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No. 32.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M.P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
April 13*th*, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

The Earthquake.

I do not think that there is anything of public interest to which I need refer this week except the Earthquake. Though the loss of life has been great, it has, on the whole, been confined within a small area, and the remarkable thing has been on the whole not how much damage was inflicted within that area, but how little outside it. I think that the Punjab Government showed some slackness in the initial stages, and Rivaz actually contemplated taking his leave this week, and leaving things to themselves. I had to tell him politely that I thought it his duty to remain for a little while, and to visit the stricken localities without delay, and that if he were unable to do so, I would go there myself. He immediately acted upon the hint (which ought not to have been required), and started off for Dharmsala. I have inaugurated an Indian Relief Fund, and am inclined to think that this will suffice without the necessity of appealing to the Mansion House. Rivaz is to give me an opinion within a few hours or days, after visiting the localities.

Damage to Viceregal Lodge.

This house has suffered badly in the earthquake, and only an hour or two ago there was another violent wrench (much more than a tremor) that set everything shaking again. All the principal rooms in the house have been condemned as unsafe and will have to be rebuilt. We are huddled together in a corner of the building.

Negotiations at Kabul; interview with Mr. Dane.

I saw Dane today, and he confirmed the suspicion which I have more than once confessed to you that the Amir was kept informed all the time of the fact that the Government of India were not supported by His Majesty's Government, and indeed that he has been made aware of the views of His Majesty's Government on every important occasion during the past three years. We hope before long to be able to track the matter to its source.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 33.

To THE RIGHT HON. ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
April 20th, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

The Defence Committee.

I am quite relieved to hear from you that the resolutions of the Defence Committee as to Persia are of a character with which I am likely to agree. They have not come yet, but are, I believe, to follow by the next mail. I say that I am relieved because I must confess that I have watched with increasing alarm the apparent tendency on the part of the Government to refer to the Defence Committee matters which do not seem to me to pertain at all to its constitution or functions, and upon which I should not have thought that it was well qualified to advise. I saw, for instance, the other day a telegram from Lansdowne to Hardinge in which he said that the retention of the Hashmat-ul-Mulk as Governor of Seistan had been referred to the Defence Committee. Similarly, only a few day ago you informed us that the same body had come to some decision about financial assistance to the Persian Government. *Primâ facie* it seems to me extraordinary that either of these questions should be referred to the Defence Committee, since they appear to belong to the sphere of diplomacy or politics rather than to that of strategy or defence. On several occasions since the Defence Committee was started by the present Prime Minister there have been symptoms as to a development of its range of influence which, in view of its composition and its absence of any definite place in the constitution, I have, as you know, regarded with no small alarm; and the fact that its activity takes the form of resolutions which remain on record, advantageous though it may be in some circumstances, would not in the least reconcile me to the usurpation by a body so constituted of powers to which it seems to me to have no right at all. Another illustration of its apparently growing influence is the increasing extent to which you quote it in telegrams to us. Cases which His Majesty's Government have hitherto pronounced upon, and ought as I think to pronounce upon themselves, appear now to be referred to the Defence Committee; and the orders issued upon them are quoted as having superior authority because of that reference. Viewing this purely from the constitutional point of view, it seems to me to be a situation not without danger, and I hope that this point of view will not be altogether absent from your mind.

Chaplains for India.

I saw your appeal about Chaplains to the Bishop of London which seemed to me exceedingly well-timed. I hope that it will have the result of procuring wider applications from a better class of men.

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Reduction of Tea Duty.

The decision about the tea duties in your home budget was received with considerable enthusiasm in India, being as unexpected as it was welcome.

Tibet: draft Convention with Mr. Tang.

I have now drawn up a final draft Convention and sent it down for acceptance to Mr. Tang. I believe that he will accept it. It contains nothing but what Lansdowne or yourself has stated at one time or another in your own words. From this point of view it appears to me to be certain of your acceptance. I cannot pretend that it entirely expresses my own views; but I regard myself in the matter as bound by the instructions already issued and the policy laid down, and my object has been to obtain the adhesion of China without any concession of any kind whatsoever over and beyond those which have already been officially made. I think it not impossible that we may also secure from Tang a promise that no British or European Customs House Officers, or indeed any officers of other than Chinese nationality, shall in future be employed by China in Tibet.

Mr. Dane and the Kabul negotiations.

Dane is leaving Simla tomorrow and you will shortly see him at home. As you can hear from his own lips his impressions of what occurred at Kabul, I need not anticipate them by saying much here. Of one thing he appears certain, namely, that the eagerness of the Amir to talk about Military subjects and to put forward his own scheme of defence was due to the fact that he had obtained secret intimation of Kitchener's memorandum from India and thought that what Dane was going up to discuss was a policy of Military cooperation, the first act of which would be an attack upon Russia. Dane will tell you further that, whereas if he had presented an ultimatum at the end of January, when the Amir was ill and when Nasrulla was in command, the result would in all probability have been a rupture, if he had presented it after the return of the young Sirdar and his party from India, when Anglophile influences were again in the ascendant, he believes the result would have been different. This accords with the views which I have frequently expressed to you. Perhaps, however, the most interesting thing which he will have to tell you will be that the one point upon which the Amir was enthusiastic and which he was most disappointed at our not taking up, is the very one which I was regarded as rash and unwise in pressing upon the Government at home, and which the Prime Minister and your Office both thought would cause an immediate rupture of the negotiations, namely, the placing of Great Britain in a position of vantage in the S. E. corner of Seistan. Dane will tell you that the one proposal that is likely to satisfy the Amir of our *bona fides* and to meet with a ready acceptance by him will be of this description.

The Seistan question.

Band allowances.

The soldiers here were a good deal vexed at your orders compelling us to spend three-quarters of a lakh a year more on band allowances to British

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regiments in India, a concession which they say is not called for in this country and only involves a waste of money.

Flag for Lumsden's Horse. [Enclosure.]

You may remember my writing to you more than once when first you assumed office about a flag for Lumsden's Horse. I have heard nothing about it for more than a year. If the statement in the enclosed extract is true is there any hope that we may receive the expected favour?

Judicial and Executive functions.

You recently sent us a despatch asking us how the question of separation of Judicial and Executive Functions stands. It stands just as it did a year ago when I mentioned it to you at home. We have all the papers and, at the cost of 2 or 3 months toil, we could get it through. But there can be little doubt that the result would be a pronouncement, more or less strong according to the composition of Council at the moment, in favour of the *status quo*. I have shrunk from delivering this, partly because I regard the question as purely academic, partly because I do not see why I should incur the storm of obloquy that will be poured out upon me when the decision is made public. If you ever study the Indian newspapers you will have discovered that I am held personally responsible for every act of the Government, for the Universities Legislation, for the Official Secrets Bill (where I was in a minority of one in my Council), for the non-publication of the Police Report, for the partition of Bengal, for the appointment of a Civilian Chief Judge in Burma, for every Eurasian or European that is appointed to a post worth £5 a month throughout India, for every unpopular act of every Local Government in the country. I am a little tired of bearing this burden and of the stream of abuse from the Congress party that follows every act of Government. I only wonder that they do not attribute to me the earthquake. If there were any public purpose to be served I would gladly take arms against any fresh sea of invective over Judicial and Executive functions. But I foresee nothing but bitterness and calumny as the result; and I therefore feel no desire to sacrifice several weeks of my time and a further portion of my waning health to a labour which will do no good to a single soul, and will simply be made an additional cause of personal injustice and public slander.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Extract from the Indian Volunteer Record of 31st March 1905, *re* Lumsden's Horse.

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No. 34.

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

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;

April 20th, 1905.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I did not, and I could not, reply to your letter of last week. I cannot recall ever having received such a letter from anybody, least of all from yourself. During the six years for which we corresponded I am not conscious of having written anything calculated to wound or be disagreeable to yourself. I may have attacked policies with which you were identified or persons with whom you cooperate. But I am confident that I have never said anything to cause personal pain; and yet you wrote me a letter which the meanest of mankind could not have read without a feeling of deep pain and regret and which, in looking over our recent correspondence (which seems to me singularly free from controversy or acrimony), I cannot see that I had done anything to provoke.

Sir A. Godley's comments on the Viceroy's letters.

I think from your subsequent letter of 31st March that you yourself are conscious of this: and if you had not written this later letter containing the expressions that it did, I could never have resumed a correspondence that to me has always been a source of pleasure and advantage.

I think you should remember that writing privately to me you have constantly invited the expression of my private opinion. I have freely, but I now see mistakenly, responded. I had no conception that these confidential outpourings would be regarded in the light which they have been. I shall desist from them in the future.

You asked me in your former letter to put myself in the position of the Government at home. I have tried to do so but very likely without success. Let me ask you in return to place yourself in mine. There is a proverb, which I forget, about the toad and the harrow, the upshot of which is that it is the toad who knows what the sensations are of the harrow being dragged across its back rather than the harrow. Now imagine yourself a Viceroy of India at the commencement of your second term of office, who finds his authority publicly humiliated before the world as happened in the case of the Tibetan Blue Book. Then imagine him almost simultaneously subjected to the Afghan experience (with the addition that, as it appeared at this end, an effort was made by the overruling authorities to throw the responsibility for failure upon the overruled). Imagine that at the same moment you were plunged, by no action of your own, into an acute controversy affecting the entire constitution of your Government, and about which you were compelled by a knowledge of the facts to feel so deeply that

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you were prepared to wreck your future sooner than yield to proposals which would, in your opinion, be absolutely disastrous. Then imagine that, whereas in this emergency you might have expected some sympathy or support from your official superiors and natural protectors at home, you had never received one line to show that they either realised the dimensions of the problem, or understood your point of view (and not yours alone but that of the whole of your colleagues), or were prepared to support you. Fancy yourself further at such a moment racked with constant pain and continually discharging business (as your present correspondent is now doing) from bed. Finally depict yourself overwhelmed at the same juncture with torrents of abuse and persecution from the native community whom you had toiled so hard and sacrificed so much of your leisure and health to serve.

Perhaps, my dear Godley, philosopher as you are, a cry of human pain and bitterness might have been wrung from you at such a moment: and you would have felt badly had an almost contemptuous rebuke come to you from 6,000 miles across the seas.

I will say no more. I have torn up your letter and I hope to forget that I ever received it.

The Kabul Treaty.

I am quite content that you should form your opinion of the upshot of the Afghan negotiations from Dane's report and from Dane's conversations. His is a very elastic and optimistic temperament, and it is natural that he should represent himself as having gained something, and as having been the successful instrument of His Majesty's Government's policy. But read his report and then appraise the net result. You might further enquire with what sort of conscience he found himself ordered to sign a Treaty which the Amir interprets in one sense and we in another.

Congress agitation.

After two months' of wirepulling and manipulation the Congress people managed to pull off their meetings of denunciation at Madras and Bombay. The latter has had the most unexpected results. It has actually provoked the Mahomedans to hold a rival meeting to say that they entirely agreed with my alleged calumnious strictures upon the national character! The extracts make amusing reading.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

1. Newspaper extract headed His Excellency the Viceroy's Speeches—Bombay Mahomedans' views.
2. Extract from the *Muslim Herald*, dated Bombay, April 14th, 1905, headed 'The Big Protest Meeting.'
3. Extract from the *Indian Social Reformer*, dated Bombay, April 16th, 1905—*re* Protest Meetings on Lord Curzon's Convocation Speech.

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No. 35.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
April 27th, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

The Earthquake.

Your letter of the 7th of April reproduces an impression which according to the newspapers appears to have been current at home, namely, that there was undue negligence or delay in reporting the details of the earthquake to England. From any such charge I am personally exempt. I was on tour at Agra at the time and the first news I had of the disaster was a rather obscure telegram from the Colonel of the Gurkha Regiment at Dharmsala, who had lost his wife and children. Within half an hour of receiving it I had telegraphed—

(1) to the scene of the earthquake;

(2) to the Lieutenant-Governor, urging him to take every possible measure of relief without delay and to acquaint me and the Government of India with all information;

(3) to the Government of India, ordering them to repeat at once to you every telegram received from the Punjab Government.

Every telegram that reached me from the Lieutenant-Governor I repeated myself to you on the chance that he might not have forwarded it to the Government of India at Simla or that, as the latter was on its way up from Calcutta, there might be delay in transmitting it to England. Every item of information therefore that reached either the Home Department or me was telegraphed to you immediately upon its arrival. From this it is clear that if any faults occurred they arose at the other end, namely, in the communications between the Local Government and the scene of action or between the Local Government and ourselves. I have not the information to enable me to say whether there was any want of promptitude on their part. I own that I did form the impression that Rivaz, who is not a man of natural energy, failed at the start to appreciate the gravity of the case—and I think a sufficient evidence of this was found in his appeal to me to allow him to go on leave irrespective of what had occurred. This petition, as you know, I met by an urgent request to him to proceed at once to the scene of the suffering, offering if he did not do so to go myself. If you require any further explanation you can obtain it from Rivaz himself, since he is leaving for England by the same mail that will convey this letter.

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The Amir's Subsidy.

My remark about the publication of Lord Ripon's letter to the Amir of 1883 was made with reference to a sentence in your telegram of the 16th of February to which we replied in our telegram of the 18th of February. The argument adopted by His Majesty's Government was that if we accepted the continuance of the agreement of 1880 we were thereby committed to the continuance of the subsidy. This we disputed, the subsidy having nothing to do with the agreement of 1880 and being posterior to it. The Amir undoubtedly holds your view of the case and not ours, and inasmuch as it has always seemed to me that His Majesty's Government by accepting the Amir's draft have accepted his view, I did not see that there was any point in publishing a document inconsistent with it. My view has been throughout that, whether the agreements were renewed or not, the subsidy was a positive benefaction from us for the renewal, and still more for the payment of the arrears of which, we were entitled to make a good bargain. That was the entire pivot of the negotiations at Kabul as conceived by us at this end. The point having been surrendered by you in London there did not seem to me to be any advantage in establishing it by documentary evidence. From every other point of view the publication of the letter in question is quite unobjectionable.

Question of an honour for Mr. Dane.

I will place on a separate sheet the considerations which I think should be borne in mind in the event of an honour being proposed for Dane. I sincerely hope that no such step will be suggested, although I can understand that the idea may commend itself to those whose desire it is to think that something substantial has been obtained. If, however, two parties meet together; if A suggests a set of terms which B, acting under instructions, absolutely declines to accept; and if, after three months, B is instructed to throw up his hand and to accept the terms of A, I cannot see that he deserves any reward for carrying out these simple instructions. Less than a year ago you were inclined to protest against the inclusion of Dane in the Honour list at all, and you were disposed to think him unworthy of the C. S. I. I do not know that anything remains for him now but a K. C. S. I., and I should most earnestly deprecate the glaring inconsistency between giving him this high honour, to which he has no claim for what he has done at Kabul, and the exiguous K. C. I. E. which, after much controversy, was bestowed upon Younghusband for his incomparable services in Tibet.

The Defence Committee.

I have read the Minutes of the Defence Committee about Persia, and they appear to me to confirm what I said in my last letter. Do you really think it is right that the majority of the questions that were discussed, for instance, more particularly 1, 2, 3, and 5 in Lansdowne's Memorandum, should be referred to a body composed as the Defence Committee is? Cabinet Ministers are of course vitally responsible, and the five Members of that body

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who were present carry great weight. The same remark applies to Lord Roberts. But take the other five Members—Cawdor (who is of course new), Fisher, Ottley, Lyttelton, and Grierson. Why should they pronounce upon these subjects, or indeed what do they know about them at all? I confess that the impression produced upon me by the discussion was that the correspondence on all these questions which has been going on so actively for the past six years, and which seemed to me to have crystallised itself in such definite conclusions, seemed to have been entirely forgotten, and the whole matter was brought up again as if the elementary principles were still in doubt and required to be settled by a new body of advisers: and, when the Prime Minister remarked that the Government of India appeared to desire a forward policy, I really have no idea to what he referred. Can you provide me with any symptom or indication? As far as I know, for the last four years we have regarded ourselves as bound by Lansdowne's famous declaration and have acted in scrupulous accordance with it. We now vigilantly safeguard our interests in the Persian Gulf and in Southern Persia instead of leaving them to drift: but where the forward policy is I do not know.

Future Administration of Aden.

Can you tell me whether during the remainder of its tenure of office the present Government is likely to take up the question of the future of Aden? A year ago I endeavoured more than once to secure a discussion of it with Lansdowne, but as you will remember it never came off.

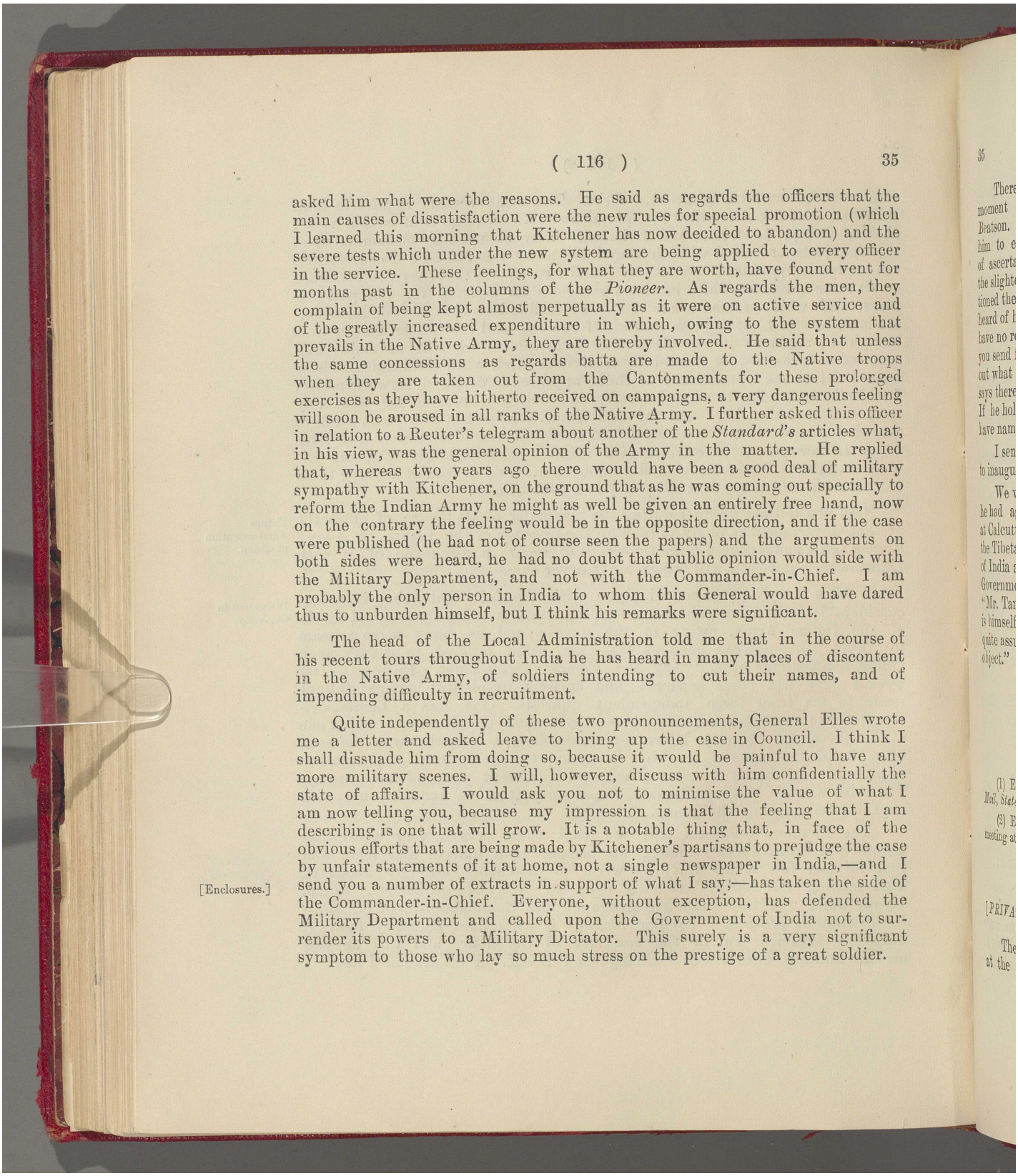
Discontent in the Army.

I think it my duty to acquaint you with the fact that there is a very considerable under-current of discontent at present running through all ranks of the Indian Army, owing to the drastic and, as many persons seem to think, ill-considered changes that are being ordered in it with such almost tempestuous rapidity by the Commander-in-Chief. During the last week I have had three separate and entirely unsolicited representations made to me from three independent quarters. One was a Lieutenant-General who was appointed to his present command by Kitchener and is one of the officers in whom the latter reposes confidence. Another was the head of a Local Government who has lately enjoyed exceptional opportunities of ascertaining what is the general feeling in different parts of the country. The third was the Military Member, whose duty it is to acquaint me with anything concerning the Army.

The Lieutenant-General told me that there was a very widespread unrest and dissatisfaction among all classes, both officers and men, and that he had felt it his duty to write to Kitchener strongly about it. This feeling, he added, extended even to Army Head-quarters, where, except amid the immediate entourage of the Commander-in-Chief, similar discontent prevails. Popular feeling is sometimes correctly even if flippantly summed up in the *bon mot* of the hour, and this he told me in military circles was "Change and D—K. in all around I see." I

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asked him what were the reasons. He said as regards the officers that the main causes of dissatisfaction were the new rules for special promotion (which I learned this morning that Kitchener has now decided to abandon) and the severe tests which under the new system are being applied to every officer in the service. These feelings, for what they are worth, have found vent for months past in the columns of the *Pioneer*. As regards the men, they complain of being kept almost perpetually as it were on active service and of the greatly increased expenditure in which, owing to the system that prevails in the Native Army, they are thereby involved. He said that unless the same concessions as regards batta are made to the Native troops when they are taken out from the Cantonments for these prolonged exercises as they have hitherto received on campaigns, a very dangerous feeling will soon be aroused in all ranks of the Native Army. I further asked this officer in relation to a Reuter's telegram about another of the *Standard's* articles what, in his view, was the general opinion of the Army in the matter. He replied that, whereas two years ago there would have been a good deal of military sympathy with Kitchener, on the ground that as he was coming out specially to reform the Indian Army he might as well be given an entirely free hand, now on the contrary the feeling would be in the opposite direction, and if the case were published (he had not of course seen the papers) and the arguments on both sides were heard, he had no doubt that public opinion would side with the Military Department, and not with the Commander-in-Chief. I am probably the only person in India to whom this General would have dared thus to unburden himself, but I think his remarks were significant.

The head of the Local Administration told me that in the course of his recent tours throughout India he has heard in many places of discontent in the Native Army, of soldiers intending to cut their names, and of impending difficulty in recruitment.

Quite independently of these two pronouncements, General Elles wrote me a letter and asked leave to bring up the case in Council. I think I shall dissuade him from doing so, because it would be painful to have any more military scenes. I will, however, discuss with him confidentially the state of affairs. I would ask you not to minimise the value of what I am now telling you, because my impression is that the feeling that I am describing is one that will grow. It is a notable thing that, in face of the obvious efforts that are being made by Kitchener's partisans to prejudge the case by unfair statements of it at home, not a single newspaper in India,—and I send you a number of extracts in support of what I say,—has taken the side of the Commander-in-Chief. Everyone, without exception, has defended the Military Department and called upon the Government of India not to surrender its powers to a Military Dictator. This surely is a very significant symptom to those who lay so much stress on the prestige of a great soldier.

[Enclosures.]

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There happens, however, to be an officer in England at the present moment to whom I suggest that you should refer. I speak of General Beatson. His duties as Inspector-General of Imperial Service Troops take him to every part of the country and give him singular opportunities of ascertaining what is the state of feeling in the Army. I have not the slightest idea what his views are on the subject. I have never mentioned the matter to him. He has never mentioned it to me. I have not heard of his mentioning it to anybody else. But he is an able man, and I have no reason to doubt an impartial man. I would suggest, therefore, that you send for him, or get one of your officials to send for him, and try and find out what he has seen and heard in his tours throughout the country. If he says there is nothing in it, probably what I have told you has been exaggerated. If he holds the opposite opinion, it is one to which, for the very reasons that I have named, you cannot fail to attach weight.

Suggested reference to General Beatson.

I send you a report on the proceedings of the public meeting at Lahore to inaugurate the Earthquake Relief Fund.

Earthquake Relief Fund.

We were greatly surprised at Mr. Tang's sudden repudiation of all that he had agreed to in conversation with Fraser. I fancy that the hot weather at Calcutta has told upon his temper. Moreover, ever since the publication of the Tibetan Blue Book he has steadily *dénigréed* the authority of the Viceroy of India and has laid stress upon the subordinate position of the Indian Government. Mr. Wilton, our Consul from China, writes from Calcutta—"Mr. Tang believes he can get better terms in London than at Calcutta, and is himself now prepared to deny everything and concede nothing. He seems quite assured that his position as Plenipotentiary is sufficient to carry out his object."

Negotiations with Mr. Tang.

Yours ever,
(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

(1) Extracts from the *Advocate of India, Englishman, Pioneer, Times of India, Madras Mail, Statesman,* and *Indian Daily News,* on the question of Military administration in India.

(2) Extract from the *Civil and Military Gazette,* dated April 26th, describing the meeting at Lahore to inaugurate the Earthquake Relief Fund.

[ANNEXURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

[*PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL.*]

There is to be no distribution of Indian Honours before January 1906, at the time of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit: and as far as

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I know there is at present no K. C. S. I. or K. C. I. E. available for disposal. Even if there were, I should not now recommend Mr. Dane for the honour. Mr. Dane conducted himself with equanimity and courtesy in the face of very difficult circumstances, and did not say or do anything to render a solution (subject to his instructions) more difficult. But the upshot was that his instructions were to accept a treaty drafted not by ourselves but by the Amir. The treaty, whatever the value attached to it, was therefore not the result of any negotiations on the part of the British Envoy, but the result of successful persistence on the part of the Amir. Mr. Dane's Report has only to be read to show that it represented in his opinion not a success, but a failure.

Opinions may differ as to the value of the exchange of opinions on other points between Mr. Dane and the Amir. The future will show whether their effect is genuine or nugatory. The Government of India do not regard them with any self-congratulation.

Glad as the Government of India always is to see any of its servants rewarded, I cannot conscientiously say that Mr. Dane has rendered service entitling him to the higher rewards which alone are open to him. He has been Secretary to Government for only two years and he received the C. S. I. less than a year ago. He could not well be made a K. C. S. I. over the heads of three chiefs of Local Administrations, the majority of whom have far superior claims. Moreover, it seems fair to compare the Kabul negotiations, which lasted only a few weeks and resulted as I have described, with the Tibetan Mission, which lasted for $1\frac{3}{4}$ years but did not bring to its successful chief more than a K. C. I. E.; with the Aden Mission, which has lasted for nearly three years and has not as yet (owing to the dearth of honours) resulted in any decoration; and with the Seistan Mission, which has lasted for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and will not in any case bring to its chief more than a K. C. I. E.

I would request therefore that the question of an honour for Mr. Dane be not now considered.

CURZON.

No. 36.

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

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
May 3rd, 1905.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

Viceroy's health.

Excuse pencil. But it is much easier for me to write so in bed, where I have now been for close upon three weeks and am likely to remain a good deal longer. I have great pain in my left side and right leg.

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In reply to a sentence in your last, I do not think that I have ever accused your Council of anything so grave as "iniquity." I have often accused them of obstructing and thwarting and sometimes of successfully defeating the schemes to which my Colleagues and I attached great importance; and a good deal of my evidence as to their attitude has been supplied (at any rate in earlier times) by yourself. But I cannot recall ever having imputed moral obliquity to what I have no doubt is morally a very blameless body of men.

Attitude of India Council.

In my time here I have, as you know, been a fierce foe of abuses in the administration, and have rooted many of them out with unwearying tenacity. I am now engaged upon the last and biggest task of all. This is an effort to place upon a sound and honourable basis the extremely difficult and delicate question of "easements," as they are called, in Native States. I have had an exhaustive examination made in every Native State in India, and the scandals that have been brought to light have been in some cases shocking—British officers drawing handsome salaries from the Government of India, but living almost entirely at the expense of the State, residing in State-owned and State-furnished houses, driving State-owned carriages, riding and even playing polo on State-owned horses, travelling about at the State's expense, and accepting for themselves and their families State milk, vegetables, and fuel. Almost all these allowances are contrary to the regulations: but they have been winked at for years: and in some cases, such as Kashmir and Bhurtpore, have attained to dimensions that were truly appalling. I have effectually cleared out the whole nest in Kashmir: and before I leave India I hope that the same will have been done in every State. A clean sweep is not always possible; for in some cases there is justification for allowances: and the feelings of the Durbars must also be considered. The reform will cost money: but it will relieve our escutcheon of a nasty blot.

Easements received by Political Officers in Native States.

You will be pleased to know that the most painful of all these reformatory crusades on which I ever embarked—namely, the attempt to reduce collisions between Europeans, and particularly European soldiers and natives, and to remedy the gross miscarriages of justice that were so common—has at length had a success greater than I ever deemed likely, and now freely admitted even by my most embittered opponents of the old days. You may judge for yourself from the small place now occupied by such incidents in the newspapers.

Collisions between Europeans and Natives.

But I can give you a more striking illustration still. In the last three months the famous 9th Lancers have had two of their men, a Sergeant and a Trooper, killed: the former in a row with a native whom he had assaulted, the other in circumstances not as yet known. A few years ago every English newspaper would have blazed forth in wrath at the shocking state of affairs to which matters had been brought by a sentimental and pro-native Viceroy, and would have not obscurely attributed these incidents to myself. Now

Cases in the 9th Lancers.

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they have been passed by without even a paragraph. But what a Nemesis on that guilty regiment. In his grave the poor murdered cook-boy is at last avenged.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 37.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE St. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
May 4th, 1905.

My dear St. John,

Viceroy's health. For the third week in succession I am dictating to you on my back in bed. My back attacks seem to be more serious and troublesome each time that they recur, causing me great pain while they last and leaving me enfeebled afterwards. When I am lying down flat I do not feel the distress so much, but as soon as I get up and move about it recurs.

Earthquake Relief Fund. I telegraphed to you this morning to find out what our English friends who are interested in the earthquake are doing in respect of donations there. I am sorry to say that the Fund in India does not at present seem to be doing very well. Native Chiefs who are ordinarily so liberal, particularly in cases where their liberality comes under the eye of the Viceroy and is likely to eventuate in future distinction, do not seem to have realised the gravity of the situation—though I hope that they may still do so. With the exception of a few highly paid officials, the Indian Civil Service has also been backward in supporting the Fund; while I need hardly say that all those natives, who are perpetually denouncing the Government for its gross disregard of Indian interests, are conspicuous by their absence on an occasion when Indian interests are directly and pathetically involved. The Punjab Government has, in my opinion, shown a regrettable lack of initiative and promptitude, both in the early management of the earthquake and also in the measures connected with the Relief Fund. Initiative in India seems to be killed by departmental routine; and the sort of thing that seems quite obvious to an outsider is not done except as the result of an outside suggestion.

Reduction of tea duty. India has, I think, every reason to be grateful to you for your successful efforts to secure a reduction of the tea duty in Austen Chamberlain's budget.

Kabul Mission and Abdul Ghani. You may have heard of one Abdul Ghani, formerly in the service of the Amir at Kabul and now head of the Islamia College at Lahore. He used to communicate with us in the old days, but we always had a suspicion that he was either a traitor or a spy. The other day there came into our possession a letter to him from his brother who is still in the Amir's service at Kabul.

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It was a very private letter and was certainly meant for no other eyes than those of Abdul Ghani himself. But it contained a phrase which is an interesting comment upon much which I have written during the past few months. It was as follows:—

"The Commission is on the point of leaving Kabul. Thank God that "they have not at all succeeded in their mission. His Majesty has not at all "yielded to their wishes. The old Agreement has been renewed, and the "ambiguous terms are to remain as ambiguous as they were."

You will receive our own version of the results of the Mission, together with Dane's Report, in two despatches which are issuing to you by this mail.

The case of Sir Horace Rumbold.

We are addressing to you what I hope will be a final despatch upon the intolerable importunities of Sir Horace Rumbold. I was sorry that after our exhaustive examination of the question in the time of your predecessor you requested us to re-open it. Cases of this sort consume an enormous amount of time and take away the officers of the Department from more important work. In any case I hope that the answer now given will effectually crush out of existence the flimsy case of the ex-Ambassador and relieve us from his truly mendicant appeals in future.

Secy. of State's financial proposals.

I am not able as yet to send you a reply about your financial proposals. They went down for opinion to the Comptroller-General at Calcutta, and I believe that he has only just returned them with his opinion.

Appt. of Colonel Edwards as Mily. Secy.

My Military Secretary, Everard Baring, is leaving me to enter his brother's firm in London. I have just appointed in his place, on the recommendation of Kitchener, a very distinguished Cavalry officer named Colonel Edwards, who was formerly in India but has been serving for the last five years under Milner in the Transvaal. His rank and distinction will, I hope, avail to raise the Military Secretaryship somewhat from the relatively low level to which it has fallen in recent years—since it became almost a sporting appointment in the hands of Bill Beresford—and result in the recovery of some of its old prestige.

Tibet: Negotiations with Mr. Tang.

I was glad to hear that His Majesty's Government would support us in resisting the extravagant pretensions of Mr. Tang. That gentleman has not only shown the ordinary craftiness but more than the ordinary mendacity of the Celestial, freely repudiating what he had already agreed to, and protesting against what he had himself proposed. I send you a rather interesting note by Mr. Wilton upon the latest phase at Calcutta. As soon as Mr. Tang realises that nothing more is to be obtained either in London or Calcutta, he or his Government will probably sing to a very different tune.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 38.

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

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,

May 11th, 1905.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

I will only trouble you with a few lines this week. Two days ago we were thunderstruck to read in a Reuter's telegram the following summary of recent events :—

Mr. L. W. Dane's interview with Reuter's representative.

"Mr. Louis Dane has arrived in London. In an interview with Reuter's "representative he said that the new arrangement would form an entirely "satisfactory basis for future relations with the Amir who realises that his "interests and those of India are identical. *The Amir showed the utmost* "*desire to facilitate negotiations.*"

Were I not acquainted with the optimistic temperament of our recent Envoy, I should have deemed such a report incredible. Even now my regard for his veracity leads me to feel sure that he must have been misreported, and can hardly have committed himself to the sanguine declaration which I have just quoted.

Smatzai incident.

Had I been writing this letter yesterday afternoon I should have indulged in rather doleful prognostications about the fresh incident that has occurred at Smatzai. Even now I do not see that it is free from anxiety. But the later information received from Roos-Keppel says that it is not as serious as at first anticipated, though it also once again reveals in his old light our friend, the Sarhang of Dakka, who was the author of the Smatzai incident two years ago, and who, as a proof of his friendship, was kindly nominated by the Amir the other day to be his representative on the prospective Mohmand Boundary Commission. It will be interesting to see how the Amir replies to the representation on this and other frontier incidents which it will be our duty shortly to address to him, and whether he will still retain the desire attributed to him by Dane of "doing his utmost to facilitate negotiations."

Lord Kitchener's Relief Fund for Gurkhas.

The telegrams that have been passing between the Secretary of State and myself will show you that we have been landed in some difficulty owing to the impetuosity of our Commander-in-Chief with regard to his Gurkha Fund. He came up here from Lahore, told me he had heard from Ibbetson that the Earthquake Fund was only going to provide for civilians, and that the

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soldiers would be left out in the cold; won my consent by these means to starting a separate Fund for the Gurkhas, and forthwith launched his scheme. The next day came an indignant letter from Ibbetson protesting against his action and denying that he had ever said anything of the sort attributed to him. Kitchener thereupon had to issue a sort of official apology for his conduct. Otherwise Ibbetson threatened to publish in the newspapers a very angry letter of which he sent a copy to me. Kitchener's apology was very half-hearted and rendered most imperfect justice to the general Fund. Since then he has been pushing his own Fund by every means in his power, even to the extent, as I heard from the Secretary of State today, of telegraphing to the Stock Exchange and to Lloyds in London. The whole thing is very unfortunate and rather unscrupulous. He told me a week ago that he only wanted Rs. 50,000 for the Gurkhas, and yet here he is endeavouring by all means in his power to draw away subscriptions from the general Fund. Unfortunately people in England are so ignorant that they are much more disposed to give to the "gallant little Gurkhas" than they are to an unknown civil population. And yet the proportionate deserts of the two cases may be estimated by the figures that I have telegraphed home, less than 300 men, women, and children having perished in the military calamity, for whom funds of another sort are already available, while the mortality of the civil population is estimated at 15,000, for whom relief can be sought from the general Fund alone. The action of the Commander-in-Chief in this case is typical of his conduct in many others, and will give you a clue to the inner history of many incidents during the past two years.

Blue Books.

Do you remember your old engagement to send me Blue Books or interesting literature from home? I will not assume that you have forgotten it, but since I returned to India nothing of that character has reached me from the India Office.

Excise administration in India: formation of a Committee.

I am about to institute a Committee which will meet in the autumn to inquire into our Excise administration in India. I am not at all satisfied with the principles frequently laid down by Government and acted upon in practice; there is a deplorable lack of uniformity in the way in which these principles are interpreted in the various Provinces, and certainly in many parts of the country revenue rather than sobriety is the test. At a later date I will let you know the lines upon which we are going to proceed.

Mr. H. Erle Richards: Viceroy's opinion.

Having now been back in India for five months it may interest you to know what I think of the Legal Member whom you sent out to us rather more than a year ago. He is an amiable person, who is generally liked, and who is thought, I believe, a sound and good lawyer. But I am sorry to say that he has not yet shown the smallest symptom of administrative ability, that he takes no part in the general work of Government, that he has not to the best of my belief written a note of the least value or in

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which a definite opinion has been expressed, except upon a subject of law, since he came to India, that even upon legal subjects his remarks are characterised by a caution that is rather irritating, and that in these circumstances it does not seem likely that he will leave the slightest mark upon the administration. What I am saying to you is not my own opinion only but would, I think, be endorsed by everyone who has seen the work of the Legal Member during the past 12 months. I remember that Raleigh began very slowly and developed greater powers as he went along. But then Raleigh was a scholar, an authority about education, and a man with a really good brain. I wish I could hope for a similar development in the present case. The longer I live the more does it seem clear to me that administrative faculties are a thing wholly apart, not necessarily connected with proficiency or success in any other walk of life, and as incapable of being predicted as they are, after a certain time, of being acquired.

Monsoon Forecast.

I have just seen the confidential monsoon forecast of our official Meteorologist. It is disquieting. He points out from the analogies of previous years in which similar conditions have prevailed, *viz.*, late snows and unusual cold in India, violent spring rains here, and excessive early rain-fall on the East Coast of Africa, that we may expect a late and feeble monsoon. Let us hope that he may be as mistaken as his predecessors have often been before him.

Scheme for transfer of Simla to Supreme Government.

Can you tell me how the scheme for the future of Simla is likely to fare at the India Office, and when orders may be expected to issue? I earnestly hope, for the sake of this place, that it may be transferred without delay to the control of the Supreme Government. The case for transfer becomes stronger every year. There is such administrative chaos here, the Local Government is so impotent to deal with the large questions of water-supply, drainage, electric lighting, &c., the over-congestion of population (with the advent of the railway and the springing up of vast hotels) is becoming so serious, and the danger of some big epidemic is so great, that it seems to me to be simply tempting Providence to scrape along with the existing system, merely becasue it was allowed to grow up in entirely different conditions thirty years ago. I desire to address a most serious warning to the India Office on the subject. In my judgment the responsibility for perpetuating this state of affairs would be very great indeed. Ibbetson has more than once spoken to me in this sense; and when the heads both of the Supreme and the Local Governments express these views, and the opinion of the Government of India is unanimously with them, I should not like to belong to a tribunal that from the distance of 6,000 miles decided to ignore the warning. But I do not for a moment imagine this to be likely.

The General Election: deputation of Congress representatives.

I believe that the Congress deputies are likely before long to start for England to take part in the electoral campaign. Gokhale is to be one of the Bombay representatives, and the Calcutta man is that vitriolic windbag,

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Surendra Nath Banerjea. They will seek to pose as representatives of the Indian people, coming to plead for justice at the hands of the justice-loving British public and appealing impartially to the sympathies of both parties. I should not be surprised if they were to solicit an interview with the Prime Minister. I need not tell you because you already know it, that they come as the nominees of an organisation, which is exclusively in extreme Radical hands, which is engineered by men like Wedderburn and Cotton, whose real views are represented weekly in the lying sheet called *India*, and which exists for the purpose of attacking the Government and vilifying and insulting British rule. Their object in proceeding to England now is purely electoral. They want to secure pledges from the Radical party to give them a Viceroy like Lord Ripon and a Secretary of State of the type of Sir H. Cotton. They will coo like sucking doves in London. But on provincial platforms their roars will awake an echo in Hades, and, amid such secure surroundings, to no meaner or cooler destiny will they assign,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) CURZON.

No. 39.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. J. BALFOUR, M. P.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
May 18th, 1905.

MY DEAR ARTHUR,

Excuse print. I am still an invalid and cannot sit up to write much in pen and ink.

Army Reform: Lord Kitchener's Scheme.

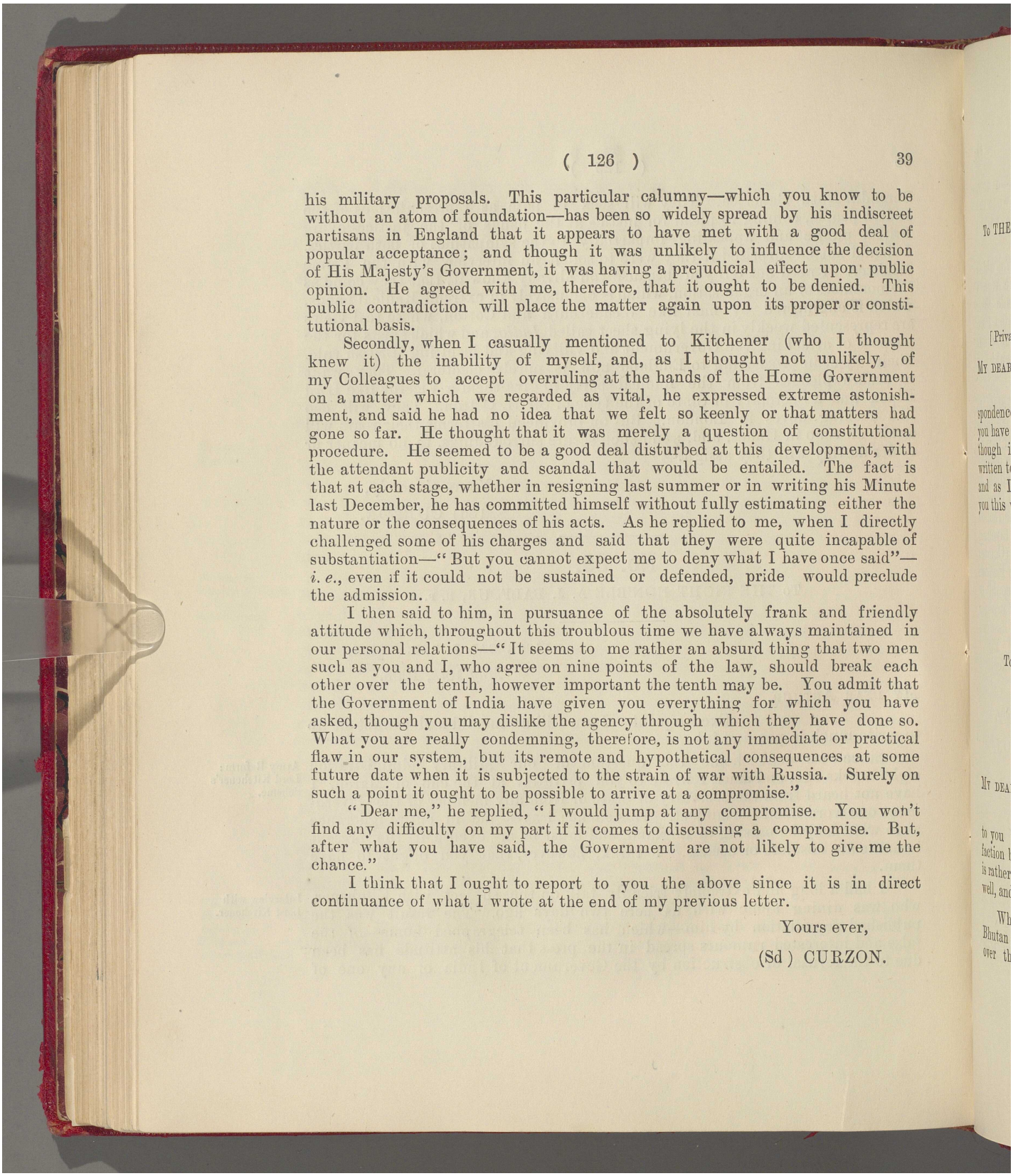
Since we sent home the question of our Military administration eight weeks ago, and since I wrote to you privately at the end of March, I have not heard from the Secretary of State or from any member of the Government one word upon the subject. This silence leaves me in entire ignorance as to what may be passing in England, and must be my excuse if the present remarks are obsolete or useless. I think, however, that you ought to have them.

Interview with Lord Kitchener.

I had a long and extremely friendly talk on the subject with Kitchener, who was dining alone with us here two days ago. The result was the published repudiation by him—which has been telegraphed home—of the false and interested rumours spread in the press that his attitude has been due to the refusal or obstruction by the Government of India of any one of

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his military proposals. This particular calumny—which you know to be without an atom of foundation—has been so widely spread by his indiscreet partisans in England that it appears to have met with a good deal of popular acceptance; and though it was unlikely to influence the decision of His Majesty's Government, it was having a prejudicial effect upon public opinion. He agreed with me, therefore, that it ought to be denied. This public contradiction will place the matter again upon its proper or constitutional basis.

Secondly, when I casually mentioned to Kitchener (who I thought knew it) the inability of myself, and, as I thought not unlikely, of my Colleagues to accept overruling at the hands of the Home Government on a matter which we regarded as vital, he expressed extreme astonishment, and said he had no idea that we felt so keenly or that matters had gone so far. He thought that it was merely a question of constitutional procedure. He seemed to be a good deal disturbed at this development, with the attendant publicity and scandal that would be entailed. The fact is that at each stage, whether in resigning last summer or in writing his Minute last December, he has committed himself without fully estimating either the nature or the consequences of his acts. As he replied to me, when I directly challenged some of his charges and said that they were quite incapable of substantiation—"But you cannot expect me to deny what I have once said"—*i. e.*, even if it could not be sustained or defended, pride would preclude the admission.

I then said to him, in pursuance of the absolutely frank and friendly attitude which, throughout this troublous time we have always maintained in our personal relations—"It seems to me rather an absurd thing that two men such as you and I, who agree on nine points of the law, should break each other over the tenth, however important the tenth may be. You admit that the Government of India have given you everything for which you have asked, though you may dislike the agency through which they have done so. What you are really condemning, therefore, is not any immediate or practical flaw in our system, but its remote and hypothetical consequences at some future date when it is subjected to the strain of war with Russia. Surely on such a point it ought to be possible to arrive at a compromise."

"Dear me," he replied, "I would jump at any compromise. You won't find any difficulty on my part if it comes to discussing a compromise. But, after what you have said, the Government are not likely to give me the chance."

I think that I ought to report to you the above since it is in direct continuance of what I wrote at the end of my previous letter.

Yours ever,

(Sd) CURZON.

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No. 40.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
May 18*th*, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

As you do not seem to care to discuss in our correspondence the larger questions under examination between us—for instance, you have never said one word about the Military Administration question, though it is eight weeks today since we sent it off, and although I have written to you about it repeatedly with the utmost fulness and confidence—and as I have nothing to say about the smaller questions, I will not trouble you this week.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 41.

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

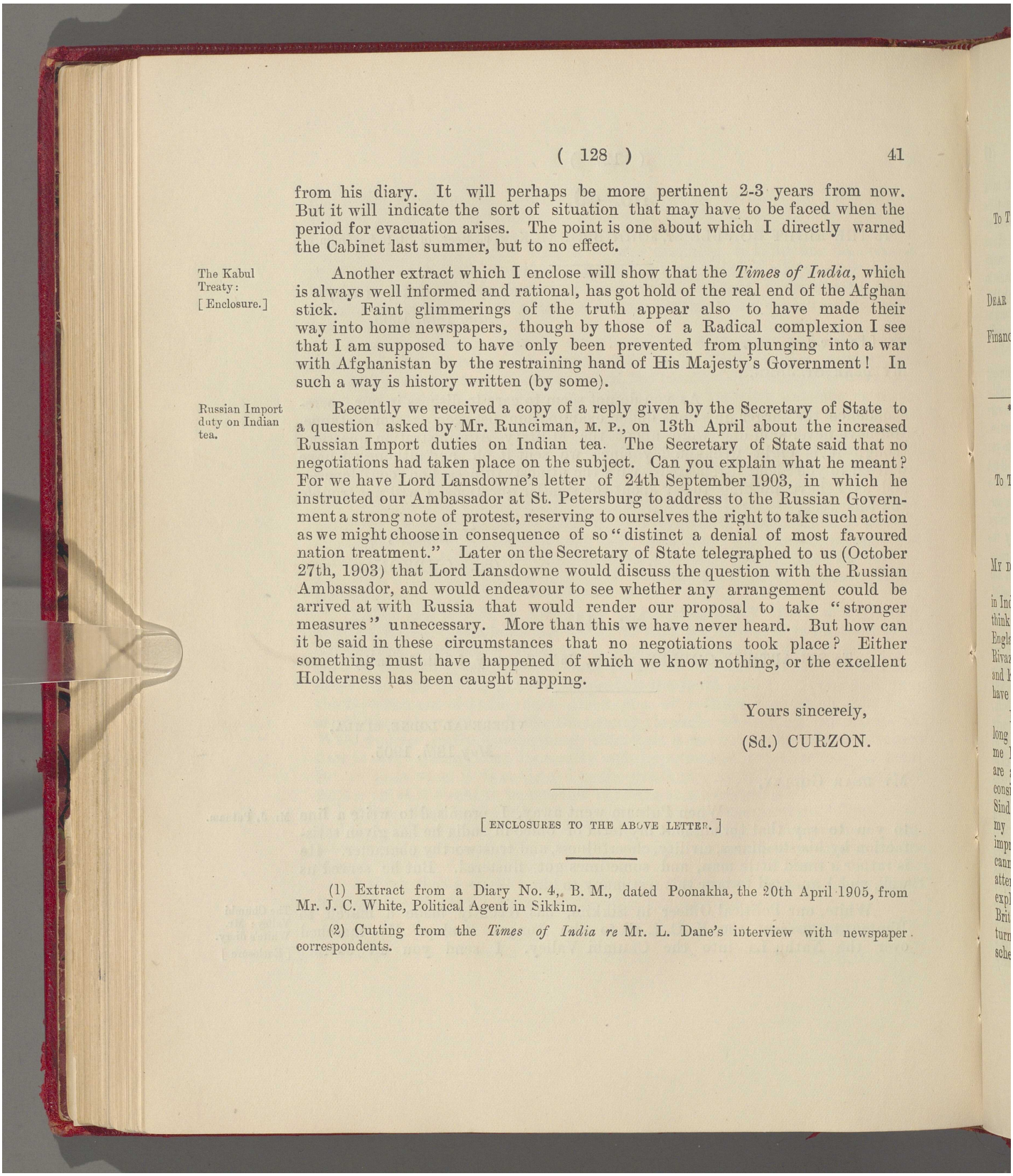
VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
May 18*th*, 1905.

MY DEAR GODLEY,

When Putnam went away, I promised to write a line to you to say that throughout my term of office in India he has given satisfaction by his steadiness, civility, cheerfulness, and trustworthy character. He is rather a timid little man, and sometimes got flustered. But he served us well, and I am glad to bear this testimony to him. Mr. J. Putnam.

White, our Political Officer in Sikkim, has recently made a march to Bhutan to present the K. C. I. E. to the Tongsa Penlop. He marched over the Nathu La into the Chumbi Valley. I send you an extract [Enclosure.] The Chumbi Valley: Mr. White's diary.

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from his diary. It will perhaps be more pertinent 2-3 years from now. But it will indicate the sort of situation that may have to be faced when the period for evacuation arises. The point is one about which I directly warned the Cabinet last summer, but to no effect.

The Kabul Treaty: [Enclosure.]

Another extract which I enclose will show that the *Times of India*, which is always well informed and rational, has got hold of the real end of the Afghan stick. Faint glimmerings of the truth appear also to have made their way into home newspapers, though by those of a Radical complexion I see that I am supposed to have only been prevented from plunging into a war with Afghanistan by the restraining hand of His Majesty's Government! In such a way is history written (by some).

Russian Import duty on Indian tea.

Recently we received a copy of a reply given by the Secretary of State to a question asked by Mr. Runciman, M. P., on 13th April about the increased Russian Import duties on Indian tea. The Secretary of State said that no negotiations had taken place on the subject. Can you explain what he meant? For we have Lord Lansdowne's letter of 24th September 1903, in which he instructed our Ambassador at St. Petersburg to address to the Russian Government a strong note of protest, reserving to ourselves the right to take such action as we might choose in consequence of so "distinct a denial of most favoured nation treatment." Later on the Secretary of State telegraphed to us (October 27th, 1903) that Lord Lansdowne would discuss the question with the Russian Ambassador, and would endeavour to see whether any arrangement could be arrived at with Russia that would render our proposal to take "stronger measures" unnecessary. More than this we have never heard. But how can it be said in these circumstances that no negotiations took place? Either something must have happened of which we know nothing, or the excellent Holderness has been caught napping.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

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(1) Extract from a Diary No. 4, B. M., dated Poonakha, the 20th April 1905, from Mr. J. C. White, Political Agent in Sikkim.

(2) Cutting from the *Times of India re* Mr. L. Dane's interview with newspaper correspondents.

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No. 42.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
May 25th, 1905.

DEAR ST. JOHN,

I send you the reply* which I have had prepared in our Finance Department to your memorandum.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

* Memorandum in Finance Department, dated 20th May 1905, on the subject of the Rupee loan.

No. 43.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
June 1st, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Earthquake Relief Fund.

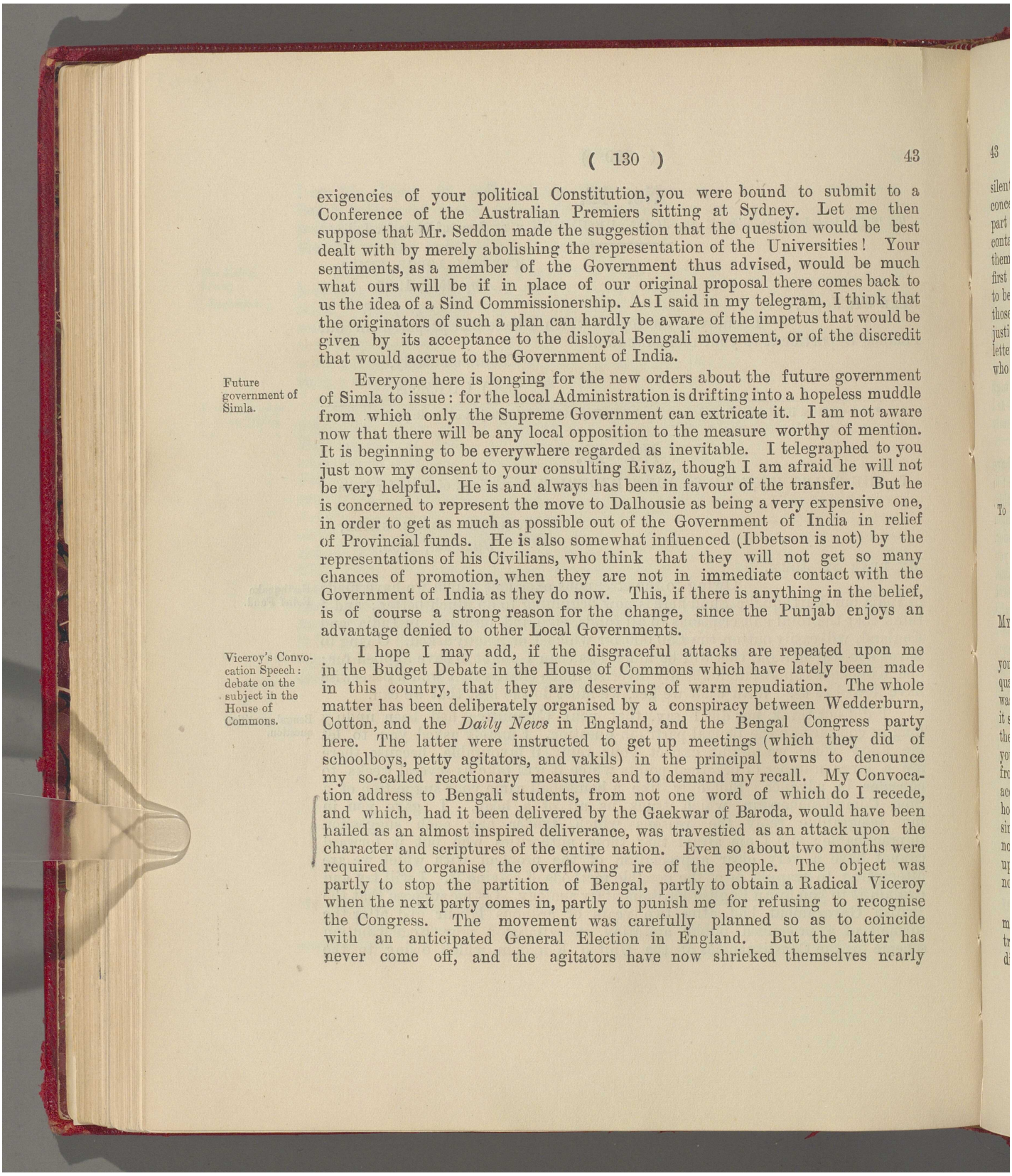
Owing to the strenuous exertions which we have made in India our Earthquake Fund here is now beginning to do much better: and I think that the total subscriptions to all funds, civil and military, in India and England, will easily outtop the £50,000 for which I originally asked. Owing to Rivaz's miscalculation, this will be much less than I ought to have applied for: and Kitchener's appeal undoubtedly diverted much charity that would otherwise have flowed to us. With what we get, we must do the best that we can.

Bengal partition question.

I did not think, nor did I say, that your Committee had been unduly long in considering the Bengal partition question. I merely asked you to let me know when we might expect your reply, if favourable, because there are a large number of practical points which it will take us several weeks to consider in advance. Suddenly like a bombshell came your suggestion of a Sind Commissionership, which struck us all of a heap. I gave you in my telegraphic reply the reasons which render any such suggestion impracticable; and I am afraid that those authorities who put it forward cannot have a very clear appreciation of the problem with which we are attempting to grapple, or of the possible methods of solving it. I will try and explain it to you by an English Parliamentary analogy. Let me suppose that the British Government had, after two years of arduous labour and after the turmoil of a prolonged public agitation, excogitated a new Redistribution scheme for the Constituencies of the United Kingdom, which, owing to the

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exigencies of your political Constitution, you were bound to submit to a Conference of the Australian Premiers sitting at Sydney. Let me then suppose that Mr. Seddon made the suggestion that the question would be best dealt with by merely abolishing the representation of the Universities! Your sentiments, as a member of the Government thus advised, would be much what ours will be if in place of our original proposal there comes back to us the idea of a Sind Commissionership. As I said in my telegram, I think that the originators of such a plan can hardly be aware of the impetus that would be given by its acceptance to the disloyal Bengali movement, or of the discredit that would accrue to the Government of India.

Future government of Simla.

Everyone here is longing for the new orders about the future government of Simla to issue: for the local Administration is drifting into a hopeless muddle from which only the Supreme Government can extricate it. I am not aware now that there will be any local opposition to the measure worthy of mention. It is beginning to be everywhere regarded as inevitable. I telegraphed to you just now my consent to your consulting Rivaz, though I am afraid he will not be very helpful. He is and always has been in favour of the transfer. But he is concerned to represent the move to Dalhousie as being a very expensive one, in order to get as much as possible out of the Government of India in relief of Provincial funds. He is also somewhat influenced (Ibbetson is not) by the representations of his Civilians, who think that they will not get so many chances of promotion, when they are not in immediate contact with the Government of India as they do now. This, if there is anything in the belief, is of course a strong reason for the change, since the Punjab enjoys an advantage denied to other Local Governments.

Viceroy's Convocation Speech: debate on the subject in the House of Commons.

I hope I may add, if the disgraceful attacks are repeated upon me in the Budget Debate in the House of Commons which have lately been made in this country, that they are deserving of warm repudiation. The whole matter has been deliberately organised by a conspiracy between Wedderburn, Cotton, and the *Daily News* in England, and the Bengal Congress party here. The latter were instructed to get up meetings (which they did of schoolboys, petty agitators, and vakils) in the principal towns to denounce my so-called reactionary measures and to demand my recall. My Convocation address to Bengali students, from not one word of which do I recede, and which, had it been delivered by the Gaekwar of Baroda, would have been hailed as an almost inspired deliverance, was travestied as an attack upon the character and scriptures of the entire nation. Even so about two months were required to organise the overflowing ire of the people. The object was partly to stop the partition of Bengal, partly to obtain a Radical Viceroy when the next party comes in, partly to punish me for refusing to recognise the Congress. The movement was carefully planned so as to coincide with an anticipated General Election in England. But the latter has never come off, and the agitators have now shrieked themselves nearly

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silent. A more unscrupulous and mendacious agitation it is impossible to conceive. No reputable class, and scarcely a reputable individual, has taken part in it. The papers which were sent round to the House of Commons even contained concocted extracts from newspapers which had never appeared in them. Meanwhile this detected enemy of the Indian people—who for the first four years of his rule was lauded as their saviour and friend—continues to be inundated with daily and weekly appeals from all classes and ranks of those whose welfare he is supposed to despise, invoking his notorious sense of justice and sympathy with the Indian population. I could show you private letters in the same strain from the very men, Cotton, Wedderburn, Mehta, &c., who are now loading me with well-simulated execration.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 44.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE St. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
June 8th, 1905.

My dear St. John,

I am much obliged for the frankness with which you wrote to me in your last letter. I have thought that the corresponding quality on my part, of which I may perhaps sometimes have shown too much, was so distasteful that I have for some time desisted from it—all the more that it seemed rarely to provoke an equivalent response. My view of the letters of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy has always been rather different from yours. In George Hamilton's time I told him everything, and never refrained from expressing my innermost feelings or thoughts even where they did not accord with those held at home or were not altogether respectful to the holders. He responded in a similar vein. I have for long desisted from a similar practice with you, because I recognized that such frankness was not desired, and for some weeks I have deliberately confined my letters, upon the analogy of your own, to the more commonplace incidents that were not likely to provoke disagreement.

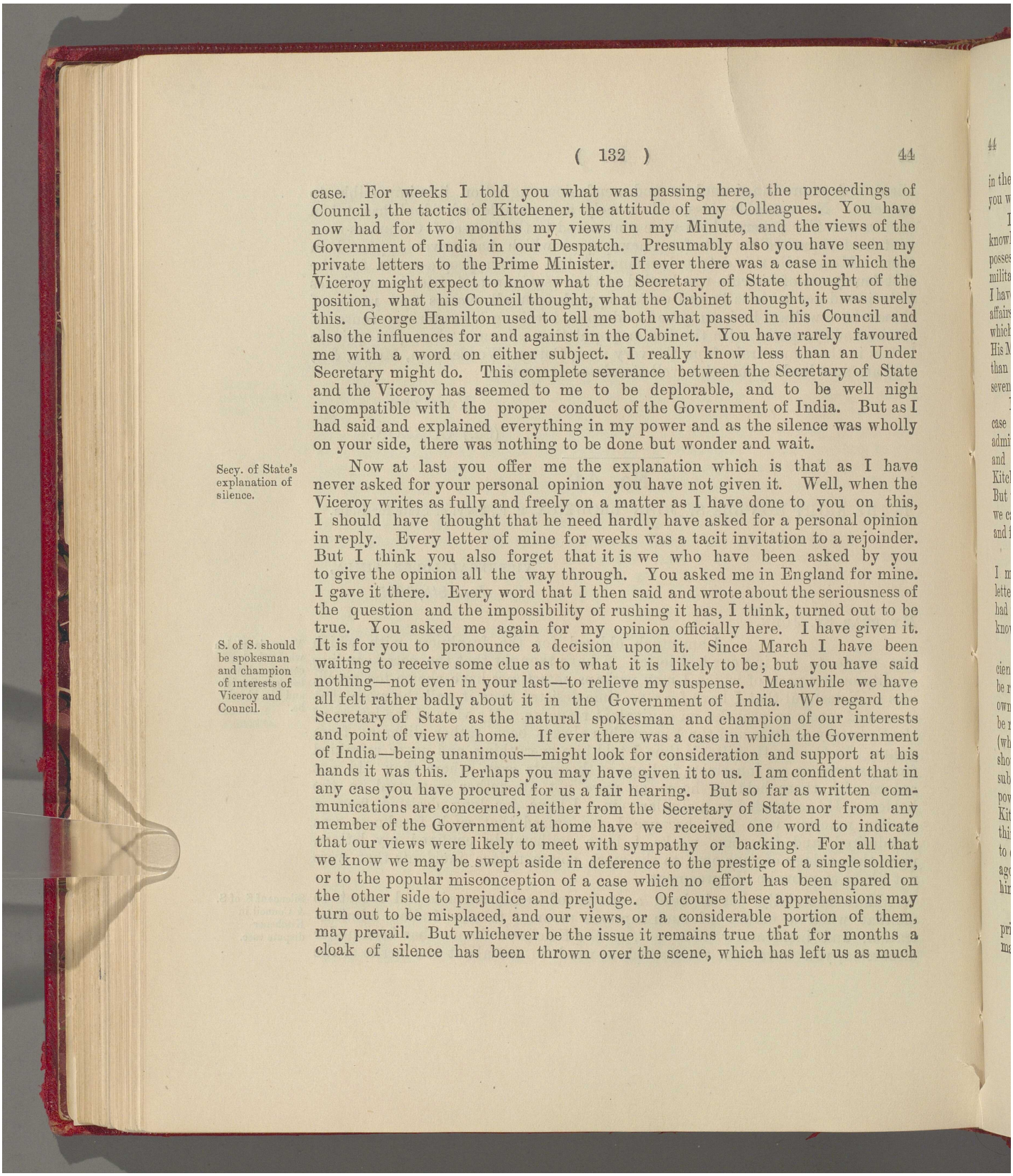
Viceroy's opinion what private correspondence between S. of S. and him should be.

More especially has it been a matter of weekly surprise and regret to me that when a matter of such supreme moment to the Indian administration, and incidentally to myself, as the Kitchener dispute has been under discussion, you have not vouchsafed a word to me about the merits of the

Silence of S. of S. & Council in Kitchener dispute case.

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case. For weeks I told you what was passing here, the proceedings of Council, the tactics of Kitchener, the attitude of my Colleagues. You have now had for two months my views in my Minute, and the views of the Government of India in our Despatch. Presumably also you have seen my private letters to the Prime Minister. If ever there was a case in which the Viceroy might expect to know what the Secretary of State thought of the position, what his Council thought, what the Cabinet thought, it was surely this. George Hamilton used to tell me both what passed in his Council and also the influences for and against in the Cabinet. You have rarely favoured me with a word on either subject. I really know less than an Under Secretary might do. This complete severance between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy has seemed to me to be deplorable, and to be well nigh incompatible with the proper conduct of the Government of India. But as I had said and explained everything in my power and as the silence was wholly on your side, there was nothing to be done but wonder and wait.

Secy. of State's explanation of silence.

Now at last you offer me the explanation which is that as I have never asked for your personal opinion you have not given it. Well, when the Viceroy writes as fully and freely on a matter as I have done to you on this, I should have thought that he need hardly have asked for a personal opinion in reply. Every letter of mine for weeks was a tacit invitation to a rejoinder. But I think you also forget that it is we who have been asked by you to give the opinion all the way through. You asked me in England for mine. I gave it there. Every word that I then said and wrote about the seriousness of the question and the impossibility of rushing it has, I think, turned out to be true. You asked me again for my opinion officially here. I have given it.

S. of S. should be spokesman and champion of interests of Viceroy and Council.

It is for you to pronounce a decision upon it. Since March I have been waiting to receive some clue as to what it is likely to be; but you have said nothing—not even in your last—to relieve my suspense. Meanwhile we have all felt rather badly about it in the Government of India. We regard the Secretary of State as the natural spokesman and champion of our interests and point of view at home. If ever there was a case in which the Government of India—being unanimous—might look for consideration and support at his hands it was this. Perhaps you may have given it to us. I am confident that in any case you have procured for us a fair hearing. But so far as written communications are concerned, neither from the Secretary of State nor from any member of the Government at home have we received one word to indicate that our views were likely to meet with sympathy or backing. For all that we know we may be swept aside in deference to the prestige of a single soldier, or to the popular misconception of a case which no effort has been spared on the other side to prejudice and prejudge. Of course these apprehensions may turn out to be misplaced, and our views, or a considerable portion of them, may prevail. But whichever be the issue it remains true that for months a cloak of silence has been thrown over the scene, which has left us as much

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in the dark as if we were living on Pitcairn Island. I shall be only too glad if you will lift it even at the eleventh hour, unless indeed it be now too late.

I do not know why you should think me sceptical about your great knowledge of military affairs. I have never either contested it or affected to possess a similar knowledge myself. I do know India and incidentally Indian military administration; and perhaps it is because I know India so well that I have felt so keenly the constant rebuffs and overrulings about Indian affairs which I have had to experience during the past one and a half years and which have left me with much less freedom of action, much less influence with His Majesty's Government, and, I may add, vastly less enjoyment in my post, than I possessed when I came out here as an untried Governor-General nearly seven years ago.

I should not feel so strongly about the present case if it were a military case pure and simple. It is because it is a constitutional, political, and administrative case that I feel myself entitled to hold strong views about it; and India, which, except for the Generals whose future depends upon Kitchener, is so far as I can judge unanimous on the point, holds them also. But we have so often seen unanimous Indian opinion go for nothing that we cannot be blamed if we look with some alarm at what is passing at home and feel no particular confidence as to what may be our fate.

State of the Army in India.

As regards the other question, *viz.*, the state of the Army in India, I made a mistake. I should have written Major-General in my former letter: for my informant was of that and not of the higher rank. I have had no communication with any Lieutenant-General on the subject, nor do I know the identity of the officer to whom you refer.

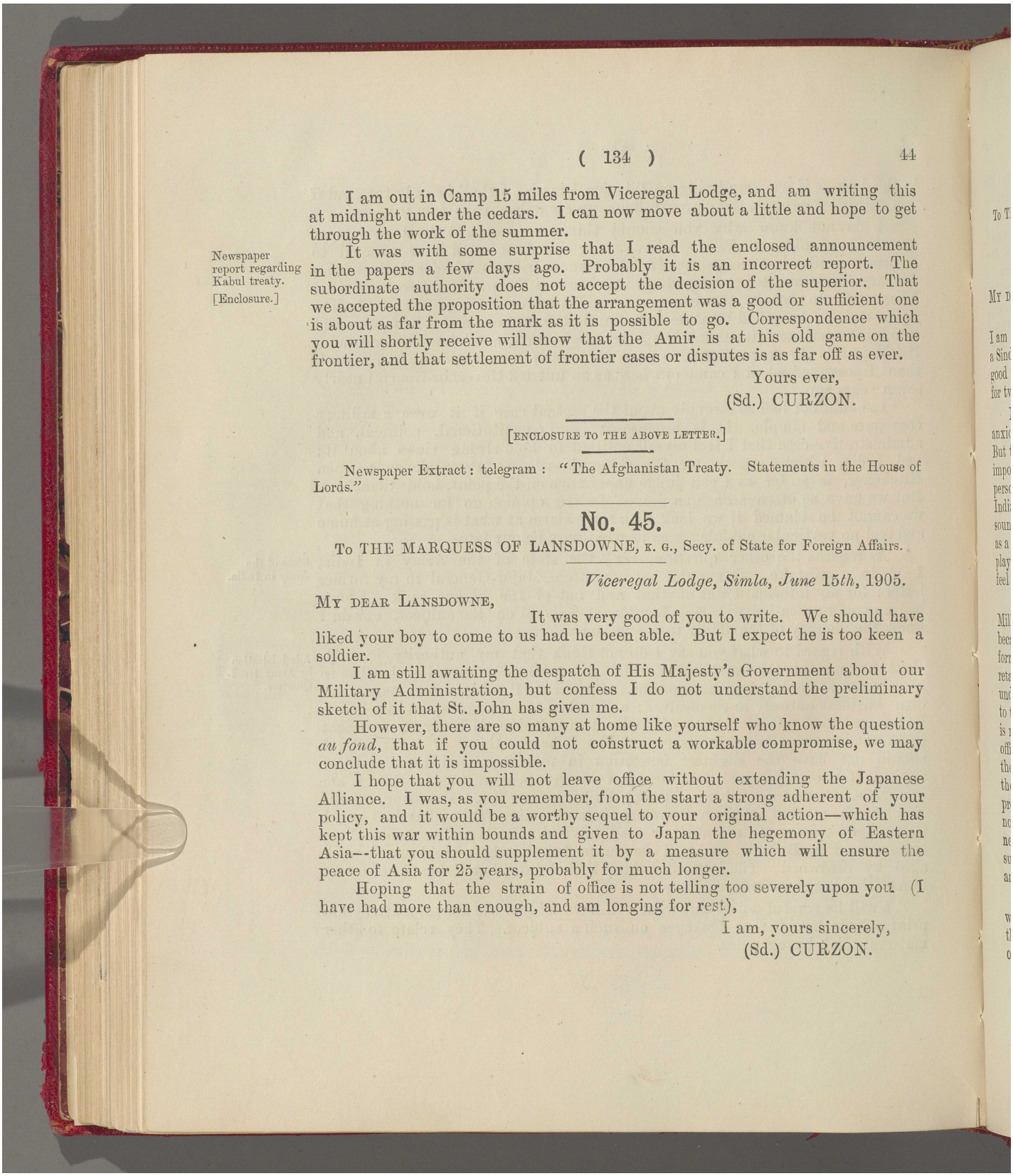
Administration by Army Head-Quarters.

With regard to what you say I do not think that my authority is sufficient to prevent the mistakes of which you speak. In anything that has to be referred to me my voice is supreme. But Army Head-Quarters keep their own business entirely to themselves; and unless the change is one that has to be referred to the Government of India through the Military Department (which it is now proposed to dispense with) I hear nothing of it at all. I should not have the slightest hesitation in tackling Kitchener about any subject, for our personal relations have never been affected. But I am powerless, where I never hear of them, until it is too late. Hamilton, who is Kitchener's present Military Secretary, is a charming fellow, but does not, I think, keep him well informed or well advised. He is going before long to command a Brigade, and will be succeeded (Kitchener told me a week ago) by Birdwood. The latter is a sharp little fellow, but I should not credit him with courage or independence.

I will be careful not to put what you have said on the above matter into print. Not that I fear leakages on such a subject. They relate to other matters which have a price.

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I am out in Camp 15 miles from Viceregal Lodge, and am writing this at midnight under the cedars. I can now move about a little and hope to get through the work of the summer.

Newspaper report regarding Kabul treaty. [Enclosure.]

It was with some surprise that I read the enclosed announcement in the papers a few days ago. Probably it is an incorrect report. The subordinate authority does not accept the decision of the superior. That we accepted the proposition that the arrangement was a good or sufficient one is about as far from the mark as it is possible to go. Correspondence which you will shortly receive will show that the Amir is at his old game on the frontier, and that settlement of frontier cases or disputes is as far off as ever.

Yours ever,
(Sd.) CURZON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Newspaper Extract: telegram: "The Afghanistan Treaty. Statements in the House of Lords."

No. 45.

To THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, K. G., Secy. of State for Foreign Affairs.

Viceregal Lodge, Simla, June 15th, 1905.

MY DEAR LANSDOWNE,

It was very good of you to write. We should have liked your boy to come to us had he been able. But I expect he is too keen a soldier.

I am still awaiting the despatch of His Majesty's Government about our Military Administration, but confess I do not understand the preliminary sketch of it that St. John has given me.

However, there are so many at home like yourself who know the question *au fond*, that if you could not construct a workable compromise, we may conclude that it is impossible.

I hope that you will not leave office without extending the Japanese Alliance. I was, as you remember, from the start a strong adherent of your policy, and it would be a worthy sequel to your original action—which has kept this war within bounds and given to Japan the hegemony of Eastern Asia—that you should supplement it by a measure which will ensure the peace of Asia for 25 years, probably for much longer.

Hoping that the strain of office is not telling too severely upon you (I have had more than enough, and am longing for rest),

I am, yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 46.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
June 15th, 1905.

MY DEAR ST. JOHN,

Partition of Bengal.

We are awaiting the despatch about Bengal, and I am glad that you were able to secure the withdrawal of the suggestion about a Sind Commissionership, since it is one that no one here would have had a good word for and which would merely have delayed the ultimate settlement for two or three months while we were replying to it.

No member of my Government, and perhaps least of all myself, can be anxious for a renewal of Bengali agitation, with its trail of pestilent falsehood. But the fact that we have all been willing to incur it is a proof of the importance that we attach to the solution proposed by us. It will expose me personally to a tornado of invective that will not cease until after I have left India. And yet I have no doubt in my own mind that the solution is a sound and statesmanlike one, and that in days to come it will be recognized as a great and indisputable administrative reform. In the part that you have played in bringing it about I do not think that you will ever have cause to feel regret or shame.

Military Administration Scheme.

It is impossible for me to say much this week about the scheme of Military Administration that your expected despatch will place before us, because, from the brief outline sketched in your letter, I have not been able to form any clear idea what it is to be. A Military Member is apparently to be retained on condition that he does not operate as a check. Again, I do not understand what the Chief of the Staff is to do, or how he will differ in relation to the Commander-in-Chief from the present Adjutant-General. The latter is now the chief adviser of the Commander-in-Chief; and Duff, who is a good officer, but without individuality or courage, has not saved Kitchener from the many mistakes that he has committed. How, then, will the new Chief of the Staff? However, I had better wait until I see the actual terms of the proposed compromise. Of course your action in publishing the papers will not preclude us from replying to your despatch, should we think this necessary. Probably you have asked our opinion. In any case, I do not suppose that you desire to issue a ukase which we are not at liberty to examine and report upon.

Sir Edmond Elles.

As regards Elles, he will, I know, act with the chivalry and self-abnegation which have characterised his conduct throughout, and which have won him the sympathy and support of everyone without exception in the Government of India.

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One remark in your letter, however, I do not understand. You say that "there is no question that the duties assumed by his Department in connection with the army have increased substantially of recent years". I wonder from what source you have derived this opinion. It is the very reverse of my own experience. The Military Department unquestionably does less and intervenes less under Elles than it did under Collen when I came to India. Further back my experience does not extend. Of the many interested misstatements that have characterised the newspaper controversy at home, there is none that has struck me as more unfair or incorrect than that the Military Department has of late years usurped or filched powers at the expense of the Commander-in-Chief.

Naturally it will be my desire as I know it to be that of Kitchener, to accept any plan that promises to work well, and neither of us wishes to fight about details. More than this I cannot say today. We are also sensible of the anxious and impartial consideration that you have devoted to the subject.

Second Deputy Secretaryship in the Foreign Department and the appointment of Mr. Clarke to the post.

I hope that the India Office will agree to the proposals that we have recently sent to you about the appointment of a second Deputy Secretary in the Foreign Department and the nomination to the post of Clarke. Godley has constantly told me that there is scarcely any proposal designed to improve the efficiency of that terribly overworked and, in respect of Europeans, undermanned Department that the India Office will not be prepared favourably to consider. Clarke is a perfect master of the Afghan and trans-frontier questions. He is extremely reliable and not rash or flighty like Dane. He did admirably throughout the Kabul Mission, and he will be simply essential to my successor. The fact that he is not a Covenanted Civilian ought not to deter us from employing him in the Office for which he is pre-eminently qualified and which there is no Civilian who is fitted to fill. Moreover, the readjustment of posts should be of considerable advantage to the work of the Department.

Restoration to powers of the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Some weeks ago I also sent home the proposal to restore powers, subject to certain carefully defined conditions, to the Maharaja of Kashmir. These have been practically promised to him, and I doubt not that your assent will shortly come.

Plague in India.

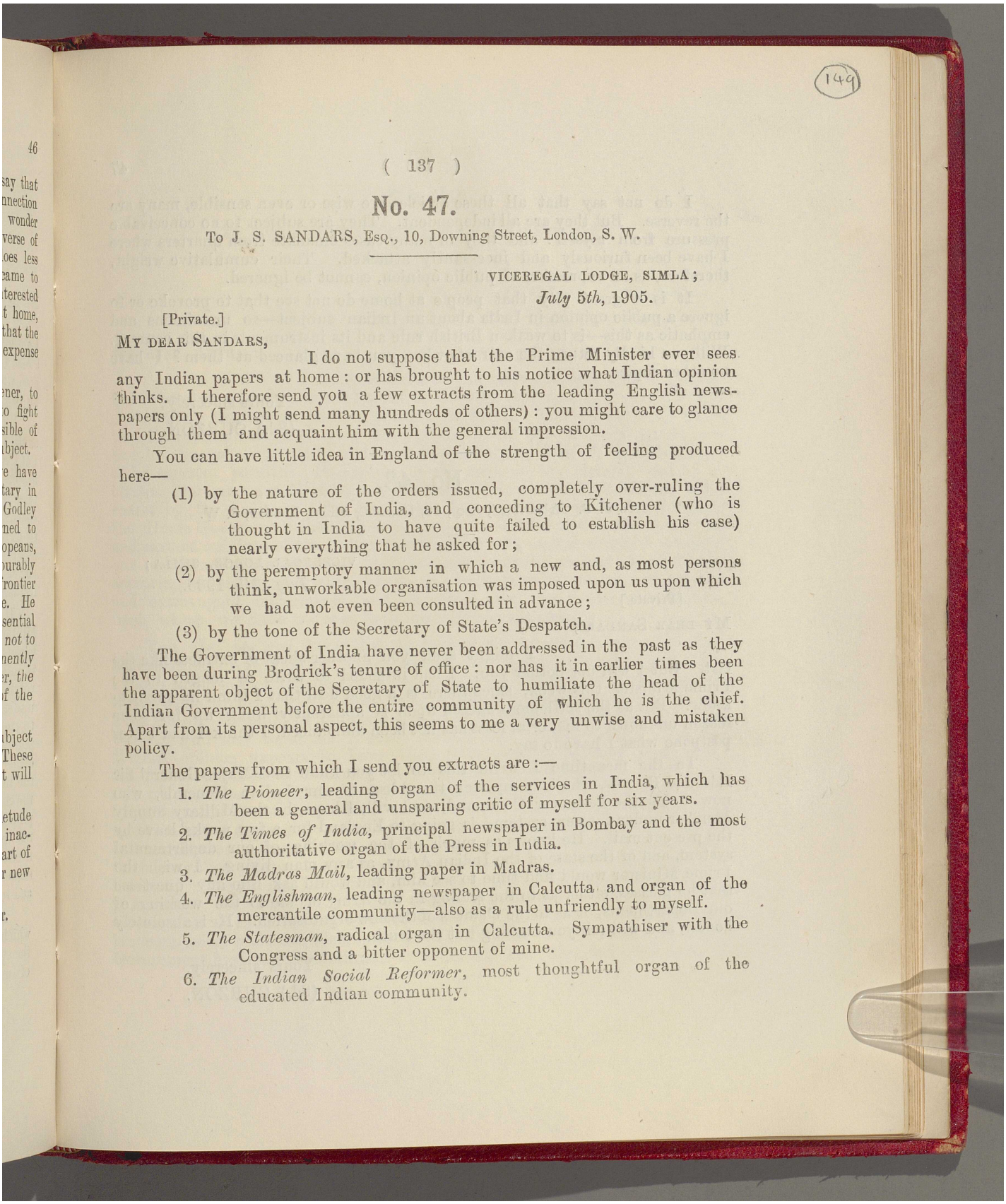
Ever since I came back to India, I have been thinking with some disquietude about the Plague problem. It is difficult to know what to do, and yet in inaction there seems to be some cowardice. The curious thing is that no part of the native population wants us to do anything. I have sent for our new Sanitary Commissioner to have a talk with him about it.

Many thanks for your enquiries about my health. It is rather better.

Yours ever,
(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 47.

To J. S. SANDARS, Esq., 10, Downing Street, London, S. W.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
July 5th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR SANDARS,

I do not suppose that the Prime Minister ever sees any Indian papers at home: or has brought to his notice what Indian opinion thinks. I therefore send you a few extracts from the leading English newspapers only (I might send many hundreds of others): you might care to glance through them and acquaint him with the general impression.

You can have little idea in England of the strength of feeling produced here—

(1) by the nature of the orders issued, completely over-ruling the Government of India, and conceding to Kitchener (who is thought in India to have quite failed to establish his case) nearly everything that he asked for;

(2) by the peremptory manner in which a new and, as most persons think, unworkable organisation was imposed upon us upon which we had not even been consulted in advance;

(3) by the tone of the Secretary of State's Despatch.

The Government of India have never been addressed in the past as they have been during Brodrick's tenure of office: nor has it in earlier times been the apparent object of the Secretary of State to humiliate the head of the Indian Government before the entire community of which he is the chief. Apart from its personal aspect, this seems to me a very unwise and mistaken policy.

The papers from which I send you extracts are:—

1. *The Pioneer*, leading organ of the services in India, which has been a general and unsparing critic of myself for six years.
2. *The Times of India*, principal newspaper in Bombay and the most authoritative organ of the Press in India.
3. *The Madras Mail*, leading paper in Madras.
4. *The Englishman*, leading newspaper in Calcutta and organ of the mercantile community—also as a rule unfriendly to myself.
5. *The Statesman*, radical organ in Calcutta. Sympathiser with the Congress and a bitter opponent of mine.
6. *The Indian Social Reformer*, most thoughtful organ of the educated Indian community.

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I do not say that all these articles are wise or even sensible, many are the reverse. But they are all independent. They are subject to no conceivable pressure from myself: and they in many cases emanate from quarters where I have been furiously and incessantly attacked. Their cumulative weight, therefore, as an expression of public opinion, cannot be ignored.

It is a great pity that people at home do not see that to provoke or to ignore a public opinion in India about an Indian subject—so unanimous and emphatic as this—is to weaken British rule and its instruments in this country. Will you kindly return the extracts when you have glanced at them? I have no other copies.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 48.

To J. S. SANDARS, Esq., 10, Downing Street, London, S. W.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;
July 13th, 1905.

[Private.]

MY DEAR SANDARS,

I might send you another sheaf of extracts like the last. But I will not bother you. I had intended to write at length to the Prime Minister this week, since there is a good deal that I think he ought to know. But as the settlement agreed upon is apparently hung up for some reason unknown to me, or at least has not been announced, I think I had better postpone what I have to say.

In the meantime I write this to let you know that Major-General Sir Edmund Barrow, who is in my view the ablest of our Indian Generals, who now holds the Peshawar Command, and will, I hope, be the Military Supply Member under the new system—is going to England for a few weeks' leave by the present mail. He knows as much of the working of our departmental system, and of the state of the Indian Army, as any man living. I wish the Prime Minister would find time to see him, and would ask him any questions that he pleases, either as to the feeling in the Army or as to the working of our Departments, or as to the chances of the new organisation. He is absolutely honest, and will tell you nothing but the truth.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 49.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. J. BALFOUR, M. P.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA;

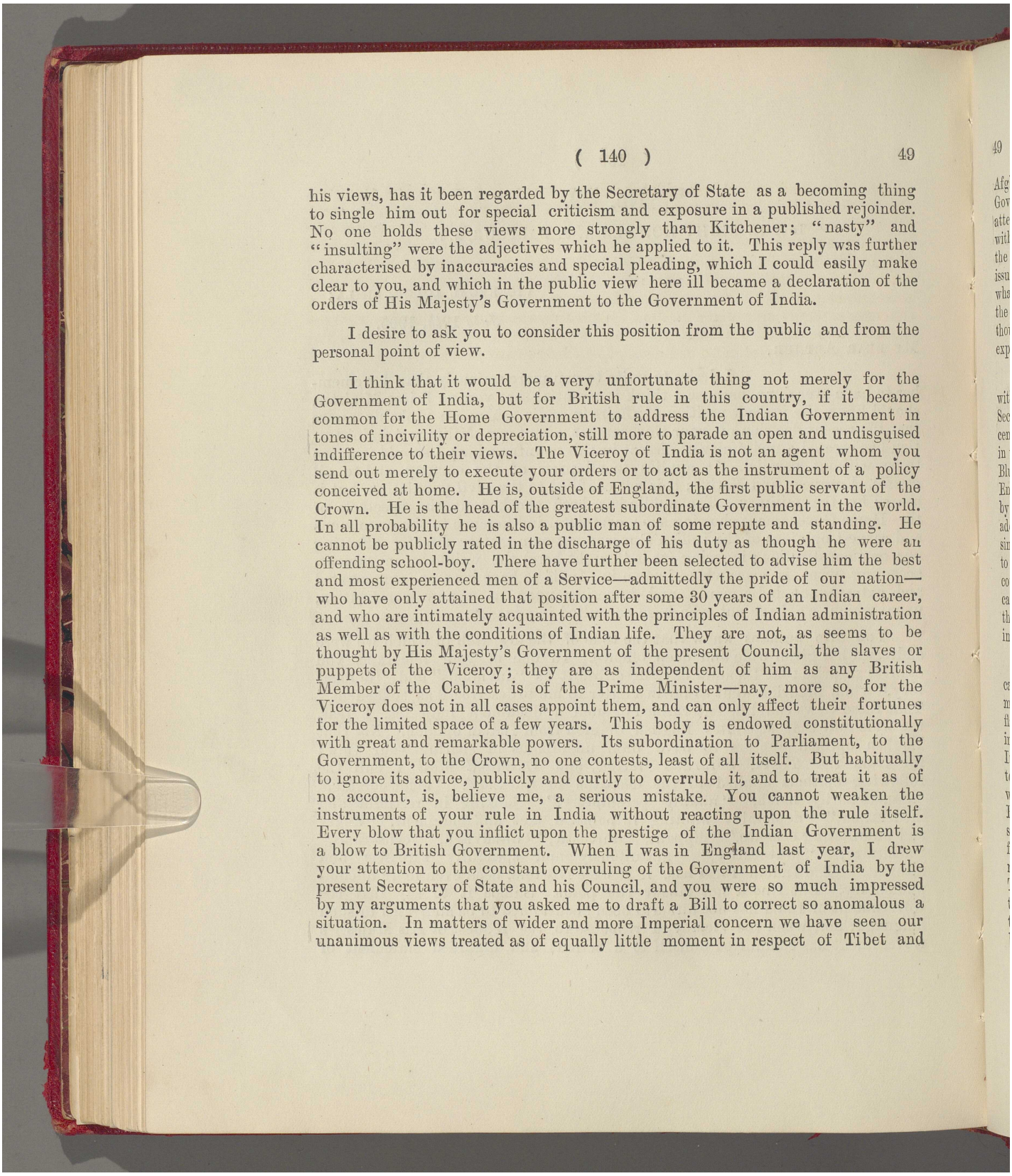
July 19th, 1905.

My dear Arthur,

I desire to write to you more seriously than I remember to have ever done, because I think it essential that you, as Prime Minister, should know the present position of affairs in India. You are probably aware that the recent decision of your Government about our Military Administration has created a unanimity of dissent in this country which I should imagine to be without parallel. It applies to all parts of the country and to all classes, European and Native; it is not confined to the civil population, but is shared by the military. The public has been shocked at the spectacle of the Home Government showing such complete indifference to the unanimous and earnest opinions of the Indian Government on a matter directly affecting our own constitution; ignoring (as is thought here) the weight of argument, accepting what is everywhere known in India to have been an exaggerated and extravagant indictment, and imposing upon us a new constitution, upon which we have not even been consulted in advance.

You also perhaps know that the tone of the despatch in which we were addressed has given wide and deep offence. In one of your telegrams you express surprise that I should have described it as "invidious" and "derogatory," while Brodrick went so far in a letter to me to describe it as "excellent." That these views could be entertained of such a document indicates, I fear, the wide gulf that separates English opinion from Indian opinion. Not that English opinion appears to have been unanimous in sharing your view; for from the *Times*, *Saturday Review*, and *Overland Mail* I cull the following epithets applied to the despatch in question: "inconsiderate," "unnecessarily harsh," "unduly peremptory," "lacking in restraint and moderation," "deplorably wanting in political tact and judgment," "angry and humiliating censure," "flippant," "sarcastic," "ill-advised," "censorious," "arbitrary," "provocative," "gratuitously and spitefully sarcastic and insolent." The Indian Press has, if it were possible, been even more uncomplimentary. But I need not labour the point. Suffice it to say that the Government of India has not hitherto been accustomed to be addressed in such language; nor, when the Viceroy in response to the request of His Majesty's Government has committed himself to a serious and dignified statement of

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his views, has it been regarded by the Secretary of State as a becoming thing to single him out for special criticism and exposure in a published rejoinder. No one holds these views more strongly than Kitchener; "nasty" and "insulting" were the adjectives which he applied to it. This reply was further characterised by inaccuracies and special pleading, which I could easily make clear to you, and which in the public view here ill became a declaration of the orders of His Majesty's Government to the Government of India.

I desire to ask you to consider this position from the public and from the personal point of view.

I think that it would be a very unfortunate thing not merely for the Government of India, but for British rule in this country, if it became common for the Home Government to address the Indian Government in tones of incivility or depreciation, still more to parade an open and undisguised indifference to their views. The Viceroy of India is not an agent whom you send out merely to execute your orders or to act as the instrument of a policy conceived at home. He is, outside of England, the first public servant of the Crown. He is the head of the greatest subordinate Government in the world. In all probability he is also a public man of some repute and standing. He cannot be publicly rated in the discharge of his duty as though he were an offending school-boy. There have further been selected to advise him the best and most experienced men of a Service—admittedly the pride of our nation—who have only attained that position after some 30 years of an Indian career, and who are intimately acquainted with the principles of Indian administration as well as with the conditions of Indian life. They are not, as seems to be thought by His Majesty's Government of the present Council, the slaves or puppets of the Viceroy; they are as independent of him as any British Member of the Cabinet is of the Prime Minister—nay, more so, for the Viceroy does not in all cases appoint them, and can only affect their fortunes for the limited space of a few years. This body is endowed constitutionally with great and remarkable powers. Its subordination to Parliament, to the Government, to the Crown, no one contests, least of all itself. But habitually to ignore its advice, publicly and curtly to overrule it, and to treat it as of no account, is, believe me, a serious mistake. You cannot weaken the instruments of your rule in India without reacting upon the rule itself. Every blow that you inflict upon the prestige of the Indian Government is a blow to British Government. When I was in England last year, I drew your attention to the constant overruling of the Government of India by the present Secretary of State and his Council, and you were so much impressed by my arguments that you asked me to draft a Bill to correct so anomalous a situation. In matters of wider and more Imperial concern we have seen our unanimous views treated as of equally little moment in respect of Tibet and

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Afghanistan; and in the case of Afghanistan, concerning which His Majesty's Government decided not to publish the papers, there was the same apparent attempt to detach the Viceroy from his Colleagues, who were unanimously with him, and to throw the personal responsibility on to myself. We recognise the absolute right of His Majesty's Government to decide upon these Imperial issues; but we may be pardoned if the reflection sometimes occurs to us: of what use is it in such a case to have a Government of India at all. I might say the same of many subsidiary matters in which we are aware that our view, based though it be upon accurate first-hand knowledge or upon intimate local experience, has carried little or no weight with the Government at home.

But even more unfortunate in its public consequences is the practice, with which we have for the first time become familiar since the present Secretary of State assumed office, of openly publishing official rebukes or censures upon the Government, which are thereupon taken up and discussed in this country from one end to another. The publication of the Tibetan Blue Book—which was, I believe, condemned almost as universally in England as here—did great harm, but this has been thrown into the shade by the issue of the recent despatch. In the same week the Secretary of State addressed to us a despatch about the Partition of Bengal, which he has since proposed to publish, and which similarly contains remarks calculated to depreciate the Government of India and to injure their credit in this country. My time is drawing to an end, and this policy of public humiliation cannot affect me much longer. But it is my duty to represent to you that it is doing incalculable harm, and that it is lowering the dignity and impairing the influence of your representatives in this country.

Next, let me pass for a few moments to the inner history of the recent case. The impression has been conveyed to the public at home that our foremost soldier, after prolonged and patient experience, has found intolerable flaws in the system of our Military administration and has written a powerful indictment against it. I know—for he told me this a week after his landing in India—and you know—for I told you—that he came here with a mind made up to destroy it. I also know that he did not write the indictment, but that it was written for him by a subordinate officer—I could even tell you by whom. From this original intention he has never wavered for a moment: he has steadily laboured to render the system unworkable by his own attitude, and from time to time he has emphasized this by threats of resignation. By these means he forced the subject upon the attention of His Majesty's Government. This was the position when I was in England last year. I told you frankly that I disagreed with him, not on personal grounds (for on every question up to this he has had my support), but on public grounds. I told you that I believed that the whole of the Government of India would be found to be of

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the same opinion, and I asked you not to force the question forward in my time. Nevertheless you allowed me to come back to India, and you directed the question to be pursued. I wrote to you in March last explaining the condition of affairs, and I added that if your Government decided to overrule my Colleagues and myself I should have no alternative but to resign. To this letter, which was a very full one, I never received either acknowledgment or reply. Meanwhile, the matter being still under discussion at home, a deliberate and successful effort was made, inspired by the Commander-in-Chief and his partisans (I speak with accurate knowledge), to capture public opinion in England. Copies of his Minute were secretly furnished to Press writers at home; an attempt was made to show that he had been thwarted by his Colleagues and trammelled by red tape in his efforts to raise the Army to proper efficiency and to provide for the defence of India. This misrepresentation of facts I eventually called upon him publicly to contradict, and this he was obliged to do. The case then went home officially, and was considered by a committee at the India Office (upon which two ex-Commanders-in-Chief but no ex-Military Member were present), by the Defence Committee, and by the Cabinet. The Commander-in-Chief had in his official Minute of dissent declined to reply officially to the arguments of Elles and myself. I should be surprised if it is not found that he nevertheless wrote a private memorandum criticising them freely, which was sent to the India Office behind our backs and was circulated for perusal there. Simultaneously the nature of our argument, if not its actual text, was secretly communicated under the same inspiration to the military correspondent of the *Times*, who wrote an article, publicly criticising and answering our case, and throwing the leading journal (not without some qualms) on to Kitchener's side. Throughout the two months for which the case was under discussion in England I, the head of the Indian Government, heard not one word from the Secretary of State on the subject. I had discussed every phase of it with him with the utmost confidence in my private letters, but I met with no response. The first that I was ever permitted to learn of the views either of the Secretary of State or the India Office or His Majesty's Government, was contained in the official despatch imposing upon us an organisation, which was regarded as quite impracticable by the Commander-in-Chief and myself; about which it was not thought worthwhile to ask our opinion, but which we were instructed at once to introduce. At the same time my Colleague, Sir Edmond Elles, whose conduct has throughout been characterised by a dignity and self-effacement which have won for him universal sympathy, and who had offered in his public Minute to resign, was actually called upon by the Secretary of State in an official despatch (not of course presented to Parliament) to do so; and was acquainted with the date on which his retirement was expected. These proceedings cannot have been expected by the Secretary of State or yourself (viewing my previous letters) to produce any other result but my resignation. I accordingly tendered

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it, unless certain changes were made and have even been censured by the Secretary of State for offering it to the Prime Minister instead of to him. They also had the probably unexpected effect of making Kitchener so indignant that when I informed him of my intention to resign unless certain modifications were introduced—modifications to which he readily agreed—he said that if they were not accepted he would resign himself also. We are now publicly informed that these modifications are only the carrying out of the wishes and desires of His Majesty's Government. We are very glad to know this, for it was not an idea that could have occurred to us either from the despatch or from the subsequent telegraphic correspondence. Even so modified, I do not think there is a person here from Kitchener downwards who believes that the new scheme will work, or who foresees for it any but a brief existence. If these predictions are correct, His Majesty's Government will then have destroyed a system which worked to the general satisfaction until Kitchener appeared upon the scene, and will have thrown our Military constitution into a crucible from which, if English precedents are followed, it will not emerge until after years of controversy and chaos.

The above is my summary of recent events. I cannot ask you to share my impressions, I am only seeking to acquaint you with mine. I believe that every sentence which I have written is accurate, and I shall have stated the case very badly if I have not succeeded in showing you what serious cause both the Government of India and myself have, as we think, to complain of the manner in which we have been treated throughout.

Finally, I turn to the more personal aspect of the case. It is now nearly seven years since I was sent out to India as Viceroy, and nearly two since I was re-appointed by you. No other Viceroy has served so long in India for half a century; no other Governor-General has been re-appointed for a whole century. I am not writing this letter to sing my own praises. But I state with conscious pride that if there is any of your public servants who is deserving of consideration at the hands of your Government it is myself. For five years I was treated by George Hamiltion, though we often differed, in a manner which rendered our relations most agreeable, and which enabled me to do my work with pleasure. It is unhappily the case that since Brodrick became Secretary of State I have experienced little but distress and humiliation. You will hardly suspect me of animus against an old friend. That very fact should emphasise the gravity of what I am writing. When I hinted it to you in England you dismissed it as the result of an over-wrought fancy. Do not please entertain that impression now. During the past six months I have repeatedly commenced, and sometimes completed, a letter to you on the subject. On each occasion I have destroyed it. I can now do so no longer; for you should know that my position is becoming unbearable. I have already

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spoken to you of my treatment by the Secretary of State in respect of the Military question—a treatment more lacking in confidence and co-ordination than any feature of our recent Military administration. Since the commencement of the controversy neither the Government of India nor I, who ought naturally to look to the Secretary of State as the spokesman of our rights, have received from him one word of interest, sympathy, or even comprehension of our views on the subject. The burden and anxiety of the Viceroy's position in India are such as you, a Prime Minister, can alone appreciate. But they are swollen by an administrative toil of which you can possess little conception, and aggravated by the fact that the Viceroy is serving a distant master who may know little or nothing of India, but who can overturn either his greatest or his most insignificant act. Without the support of the Secretary of State the Viceroy cannot properly, much less cheerfully, conduct his task. Without confidence between them it becomes well nigh impossible. Such support and confidence ought to be even more natural when both belong to the same political party. It should be a certainty when they are friends.

Instead of giving me this support or confidence, Brodrick seems to lose no opportunity of causing me vexation. Scarcely a day passes, but in a telegram or letter or despatch or order there occurs something to produce annoyance at this end, or to assert an untimely and inconsiderate exercise of superior power at the other. Only an hour ago came a telegram declining my request that he would withdraw the despatch in which he had ordered Elles to resign, and the unprovoked affront of which had almost broken the latter's heart. The position is now so well known in India that in our Departments and even in the public Press, where it has been repeatedly noticed, the impression is universal that the Secretary of State is inspired not merely by antagonism to the Government, but by personal hostility towards myself. Do you suppose that it escaped attention that in his recent Budget Speech—the last Budget Speech that will have been delivered by any Secretary of State during my seven years of administration—the one name that never occurred—that was studiously omitted—was that of the Viceroy who has been responsible for these seven strenuous years? My Colleagues are constantly expressing bewilderment at an attitude to which in their long experience thay have never known a parallel. I saw the other day that in the House of Commons you described Brodrick as a paragon Indian minister. In this country no Secretary of State has acquired so unfavourable a reputation. If you do not accept my statement you can read it in almost every Indian paper that you take up. Whereas the Government of India has hitherto always looked to the Secretary of State as their defender and champion, we now seldom send a proposal home without expecting unfavourable criticism or refusal. I could not, perhaps, condense his methods better than in a single sentence from his

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latest letter to myself. These were his words: "Do you think that any Government would surrender a point in which they really believed in order to secure for a few months extra the presence of a Viceroy who disagrees with them on as many subjects as you have recently disagreed with the Government?" Whether you reflect that these sentiments emanate from one friend to another, or from a Secretary of State of less than two years' standing to a Viceroy of nearly seven, you will, I think, realise that I can hardly be on happy terms with an official superior who thus addresses me. In the same letter he intimated to me without any prior warning his intention to send out an officer from home to fill the new appointment of Military Supply Member. Conceive at such a juncture as this appointing as one of my Colleagues with whom I am expected to start this new scheme, an officer not recommended by myself. I might give you scores of illustrations derived from the experience of every week and almost every day. Brodrick no doubt would express extreme surprise at such a charge. He would point to measures officially sanctioned or conceded, and would take great credit for his conduct; for nothing can eradicate from his mind the idea that if he accepts any of our proposals he is doing a personal favour for which he ought to be gratefully thanked. He would not tell you of the grudging acceptance, nor of the intervening stages of objection and cavil and delay, neither would he tell you of the proposals refused. However, the result is surely the most conclusive test: one and a half years of subordination to him have brought me to the stage which compels me to write this letter and which has forced me to desist from a correspondence with the Secretary of State which I conducted every week with George Hamilton for five years, but which I can no longer continue either with advantage or self-respect. But I wish to go a little further. If the Cabinet and you as its head entertain the views so candidly expressed by the Secretary of State, and are so dissatisfied with a Viceroy who does not always agree with you, then I ask you at once to recall me and to make public the reasons for so doing. I have long since ceased to derive any pleasure from my task. I only came out here again in circumstances of extreme misery seven months ago in response to the call of duty. I have only stayed on here for the same reason. Nothing would have been simpler for me than to go and leave Kitchener to gain an even more complete victory over our constitution than he has already done. I am quite willing to retire from high office or even from political life. What I am not willing to do is to continue toiling here at an increasing sacrifice of health and strength if I am to be almost daily fretted and affronted by my official superior as I now am, or if I am deprived of the support and confidence of the Government and yourself.

With these words I leave myself in your hands.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

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No. 50.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. J. BALFOUR, M. P.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
July 27th, 1905.

[Private & Confidential.]

My dear Arthur,

Last week I wrote you a letter which I did not send, because, a further question having arisen about my speech in Council, I feared that you might regard my remarks as influenced by the sentiment of the moment. I send it now unaltered, because I think that you ought to know my views, not hastily formed or lightly held, about recent events.

Touching my speech, there was no thought of insubordination in what I said, nor therefore is there anything for which I need offer an apology. It was my duty to explain to the Indian public, whose interest in the working of our Indian administration is very keen—the nature of the points for which I had been contending, and which the Secretary of State, after they had been conceded, appeared to make every effort to minimise in his official reply. It was also my duty, in my view, to make it clear that, in pressing for and obtaining these modifications, the Government of India did not thereby assume any responsibility for the scheme itself. His Majesty's Government seem to attach some importance to the fact that my speech was not delivered in reply to a question. This is a very small point. Every Viceroy possesses and has exercised the right to make what statement he pleases in Council, question or no question. I have done it 8 or 9 times. So did Elgin. It will be an unfortunate day for India, if the head of the Government is held not to be at liberty to open his lips on a subject, because orders have been passed upon it by the Government at home.

In my other letter I described the circumstances which have led to the present tension between Brodrick and myself. I would ask you as a friend to consider whether it is likely to have been reduced by the events of the past week. Let me refer to the telegram about the alleged disclosures here. No one, I suppose, is unaware of the fact that a most carefully engineered press campaign in favour of Kitchener's views was conducted in England by his partisans, inspired (as I happen to know for certain) by Kitchener himself; and that confidential documents were freely circulated with that intent. Equally successful use was made of his threat to resign, which was publicly disclosed

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at the psychological moment. I am not aware of any official notice having been taken of these proceedings. But as soon as the Indian papers (over which I have never attempted to exercise the least influence) began to stand up for me, and news of my proffered resignation—of which I made no concealment—was telegraphed home, His Majesty's Government invited me to consider whether I should not apply the Official Secrets Act to myself! We really did not know whether to take the remark as a jest, or as something which I would prefer not to characterise.

Then let me take the threatened censure on my recent speech. This speech was made last Tuesday, *i. e.*, 8 days ago. On Wednesday Fowler, whether spontaneously or upon instigation I do not know, asked his question, based upon a brief telegraphic extract. Did the Secretary of State show any desire to shield the absent Viceroy from a most offensive imputation? Did he suggest suspension of judgment? Did he even send a courteous message to myself? No, he curtly informed the House of Commons, as he informed me, that he required the full text. It reached him on Thursday last. Did he then acquaint me with his views, whether of censure or the reverse? No, he allowed me to remain for 5 days under a cloud of apprehension, which a word from him might have lifted, and which has rendered my position before the Indian public one of almost intolerable indignity. Surely this is not quite the way in which to treat the head of the Indian administration.

I would like to refer you to the somewhat parallel case of Lord Ellenborough and Lord Canning in 1858—to its points of resemblance, and still more to its points of difference.

You may ask me why I did not resign outright when your decision imposing upon us this new system was first announced. I might perhaps quote Lord Canning's rejoinder to the same question: "No taunts or sarcasm, come from what quarter they may (he was alluding to the Secretary of State), will turn me from the path which I believe to be that of my public duty." But it would not be strictly applicable in my case. For I was entirely willing to resign, and informed my Colleagues of my intention to do so. Two of them were willing to accompany me and to wreck their careers—so strongly did they feel the manner in which we had been treated, and the impracticable nature of the scheme which we had been ordered to introduce. But even they pressed upon me most emphatically that it was a higher duty on my part to stay, in order to give the new organisation a chance of vitality, and that to desert the helm at such a moment would merely involve the ship in worse disaster. I only yielded to their advice on condition that the scheme should be deprived of some of its worst defects, which Kitchener and I set about trying to do. I also felt that if I resigned at that moment (I *was* resolved to do so if the modifications were

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not accepted) my action might be set down to personal pique or some other ignoble consideration. But when I consented for these reasons to forego my natural inclination, I did not expect that the Secretary of State would once more (as in his despatch) endeavour to place me publicly in the wrong.

I think that I ought to be quite frank to you about the Government scheme. Neither Kitchener nor I, nor any one here, believes that it will last. Six men out of ten will tell you that it will not long survive my departure. The remaining four will say that it will not survive Kitchener's. He and I are the only two persons who can give it a fair working chance, if we jointly do our best. (If Brodrick had only recognised this self-evident proposition six months ago instead of trying to find out some new solution of his own, without telling us anything about it, all might have been different.) I agreed with Kitchener to do so in the public interest, because I have the welfare of Indian administration at heart, and abominate the personal aspect of these quarrels. But if you think it worth while that this should be done, then I must ask that the Secretary of State shall stay his hand. I must be given my own men to work the scheme with or I cannot attempt to work it at all. It is not the moment for foisting upon me a General from home. Above all, I must ask for a modification in the general attitude towards me of His Majesty's Government. Otherwise I would prefer to come back at once, and to desist from a task which has lately been made impossible.

Yours ever,

(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 51.

R.

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

Viceregal Lodge, Simla, August 8th, 1905.

DEAR SIR ARTHUR GODLEY,

With reference to your letter to the Viceroy of the 14th July, I am desired by His Excellency to forward a copy of a letter which he has sent to Sir Thomas Raleigh about the Kathiawar case.

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) R. NATHAN.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Copy of letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to Sir T. Raleigh, dated 5th August 1905.

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No 52.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. J. BALFOUR, M. P.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
September 21*st*, 1905.

[Private & Confidential.]

MY DEAR ARTHUR,

There are many generous and affectionate sentiments in your letter of August 23rd by which I have been much touched. I thank you for them, and I should indeed be sorry if anything that has passed were to impair our friendship, which has always been one of my most treasured possessions.

But your letter, in so far as it rested upon quotations from private letters written by myself, did me an injustice, which, if acquainted with the facts you would, I am sure, be the first to regret.

(1) You say that in my private letter to Brodrick of March 2nd, I "suggested that he desired secretly to drive you to resign." In that letter I was discussing the inveterate and notorious hostility to me of the India Council —a hostility of which I believe that you are fully aware—and I wrote to Brodrick :—

"I often wonder *if your advisers* at the India Office desire secretly to drive me to resign, and I have many times been pondering during the past few weeks whether you contemplate this as the result of one and a half years of our co-operation."

I think you will admit that there is a very material difference between this very true and, as it turned out, prophetic remark, and the proposition which you have put into my mouth.

(2) Quoting from the same letter you say that I also suggested that the Home Government were "shabbily endeavouring to save themselves at the expense of their subordinates." My words were as follows :—

"What is the effect produced upon an ordinary reader by the telegrams which you send me? I deduce it from the impression which they leave upon those who read them here. It is, firstly, that the Home Government with an eye upon a future Blue Book are not above putting the Indian Government in the wrong, and are seeking to justify their own attitude at the expense of their subordinates; secondly, that they are more particularly anxious to thrust the responsibility upon myself. *What was the remark of all my colleagues upon your latest telegram?* It was summed up in the laconic word 'shabby.'"

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Again I think you will admit that there is a material difference between quoting the opinion of "the ordinary reader" and of one's colleagues (among whom it may interest you to learn that the author of the adjective which you attribute to me was Kitchener) and saying a thing oneself.

(3) The third case is more significant still. You speak of my having employed in the same letter (March 2nd, 1905) the phrase "the terrors of a moribund Government with fear of Russia on the brain." The quotation is not quite accurate, and it did not occur in a letter to Brodrick at all. It is taken from a letter marked "private" that was written by me to Godley, with whom I have corresponded for years with a freedom that he has as fully reciprocated.

It certainly never occurred to me that expressions from such a correspondence could be handed to you as the basis of a charge against me.

(4) You say that if I look through my papers you think I will find that "Brodrick sent me more than one letter before the Despatch of May 31st was either composed or sent, explaining how matters were going in this country." From the date of the receipt in London of our Despatch of March 23rd, the following are the sole allusions to the subject contained in the letters from the Secretary of State:—

April 14*th*.—He said that the papers had arrived and were being carefully examined, and that he would not discuss them in detail at present.

April 21*st*.—No letter.

April 27*th*.—No reference.

May 5*th*.—No reference.

May 12*th*.—He said that our Despatch was being more carefully considered and the advice of ex-Indian officials was being sought.

May 14*th*.—He described the constitution of the Committee at the India Office, said that he "hoped we shall reach a conclusion shortly," and that he would refrain from expressing his personal opinion until I should ask for it.

May 26*th* (five days before the issue of the Despatch).—He gave an outline of the scheme which only reached me by the mail immediately preceding that which brought the Despatch itself.

From the above summary you will see that you have been misinformed as to the contents of Brodrick's letters.

You further say that "in my haste I have now and then been tempted to describe my old friends as mean and cowardly or stupid." I can recall nothing which would justify such a charge, and I should certainly hold myself greatly to blame if it could be established against me.

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A further charge has been brought against me to which I must allude, namely, that I misrepresented Kitchener in saying that Barrow was acceptable to him. I in no respect misrepresented Kitchener, either there or anywhere else. Not only was Barrow acceptable to him, but he accepted him with satisfaction and without a word of demur. This is known to many persons here and can be proved by independent evidence. The Commander-in-Chief actually sent for Barrow before I had seen him or ever mentioned the subject of the new Membership to him, and had a long and friendly talk with him upon the hypothesis that he would be selected. He even pressed him to give up his leave at once and stay in Simla to start the new scheme as the first Military Supply Member. You may refer to Barrow on this point, and he will give you the facts. Further, I may inform you that, although Kitchener at a later date repudiated the very idea of Barrow as Chief of the Staff, he himself suggested him both to me and to others in that capacity.

I will say no more now. Perhaps at some future date I may have the opportunity of expaining things that are now obscure. In any case

I remain,
MY DEAR ARTHUR,
yours affectionately,
(Sd.) CURZON.

No. 53.

R.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE ST. JOHN BRODRICK, M. P., Secy. of State for India.

Viceroy's Camp, November 2nd, 1905.

DEAR BRODRICK,

I enclose an advance copy of the list of the names which I have to ask you to submit to His Majesty in connection with the distribution of honours which usually takes place on 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. A printed copy of the list with the names arranged in order of precedence will follow by next mail.

I shall be obliged if you will cause a telegram to be sent to the Viceroy when the list is finally approved by the King, so that the Gazette may be published simultaneously at home and in India.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) CURZON.

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[ENCLOSURE TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.]

HONOURS.

New Year's Day Gazette, 1906.

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

G. C. S. I.

HIS HIGHNESS SARAMAD-I-RAJAHA-I-BUNDELKHAND MAHARAJA MAHINDRA SAWAI SIR PRATAP SING BAHADUR, G.C.I.E., of Orchha.

K. C. S. I.

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. JOSEPH BAMPFYLDE FULLER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

2. THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HAROLD ARTHUR DEANE, C.S.I., Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier Province.

3. SIR EDWARD FITZGERALD LAW, K.C.M.G., C.S.I., lately an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General.

4. HIS HIGHNESS RAJA BHURE SINGH, C.I.E., of Chamba.

C. S. I.

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. JOHN WILLIAM PITT MUIR-MACKENZIE, Indian Civil Service, Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay.

2. THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE CECIL MICHAEL WILFORD BRETT, Indian Civil Service, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

3. THE HONOURABLE MR. APCAR ALEXANDER APCAR, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.

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4. THE HONOURABLE MR. LANCELOT HARE, C. I. E., Indian Civil Service, Member of the Board of Revenue, Land Revenue Department, Bengal, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.

5. THE HONOURABLE NAWAB BAHADUR KHWAJA SALIMULLAH of Dacca, Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.

6. THE HONOURABLE MR. HERBERT BRADLEY, Indian Civil Service, first Member of the Board of Revenue, Madras, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George for making Laws and Regulations.

7. THE HONOURABLE MR. JAMES McCRONE DOUIE, Indian Civil Service, Settlement Commissioner of the Punjab, and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for making Laws and Regulations.

8. THE HONOURABLE MR. FRANK CAMPBELL GATES, 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.

9. GEORGE CASSON WALKER, ESQUIRE., Indian Civil Service, Assistant Minister (Finance) to His Highness the Nizam's Government.

10. JOHN MITCHELL HOLMS, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, at present on Special duty as a Member of the Excise Committee.

11. PERCY SEYMOUR VESSEY FITZGERALD, ESQUIRE, lately Political Agent at Mahi Kantha.

ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

G. C. I. E.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDMOND ROCHE ELLES, K. C. B., K. C. I. E., lately an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General.

2. HIS HIGHNESS NAWAB SIDI SIR AHMED KHAN SIDI IBRAHIM KHAN, K. C. I. E., of Janjira.

K. C. I. E.

MAJOR ARTHUR HENRY McMAHON, C. S. I., C. I. E., Political Department of the Government of India, lately British Commissioner, Seistan Arbitration Commission.

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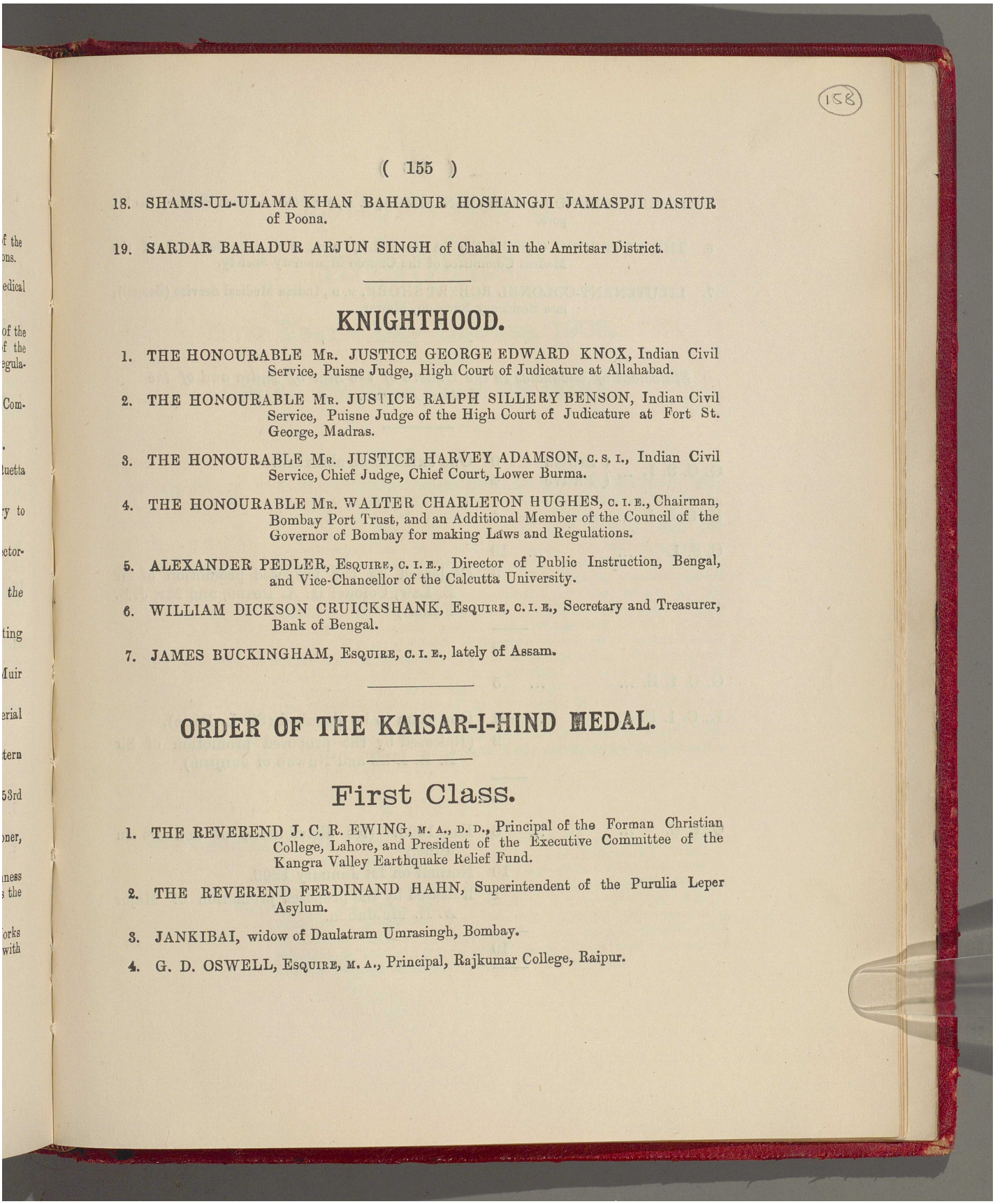
C. I. E.

1. THE HONOURABLE RAI SRI RAM BAHADUR, an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.
2. SURGEON-GENERAL WILLIAM RICHARD BROWNE, M. D., Indian Medical Service, Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras.
3. THE HONOURABLE MR. MONTAGUE DE POMEROY WEBB, Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations.
4. MAJOR FREDERICK DOVETON MAXWELL, Indian Army, Officiating Commissioner of the Irrawadi Division, Burma.
5. HUGH WILLIAM ORANGE, ESQUIRE, Director-General of Education in India.
6. MAJOR CHARLES ARCHER, Political Agent and Deputy Commissioner, Quetta and Pishin.
7. LIONEL MALING WYNCH, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Private Secretary to the Governor of Madras.
8. CHARLES RAITT CLEVELAND, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Inspector-General of Police, Central Provinces.
9. ARTHUR WILLIAM UGLOW POPE, ESQUIRE, Traffic Superintendent of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway.
10. NICHOLAS DODD BEATSON BELL, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Officiating Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal.
11. GEORGE FREDERICK WILLIAM THIBAUT, ESQUIRE, PH. D., Principal, Muir Central College, Allahabad.
12. MAJOR WILLIAM ARTHUR WATSON, Indian Army, Commandant, Imperial Cadet Corps.
13. MAJOR ALAIN JOLY DE LOTBINIERE, R. E., Superintending Engineer, Western Circle, Mysore State, at present employed in Kashmir.
14. CAPTAIN ARTHUR FRANCIS FERGUSON-DAVIE, D. S. O., Indian Army, 53rd Sikhs, lately Commandant, Northern Waziristan Militia.
15. CAPTAIN AUBREY JOHN O'BRIEN, lately Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Kangra District. (*On leave.*)
16. HERBERT CUNNINGHAM CLOGSTOUN, ESQUIRE, lately Adviser to His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur and now Tutor to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar.
17. THOMAS ROBERT JOHN WARD, ESQUIRE, Executive Engineer, Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, Punjab, lately Irrigation Officer with the Seistan Arbitration Commission.

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18. SHAMS-UL-ULAMA KHAN BAHADUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI DASTUR of Poona.

19. SARDAR BAHADUR ARJUN SINGH of Chahal in the Amritsar District.

KNIGHTHOOD.

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE GEORGE EDWARD KNOX, Indian Civil Service, Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature at Allahabad.

2. THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE RALPH SILLERY BENSON, Indian Civil Service, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort St. George, Madras.

3. THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE HARVEY ADAMSON, C. S. I., Indian Civil Service, Chief Judge, Chief Court, Lower Burma.

4. THE HONOURABLE MR. WALTER CHARLETON HUGHES, C. I. E., Chairman, Bombay Port Trust, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations.

5. ALEXANDER PEDLER, ESQUIRE, C. I. E., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

6. WILLIAM DICKSON CRUICKSHANK, ESQUIRE, C. I. E., Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bengal.

7. JAMES BUCKINGHAM, ESQUIRE, C. I. E., lately of Assam.

ORDER OF THE KAISAR-I-HIND MEDAL.

First Class.

1. THE REVEREND J. C. R. EWING, M. A., D. D., Principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, and President of the Executive Committee of the Kangra Valley Earthquake Relief Fund.

2. THE REVEREND FERDINAND HAHN, Superintendent of the Purulia Leper Asylum.

3. JANKIBAI, widow of Daulatram Umrasingh, Bombay.

4. G. D. OSWELL, ESQUIRE, M. A., Principal, Rajkumar College, Raipur.

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5. BABU PURNENDRA NARAYAN SINHA, M. A., B. L., Government Pleader, Bankipore.

6. THE REVEREND CANON EDWARD SELL, D. D., M. R. A. S., Secretary of the Madras Committee of the Church Missionary Society.

7. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROBERT SHORE, M. D., Indian Medical Service (Bengal), late Residency Surgeon, Mewar.

Statement of vacancies in the Orders of the Star of India and of the Indian Empire.

G. C. S. I. ...	British	0	One extra to be absorbed.
	Native	4	
K. C. S. I.		4	
C. S. I.		10	
		3	(Released by the proposed promotion of Sir E. Law, Colonel H. A. Deane, and Mr. J. B. Fuller.)
		13	
G. C. I. E.		5	
K. C. I. E.		—1	One extra to be absorbed (Sir L. Dane).
		2	(Released by the proposed promotion of Sir E. R. Elles and Nawab of Janjira.)
		1	
C. I. E.		8	For 1905. (No distribution of honours in June.)
		10	Normal on 1st January 1906.
		1	Released by the proposed promotion of Major A. H. McMahon.
		19	

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MEMORANDUM.

HONOURS.

New Year's Day Gazette, 1906.

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

G. C. S. I.

HIS HIGHNESS SARAMAD-I-RAJAHA-I-BUNDELKHAND MAHARAJA MAHINDRA SAWAI SIR PRATAP SINGH BAHADUR, G. C. I. E., of Orchha.—The Maharaja is now in his 53rd year and has been on the *gadi* since 1874. He received the G. C. I. E. in 1900. His administration has been uniformly good, he has displayed an enlightened interest in irrigation, and his conduct in the famines, which have of late years visited Bundelkhand, received special commendation. He has loyally acted up to the advice of His Excellency the Viceroy in the matter of his differences with his eldest son, and the relations between the two are now all that can be desired. He is a Chief of the old school, who carries much weight and is deservedly popular in Central India. But the special ground upon which Major Daly advocates the grant of a further distinction to the Maharaja is the energy and intelligence which His Highness has displayed in the matter of the renovation and improvement of the Chiefs' Colleges. His Highness was a member of the Conference which assembled at Ajmer in March 1904, and he has taken a leading part in the movement for the reconstitution of the Daly College.

K. C. S. I.

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. JOSEPH BAMPFYLDE FULLER, C. S. I., C. I. E., Indian Civil Service, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam.—Mr. Fuller was Chief Commissioner of Assam from April 1902 to October 1905. He governed the province with great energy, tact, and ability, and was very successful in dealing with the difficult local labour problems. He has well deserved the reward of a K. C. S. I., which may very appropriately be granted to him on his elevation to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

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2. THE HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HAROLD ARTHUR DEANE, C. S. I., Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier Province.—Lieutenant-Colonel Deane, a distinguished Frontier and Political Officer, was selected for the Chief Commissionership of the North-West Frontier Province on its inauguration in 1901. His administration and his treatment of frontier questions have been marked by zeal, prudence, and ability, and to him are in a large measure due the remarkable development of the province and the successful maintenance of peace on the border.

3. SIR EDWARD FITZGERALD LAW, K. C. M. G., C. S. I., lately an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General.—Sir Edward Law held the post of Finance Member with distinction and success for nearly the full term of five years. Apart from his ordinary duties he displayed a great practical interest in all commercial problems, and he succeeded in gaining in a marked degree the confidence of the mercantile community.

4. HIS HIGHNESS RAJA BHURE SINGH, C. I. E., of Chamba.—Raja Bhure Singh was given the C. I. E. on 1st January 1901 in recognition of his work as Prime Minister of the State. Nearly five years have passed since then, during three of which he continued to have charge of the administration as Wazir, while in the fourth he became Raja on his brother's abdication. His behaviour during the trying time of his brother's prolonged illness was all that could be desired, and he has maintained as Chief the high reputation which he gained as Wazir. Both Sir C. Rivaz and Sir D. Ibbetson recommend him for a K. C. S. I.

C. S. I.

1. THE HONOURABLE MR. JOHN WILLIAM PITT MUIR-MACKENZIE, Indian Civil Service, Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay.—Mr. Muir-Mackenzie joined the Civil Service in 1876. He has a long and honourable career behind him, which has largely been spent in the Secretariat. In 1900 he became Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government and was afterwards appointed a member of the Irrigation Commission. He was appointed a Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay in the present year.

2. THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE CECIL MICHAEL WILFORD BRETT, Indian Civil Service, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.—Mr. Brett has been a Judge of the High Court since June 1900. Sir Andrew Fraser says that he is undoubtedly and by universal consent the most able of the Civilian Judges, and thinks that he is also the most distinguished occupant of the Calcutta High Court Bench. He has also rendered special assistance to the Local Government in administrative matters, such as the training of young civilians, and the preparation of orders to prevent local scandals.

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3. THE HONOURABLE MR. APCAR ALEXANDER APCAR, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.—Mr. Apcar, who is head of a very old and wealthy firm in Calcutta, was Chairman of the Conference of Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon held at Calcutta in January 1905. He is the leader of the Armenian community in Calcutta and has great weight with all engaged in business, owing to his reputation for uprightness and straightforwardness. The honour of a C. S. I. which is strongly recommended by the Lieutenant-Governor will be greatly appreciated by members of the mercantile community.

4. THE HONOURABLE MR. LANCELOT HARE, C. I. E., Indian Civil Service, Member of the Board of Revenue, Land Revenue Department, Bengal, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.—Mr. Hare joined the Service in 1873. He is the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, to which post he was appointed in October 1904, an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General, and also a Member of the Local Council. Sir A. Fraser remarks that no honour could be bestowed on any officer serving in Bengal which would give more unmixed satisfaction. He regards Mr. Hare as his most trusted adviser.

5. THE HONOURABLE NAWAB BAHADUR KHWAJA SALIMULLAH of Dacca, an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.—Sir A. Fraser recommends the Nawab of Dacca for the following reasons :—

(*a*) his great liberality : his gifts to education, technical and general to the town for water and light, and for many other public, objects amount to lakhs :

(*b*) the honours given to Hindu nobles of Bengal, four of whom are either K. C. S. I.'s or K. C. I. E.'s and none of whom has shown greater liberality or loyalty than he ;

(*c*) the courage with which he has braved odium in regard to Partition ; and

(*d*) the fact that he will be indisputably the premier noble of the new province.

6. THE HONOURABLE MR. HERBERT BRADLEY, Indian Civil Service, first Member of the Board of Revenue, Madras, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George for making Laws and Regulations.—Lord Ampthill recommends Mr. Bradley as fully deserving of a C. S. I., and remarks as follows : " As Commissioner of Salt, Abkari, and Separate Revenue, he has for some years past been responsible for the administration of the Madras system which you have recently admitted to be the best in India, and he has been a vigorous and shrewd reformer. His qualities were

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recognised in his appointment as President of the Salt Committee, and although his views on the salt question were not in accord with those of the Government of India it will not be denied that he acquitted himself well in the discharge of that special duty. He is a man of sound judgment and considerable force of character who contributes in no small degree to the present strength of the Madras Government and whose opinion commands great support."

7. THE HONOURABLE MR. JAMES McCRONE DOUIE, Indian Civil Service, Settlement Commissioner of the Punjab, and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for making Laws and Regulations.—Mr. Douie joined the Civil Service in 1876. He has shown marked ability during his career as a Revenue and Secretariat officer and as a District officer and Commissioner. In March 1900 he was appointed Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, and in 1903 he became Settlement Commissioner. Since March 1900 he has rendered great service to the Local Government in the capacity of a Member of the Provincial Legislative Council.

8. THE HONOURABLE MR. FRANK CAMPBELL GATES, 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. Gates entered the service in 1882. He is an officer of exceptional ability who has done excellent service as a District Officer, as a Commissioner, and as a Secretary. He has been Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma with an interval of leave since 1903, and has enjoyed the confidence of successive Lieutenant-Governors. Sir H. White recommends him with much confidence as a brilliant and successful officer whose services merit recognition.

9. GEORGE CASSON WALKER, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Assistant Minister (Finance) to His Highness the Nizam's Government.—Mr. Walker's services were lent to the Nizam's Government for three years from November 1901. Since then His Highness has asked permission to retain Mr. Walker for a further perid of three years, which shows how thoroughly he appreciates Mr. Walker's single-minded and successful efforts to bring the finances of the State into order. In 1904 Sir D. Barr in recommending him for a C. S. I. wrote as follows:—"Mr. Walker has an exceptionally difficult task at Hyderabad, and has devoted himself to it in spite of failing health and in the face of much opposition on the part of certain officials of the State. He has evolved order out of the chaos in which he found the finances of the State when he took charge of his office." In strongly endorsing Sir D. Barr's recommendation Mr. Bayley observes that the reward will also serve to show the Nizam that the Government of India view with gratification the steps which His Highness is taking to improve the financial position of his State.

10. JOHN MITCHELL HOLMS, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, at present on Special duty as a

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Member of the Excise Committee.—Mr. Holms arrived in India in 1883, and has served in Revenue, Judicial, and Secretariat appointments, Sir J. LaTouche states that he has done excellent work as Excise Commissioner and Financial Secretary. He has been selected to serve on the Excise Commission.

11. PERCY SEYMOUR VESSEY FITZGERALD, ESQUIRE, lately Political Agent at Mahi Kantha.—Mr. Fitzgerald joined the Service in 1871. He was first employed in the Revenue Survey, and was appointed to the Bombay Political Department in 1878. He had hard and heavy work during the famine in solitary places and bad climate. Lord Lamington says that :—" His work has been thoroughly trustworthy, and recently at infinite pains he settled by a satisfactory compromise some very troublesome interstatal questions, which will put an end to costly and prolonged litigation. He has also by great tact avoided very awkward questions between His Highness the Maharaja of Idar and his Jagirdars, and has succeeded in confirming the former's authority."

ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

G. C. I. E.

1. MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDMOND ROCHE ELLES, K. C. B., K. C. I. E., lately an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General.—Sir Edmond Elles has presided over the Military Department since April 1901 in a most able and efficient manner.

2. HIS HIGHNESS NAWAB SIDI SIR AHMED KHAN SIDI IBRAHIM KHAN, K. C. I. E., of Janjira.—The present Nawab succeeded to the *gadi* on the death of his father in 1879, and was invested with full powers in 1883. He was made a K. C. I. E. on 1st January 1895. Lord Lamington has on several occasions recommended the grant of further honour to the Nawab, which his continued loyalty and good administration now deserve. He has recently given fresh proof of his loyalty by offering to increase his contingent of Imperial Service Troops.

K. C. I. E.

MAJOR ARTHUR HENRY McMAHON, C. S. I., C. I. E., Political Department of the Government of India, lately British Commissioner, Seistan Arbitration Commission.—Major McMahon received his Commission in March 1883, and became Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab in June 1887. Since then he has been employed almost exclusively on the frontier, where he has deserved and won the highest reputation. He was granted the C. I. E. in January 1894 after accompanying the

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Durand Mission to Kabul and the C. S. I. in June 1897, for his services as Joint Commissioner, Afghan-Baluch Boundary Commission. In November 1902 he assumed charge of the Seistan Boundary Mission. The delicate task of the Mission was beset with the gravest difficulties and was undertaken in the midst of the severest hardships. For three years Major McMahon devoted to it the whole of his energies, influence, tact, and abilities, and he has thoroughly well earned the decoration now proposed for him.

C. I. E.

1. THE HONOURABLE RAI SRI RAM BAHADUR, an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.—Rai Sri Ram Bahadur has been for six consecutive terms a Member of the Local Legislative Council and for two terms an Additional Member of the Governor-General's Council. He has built at his own expense and equipped a hospital at Fyzabad in which district he is a Talukdar. He is a fair-minded man who exercises a good influence in Oudh and at the Oudh Bar.

2. SURGEON-GENERAL WILLIAM RICHARD BROWNE, M. D., Indian Medical Service, Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras.—Six years have elapsed since any member of the Madras Medical Service has received an honour, and Lord Ampthill states that the work of this Department could not be recognised more appropriately and deservedly than in the person of Surgeon-General Browne, who has restored confidence and contentment to the Medical Department, in which he is both popular and respected. He has held a succession of important Civil Medical appointments since 1896, and has done admirable work as head of the Madras General Hospital and Principal of the Medical College.

3. THE HONOURABLE MR. MONTAGUE DE POMEROY WEBB, Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations.—Mr. Webb has for some years past taken a leading position in the Indian commercial community as an advocate of progress, and both by his speeches and writings has done much for the development of commerce. He is a man of much public spirit and influence and devotes a considerable amount of time to public matters; as Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Member of the Port Trust, and Municipal Councillor he has always advocated an enlightened policy of progress and has rendered valuable services by pushing on schemes for the development of the Port and city.

Lord Lamington considers that Mr. Webb has well deserved some recogniton at the hands of Government, and that the bestowal of a C. I. E. upon him would be taken as a compliment by the commercial community generally. His position will probably make him conspicuous among Europeans on the occasion of the Royal visit to Karachi.

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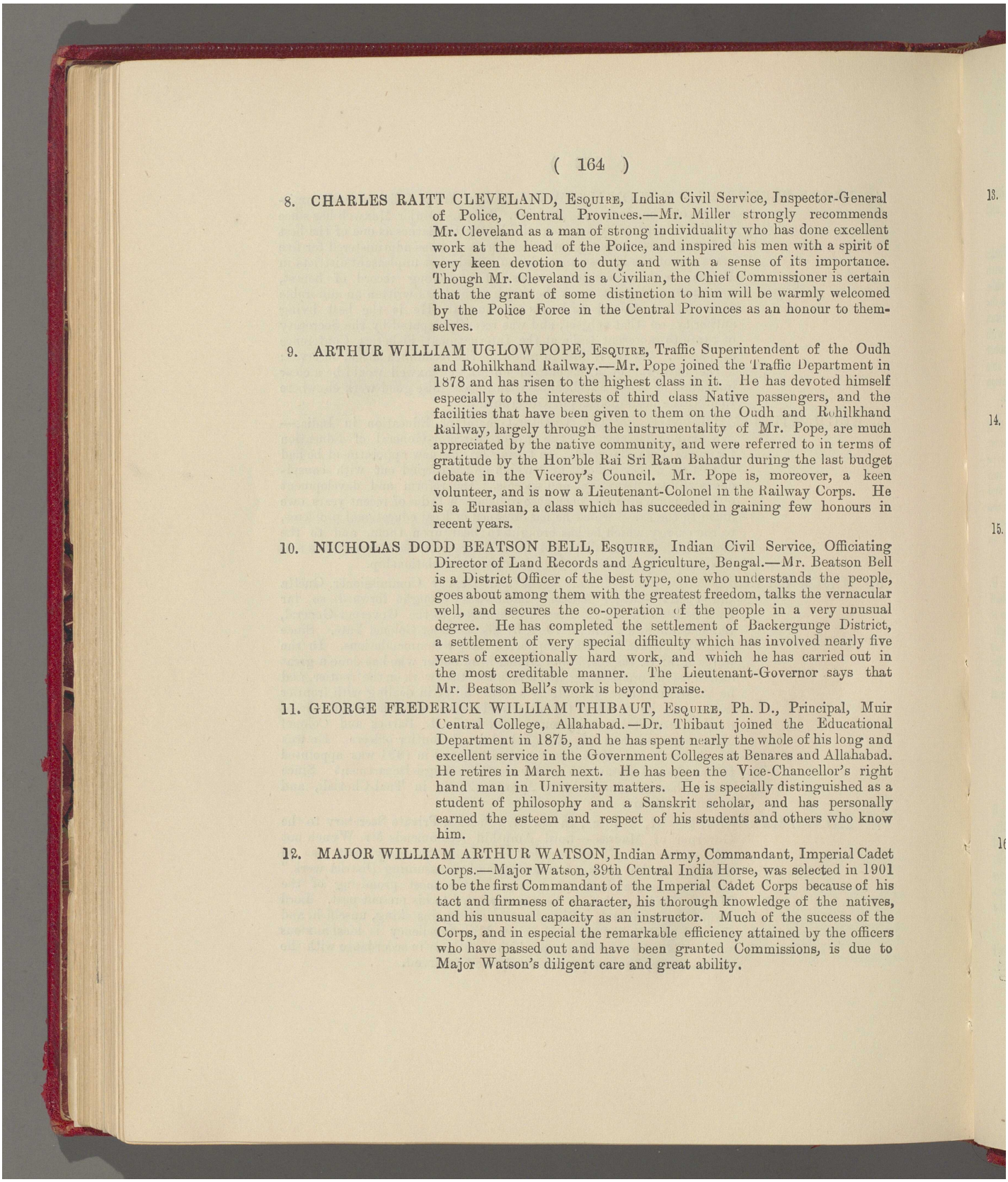
4. MAJOR FREDERICK DOVETON MAXWELL, Indian Army, Officiating Commissioner of the Irrawadi Division, Burma.—Major Maxwell has since 1903 been repeatedly recommended by Sir H. Barnes as one of the best and strongest Deputy Commissioners. He has administered for five years one of the largest, most difficult, and most unpleasant districts in Burma, with conspicuous success, has a long record of honest, unassuming district work behind him, and has written an admirable report on the Inland Fisheries of Burma. He is the best living authority on that subject, and was recently deputed by the Secretary of State to represent India at the International Fisheries Conference at Vienna. Sir H. White, in renewing the recommendation, observes: "The bestowal of a decoration on Major Maxwell would be a clear indication of Your Excellency's wish to recognise good work elsewhere than at the head-quarters of Government."

5. HUGH WILLIAM ORANGE, Esquire, Director-General of Education in India.—Mr. Orange has now held the post of Director-General of Education for more than 3½ years. In taking up this new appointment he had to perform a very difficult task which he has carried out with conspicuous ability, discretion, and success. The reform and development of education which has been accomplished in India of recent years owe much to the grasp which he has obtained of local educational problems, to the energy which he has brought to bear upon them, and to the tact which he has displayed in dealing with the Governments and officers with whom he has been brought into relationship.

6. MAJOR CHARLES ARCHER, Political Agent and Deputy Commissioner, Quetta and Pishin.—Major Archer's name was brought forward so far back as 1900 by Sir H. Barnes, then Agent to the Governor-General, Baluchistan, and again in 1904, by his successor Colonel Yate. Since then Mr. Tucker has twice supported these recommendations. In the words of Sir H. Barnes, Major Archer is an officer who has done a great deal of useful, unassuming, and difficult district work on the frontier, and he has distinguished himself by special ability in dealing with frontier tribesmen; he is very thorough and industrious, and also a man of much determination and resource. Both Sir H. Barnes and Colonel Yate regarded him as one of the best of frontier officers. He was Sir R. Sandeman's first Assistant in 1891, and in 1891 was appointed for a year Assistant Secretary in the Foreign Department. Since then he has served as Political Agent in Zhob, in Thal-Chotiali, and in Quetta-Pishin.

7. LIONEL MALING WYNCH, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Private Secretary to the Governor of Madras.—Lord Ampthill recommends Mr. Wynch not only on account of his services as Private Secretary, but also on account of the years of "honest and unassuming District work" which had marked him out as one of the most promising of the Madras Civilians before he was appointed to his present post. Lord Ampthill describes Mr. Wynch as the most painstaking, unselfish, and devoted of Private Secretaries, and His Excellency is most anxious to secure for him a distinction which is not only in accordance with the usual custom, but also pre-eminently well deserved.

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8. CHARLES RAITT CLEVELAND, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Inspector-General of Police, Central Provinces.—Mr. Miller strongly recommends Mr. Cleveland as a man of strong individuality who has done excellent work at the head of the Police, and inspired his men with a spirit of very keen devotion to duty and with a sense of its importance. Though Mr. Cleveland is a Civilian, the Chief Commissioner is certain that the grant of some distinction to him will be warmly welcomed by the Police Force in the Central Provinces as an honour to themselves.

9. ARTHUR WILLIAM UGLOW POPE, Esquire, Traffic Superintendent of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway.—Mr. Pope joined the Traffic Department in 1878 and has risen to the highest class in it. He has devoted himself especially to the interests of third class Native passengers, and the facilities that have been given to them on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, largely through the instrumentality of Mr. Pope, are much appreciated by the native community, and were referred to in terms of gratitude by the Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur during the last budget debate in the Viceroy's Council. Mr. Pope is, moreover, a keen volunteer, and is now a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Railway Corps. He is a Eurasian, a class which has succeeded in gaining few honours in recent years.

10. NICHOLAS DODD BEATSON BELL, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Officiating Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal.—Mr. Beatson Bell is a District Officer of the best type, one who understands the people, goes about among them with the greatest freedom, talks the vernacular well, and secures the co-operation of the people in a very unusual degree. He has completed the settlement of Backergunge District, a settlement of very special difficulty which has involved nearly five years of exceptionally hard work, and which he has carried out in the most creditable manner. The Lieutenant-Governor says that Mr. Beatson Bell's work is beyond praise.

11. GEORGE FREDERICK WILLIAM THIBAUT, Esquire, Ph. D., Principal, Muir Central College, Allahabad.—Dr. Thibaut joined the Educational Department in 1875, and he has spent nearly the whole of his long and excellent service in the Government Colleges at Benares and Allahabad. He retires in March next. He has been the Vice-Chancellor's right hand man in University matters. He is specially distinguished as a student of philosophy and a Sanskrit scholar, and has personally earned the esteem and respect of his students and others who know him.

12. MAJOR WILLIAM ARTHUR WATSON, Indian Army, Commandant, Imperial Cadet Corps.—Major Watson, 39th Central India Horse, was selected in 1901 to be the first Commandant of the Imperial Cadet Corps because of his tact and firmness of character, his thorough knowledge of the natives, and his unusual capacity as an instructor. Much of the success of the Corps, and in especial the remarkable efficiency attained by the officers who have passed out and have been granted Commissions, is due to Major Watson's diligent care and great ability.

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13. MAJOR ALAIN JOLY DE LOTBINIERE, R. E., Superintending Engineer, Western Circle, Mysore State, at present employed in Kashmir.—As far back as 1902 Sir Donald Robertson, then Resident, Mysore, recommended Major de Lotbinière for this decoration. Sir J. Bourdillon has since repeated the recommendation, and now it is again repeated by Mr. Williams, who writes: "As regards de Lotbinière His Excellency has seen the works at the Cauvery Falls, which still continue to excite the admiration of Engineers of all countries who go there. To this officer is almost entirely due the initiation, and to his energy, tact, courage, and ability, the successful carrying out of the Cauvery Electric Power Scheme." Major de Lotbinière is about to undertake great electrical works of equal importance in Kashmir, and his advice is sought by the Government of India on all such questions.

14. CAPTAIN ARTHUR FRANCIS FERGUSON-DAVIE, D. S. O., Indian Army, 53rd Sikhs, lately Commandant, Northern Waziristan Militia.—Captain Ferguson-Davie successfully raised and trained the Northern Waziristan Militia in the face of many local difficulties. He was forced to take sick leave, largely owing to the strain of the work and responsibility of his arduous and difficult task.

15. CAPTAIN AUBREY JOHN O'BRIEN, lately Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Kangra District. (*On leave.*)—Sir D. Ibbetson wishes to recognise through Captain O'Brien the excellent work done by the officers in the Kangra District since the disastrous earthquake of April last. As regards Captain O'Brien Sir Denzil writes: "He joined the service in July 1891 and was in Military employ until October 1896, when he was appointed to the Punjab Commission. A keen young officer, he was picked out to hold charge of the new Mianwali District, which was formed when the North-West Frontier Province was created in 1901. Having successfully superintended the starting of the various district institutions and seen the head-quarters station spring up, Captain O'Brien was about to start on leave to Europe, when the earthquake occurred. His well known energy and the special experience he had acquired in starting a new district marked him out as an officer well suited for the charge of Kangra in its special circumstances, and he has well justified his choice." His health broke down and he was obliged to proceed on leave in August after completing the greater portion of his task, and making thorough arrangements for the remainder.

16. HERBERT CUNNINGHAM CLOGSTOUN, ESQUIRE, lately Adviser to His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur and now Tutor to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar.—Mr. Clogstoun was repeatedly recommended by Sir A. Martindale, who strongly pressed his claims for a decoration in recognition of his admirable work in Dholpur. He entirely reformed and reorganised the administration of that State, and infused his own energy and zeal into all the leading officials. Owing to his unremitting exertions the young Chief was invested with ruling powers last winter in the most favourable circumstances. Mr. Colvin renews

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Sir A. Martindale's recommendation and thinks that the recognition of Mr. Clogstoun's excellent work in Dholpur under adverse and trying conditions should not be longer delayed.

17. THOMAS ROBERT JOHN WARD, Esquire, Executive Engineer, Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, Punjab, lately Irrigation Officer with the Seistan Arbitration Commission.—Mr. Ward joined the Public Works Department in India in September 1883 and was posted to the Punjab. In November 1902 he was selected for duty with the Seistan Mission. He served with the Mission throughout its labours with great merit and distinction. Major McMahon states that no member of the Mission worked so hard and unceasingly and that his able investigations of the Seistan water problem furnished the information and data on which the settlement of the water question was based.

18. SHAMSUL ULAMA KHAN BAHADUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI DASTUR of Poona.—Lord Lamington describes Mr. Dastur as a first class Sardar of the Deccan, and a representative native gentleman of the best type occupying a very high social and ecclesiastical position in his own community (Parsi). His distinguished work in the field of Zend and Pahlavi scholarship secured for him from the University of Vienna the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He was Professor of Persian in the Deccan College from 1875 to 1891, and always had an excellent influence there.

19. SARDAR BAHADUR ARJUN SINGH of Chahal in the Amritsar District.—Sir D. Ibbetson strongly supports Sir C. Rivaz's recommendation on behalf of Sardar Arjan Singh, a fine old Sikh, and the descendant of one of Ranjit Singh's Sardars. He has much force of character and intelligence, is a Member of the Council of the Aitchison College, and has done a great deal to promote the cause of education. He was for some time Manager of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, an onerous and thankless post, and discharged the duties with much tact and with perfect honesty.

KNIGHTHOOD.

1. THE HONOURABLE Mr. JUSTICE GEORGE EDWARD KNOX, Indian Civil Service, Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature at Allahabad.—Mr. Justice Knox has, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, deserved the honour of Knighthood for his work as Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, for carrying through the Revised Regulations (now sanctioned), and for his labours as President of the Victoria Memorial Committee. He is the Senior Puisne Judge of the Allahabad High Court.

2. THE HONOURABLE Mr. JUSTICE RALPH SILLERY BENSON, Indian Civil Service, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort St.

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George, Madras.—Mr. Benson has been on the Bench of the High Court for 11 years, and has the reputation of being a sound and steady Judge. Lord Ampthill remarks that Mr. Benson has identified himself in a peculiar degree with the life of this country, and he plays a great part in all good public movements in Madras.

3. THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE HARVEY ADAMSON, C. S. I., Indain Civil Service, Chief Judge, Chief Court, Lower Burma.—Mr. Adamson is a very distinguished officer of nearly 28 years' service. He was appointed to be a Commissioner in 1898, Judicial Commissioner of Upper Burma in 1902, and Chief Judge of the Chief Court in 1905. For two Sessions he was a Member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council. Sir H. Barnes recommended him for a Knighthood in March last, and Sir H. White renews the recommendation.

4. THE HONOURABLE MR. WALTER CHARLETON HUGHES, C. I. E., Chairman, Bombay Port Trust, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations.—Mr. Hughes is the senior officer of the Public Works Department now serving in the Bombay Presidency, and Lord Lamington recommends him for an honour in the following terms:—"He formerly spent a good many years in the Bombay Public Works Secretariat, but all his active service since 1902, with the exception of two years, during which he was Chairman of the City Improvement Trust, has been connected with the Bombay Port Trust. The work of that body has been carried on during the whole of that time with thorough efficiency, and with complete satisfaction to the commercial interests, and it is Mr. Hughes who is primarily responsible for the important New Dock scheme, of which His Royal Highness has consented to lay the foundation stone."

5. ALEXANDER PEDLER, ESQUIRE, C. I. E., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.—Mr. Pedler was appointed to the Education Department in 1873 and has been Director of Public Instruction in Bengal since January 1899. He was created Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta Univerisity early in 1904, and was a Member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General at the time of the passing of the Universities Act. He has played a leading part in the educational reforms of the past few years, and has rendered very valuable services as Vice-Chancellor. He will retire in a few months after the settlement of the new Regulations of the University.

6. WILLIAM DICKSON CRUICKSHANK, ESQUIRE, C. I. E., Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bengal.—Mr. Cruickshank has rendered very important services to the Government during his long tenure of the office of Secretary and Treasurer of the Bank of Bengal. He has never grudged taking trouble when asked to advise Government upon any subject, and his advice has been freely asked for and greatly valued. He already possesses a C. I. E., but is now recommended for the further honour of Knighthood on his approaching retirement from India, which will be a great loss.

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7. JAMES BUCKINGHAM, Esquire, c. i. e., lately of Assam.—Mr. Fuller reiterates his recommendation of Mr. Buckingham for a further honour, and states that it would be welcomed by the non-official community of the province. Before his retirement from this country in May last, Mr. Buckingham was for many years the accepted leader of the tea planting community in the Assam Valley, and in the Surma Valley he was regarded with the greatest respect. He exercised great influence and even authority which was directed to the public benefit, and his attitude towards the Government was generally sound. The Government of India has officially recognised the value of his efforts in the cause of temperance.

ORDER OF THE KAISAR-I-HIND MEDAL.

First Class.

1. THE REVEREND J. C. R. EWING, m. a., d. d., Principal of the Forman Christain College, Lahore, and President of the Executive Committee of the Kangra Valley Earthquake Relief Fund.—Dr. Ewing is well known for his services in the cause of education in the Punjab. Sir D. Ibbetson speaks highly of his work as President of the Executive Committee of the Kangra Valley Earthquake Relief Fund, for which he was singled out on account of his sterling qualities, his strong character, high ideals, and absolute impartiality, and the respect in which he is held by Europeans and natives alike. The Committee has had a most invidious task in apportioning relief between different communities, and all have worked hard, but the President has had the lion's share of the work and the responsibility.

2. THE REVEREND FERDINAND HAHN, Superintendent of the Purulia Leper Asylum.—The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal makes the following recommendation:—"The Reverend Mr. Hahn is recommended for his Leper Asylum, which is a splendid monument of his Christan philanthropy, and administrative capacity. He has laboured to raise Uraon and other aboriginal tribes in Chota Nagpur, is the author also of a Kurukh (Urao) Grammar, and a Kurukh-English Dictionary which the Government of Bengal has assisted him in publishing."

3. JANKIBAI, widow of Daulatram Umrasingh, Bombay.—Ever since she came to Bombay after the death of her husband, who was a jagirdar in Dholpur State, Jankibai has been doing acts of charity to the needy and helpless, irrespective of caste and creed. On the outbreak of plague in the city she noticed that rest-houses had been closed to Sadhus and other mendicants, who used to get shelter there. By her persuasions and the influence of officials and leaders of native society, whom she

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approached in person, she succeeded in getting these places opened again to the Sadhus. She has saved many from starvation and death, and she has helped many towards their pilgrimage. The Governor recommends her as eminently deserving of the gold Kaisar-i-Hind medal.

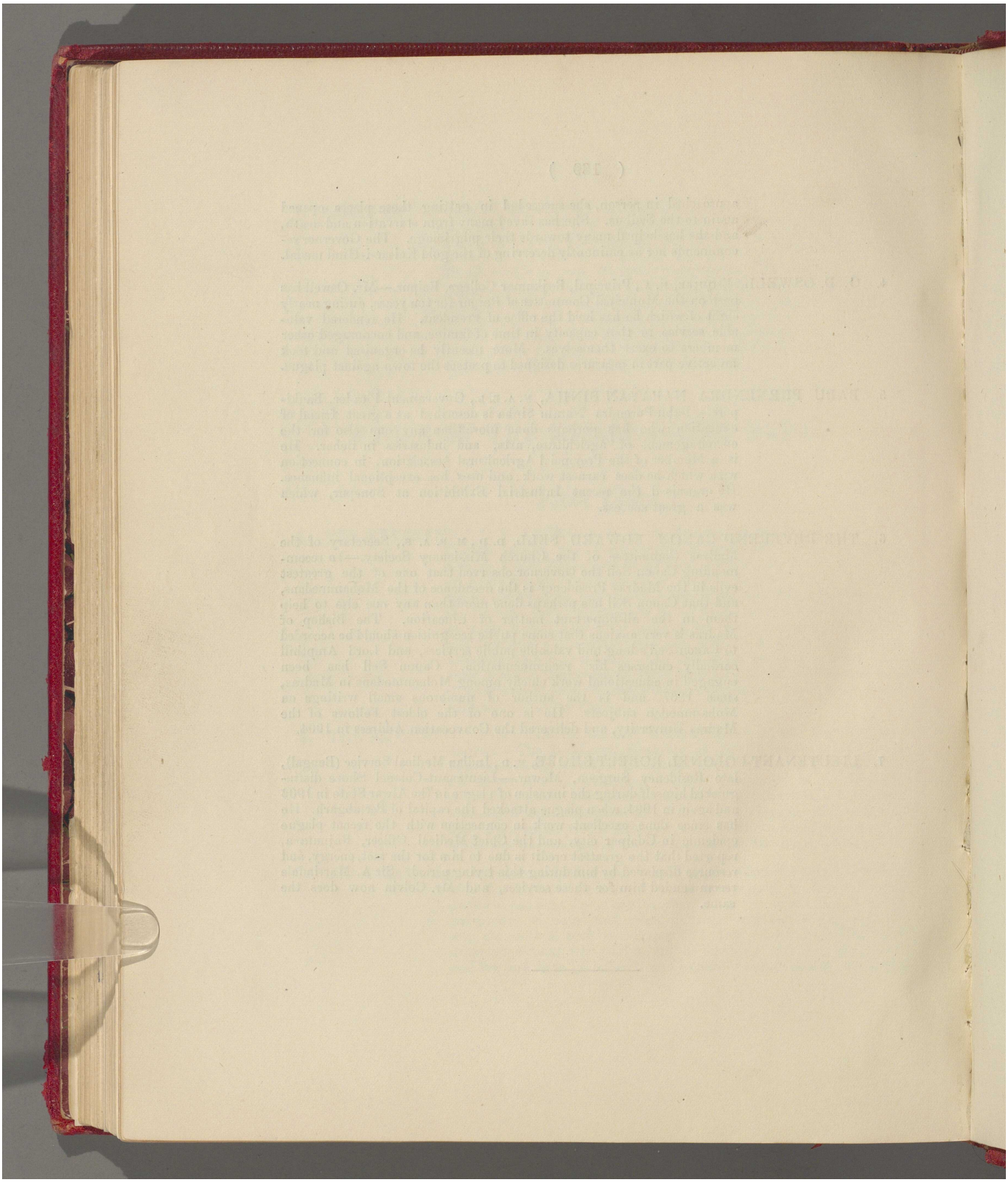
4. G. D. OSWELL, Esquire, M. A., Principal, Rajkumar College, Raipur.—Mr. Oswell has been on the Municipal Committee of Raipur for ten years, during nearly eight of which he has held the office of President. He rendered valuable service in that capacity in time of famine, and encouraged other members to exert themselves. More recently he organised and took an active part in measures designed to protect the town against plague.

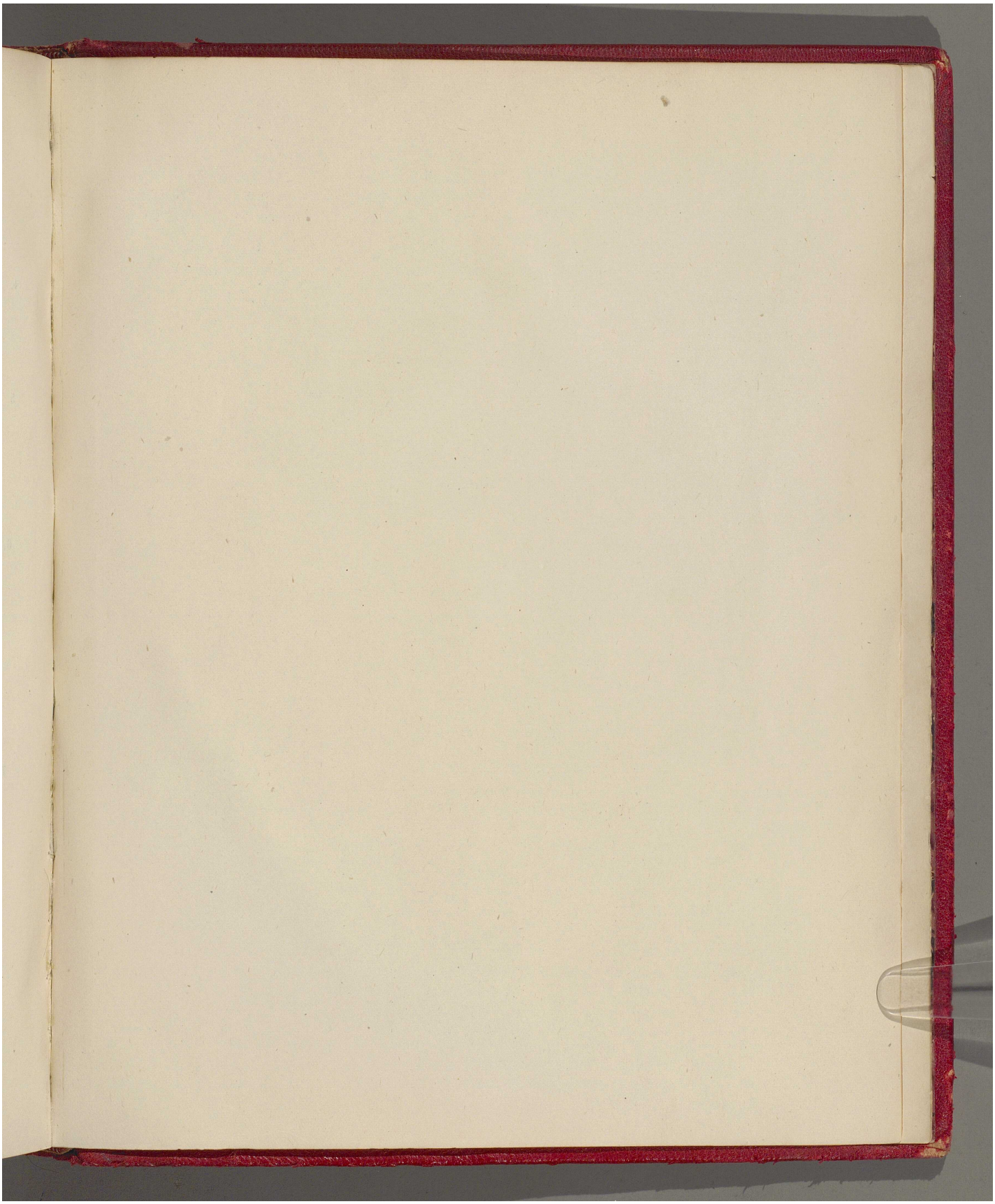
5. BABU PURNENDRA NARAYAN SINHA, M. A. B. L., Government Pleader, Bankipore.—Babu Purendra Narain Sinha is described as a great friend of education who has perhaps done more than any one else for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, and industries in Behar. He is a Member of the Provincial Agricultural Association, in connection with which he does earnest work and uses his exceptional influence. He organised the recent Industrial Exhibition at Sonepur, which was a great success.

6. THE REVEREND CANON EDWARD SELL, D. D., M. R. A. S., Secretary of the Madras Committee of the Church Missionary Society.—In recommending Canon Sell the Governor observed that one of the greatest evils in the Madras Presidency is the decadence of the Mohammedans, and that Canon Sell has perhaps done more than any one else to help them in the all-important matter of education. The Bishop of Madras is very anxious that some public recognition should be accorded to Canon Sell's long and valuable public services, and Lord Ampthill cordially endorses his recommendation. Canon Sell has been engaged in educational work chiefly among Mohammedans in Madras, since 1867, and is the author of numerous small writings on Mohammedan subjects. He is one of the oldest Fellows of the Madras University, and delivered the Convocation Address in 1904.

7. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROBERT SHORE, M. D., Indian Medical Service (Bengal), late Residency Surgeon, Mewar.—Lieutenant-Colonel Shore distinguished himself during the invasion of plague in the Alwar State in 1902 and again in 1904, when plague attacked the capital of Pertabgarh. He has since done excellent work in connection with the recent plague epidemic in Udaipur city, and the Chief Medical Officer, Rajputana, reported that the greatest credit is due to him for the tact, energy, and resource displayed by him during this trying period. Sir A. Martindale recommended him for these services, and Mr. Colvin now does the same.

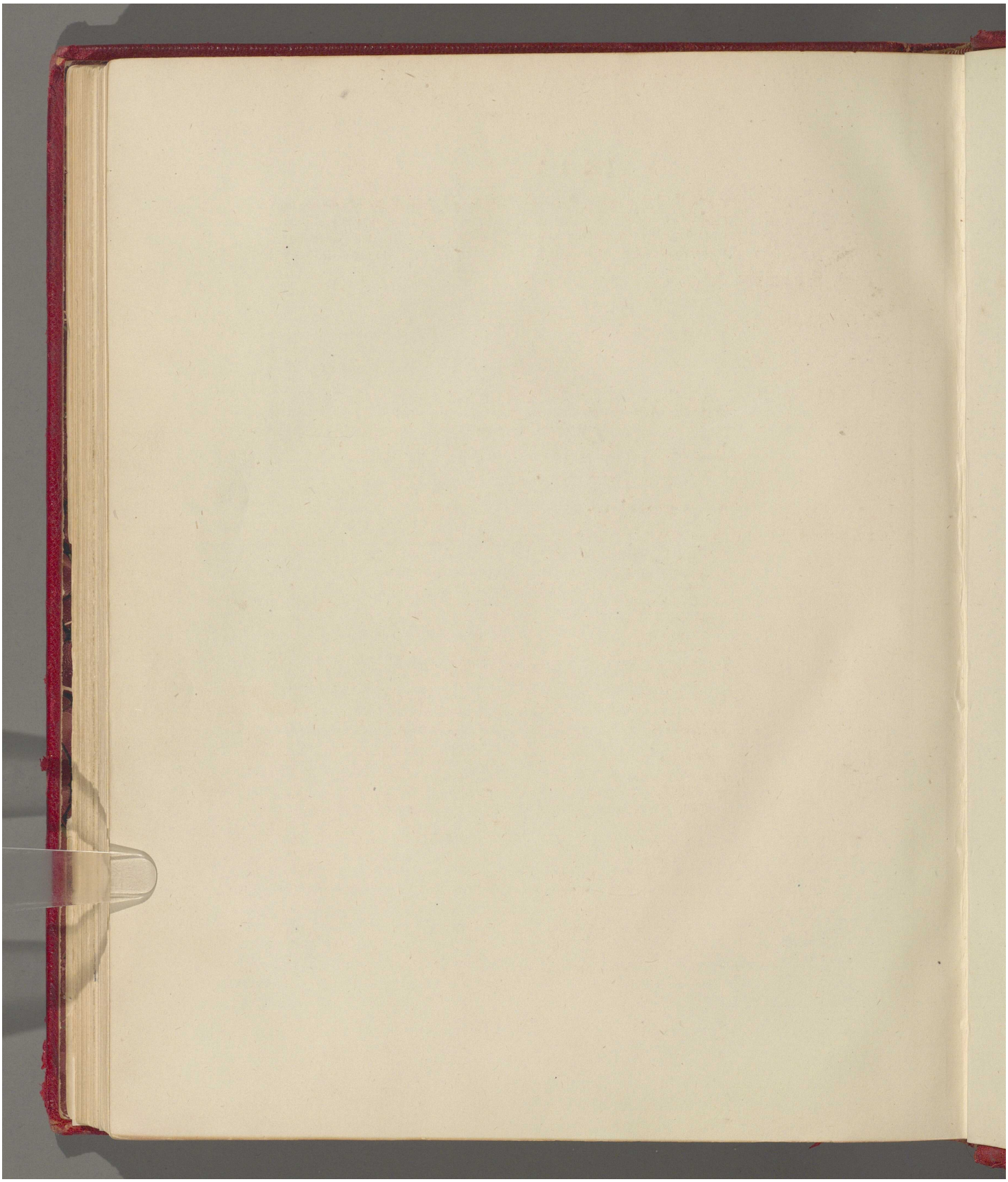
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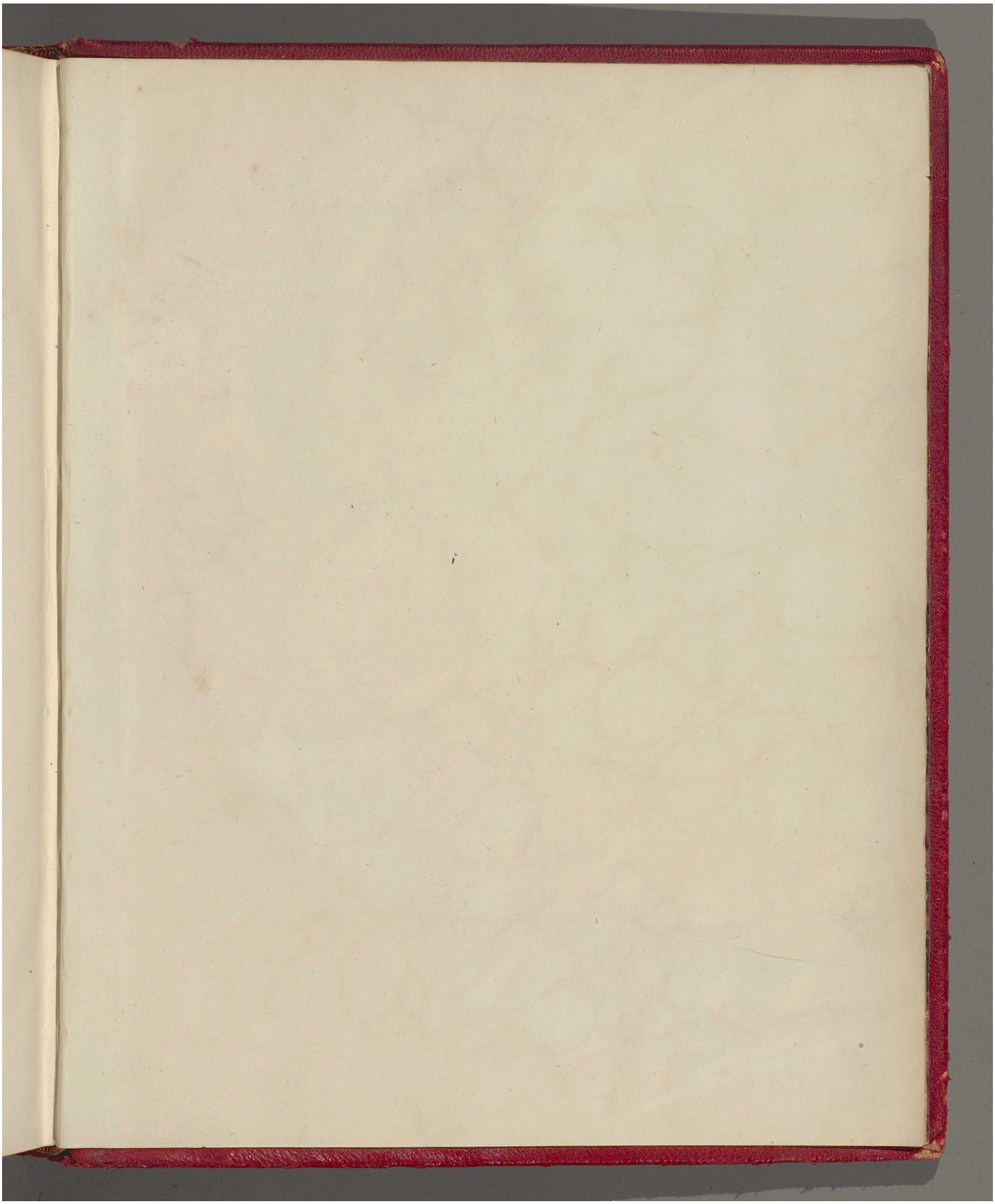
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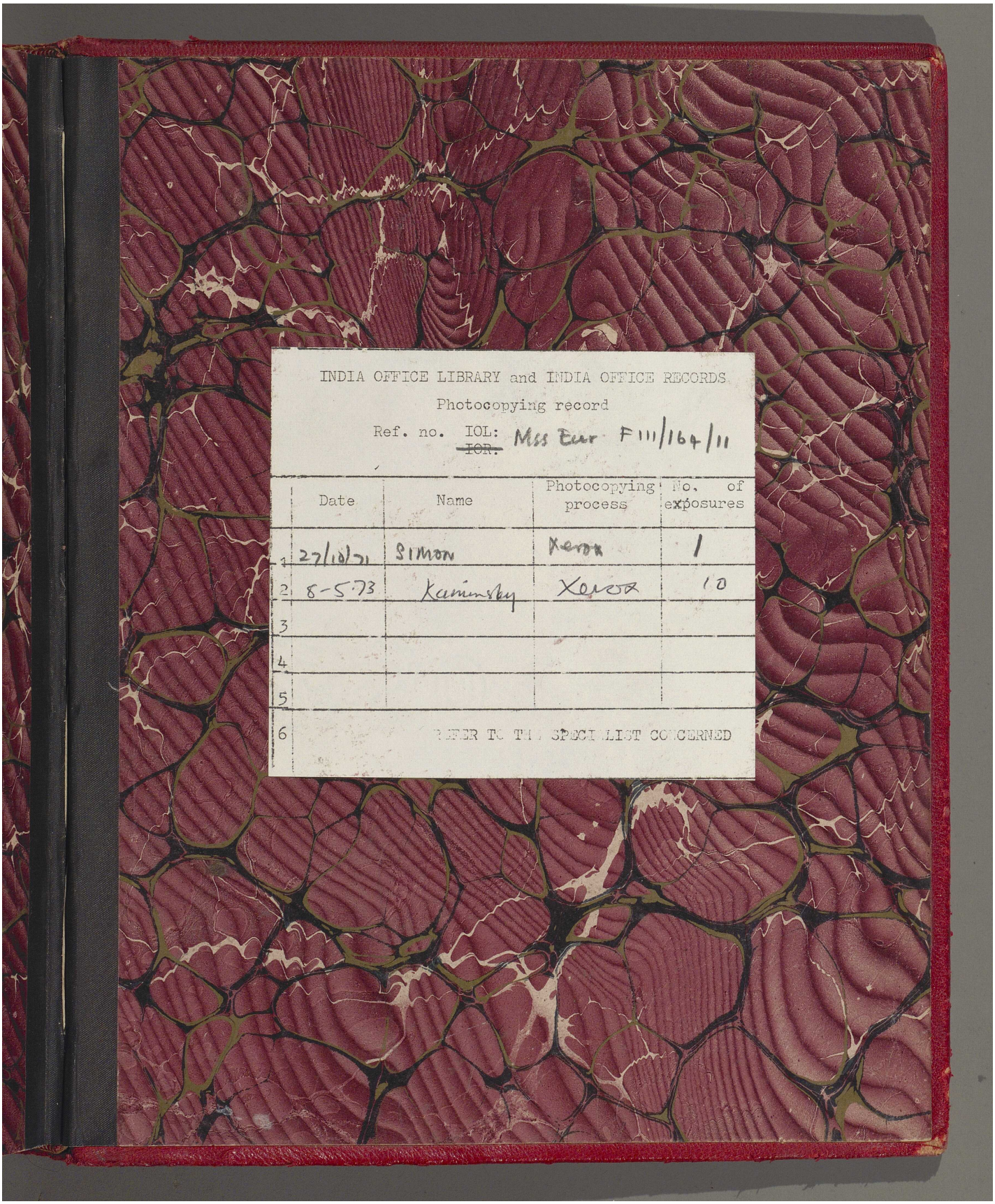
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