

tions; but if they had been here last year, and had gone through what I went through, they would take a very different view of the matter. You must recollect that this is the only portion of our proposals which applies the lessons of Maiwand, and that, if it is rejected, we shall not have even the consolation of thinking that we have derived profit for the future from the bitter experience of that disaster. Hobart, in writing to Primrose, says that the Despatch of last mail was all that you could get through Council. I have no doubt it was; I am quite sure, as I told you in my letter of the 6th June, that there is no hope of any good being done in this matter except by your throwing the whole weight of your authority into the scale. It was thus, and thus only, that Lord Halifax carried his military reforms after the Mutiny; it is thus, and thus only, that reforms can be carried now. If you refuse your sanction to our plan, you will go counter to the opinions of the Commander-in-Chief whom you have appointed, of the Military Member, who is especially your own choice, of the Financial Member whom you have sent out, and of all the most eminent military men in India of recent war experience; to say nothing of the Viceroy, who came here at your request and at Gladstone's earnest desire. I do not believe for a moment that you will finally decide against such a weight of authority, and, therefore, I do not share the discouragement which has seized upon Members of Council generally since your last Despatch; I rest in perfect confidence upon my long experience of your excellent judgment, and have no fear of the final result when once you take the matter into your own hands.

I am afraid that we shall find it difficult to work the new Revenue and Agricultural Department under the restrictions which you have placed upon us. In consequence of those restrictions I have been obliged to give Emigration to that Department; with the chief portion of the business connected with that branch the Revenue and Agricultural Department has nothing properly to do, and I fear that it will take up time which ought to be devoted to the real objects for which the Department was re-established. If I could have given the Home Office an Assistant Secretary to take the place of the Under Secretary transferred to the Revenue and Agricultural Department, the Emigration business might have remained under the Home Secretary, and the Revenue and Agricultural Secretary would have been left free. Elliott, who, as you know, was Secretary to the Famine Commission, writes to me strongly deprecating the imposition of the Emigration work upon the new Department, and I have no doubt that he is right; but, under your orders, it was impossible to take any other course than that which has been adopted temporarily. I shall not write to you officially upon the subject till Buck arrives, and has had actual experience of the working of the present arrangement; but I hope that, if we find that we cannot do without a slight addition to our staff, you will not refuse it. Surely, after all, these are matters upon which we,

who have to do the work, must be better able to judge than the Members of your Council at home.

I am afraid that our troubles with the Bhils are not over yet. Lieutenant-Colonel Goodfellow, an officer employed by the Bombay Government in Mahikanta, has mismanaged matters very much in dealing with the Bhils of the little State of Pol, and has shown serious weakness. The consequence is a renewal of disturbances, not only among the Mahikanta Bhils, but among those residing beyond the frontier in Meywar. I have directed the Agent Governor-General, in Rajputana, and Colonel Blair, who commands the Meywar Bhil Corps, to proceed to the disturbed district, and have requested the Bombay Government to replace Colonel Goodfellow by an officer of more firmness and discretion. I hope that we shall be able to quiet these wild people without resorting to force; but I am by no means sure that it will be possible to do so, and that we may not be involved in a serious general outbreak which it might be difficult to put down.

I enclose a copy of another letter from Syud Mahmood which may interest you.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) RIPON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

FROM

SYUD MAHMOOD,
District Judge, Rai Bareli, Oudh.

TO

LIEUT.-COLONEL P. D. HENDERSON, c. s. i.,
Genl. Supdt. of Operations for the Suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity.

RAI BARELI, OUDH;

June 15th, 1881.

MY DEAR HENDERSON,

I regard it a great privilege to have been furnished by you with the information you sent me giving an idea of the grounds on which Government has been led to

believe that there are some intrigues going on between Constantinople and India. You may be sure that not a word of the information will go beyond me, though, knowing me as well as you do, I suppose, you thought it unnecessary to ask me to keep it to myself. I should like to tell you what I know and think of some of the information received by Government.

There is no doubt a substratum of truth in all the reports which you have received; but most of the information from Constantinople is either greatly exaggerated or puts wrong constructions upon matters which, in themselves, are true. The information regarding the establishment of the *Paik-i-Islam*, I should say, is perfectly correct. I will tell you what I know of the man Nusrat Ali. His father's name is Abul Mansur, who, born a Mussulman, became a convert to Christianity, and I believe remained a Christian for many years. He has reverted to Islam, and now gives out that the object of his conversion was to investigate Christianity, which, he says, has proved wanting in truth. He calls himself *Imam-ul-munazirin*, or the leader of religious debate. Under this vainglorious appellation he seeks to attract the attention of such ignorant and bigoted people as he meets. But he is a man of no family, position, or learning, and does not command the regard of respectable people. The fact of his having once renounced Islam, stands against him, and incurs suspicion of the public, whom, I should say, he cannot influence, one way or the other. The father and son own a lithographic press at Delhi, called the *Nusrat-ul-matabe*, after the son's name. The press is located at Farash-Khana, Mir Madari-ki-gali (Delhi), and a newspaper, called *Nusrat-ul-Akhbar*, is printed and published there. But I have not lately seen any issue of the paper, and cannot tell you what subjects it chiefly deals with. I do not think the paper has any wide circulation. I have never seen either Nusrat Ali or his father; but from all I hear of them I regard them as a sort of unscrupulous vagabonds trying to make capital out of the bigotry and ignorance of people. Nusrat Ali's journey to Constantinople must be looked upon as an attempt to attach significance to himself. I cannot even give him credit for honest motives, and I do not think he is himself much influenced by the theories which he pretends to propagate. It is quite possible, and perhaps probable, that a large number of the issues of the *Paik-i-Islam* were sent to India, though, beyond rousing the curiosity of people, it could have had no effect. I may, however, add that by far the most formidable means which can be adopted for propagating seditious writings among the Mahomedans, or for rousing a desire for an Islamic union, would be the distribution of pamphlets to the pilgrims at Mecca. If such a course is ever seriously adopted, it will, in the first place, be difficult to detect it, and, in the second place, it would be almost impossible to prevent the importation of such writings into India. Moreover, the annual *Haj* at Mecca draws the more religious from all parts of India, and the *Hajis*, on their return, are treated with exceptional respect, and visited by their friends and neighbours, who naturally enquire about the latest news and doctrines propounded in the "Holy Cities;" so that for the dissemination of seditious feelings the most effective way would be for the propagandists to bring the *Hajis* under their influence;—I call it *effective*, because the influence of what the *Hajis* say goes to the remotest villages in the Mofussil. Every measure which Government can legitimately employ to prevent this result would be wise.

There is an ancient canal known by the name of *Nahr Zubaida Khatoun* which supplies water to Mecca. The *Nahr* has gone out of order, and there was a good deal said, not long ago, by the Mahomedan press for raising subscriptions to repair the canal. I believe some subscriptions were actually raised, though I do not know to what extent. When I once discussed this matter with my old father, he expressed his opinion that the subscriptions had no political bearing, and were regarded by the public as pure acts of charity.

I will now give you my information in regard to Bombay as a centre of Mussulman intrigues. Mahomed Ali Rogay is known to me personally. He belongs to a very respectable Bombay family. His ancestors, I believe, were ship-owners, and the family is, therefore, called *Nakhuda*, which means ship-master. He was for some time a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and has since travelled a good deal in Europe, including Russia and Turkey. I knew him before he went to Europe, and, on my way back from England in 1879, I accidentally met him at Modane, and we travelled together in the same steamer to Bombay, where he is very well known. Not long ago I stayed at his house for a few hours when I happened to be at Bombay. I believe he is the chief supporter of the Bombay *Anjuman-i-Islam*, and is known as the *Nakhuda*. I have also once met Suleyman Jafer Cummoo, who is some sort of merchant at Bombay; also Abdul Hosain, who is a Persian by descent and a Shea by creed, if he is the man I mean. I mention all this to enable you to estimate the value to be attached to my remarks. I have no hesitation in saying that the story you have heard is an entire misrepresentation—I should say due mainly to a desire of the narrator to give a sensational effect to what he related. During the progress of the Russo-Turkish war, Bombay was the most prominent place in India for raising subscriptions for the Turkish sick and wounded. Mahomed Ali himself took a very active part in collecting them, and himself contributed largely. This was done in other parts of India also. My own father was asked by some Mahomedans in Upper India to lead a movement for collecting subscriptions. He, however, gave out as his opinion that, if the subscriptions were pure acts of charity, they required no organisation and must be purely voluntary. He also gave them to understand that the only proper way for British Indian Mussulmans to contribute to relieving the distress of the Turkish soldiers was to do so through England, and not by sending money direct to Turkey. I believe some money was made over to my father for the purpose, and he sent it to the Duke of Sutherland as a contribution to the Stafford House Fund. The Bombay and Calcutta subscriptions were, however, sent direct to Turkey through the Turkish Consuls, and my father has always characterised this course as highly improper and impolitic, as he holds that British Indian Mussulmans have no business to communicate directly with foreign countries upon matters of this kind, except with the approval of and through the British nation. I have already told you that the raising of subscriptions has in itself no political bearing beyond the expression of sympathy with the Turks as a Mahomedan race. The Mussulmans of Bombay, coming in more frequent contact with Turkish subjects, may be said to have closer sympathies with Turkey. But, so far as I know, I am confident that they are not co-operating, in any political sense, to overthrow the British rule, or to establish a Mahomedan league. I am sure that Mahomed Ali Rogay himself, far from leading such a movement, is incapable of even taking any part in it. He is a young man of independent means, who has acquired a fair knowledge of English and a tolerable acquaintance with French. His private life is half European, and I know that he has in consequence incurred the disapprobation of the absolutely bigoted classes of the Mussulman community of Bombay. He is, however, a leading man amongst them, and his influence must be a beneficial one. He is sufficiently well educated to grasp the great problems of the British rule, and shares the feelings, common among the Mussulmans, that the British rule does not pay due attention to the interests of the Mahomedan community, and has shown a want of desire to seek their co-operation in the administration of the country.

This brings me to a subject I think of a very great political importance, and since you have done me the honor of asking my views, I will, at the risk of prolixity, give you my candid opinions on the subject. I am all the more anxious to do so, as I have for many years thought that the importance and magnitude of the question have not been duly appreciated by the Government. You know me too

well to suspect me of being capable of advocating class privileges. I should be the last to hold that the Mussulmans of India have any right to expect any such treatment as the principles on which the British rule is conducted would not warrant. But to speak with the candour of a friend, I think the British rule has shown want of genius in dealing with, or rather ignoring the peculiar socio-political conditions of the Mussulmans. If you look through the Statute Book of India, as it now stands, you will find little in it to impress you with the feeling that the legislature has taken due cognisance of the needs and wants of the Mahomedan community. The same, I believe, can be said of the history of the executive administration. It is a matter which grieves me deeply that almost the only occasions on which any attention is paid to the Mussulman community, either by the public press, or the Government, are those on which some acts of violence, or feelings of disloyalty, are attributed to them. The assassination of Chief Justice Norman, the Wahabi trials, the assassination of Lord Mayo, roused a *mournful* interest in the Mahomedan community, an interest which, however, did not last long. Since then I am not aware that any especial attention has been paid to the needs of the Mahomedans; and the men of routine have gone on, year after year, without realising the problem which to every thinking mind, animated with loyalty towards the British rule, ought to appear full of great importance. Some years ago I wrote an article in the *Pioneer* on education in India, which, I *knew*, at the time attracted Lord Northbrook's notice. One passage from the article will interest you:—

“A despotic rule of about seven hundred years had reduced the Hindu mind to a state of slavery, and the higher classes had completely forgotten their own literature: even the Brahmins had ceased to have any scruples in teaching the language of the conquering race to their children; and Persian was adopted by the better class of Hindus in general as much as by the Mussulmans themselves. When the English succeeded the Mussulmans in the supremacy of India, the Hindus found no difficulty in reconciling themselves to the new state of things. The change of rulers made no great difference to them, and they took to English as their ancestors had taken to Persian. But the Mussulman, who, notwithstanding the downfall of his race, had still sparks of ancestral pride in his bosom, looked with contempt upon the literature of a foreign race, opposed all reform, and ignorance contributed to encourage him in his opposition. He obstinately declined either to learn the English language or modern sciences, still looked up with veneration to those mysterious volumes which contained the learning of his forefathers, and reconciled himself to his position by a firm belief in predestination. The result was a great political evil. A large number of Hindus had acquired a knowledge of the English language, and thus kept pace with the times, and some of them rose to the highest offices under the English Government. The Mahomedans, on the contrary, remained stagnant, remembered with pain and sorrow the past power and prestige of their race, and still continued to worship the learning contained in Arabic and Persian literature. The surrounding circumstances grew too powerful for them, and they gradually sank into ignorance, poverty, and degradation. Such was particularly the case in the Madras Presidency; and the late Lord Hobart, whom Mussulmans will ever remember with gratitude, had to adopt special measures to raise the condition of that class of the community. The evil which we have just described was not of a transitory nature. It exists even now, and mere statistics will prove that the Government colleges have failed to attract Mahomedans, and that their proportion, as compared with the Hindus, is considerably small. The ignorance of the real policy of the English Government, combined with false traditions of the past and a deluded view of their own religious doctrines, tend to alienate the sympathies of the Mahomedan population from the British rule. On more than one occasion they have publicly announced that the Government favors the Hindus, and shows no consideration to their community, and the fatal coincidence of apparent facts supplies them with reasons for

“conviction. In the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and in the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal, the Hindu, through his greater adaptability to the requirements of the English Government, succeeds in competition with the Mahomedan, and the latter very seldom gets a chance of rising in Government employ.”

The article of course related only to education. But in the reasons which I briefly described might be traced deeper causes for such disaffection as may exist amongst the Mussulmans. The local Governments are, as a rule, oblivious of the significance of such facts. The red-tape idea is that Government should sit in a neutral attitude with folded hands, on the principle that if a community does not choose to take advantage of a public benefit, it is their own fault. I look upon this notion as singularly insular and wanting in true grasp of the situation. There are a hundred reasons why the British rule, in dealing with a community like the Mussulmans of India, should adopt an exceptional policy. The Mussulmans are the only subjects of British India among whom history is widely read, and traditions of past conquests and achievements are still alive. The very literature of Persian and Arabic, which a young Mahomedan boy reads, speaks of the vastness of the Mussulman power in days gone by. The Koran itself, with its wonderful cadence of sound and rhythmical vehemence, appeals with almost the same force to the Mussulman of to-day as it did to the warriors who fought on the plains of Asia Minor and on the banks of the Nile in the earliest days of the Mahomedan republic. The doctrine of *jehad*, or holy war, when misunderstood by the ignorant masses inflamed with fanaticism, is capable of doing great mischief. From tradition, and from habit of mind, the Mussulman of good birth is not a trader. He must live either by the pen or by the sword; and, if circumstances deprive him of both these means of livelihood, he falls back upon sulky fatalism, which means suppressed antagonism to things that be. If we had to deal with a small community addicted to such fatalism, Government might be right in ignoring it. But when you have to deal with forty or fifty millions of human beings who owe allegiance to the British Crown, even the unreasonable sulkiness of such large numbers becomes a gigantic political fact, which no wise statesman should ignore. With increased communication of the present day with foreign countries, the annual pilgrimages to Mecca, Medina, and the Karbala (near Bagdad), have become more frequent. People, looking upon their race as the late rulers of India, go to foreign countries, where they see their co-religionists in the position of rulers of vast tracts and leaders of large armies. They come back to India and find that, as time goes on, their race is going down in power, wealth, and prestige. Blind to the real politico-economical causes which produce these deplorable results, they attribute their misfortunes to the British rule, a circumstance, however unjust and unreasonable it may be, deserves consideration. When my father had a seat in the Viceroy's Legislative Council he endeavoured to introduce a Bill which would enable Mahomedans owning landed estates to prevent disintegration of property by *voluntarily* placing their estates under the operation of the proposed Act. I will give you a passage from his remarks on the necessity of the proposed law, which will interest you, as it has a bearing upon the question I am now discussing:—

“The Mahomedan law, though it confers *full* powers of alienation of property on the proprietor during his lifetime, does not permit him to bequeath more than one-third of it to a stranger, and even this limited testamentary power is denied in favor of heirs. The power of making a will in favor of heirs is, therefore, unknown, whilst the rules of inheritance reduce families to indigence. Heirs, living in the expectation of receiving their shares of inheritance, do not exert to acquire means of earning independent livelihood; while the present owner, fully conscious of the fact that his family name and position cannot subsist after his death, does not endeavour to increase his property, or to guard it with care. He

"has not the aid of sentiment which keeps up families in more civilised countries; and I may say that such a thing as founding a family has long been unknown in this country. Extravagance and indifference to the future are natural results. Whatever the causes may be, the fact, I think, cannot be denied by any one who knows the internal state of the Mahomedans of India that they are in a very backward state of education, and have not kept pace with the times. By temperament and tradition they cannot take to trade; the absence of education amongst them prevents their rising in the world by following any of the professions, whilst the continual division of property by inheritance ruins rich families and paralyzes the energies of expectant heirs. Upon the death of a rich man, his heirs receive small portions of his estate; accustomed to see the style in which their father lived, the sons follow his example; the share which each has inherited is found to be inadequate to maintain an expensive style of life; money is soon raised, usually by hypothecation of property; in the course of a few years the property is sold in execution of decrees in the ordinary course of law; and sons of wealthy men are thrown upon the world, unfit to earn their livelihood, and having no other occupation in life than the remembrance of the past wealth of their ancestors, and of the ruin which their own imprudence and extravagance have brought upon their heads. The Mahomedan community contains hundreds of specimens of what I have just described—men with no property, but with whom family influence still lingers. Poverty and want of education combined have the most deplorable effects upon their moral and social welfare, and lead to disaffection with the present state of things. They see their old families reduced to indigence, and search for its causes, not in the effects of their law and in their own imprudence and extravagance, but in the system of administration under which they live. This I consider to be a great political evil, an evil which, I think, can in a great measure be remedied by the law which I venture to propose."

I need hardly say that I entirely concur in these remarks. In fact I helped my father in preparing the Bill, which, however, was not actually introduced, for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention. But I believe some such legislation in its *voluntary* form is still necessary, especially as it would not clash with the prejudices of the people, or the principles of the Mahomedan law.

From what I have said I hope you will not conclude that any active disaffection exists among Mussulmans. That most undoubtedly is not the case. The ideas which I have expressed apply more to possibilities and future contingencies than to any present danger. The truth is that, unless Government adopts measures to win the sympathy and to guide the legitimate aspirations of the Mussulmans of India, I, for one, a Mahomedan myself, with such humble political foresight as you can credit me with, have no doubt that, if the peculiar socio-political condition of the Mahomedan community fails to attract any attention from Government, they will, before very long, be either reduced to abject poverty and ignorance, or look to foreign co-religionists for self-preservation and support. This may be a remote contingency, but it can never be good for an Empire like the British to ignore it. Legislation (*voluntary* in its operation) regarding succession to immoveable property is urgently needed. The Oudh Estates Act (I. of 1869) is a fine illustration of the benefits which such legislation can confer. The reasons which applied to the Oudh Talukdars apply in reality with much greater force to the entire Mahomedan landed gentry in India.

By encouraging education among the Mussulmans in the English language and Western sciences, you will succeed not only in removing their fanaticism, but in winning their sym-

pathies, and in making them loyal and useful subjects of the British Crown. The race which was capable of conquering a vast continent like India, and of keeping it for centuries, is also capable of supplying you with honest, efficient, and loyal officers for the public administration, if you only give them the requisite education under such conditions as would suit them. There are no doubt difficulties to be met with chiefly from the influence of the bigoted. But as time goes on, these difficulties are becoming less and less, chiefly by the exertions of such enlightened Mahomedans as, having influence in the country, are inspiring their co-religionists with loyalty towards the British Throne, and with a desire to acquire education necessary for making them loyal and useful subjects of the British Empire. Hitherto the effect of the Government system of education and policy has been to advance the Hindus in the administration of the country, at least in its higher ranks. The Mahomedan has seldom had any chance of attaining any high rank in the British administration. The circumstance is of course due to want of qualifications, but the fact is liable to be misunderstood.

The suggestion which I ventured to make to you in my last long letter in regard to making arrangements for the transport of Hajis from Bombay to Jeddah, and the appointment of a native of India as an Assistant to the British Consul there, will, I hope, receive consideration. The fact that in large numbers British Indian subjects go regularly every year to a foreign country, is what in a Court of Justice would be called an "admitted fact." It would be a fatal blunder to attempt to check it. You are as much bound to recognise it as the fact that English subjects travel regularly between England and India. As things now stand, the private enterprise which supplies means of transport is full of danger and uncertainty, and causes the greatest inconvenience to the Hajis. Even at Jeddah, what with the difficulties of language and other causes, the ordinary *Haji* cannot always appeal for assistance to the British Consul. By making the arrangements which I have suggested you will gain not only the good-will of the whole Mahomedan population of India, but you will also inspire the Hajis with the wholesome feeling that they owe allegiance to, and can claim protection from, an Empire other than that to which the people of Arabia are subject. The proposed help would stand in very favorable contrast to the sufferings which the pilgrims undergo from maladministration at Mecca, and in their journey to Medina. Moreover, practically, the assistance rendered by Government would be the most effective way of resisting such influences as the propagandists might bring to bear upon the Hajis with a view to animate them with hostility to the British supremacy in India. Surely, by helping Hajis in the manner that I have proposed, Government would not lay itself open to any charge of propagating Islam. The fact that British subjects go in large numbers every year for pilgrimage would remain unchanged, whether Government looks after their convenience and protection or not.

I am afraid I have written more than you would care to read in a letter. But you can imagine how deeply interested I have been in this question. I appreciate the confidence which you have shown towards me by asking my views, and it has been a pleasure to express them to you, as I feel sure you will not consider anything I have said as due to prejudice against any class of the Indian population, or to partizanship for the Mussulmans. If any value is to be attached to my observations, it is only because they are made in all sincerity and loyalty by one who, by race and religion, is in a position to form some opinions, and is deeply imbued with the sense of being a Mahomedan subject of the British Empire.

Always yours sincerely,

(Sd.) S. MAHMOOD.

(87)

No. 83.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G. C. S. I.,
First Lord of the Admiralty.

[Private.]

SIMLA ;

June 15th, 1882.

MY DEAR NORTHBROOK,

Many thanks for your letter of the 19th May, which reached me by the last mail. Shahamut Ali's views, as given in the letter from Sir H. Daly which you send me, are somewhat out of date. He speaks of Ayub's presence in the enemy's (*i. e.* the Russian) camp, whereas Ayub, as we know, is interned at Teheran, and has not gone, and does not seem likely to go, to the Russians. Abdur Rahman's last letters have been written in a better tone, and the plain answer, which I sent to his pretensions about Chitral, has, I think, done good. I do not, however, place the slightest confidence in him; he was no choice of mine, as you know; but being where he is, we must make the best of him, not relying upon his fidelity, but not allowing ourselves to be disturbed by vague rumours of his bad faith. Hartington in his last letter told me that he had no desire, at all events until the subject had been again discussed in the Cabinet, that I should make any change in my attitude towards the Amir, or should make any overtures to him which could be construed as showing uneasiness on our part at the Russian advance; and I shall, therefore, go on quietly as I have hitherto been doing, unless fresh orders are sent out to me. There is some idea that the Amir may propose to pay a visit to India after the rains; if he does so, I shall receive him and deal as best I can with his requests; but, on the whole, I would rather that he did not come. I am firmly convinced that the more we can keep clear of Afghan affairs, the better for us and for the Afghans.

Our negotiations with the Burmese Envoys get on but slowly, as they have to make constant references to Mandalay by telegraph, but my present impression is that they will sign a treaty in the end.

I am quite with the Government in their difference with Forster. I see nothing to blame in the "Kilmainham Treaty," and I think you were perfectly right to let out the "suspects." My only doubt about your proceedings is whether your Crime Prevention Bill does not go too far in some respects, and whether it will not mar the prospect of pacification in Ireland,

work. I asked my wife to send yours, a mail or two ago, a Resolution which we have recently issued on the subject of local self-government, and which will give you some idea of one of the questions with which I have been occupied. My object in this Resolution has been to take a step, well considered and prudent, but still substantial towards employing the natives of India more largely than at present in the administration of local business. I look upon this as a matter of great importance, both for the political training of the natives, and for the relief of the officers of Government from the ever-increasing mass of details by which here, as in all bureaucratic Governments, they are becoming more and more overwhelmed. It is a right and just aim to admit the natives of this country more and more to the management of their own affairs; it ought to be the end and object of our policy to do so, and the time has come, as it seems to me, when we may safely make another advance in that direction. Lord Mayo laid the foundation of municipal organisation; but after a short time his scheme began to languish, and the chief part of the Municipal Committees established under it are little more than shams, where selected natives say ditto to the proposals of the executive officer. This state of things has lasted long enough (not to say too long), and my desire now is to make these shams into realities, and to apply the municipal system more honestly and more widely than has hitherto been done.

You will observe that the Resolution is so framed that while laying down a few broad general principles, it leaves a large discretion to Local Governments, as to the mode in which those principles are to be carried out in different parts of the country. You will see that with regard to the election of members of local boards we have not prescribed its immediate adoption everywhere. My own feeling is that the elective system may be at once considerably extended; but I quite admit that it is not at present equally applicable to all districts and that its extension must be gradual. The Resolution leaves to Local Governments the widest choice as to the mode of election to be adopted. The ordinary system at present, where election exists, is the simple vote with an uniform suffrage; but I have a good deal of doubt whether this is really the best system for India in the existing condition of the people. I do not want to change it hastily where it is in operation, but I should like to see other plans tried in other places. I am inclined to think that election by castes or occupations would, in many cases, be more consonant with the feelings of the people than direct election, and more likely to lead the right sort of men to come forward as candidates. The introduction of the cumulative vote, if it could be made intelligible to the native mind, would bring about the same result, though in a different and less direct manner. As regards the extent of the suffrage, though I am, as you know, radical enough on the subject at home, I do not think that India is yet fit for a low suffrage; I should, therefore, generally speaking, keep it moderately high at present. What I want to secure by the extension of local self-government

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No. 81.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

THE RIGHT HON'BLE H. C. E. CHILDERS, M. P.,
Secretary of State for War.

SIMLA;

[Private.]

June 8th, 1882.

MY DEAR CHILDERS,

I have received your letter of the 5th May, and am sending you, by this mail in a separate cover, the papers which you wish to see relative to the re-organisation of the Medical Department in this country.

I hope that these papers will make an impression upon you. I am very strongly convinced that the course steadily pursued by the military authorities at home of rejecting all our proposals for reduction of expense and of casting upon us increase of military expenditure at the average rate of £50,000 a year, without even saying with your leave, or by your leave, is fraught with very serious political danger.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) RIPON.

No. 82.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., Q. C.,
80 Park Street, Grosvenor Square, London W.

SIMLA;

June 12th, 1882.

MY DEAR TOM,

I have more than one letter to thank you for, but have been unable to write to you for some time past having had my hands very full of

is not a representation of the people of an European democratic type, but the gradual training of the best, most intelligent, and most influential men in the community to take an interest and an active part in the management of their local affairs.

But the point in the Resolution, to which I attach the most importance, is that which relates to the position which, generally speaking, I desire to see occupied by the chief executive officer of a district, &c. towards the municipalities or local boards within his jurisdiction. The Resolution does not lay down any hard and fast rule on this subject, and I am quite aware that there will be districts in different parts of the country, where for a time at all events, the local boards must be placed under the direct guidance of the district officer; but I am strongly impressed with the conviction that this arrangement, though it may be necessary in some cases, is not in itself desirable, either as regards the boards or as regards the executive officers. If the boards are to be of any use for the purpose of training the natives to manage their own affairs, they must not be overshadowed by the constant presence of the "*Burra Sahib*," which may be freely translated "big swell," of the district; they must be left gradually more and more to run alone, though watched from without by the executive authorities and checked if they run out of the right course. Unless a certain freedom of action is allowed them, the best men are not likely to wish to be upon them, and they will either be filled with a less reliable sort of persons, or will be, as they so often are now, mere shams. It also seems to me that the position of the executive officer outside the board—urging it forward if it is supine, checking it if it goes wrong, and generally supervising its proceedings from the independent position of one, who has had no part in them—will be more dignified and more impartial than it would be if he, as Chairman, had either dictated those proceedings or taken an active share in the controversies connected with them. If he is not himself a member of the board his control over it will be exercised more wisely and more judiciously, and his advice to his own Local Government upon questions which have to be referred to it will be more reliable and more free from personal bias than would be possible if he were directly concerned in all the board's doings. But, though for these reasons, I am desirous to keep the chief executive officers as much as possible off the local boards, you will see that the Resolution reserves to the Government very full and complete powers of supervision and control, powers to oblige local boards to do their work efficiently, powers to prevent them from doing mischief. I hold it to be essential that the Government should possess these powers, and I should never hesitate to exercise them, whenever it might become necessary. Again I should like you to understand that what I am trying to do is not to impose an English system upon India, but to revive and extend the indigenous system of the country. That indigenous system we have done a great deal to destroy, but

remnants of it exist to a greater or less extent in most parts of the country, and it is upon those remnants that I hope to build up my edifice of local self-government; that is why I prefer, as the Resolution indicates, small areas to large as the unit of my arrangements; in small areas it will be more easy to make full use of what remains of the village system, and to let the superstructure of local government rise upon that ancient foundation. I have no wish to hurry the completion of the building. I have sketched out its lines, and as long as I have reason to think that the Local Governments have honestly accepted the principles laid down by the Supreme Government, and mean really to carry them out, I shall give those authorities plenty of time and plenty of discretion. It is ill weeds that grow apace. I hope that I am planting a tree which will afford food and shelter to many generations of men, and I know, therefore, that it will not come rapidly to maturity.

The part of the Resolution, which is likely to raise most opposition among officials of the old school, is the proposal to exclude generally the chief executive officer from the local board. But, for the reasons which I have given above, I am convinced that this is the most important provision of the whole scheme, and that, unless it had been adopted, no real advance upon the present state of things would have been made. Native opinion is unanimous on this point; and it is the principal cause of the universal favour with which the recent Resolution has been received by the Native Press. I am glad also to say that, although old-fashioned European officers may dislike the change, many of the best district officers decidedly approve of it, and feel with me that it is essential to the success of the new system. Lyall and Aitchison are both with me upon the whole plan; the European Press, somewhat to my surprise, is rather favourable than the reverse; the Bombay papers very much so; and, on the whole, I have good reason to be satisfied with the reception with which the measure has thus far met.

I have run on on this subject, which is full of interest to me, at much greater length than I intended when I began, but I know that you feel an interest in my work here, and as this is the biggest subject with which I have yet dealt, I am sure that you will not be bored by my telling you somewhat fully my views upon it.

And now to turn to the sad topic of Ireland,—I think that you are quite right when you say in your letter of the 19th May that the real question at issue is—"Is the pacification of Ireland or the maintenance of the character and authority of Government the object to be kept in view?" Perhaps I should not have used precisely the same words in setting forth the choice; substantially, however, I admit the correctness of your description of it, but then I cannot agree with you as to which of the two objects we should prefer. I have not the slightest doubt that the pacification of

Ireland ought to be our foremost aim. To my mind the issue which you raise involves some of the fundamental principles of a Liberal policy. In these days there is no test that I know of, which will distinguish more surely a real Liberal from a Conservative than that of the relative value to be attached to peace and the happiness of the people on the one hand, and to order and the authority of Government on the other. The authority of Government is not an end at all, but only a means. The end to be obtained, the sole end worth obtaining, is the pacification of Ireland. Whatever tends most to bring about that result is the right thing to be done—the re-establishment of the authority of Government will follow of itself from the pacification of the country; but the pacification of the country will by no means necessarily follow from what is meant, in the mouths of most men who use the phrase, by the re-establishment of the authority of Government. You may “re-establish authority” and be as far off from pacification as ever. To a Conservative, continental or English, the first object is the maintenance of “order”; to a Liberal, as it seems to me, the first object ought to be the welfare of the people. Governments which are the most touchy about their authority are not by any means the most successful in maintaining it, any more than men who are always thinking about their dignity succeed best in making it respected. The authority of Government ought to be upheld, because it is a means to secure the true object of all Government, the well-being of the governed. A man also ought to be careful of his health, because its preservation will enable him to do his work in the world properly; but just as we condemn a man who neglects his work in order to take care of his health, so ought we to condemn a Government which sets the maintenance of its authority before the only object for the sake of which that authority is worth maintaining. Holding such views, therefore, I side with Gladstone’s Government in the recent controversy, and my only quarrel with them is that they do not seem to me to have kept the pacification of Ireland sufficiently steadily in view, but rather to have risked the attainment of that great end by the extreme stringency of their new Coercion Bill.

Good-bye. I have no time for more now.

Ever yours affectionately,

(Sd.) RIPON.

P. S.—I am looking forward with much interest to your account of the Co-operative Congress at Oxford. I should greatly have liked to have been there. Please send me the full report of the proceedings when it is published.

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In regard to internal affairs, we have not been idle; indeed I am afraid that Hartington's Council regard us as dangerously energetic people. We sent home last March proposals for the settlement of the difficult question of the relations of landlord and tenant in Bengal; our views on the subject have not, I am sorry to say, met with approval at the India Office, and we are still in correspondence with that Department about them. We issued early in the year a Commission to inquire into the existing arrangements for Primary Education throughout India; they have been since engaged in collecting a great deal of valuable and interesting evidence, and I hope that when we receive their Report next spring, we shall be able to take some substantial measures for improving our existing system; but it will be impossible, I regret to say, for want of funds to do anything on a large or complete scale. In writing to you last year I spoke of the questions connected with the land, land tenure, land revenue, land cultivation, as constituting the greatest of all subjects connected with India, and told you that I was then engaged in the study of them; that study has resulted, as I have mentioned above, in our submitting to Hartington a scheme for the reform of land tenure in Bengal, which is still under discussion with the India Office, while in regard to our land revenue system we have introduced some improvements of our own authority, and are now engaged in elaborating a plan for the consideration of the Secretary of State which has for its object to afford security to those upon whom our land revenue is levied against arbitrary assessment, and especially against having their assessments raised in consequence of the increased value which their own improvements, or those of their tenants, have given to the land. Briefly stated, our proposal is to lay down distinctly and definitely once for all the grounds upon which, and upon which alone, our assessments of land revenue will be hereafter increased. I have the strongest conviction that this measure, if we can induce the India Office to agree to it, will conduce in the highest degree to the prosperity of agriculture, and to the welfare of all classes connected with the land.

There is one other subject upon which I must touch; it is one in which I feel the deepest interest, and in respect to which we have made some progress since I wrote to you a year ago—I allude to the encouragement and development of local self-government. We issued last May a Resolution laying down the general principles upon which we desired to proceed in this matter, and leaving a very large discretion to Local Governments as to the manner in which those principles should be applied in the different parts of the country. India is so vast a land, containing so many different races, and presenting such varieties of civilization and advancement, that it would be the height of folly to attempt to prescribe a uniform system for the whole of the peninsula; there are districts in which no kind of self-government is at present possible, but there are many others in which it may be safely and wisely conceded in a large measure. The credit

of having perceived this belongs to a great extent to Lord Mayo's Government, who put forth a Resolution in 1870, containing the germ of the policy upon which we are now acting; but the seed then sown has borne but little fruit hitherto, mainly because it has been smothered by official indifference or hostility. We are now anxious to revive it, and I am firmly convinced that the time has arrived when such a revival will be fruitful of good results. As I told you last year we are entering, or rather we have entered, upon a period of change in India; the spread of education, the substitution of legal for discretionary administration, the progress of railways, telegraphs, &c., are now beginning to produce a marked effect upon the people; new ideas are springing up; new aspirations are being called out; and a process has begun which will go on with increasing rapidity and force from year to year. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of government, and especially of practically despotic government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind; to move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still; and the problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress, raw and superficial as in many respects it is, so as to direct it into a right course, and derive from it all the benefits which its development is capable of ultimately conferring upon the country, and at the same time to prevent it from becoming, through blind indifference, or stupid repression, a source of serious political danger. It is considerations such as these which lead me to attach much importance to measures which, though small in themselves, are calculated to provide a legitimate outlet for the ambitions and aspirations which we have ourselves created by the education, civilization, and material progress, which we have been the means of introducing into the country; such measures will not only have an immediate effect in promoting gradually and safely the political education of the people, which I hold to be a great object of public policy, but will also pave the way for further advances in the same direction as that education becomes fuller and more widespread. You will observe then that the question involved in the policy which I have been pursuing upon this subject of local self-government is a broad question of political principle. What is the nature of the policy which we ought to pursue in India? Is it to be the policy of those who have established a free press, who have promoted education, and who have admitted natives more and more largely to the public service in various forms; or is it to be that of those who hate the freedom of the Press, who dread the progress of education, and who watch with jealousy and alarm everything which tends, in however limited a degree, to give the natives of India a larger share in the management of their own affairs? I cannot doubt which of these two policies is the right one; at all events I am quite sure which of them alone I could be content to follow.

I have troubled you at this length on this subject, not only on account of its intrinsic interest, but also because there are indications that the steps which I have taken in connection with it, however cautious and tentative,

are not likely to pass unchallenged. Hartington's Council, which appears to be the most Conservative body now existing in Europe, is, I fear, very much inclined to look upon me as a very alarming Radical, second only to yourself in the dangerous tendency of his opinions; while Sir James Fergusson, the Governor of Bombay, who is a Tory of the Tories, has recently issued a Resolution reflecting in a very unusual and unbecoming manner upon the policy of the Government of India, and misrepresenting that policy in many respects very grossly. It seems to me most probable that this Resolution is intended for the consumption of his Conservative friends at home, and that, therefore, it is not at all impossible that the subject may be noticed in Parliament. If it is, I feel perfectly confident that I may rely fully upon your support, and I ask it not only on the merits of the question, but because it would be impossible to draw back now from the steps which have been taken without producing a very mischievous effect throughout India. The natives in all the more advanced parts of the country have received the offer of an increased measure of self-government with a degree of gratitude which has surprised me not a little; the boon is after all but a small one; it will simply give them a larger share than they at present possess in the management of their own local affairs, of their roads, their drains, and their schools; it is true that I am anxious to relieve the local bodies, wherever it can as yet be wisely done, from the overshadowing presence of the District Officer at their meetings, and to substitute for the present system of control from within, which renders the local bodies in most cases mere shams, on which men of influence and position are unwilling to serve, a system of control from without which, while it will leave those bodies free to discuss their own interests in their own way, and to act upon their own responsibility, will retain the most ample powers in the hands of the Government to compel the neglectful and the recalcitrant to do their duty, to check them if they attempt to go beyond the limited circle of their proper attributions, and even to set them aside altogether if they make persistent default. I am thoroughly convinced that the failure of the attempts which have hitherto been made to promote self-government in this country has been mainly due to the fact that the almost invariable presence of executive officers at every assembly of the local Boards has deprived those bodies of any shadow of independence and made them mere machines for registering official orders; there may have been exceptional cases here and there, where the District Officer has happened to have a real appreciation of the advantages of local self-government, but, as a rule, the state of things has been such as I have just described. It is, therefore, not unnatural that the natives should hail with satisfaction the change now proposed, although they are under no delusion as to the strictly limited character of the duties and powers to be entrusted to them; and it is natural also that many District Officers should view with dislike an alteration of system which will to some degree diminish their present absolute supremacy. India is

governed by a bureaucracy, which, though I sincerely believe it to be the best bureaucracy that the world has ever seen, has still the faults and the dangers which belong to every institution of that kind; among those faults is conspicuously a jealousy of allowing non-officials to interfere in any way whatever with any portion, however restricted, of the administration of the country; and something of this jealousy is no doubt felt on this occasion, and felt, I quite admit, by some of our best administrators, just because they are good administrators and are convinced that as regards administration alone they would manage matters better than they are likely to be managed by local Boards,—that is to say, they look only at the administrative, and disregard the political, aspect of the question of local government. There are, however, many good men, and some of the best in the country, who are cordially with us.

I have spoken above of the manner in which the policy of the Government of India on this subject has been received by the native community; I have been much struck by the moderate and sensible tone which has generally pervaded the remarks of the Native Press upon it. There has, of course, been a certain amount of fine writing and Oriental hyperbole, but, on the whole, much good sense has been shown; the scheme has been understood; its scope has not been exaggerated; and the newspapers have fully recognised the fact that the success of the measure depends mainly upon the people themselves, and upon the extent to which they show themselves worthy of the boon which has been offered to them. I need not point out to you how serious might be the political results of disappointing the hopes thus raised, and how inconsistent it would be with all the acknowledged aims of the Liberal Party to do so. You may rely upon my proceeding in the matter very cautiously and deliberately; I have no desire to advance too quickly, but it would be impossible for me to go back. If Bombay is against us, all the other Local Governments are with us; and I cannot, I confess, set much store by Sir James Fergusson's opinion when I remember that he forbade not long ago the reading of Macaulay's Essays on Clive and Warren Hastings in the schools of the Bombay Presidency lest they should lead the natives to think that the conduct of British rulers in India had not always been perfectly immaculate! I am ashamed of having written at such length on this subject; the very deep interest which I feel in it must plead my excuse.

I have left myself no space to say a word about English politics; but I cannot close this letter without expressing the deep regret with which I learnt from your letter that you were really contemplating retirement from office at the end of the year. I cannot think of that event without dismay. I fully acknowledge that you have earned rest, if ever man did so; but I look with grave alarm to the prospects of the Liberal Party if you withdraw from its leadership. You say that you hope to leave behind you a vigorous

if the lists of Secretaries to the Government of India be examined. I append a Table shewing the Secretaries in the Home, Revenue, Finance, and Foreign Departments during the last 20 years. It will be seen that if the junior of the three Secretaries in Home, Revenue and Agriculture, and Finance Departments, (as the Secretary of State now proposes), had always been on a lower salary than the others, Sir E. C. Bayley would have drawn such lower salary for 11 months, Mr. Lushington for the whole time during which he was Secretary in the Finance Department, *viz.*, six years. Again, Mr. A. O. Hume was junior Secretary for 21 months, Sir A. Lyall in the Home Department for five years. All three Secretariats fell vacant in 1881-82. Mr. Buck was appointed to officiate on 1st August 1881 and was confirmed on 4th April 1882; Mr. Mackenzie was appointed to officiate on 6th September 1881 and was confirmed on 17th April 1882; Mr. Barbour was appointed to officiate on 28th April 1882 and was confirmed on 23rd July 1882. Thus Mr. Buck and Mr. Mackenzie were junior Secretaries for only a few weeks, while Mr. Barbour has already been junior Secretary for nearly a year, and very possibly may remain in that position for a long time.

Again, the question of the salary to be drawn by an officiating Secretary will, under the Secretary of State's rule, be a source of difficulty. If the Secretariat in which a temporary vacancy takes place is to be considered the junior one during such vacancy, (and this, I understand, is the present rule in regard to the Home and Revenue Departments), the changes in the salaries of the Secretaries may be frequent and rapid, causing much inconvenience, and, further, the difficulty of procuring a suitable officer to officiate would be greatly increased; for it is amongst the Secretaries to Local Governments that an officiating Secretary to the Government of India would most usually be sought, and as those receive salaries of Rs. 3,333 a month or more, they would gain little or nothing in coming to officiate in an appointment of which the salary was only Rs. 3,500.

On the other hand, if an officiating vacancy is not to reduce the status of a Secretaryship, then would arise this anomaly, that an officer holding an officiating appointment might be in such a position that he would lose money by being confirmed. For instance, a Bengal Secretary is brought in to act for a senior Secretary to the Government of India. He would draw his own pay of Rs. 3,333 + one-fifth of Rs. 4,166 = 3,333 + 833 = Rs. 4,166, or the full pay of the senior Secretaryship. But, if confirmed, he would at once become the junior Secretary and would only draw Rs. 3,500.

Circulate.

12-5-83.

R.

BXXIII/3

SECRETARIES TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

(Those in red ink were only Officiating Secretaries.)

| Year. | Home. | Revenue & Agricultural Department. | Finance. | Foreign. |
|-------|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| 1861 | ... | ... | ... | Sir H. Durand, 14th August. |
| 1862 | E. C. Bayley, 23rd April | ... | E. Drummond, 1st March. | |
| 1863 | ... | ... | E. H. Lushington, 12th March. | |
| 1864 | } R. N. Cust 8th Nov. to 31st Jan. | ... | ... | |
| 1865 | | ... | ... | |
| 1866 | ... | ... | ... | Sir W. Muir, 27th April. |
| 1867 | ... | ... | ... | |
| 1868 | } A. P. Howell 5th Oct. to 4th Jan. | ... | ... | } Sir R. Temple, 15th January. W. S. Seton-Karr, 27th July. |
| 1869 | | ... | R. B. Chapman, 10th January. | |
| 1870 | } A. O. Hume 30th Nov. to 28th Jan. | ... | A. O. Hume, 6th June | R. B. Chapman, 17th April. |
| 1871 | | ... | ... | ... |
| 1872 | H. L. Dampier, 22nd Jan. to 23rd Feb. A. C. Lyall, 28th Feb. | ... | ... | ... |
| 1873 | A. C. Lyall, 6th Mar. ... | J. Geoghegan (March). | ... | ... |
| 1874 | } A. P. Howell, May and June, and from 2nd Nov. to 3rd Dec. | ... | ... | ... |
| 1875 | | ... | ... | ... |
| 1876 | ... | T. C. Hopk., (3 months)... | ... | 1st Feb. 1876 |
| 1877 | J. O'Kinealy, 3rd Dec. | 15th Dec. 1876 | ... | T. H. Thornton, 17th Oct. 1877. |
| 1878 | C. E. Bernard, 5th Apl. to 8th May | G. H. M. Batten, to 22nd Apl. 1878 | ... | Sir A. Lyall, 14th April. |

| Year. | Home. | Revenue & Agricultural Department. | Finance. | Foreign. |
|----------|------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1879 ... | | } 30th June 1879 merged in Home Office. | | |
| 1880 ... | C. E. Bernard, 17th June. | | | |
| | C. Grant, 18th June .. | | | |
| 1881 ... | C. Grant, 4th July ... | C. Bernard, 6th July | T. C. Hope, 7th April 26th Aug. | |
| | A. Mackenzie, 6th Sep. | E. C. Buck, 1st August. | | |
| 1882 ... | A. Mackenzie, 17th Apl. | E. C. Buck, 4th April | D. M. Barbour, 23rd July. | C. Grant, 17th April. |

No. 201.

Telegram, 14th May 1883, 4 p. m.

From—Viceroy, Simla.

To—Maharaja Holkar, City Indore.

I have received your Highness' telegram of the 13th. I congratulate you on the completion of your 49th year, and wish you many happy returns of the anniversary of your birthday. I thank your Highness for the expressions of friendly sentiments towards myself, and I trust with you that our relations may always be as amicable as they have been hitherto.

No. 202.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

MAJOR THE HON'BLE E. BARING, C. S. I., C. I. E.,

Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council.

SIMLA ;

May 14th, 1883.

MY DEAR BARING,

Nothing could be better than your letter. I am very grateful to you for writing it.

Yours ever,
(Sd.) RIPON.

however, by no means sure that he will insist on coming. His latest communications have been the best tempered which I have ever received from him.

Your account of the state of things at home is certainly by no means pleasant. It seems to me that Lord R. Churchill and his friends are just now more obstructive than the Irish Members, and their conduct is singularly discreditable. The powerlessness of the leaders of the Opposition, to which you allude, is very unfortunate, and makes the working of the Parliamentary machine extremely difficult: the prospect is not agreeable, and public life in these days has few attractions.

Your account of the condition of agriculture is also by no means encouraging. I have been so far very fortunate myself, as I have only one small farm in Lincolnshire on my hands. I have been giving back 10 per cent. for some years, but that is the worst which I have had as yet to encounter.

Lady Ripon is, I am happy to say, very fairly well just now. I cannot deny that I am very glad that she did not go home, as it has been a great comfort to me to have her with me during the troublous times through which I have been passing lately.

Yours ever,
(Sd.) RIPON.

No. 44.

FROM
THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.
To
LIEUT.-GENERAL A. FRASER, C. B.

SIMLA;

April 9th, 1883.

MY DEAR GENERAL FRASER,

I have received your letter of the 6th March, and will not fail to bring your claims for some recognition of your services under Lord Kimberley's notice; that, as you are aware, is all that I can do.

Lady Ripon desires to be very kindly remembered to you, and

I remain
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.]

Memorandum on the policy of the Government of India in regard to Local Self-Government.

In May 1881 the Government called upon the Home Department to furnish detailed information with respect to the existing municipal system in India, and especially as to the extent to which election had been introduced in different parts of the country. The result showed that municipal committees were in existence in most of the principal, and not a few of the smaller towns, and that in every Province there was legal power to allow the appointment of members of these committees by election; the Bills by which this power was conferred on Local Governments were mostly passed in 1873, and although, therefore, they became law during the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook, the friends of Lord Mayo may fairly claim them as the outcome of the system of decentralisation and self-government of which, as I shall show presently, he sketched the outlines, and which he partly inaugurated. It appeared that there were great differences between the practice prevailing in different Provinces in regard to election. In some the elective system had been largely introduced; in the North-Western Provinces it was in operation in 73 out of 81 municipalities, and in the Central Provinces in 58 out of 62; in others it had been applied to a very limited extent, as in Bengal, where, apart from Calcutta, there were only three elective municipalities; while in Bombay, election had been introduced nowhere, except in the city of Bombay itself. It is very difficult to discover any reason for these variations of practice, except the varying inclinations of different Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. One should naturally have supposed that the North-Western Provinces, which were one of the principal scenes of the mutiny, and where the recollections of that convulsion have even yet not faded away, and the Central Provinces, which is distinctly a backward Province, would have been less favourable districts for the application of the system of election than Bengal, where the people are more cultivated, and more peaceable, than in any other part of India, or than Bombay, where, in the more advanced parts of the Presidency, the population are remarkably intelligent and progressive, and where the Municipality of Bombay has been a marked success; but, as a matter of fact, election was largely practised in the two former Provinces, and scarcely at all in the two latter, although it had evidently been the intention of the authors of the legislation of 1873 that the elective system should have a fair trial throughout India generally.

The next point to be considered was how the system of election had worked in the places in which it was in force. Here again, as was natural,

great differences were to be found. In Bombay City the Municipality has, as I have said, worked most successfully, and may be compared without disadvantage with some of the best municipal bodies in England; in Calcutta equal success has not been hitherto obtained, but the complaints made of the management of local affairs in that city are very similar to those which are heard in many cities and towns at home; in the Central Provinces, where Mr. Morris, the Chief Commissioner, has always been favourable to the elective system, and has worked it in a friendly spirit, it is said to be taking firm root in all towns, and Jubbulpore is described as the only place where the people are indifferent to the municipal elections; in the North-Western Provinces greater indifference is said to prevail; while in the Punjab election has worked well in Lahore, but less so in Amritsar. In no part of India have municipal elections been a cause of disorder, and the worst charge brought against the system is that many of the people, especially of the higher classes, seem to take little interest in its working; a charge not unheard-of in England or in the United States. The questions, therefore, to be considered were,—what were the causes of the small fruit which the policy of 1873 had hitherto borne, and whether a farther attempt should be made to give effect to it?

While these matters were under consideration, the time arrived when it became necessary to take measures for the renewal of the five years' contracts with the Provincial Governments, which had formed part of Lord Mayo's decentralisation policy; and the Government was thus naturally and necessarily led to inquire whether, in renewing those contracts, any steps should be taken to give fuller effect to that policy. So far as financial decentralisation between the Supreme Government and the Provincial Governments was concerned, Lord Mayo's intentions had been already carried out, and the system thus established had been productive of many satisfactory results. But Lord Mayo's scheme was not a scheme for such decentralisation only. In the 23rd paragraph of the Resolution of the 11th February 1870, one of the paragraphs written by Lord Mayo himself, it is said,—“But beyond all this there is a greater and wider object in view. Local interest, supervision, and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to Education, Sanitation, Medical Charity, and Local Public Works. The operation of this Resolution in its full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities for the development of Self-Government, for strengthening municipal institutions, and for the association of Natives and Europeans, to a greater extent than heretofore, in the administration of affairs.” We had, therefore, to consider whether, after a lapse of more than ten years, the time had not come for endeavouring to attain to a greater extent than had yet been done the “greater and wider object” which the Conservative statesman had at heart, and which, after his lamented death, had fallen more and more out of sight. It seemed to us that the time for taking steps in this direction had arrived, and that the renewal of the provincial contracts afforded an opportunity for doing so which we ought

not to lose. Indeed it may truly be said that the necessity for renewing those contracts, which were about to expire, forced us, apart from all other considerations, to take up the question. With this view we determined to carry decentralisation lower down than it had yet been carried, and to call upon Local Governments to apply the principle which had worked so successfully in regard to our financial relations with them to their financial relations with the local bodies beneath them. The effect of this determination was twofold: first, it obliged us to extend our view beyond the municipal committees of towns to the local boards existing in the rural districts; and, secondly, it rendered it necessary that we should consider what means could be taken to render the existing local bodies of all kinds more efficient and better suited to discharge the duties with which we desired to entrust them. We approached the consideration of these questions in the spirit of Lord Mayo's Resolution above quoted, and with the object not only of promoting "greater care and economy" in financial administration, but also of affording increased "opportunities for the development of self-government, for strengthening municipal institutions, and for the association of Natives and Europeans, to a greater extent than heretofore, in the administration of affairs." It was upon these lines that the Resolution of the 30th September 1881 was framed. It was meant rather to elicit the opinions both of Local Governments and of the public than to make known final decisions on the part of the Government, and it was not intended that action should be taken upon it by the Local Governments without farther consultation with the Government of India.

The effect of the issue of this Resolution was in some respects remarkable. It was said by many persons that the natives of India were indifferent to the question of Local Self-Government, and the results obtained by the existing system in many parts of the country seemed to a considerable extent to confirm that assertion. But the publication of the Resolution of 30th September 1881 called forth at once a response which far exceeded any expectations which I had entertained. The Press, and especially the Native Press, took the question up and discussed it warmly; in the various towns which I visited during my cold weather tour it formed a principal topic in the addresses presented to me by the municipal committees, and the remarks which I made on the subject in reply to those addresses, were commented upon widely in newspapers of all shades of opinion, so that within a few months of the appearance of our first Resolution we had ample evidence before us that, if the public in certain parts of the country had shown themselves indifferent to the working of the electoral system as now in force, it was probably due rather to the manner in which that system was applied, and to the nature of the powers entrusted to local bodies, than to any want of appreciation of the benefits of real and substantial Self-Government. While the public discussion, thus elicited, was going on, the Governments of the North-Western Provinces and of Bombay published Resolutions on

Provincial Decentralisation and Local Self-Government, which, neither as regards the financial, nor the administrative aspects of those questions, were in harmony with our wishes and intentions. These Resolutions were at once seized upon by the Press, and were widely commented upon in unfavourable terms, so that it became necessary, in order to prevent a misconception of our policy, both by Local Governments and by the public, that we should explain the nature and aim of that policy more fully and distinctly. This we did in the Resolution of the 18th May last.

I have thus brought down the history of this question to the date of the issue of the final Resolution of the Government of India on the subject; and I will now describe briefly the scope of the policy which that Resolution embodies, and the objects towards which it is directed; and I will do so as much as possible in words of the documents published by the Government of India:—

"The desire of the Government of India is not to force upon all parts of the country a uniform system of its own devising, but to secure the gradual training of the best, most intelligent, and most influential men in the community to take an interest and an active part in the management of their local affairs."

Letter to the Bombay Government,
4th October 1882.

"It is not, primarily, with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education."

Resolution 18th May 1882, paragraph 5.

"As education advances, there is rapidly growing up all over the country an intelligent class of public-spirited men, whom it is not only bad policy, but sheer waste of power, to fail to utilise. The task of administration is yearly becoming more onerous as the country progresses in civilisation and material prosperity. The annual reports of every Government tell of an ever-increasing burden laid upon the shoulders of the local officers. The cry is everywhere for increased establishments. The universal complaint in all departments is that of overwork. Under these circumstances it becomes imperatively necessary to look around for some means of relief; and the Governor General in Council has no hesitation in stating his conviction that the only reasonable plan open to the Government is to induce the people themselves to undertake, as far as may be, the management of their own affairs; and to develop, or create if need be, a capacity for self-help in respect of all matters that have not, for imperial reasons, to be retained in the hands of the representatives of Government."

Resolution of 18th May 1882, paragraph 6.

Such then, shortly stated, are the objects of our policy. I have already shown that it is in strict accordance with that which was inaugurated by Lord Mayo, and I have pointed out that there were special circumstances which

forced us, as it were, last year to consider whether we should attempt to make a farther advance towards the full realisation of that policy, and to what extent it would be wise to go in that direction. But it may be asked whether there is anything in the general state of the country at the present time which renders it a matter of political importance to give greater encouragement than had hitherto been practically given to the management of local business by the representatives of the local public. The theory of Lord Mayo's measures, and of the legislation of 1873 and the following years to which I have adverted above, was founded upon a desire to establish a wide system of Local Self-Government; but the practice has been of late years in many parts of the country falling more and more behind the theory. The question we have had to consider is whether, in the existing condition of India, it is desirable to give fresh life to that theory, and to make it to a greater extent a reality instead of a sham. To this question it seems to me that an affirmative answer must be given by any one who looks at the India of to-day, I will not say with the eye of a statesman, but with that of a man of any real political experience.

No one who watches the signs of the times in this country with even moderate care can doubt that we have entered upon a period of change; the spread of education, the existence and increasing influence of a free Press, the substitution of legal for discretionary administration, the progress of railways, telegraphs, &c., the easier communication with Europe, and the more ready influx of European ideas, are now beginning to produce a marked effect upon the people; new ideas are springing up; new aspirations are being called forth; the power of public opinion is growing and strengthening from day to day; and a movement has begun which will advance with greater rapidity and force every year. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of government, and especially of practically despotic government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind; to move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still; and the problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress, raw and superficial as in many respects it is, so as to direct it into a right course, and to derive from it all the benefits which its development is capable of ultimately conferring upon the country, and at the same time to prevent it from becoming, through blind indifference or stupid repression, a source of serious political danger. Considerations such as these give great importance to measures which, though small in themselves, are calculated to provide a legitimate outlet for the ambitions and aspirations which we have ourselves created by the education, civilisation, and material progress which we have been the means of introducing into the country; such measures will not only have an immediate effect in promoting gradually and safely the political education of the people, which is in itself a great object of public policy, but will also pave the way for further advances in the same direction as that education becomes fuller and more widespread. It is only what ought to be expected by every thoughtful man that, after 50 years of a free press and 30 years of expanding

education, with European ideas flowing into the country on every side, and old indigenous customs, habits, and prejudices breaking down all around, as caste is breaking down through the instrumentality of railways and other similar influences, changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires, and the aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country which no wise and cautious Government can afford to disregard, and to which they must gradually adapt their system of administration, if they do not wish to see it broken to pieces by forces which they have themselves called into being, but which they have failed to guide and to control. And even if there were no such necessity as the present circumstances of the country create for meeting the needs and providing for the aspirations of a time of change and progress, it would always be an aim worthy of the English Government in India to train the people over whom it rules more and more as time goes on to take an intelligent share in the administration of their own affairs. Among the political objects attainable in India I see at present none higher. The credit of having set that object before the Government of India belongs to a Conservative, not to a Liberal statesman; but it surely behoves the friends of liberal principles in the wide, not in any narrow party sense of the words, not to let Lord Mayo's policy become unfruitful in their hands, nor to allow it to be stifled beneath the stolid indifference or the covert hostility of men who cannot understand its meaning or appreciate its wisdom. There are of course always two policies lying before the choice of the Government of India; the one is the policy of those who have established a free press, who have promoted education, who have admitted natives more and more largely to the public service in various forms, and who have favoured the extension of self-government; the other is that of those who hate the freedom of the press, who dread the progress of education, and who watch with jealousy and alarm every thing which tends, in however limited a degree, to give the natives of India a larger share in the management of their own affairs. Between these two policies we must choose; the one means progress, the other means repression. Lord Lytton chose the latter, I have chosen the former, and I am content to rest my vindication upon a comparison of the results.

Such, then, is the policy upon which the Resolution of the 18th May was founded. In framing it we had to consider two main questions; what extension we should give to the principle of election in the selection of the members of municipalities and local boards; and in what manner the control over those bodies which it was necessary to retain in the hands of the Government should be exercised. The first was a question which, as I have shown, had long occupied the attention of the Government; the second was to a great extent a new question.

With regard to election as it affected municipalities, we determined to call upon Local Governments to give substantial effect to the legislation of 1873, and to make the promise of that legislation a reality instead of a sham.

But, in doing so, we were careful, in the first place, not to lay down an unbending general rule that the elective system should be introduced everywhere in municipalities, and we therefore said in the Resolution of the 18th May,—“The Governor General in Council does not require the adoption of the system of election in all cases, though that is the system which he hopes will ultimately prevail throughout the country, and which he wishes to establish now as widely as local circumstances will permit. Election in some form or other should be generally introduced in towns of any considerable size, but may be extended more cautiously and gradually to the smaller municipalities;” while, in the second place, we avoided what appeared to us to be one of the mistakes of the system of 1873, and, instead of prescribing a uniform system for each Province, framed very much upon an English model, we invited and encouraged Local Governments to try different systems in different districts of the country according to the local circumstances and requirements of each locality. The 14th paragraph of the May Resolution was, consequently, drawn up in these words:—

“As to the system of election to be followed, the Governor General in Council would here also leave a large discretion to the Local Governments. Experience is wanting to determine the most suitable general system for each province; and it is desirable that a variety of plans should be tried in order to a future comparison of results. The simple vote, the cumulative vote, election by wards, election by the whole town or tract, suffrage of more or less extended qualification, election by castes or occupations—these and other methods might all be tried. New methods, unthought of in Europe, may be found suitable to India; and after a time it will probably be possible to say what forms suit best the local peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the different populations. The Provincial Governments should, through their district officers, consult the leading natives of each locality, not only as to the possibility of introducing the elective system, but as to the arrangements most likely to meet their local circumstances; and should use every effort to make the schemes adopted as consonant as possible to the feelings and habits of the people.”

Our wish, therefore, was not to introduce into India any cut and dried system of English pattern, but to see a variety of systems tried in different parts of the country in order that we might find out by actual experience what was the system best suited to each Province or District; and we desired above all things that the new arrangements for Self-Government should, as far as possible, be those which were most consistent with the habits and the customs of the people in the different parts of India; that they should be drawn up in close consultation with representative men of different classes and localities; that they should be based so far as may be upon the indigenous native institutions which still exist; and that we should avail ourselves to the utmost of those “organic groups”—to use the words of the Lieutenant-

Governor of the Punjab—which are still to be found in many places, so that the system to be established might be one consonant with the traditions of the country and the feelings and requirements of the people.

In rural districts we were quite prepared to proceed even more gradually and cautiously than in towns, and any one who reads the Resolution of the Punjab Government of the 7th September last, which carries out the views of the Government of India in a manner perfectly acceptable to them, will see with what careful regard for the special conditions of each district it is proposed by those who enter most fully into the spirit of our policy to give effect to its principles. So much then as to election.

And now as to control. Here we entered to some extent upon new ground. It has been hitherto the practice that the chief executive officer of each district should be the chairman of the municipalities and local boards within his jurisdiction, and should exercise a direct control in that capacity over their proceedings. It will be evident to any one, especially to any one who has any knowledge of the natives of India, that the result of the constant presence of the chief executive officer at the meetings of local bodies, and of the control and guidance which he thus exercises over them at every step, must, except in rare cases, be destructive of the growth of anything like independence and fatal to any real training of the members of those bodies to manage their affairs for themselves. If municipalities and local boards are to be of real use for the purpose of such training, they must not be continually overshadowed by the presence of the “burra sahib” (the great man) of the district; they must be left gradually more and more to run alone, though watched from without by the executive authorities and checked if they run out of the right course. It was the opinion of the late Sir D. Macleod, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who knew the natives of India as well and as intimately as any man who ever served in this country, that “the municipal body should be, as regards essentials, really independent, so far as the interference of officials goes;” while Sir C. Aitchison in the Punjab Resolution of September last says,—“The Lieutenant-Governor is convinced that the ultimate aim of the Government of India is the right one, and that we must endeavour gradually to effect a complete separation between the functions of the official body and those of the local and town boards. The principle to be kept in view is check, not dictation. On this point paragraph 17 of the Resolution” (of the 18th May) “seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be almost exhaustive.” But, in deciding what course to take in respect to the mode in which it was desirable that the control of the Government should be exercised over local bodies, we have not acted only upon general considerations, however plain, nor upon abstract arguments, however cogent, nor yet upon the authority of men as eminent as Sir D. Macleod and Sir C. Aitchison; we have been led, by a careful examination of the discussions to which the publication of the Resolution of the 30th Septem-

ber 1881 gave rise, to the conviction that one main cause of the comparative failure which is so often said to have attended the efforts made up to the present time for the development of Self-Government and the extension of the elective principle is to be found in the fact that, unless a certain real freedom of action, to which the presence of the district officer is, generally speaking, an effectual bar, be secured to local bodies, the best men are not likely to wish to be upon them, and that they will either be filled with a lower and less reliable sort of persons, or become mere shams as they too often have been under the system hitherto in force. The local officer, just in proportion as he is an able and energetic administrator, will overshadow the rest of the board, and will so continually keep hold of their hands and lead them in the way that they should go that they will never learn to walk alone; if we really mean to train the natives of this country to take a substantial part in the administration of local affairs, we must give them fair opportunities of doing so, and must be content to see them make mistakes that they may learn by experience, which is the best of all teachers in the practical business of life, the mischievous consequences of unsound principles, or slothful neglect of duty. It must also be remembered that, so long as committees and boards are under the immediate guidance of the officers of Government, the non-official members will never be held responsible by their neighbours for any errors into which those bodies may fall. The whole blame will be thrown on the district officer, and the elected members will be practically relieved from all responsibility to their constituents. A substantial degree of independence of action and a real responsibility are essential to the success of local institutions, as instruments of political education. But if we look at the question from the other side, and consider it with reference to what is the most suitable position for the chief executive officer of the district, there is a great deal to be said for the view that his position, if he is outside the board—urging it forward if it is supine, checking it if it goes seriously wrong, and generally supervising its proceedings from the independent position of one who has had no personal part in them—will be more dignified and more impartial than it would be if he, as Chairman, had dictated those proceedings or taken an active share in the controversies connected with them. If he is not a member of the local body, his control over it will be exercised more wisely and more judiciously, and his advice to the Local Government upon questions which have to be referred to it will be more reliable and more free from personal bias.

It was for these reasons, which appeared to us weighty and convincing, that we expressed in the Resolution of the 18th May our wish "to see non-official persons acting, wherever practicable, as Chairmen of local boards;" but here again we were very careful not to lay down any hard and fast rule, and we therefore went on to say,—“There may, however, be places where it “would be impossible to get any suitable non-official Chairman, and there

“may be districts where the chief executive officer must for the present retain “these duties in his own hands.” Our ultimate object is that the control of the Government over local bodies should be exercised from without, instead of from within; we desire this arrangement to be adopted at once wherever local conditions may render it practicable to do so, but we are quite prepared to leave all reasonable latitude to Local Governments as to the time when, and the extent to which, this principle shall be applied in their respective provinces. It must be clearly understood that we have no idea of leaving municipalities and local boards without control. In the Resolution of the 18th May, paragraph 17, we said,—“The executive authorities should have two “powers of control. In the first place, their sanction should be required in “order to give validity to certain acts, such as the raising of loans, the im- “position of taxes in other than duly authorised forms, the alienation of “municipal property, interference with any matters involving religious questions “or affecting the public peace, and the like. (The cases in which such sanction “should be insisted upon would have to be carefully considered by each Gov- “ernment, and they would at the outset be probably somewhat numerous, but, “as the boards gained in experience, might probably be reduced in number.) “In the second place, the Local Government should have power to interfere “either to set aside altogether the proceedings of the board in particular cases, or, “in the event of gross and continued neglect of any important duty, to suspend “the board temporarily, by the appointment of persons to execute the office of “the board until the neglected duty had been satisfactorily performed. That being “done, the regular system would be re-established, a fresh board being elected “or appointed. This power of absolute supersession would require in every “case the consent of the Supreme Government. A similar power is reserved “to the Executive Government under several English statutes; and if required “in England, where local self-government is long established and effective, “it is not probable that it could be altogether dispensed with in India. It “should be the general function of the executive officers of Government to “watch, especially at the outset, the proceedings of the local boards; to point “out to them matters calling for their consideration; to draw their attention to “any neglect of duty on their part; and to check by official remonstrance any “attempt to exceed their proper functions, or to act illegally or in an arbi- “trary or unreasonable manner.” And in the 5th paragraph of our letter of the 4th October to the Bombay Government it was explained that it was our intention that the Government should retain “all necessary powers for dealing “with any board that failed in its duty—powers extending from simple remon- “strance up to an absolute, though temporary, supersession of the defaulting “body, and of course including such intermediate measures for the preven- “tion of serious and persistent neglect of duty as might be determined upon in “consultation with Local Governments.” We are firmly determined not to allow our policy to fail through the pertinacious neglect, the continued incom-

petence, or the mere sloth of the local bodies which we are about to reform or to create, and we shall take care to retain everywhere in the hands of the Government such powers as, according to the circumstances of each province, may be considered necessary to secure the adequate and faithful discharge of their duties by those to whom we propose to entrust more largely than heretofore the administration of local affairs. As to the extent of these powers and the mode of their exercise, we shall be mainly guided by the advice of the Local Governments, being careful, however, to see that the proper independence of the local bodies is not unduly restricted or interfered with.

It is not unnatural that our views on the subject of control should be regarded with disfavour by many members of the Civil Service; that Service constitutes a bureaucracy which, though it is probably the best bureaucracy in the world, has still the faults and the dangers which belong to every institution of that kind; among those faults is conspicuously a jealousy of allowing non-officials to interfere in any way whatever with any portion, however restricted, of the administration of the country; and something of this jealousy is no doubt felt on this occasion, and felt, I quite admit, by some of our best administrators, just because they are good administrators and are convinced that, as regards administration alone, they would manage matters better than they are likely to be managed by local boards; that is to say, they look only at the administrative, and disregard the political, aspect of the question of local government. There are, however, many good men, and some of the best in the country, who are cordially with us, and the support which we have received from Local Governments has been highly satisfactory. Mr. Grant Duff, the Governor of Madras, wrote to me on the 23rd June, and said,—“I have now had an opportunity of discussing with some of our best men the very important matter which formed the subject of your last letter, the extension, namely, of local self-government, and I am happy to say that, so far from finding any reluctance on their part to carry into effect your policy, they are ready to do so, not only as a matter of duty, but because they are persuaded that it is right and wise.” He has since put out a Resolution which we have been able to accept without comment. Mr. Rivers Thompson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who is a strong Conservative in politics, in a Circular which he issued last July, says,—“Having regard, not alone to the desirability of fostering intelligent and independent interest in local affairs, and of promoting the political education of the people, but also to the daily increasing burden of work on public officers, Mr. Rivers Thompson has no doubt that, where it is possible to provide effectively for the second kind of control” (that is control from without), “we should have recourse to it;” and in a speech which he recently made in the Bengal Legislative Council he used the following language:—“It” (the adoption of a new and enlarged system of Local Self-Government) “is a measure which the Viceroy is very anxious to see established throughout the country, and

“which, speaking personally for myself, I am strongly anxious to support as fully as I can. I think, after a rule of hundred years in India, it would rather be a disgrace to us than otherwise if we could not say the time has come when we should give to the people of this country a much larger share in the administration of their local affairs.” It will be seen, therefore, that he has heartily accepted our policy. In the Punjab, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir C. Aitchison, has declared in his Resolution of the 7th September last that “the whole policy expressed in the Resolution” (of the 18th May) “is frankly and cordially accepted by the Lieutenant-Governor. It is in his judgment conceived in a wise and liberal spirit;” and he is engaged in carrying it into effect in a manner thoroughly in accordance with the views and wishes of the Government of India. He is now on tour in his province, and, writing to me on the 13th December, he says,—“I have had some interesting conversations both with officials and native gentlemen on the subject of Local Self-Government, and am much encouraged by the support which the movement is likely to meet with in the Punjab. At Kaithal the natives are quite enthusiastic about it, and in the Karnal District arrangements are tolerably well advanced towards a practical trial.” The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Sir A. Lyall, wrote on the 29th May,—“I think we can work out Local Self-Government very satisfactorily on the broad lines laid down by the Resolution (of the 18th May), if we are allowed time and freedom as to details,” (which is, of course, what we intend to allow to all Local Governments in ample measure); and he also says in the same letter,—“As to withdrawing the chief executive officer from the presidency of the committees, I agree;” adding—“On the whole, I believe *our best district officers* are heartily in favour of the policy.” He has just published a Resolution which goes farther than any other, which has yet appeared, in the application of our full policy as regards municipalities, though its provisions with respect to local boards in rural districts are marked by great, and possibly rather excessive, caution. His scheme has, however, been accepted by the Government as, on the whole, suitable to the somewhat peculiar circumstances of the North-Western Provinces, and especially of Oudh, where the social condition of the rural population is such as to justify the retention at this moment of a larger amount of direct power in the hands of the local officers than would be necessary in many other parts of India. Mr. Morris in the Central Provinces is a warm supporter of the measures of the Government, and, being, above all things, an administrator of large experience, his approval of our proposals affords important testimony to their soundness from an administrative point of view. In Burma, Mr. Bernard, who is one of the ablest officials of his own standing in the service, and who was Home Secretary under the government of Lord Lytton, approves entirely, it might almost be said enthusiastically, of our policy in all its parts: while in Assam Mr. Elliott, the well-known Secretary to the Famine Commission, is carrying out our views to the utmost extent that we should desire

in so backward a province as that under his charge. We have met, therefore, with willing and ready co-operation on the part of all the Local Governments in India, except that of Bombay; and they are now, one and all of them, engaged in applying the principles of the May Resolution to their respective territories in the manner most suited to their local requirements, and most in accordance, it may be added, with the personal idiosyncracies of the different heads of those Governments.

In Bombay, I am sorry to say, we have had to encounter much opposition from the Government of that Presidency; and as it is probable that this untoward state of things may be made use of by our opponents at home, it is necessary to enter somewhat fully into the circumstances connected with it. Immediately after the issue of the Resolution of the 18th May I wrote a private letter to Sir James Fergusson explaining my views as to the two main questions raised in that Resolution, the extension of election, and the system of control. With regard to the former, I said to him,—“What we want to secure by our extension of Local Self-Government is not a representation of the people of an European democratic type, but the gradual training of the best, most intelligent, and most influential men in the community to take an interest and an active part in the management of their own affairs;” and, speaking of the system ordinarily adopted in India at present, that of “the simple vote with a uniform suffrage,” I distinctly said,—“I have a good deal of doubt whether this is really the best system for India in the existing condition of the people. I would not change it hastily where it is in operation, but I should like to see other plans tried in other places. I am inclined to think that election by castes or occupations would in many cases be more consonant with the feelings of the people, and more likely to lead good men to come forward as candidates.” In regard to the relations between the chief executive officers of the districts and the local bodies, I furnished him with explanations of my views similar to those which have been given in this Memorandum. To this letter he replied in a friendly spirit; discussing the points raised in it in a manner which showed that he fully apprehended my meaning, and saying,—“I am glad to understand your views and wishes, and I shall do my best to give effect to them.” It was evident that he was not in the least enthusiastic about the development of Self-Government, and that he regarded it with the timidity to be expected from a person of his marked Conservative opinions; but there was not a single expression in his letter which gave me the slightest idea that he looked upon the policy of the Government of India as one to be denounced in the strongest and most unmeasured terms. From the receipt of this letter of the 31st May until the Bombay Government had prepared, and was on the verge of issuing, their Resolution of the 19th September, I never heard any more from Sir J. Fergusson on the subject of Local Self-Government, although we were in frequent communication with each other, and although I might fairly have expected that, before he gave to the public a vehement denunciation of our

policy, he would have made some farther inquiries as to its real scope and purpose. But he did nothing of the kind, and in the Resolution to which I have just alluded, and which was published in the Bombay newspapers before it reached the Government of India, he devoted two paragraphs, the 2nd and 3rd, to a description of the views expressed in our May Resolution, which was inconsistent with the plain meaning of that document, and yet more, as regards the question of the suffrage, with the language of my private letter above quoted. On reading those paragraphs it was very hard to resist the feeling that they were intended for home consumption, and were meant to be used by Sir J. Fergusson's political friends as the materials for a Parliamentary attack. Be this as it may, the course pursued was so inconsistent alike with official and with private courtesy, and so calculated to give the public, both in India and in England, an erroneous impression of the real policy of the Government of India, that no alternative appeared open to us but to reply to the misrepresentations of the Bombay Government in plain and unmistakable language. This we did, but at the same time as it is an essential part of our policy to leave a large discretion to Local Governments, we were careful to interfere as little as possible with the practical details of the scheme of the Bombay Government; and, in fact, though we made some criticisms upon some of those details, we issued no orders in respect to any of them. It will be observed, therefore, that this controversy has not been of our seeking, that it has been forced upon us by Sir James Fergusson's Government, and that we have stood in regard to it altogether on the defensive. No one can regret more than I do the existence of any such controversy at all; a single private letter from Sir James Fergusson to me would have prevented the whole of it; the omission from the Bombay Resolution of two paragraphs of declamation, which had no practical value of any kind, would have entirely avoided it; but denunciation and misrepresentation of the Government of India by a subordinate Government, when once made public, rendered an equally public rejoinder unhappily unavoidable. The result has been in many ways unfortunate; the Government of Bombay has lost seriously in the estimation of the public of its own Presidency; the Press, European and Native, has, unanimously I believe, declared against it, and it has given great and, as it seems to me I must own, just offence to the large and intelligent body of native gentlemen of education and position who are to be found in that Presidency. I will say no more on this disagreeable topic, except that it will now be the earnest endeavour of the Government of India to restore good relations with the Bombay Government,—an object which the recent change in the composition of that Government by the substitution of Mr. Peile for Mr. Ashburner will, I trust, tend to facilitate.

Such then is the present state of this question. The policy of the Government of India has the willing support of all the Local Governments except that of Bombay; it is being carried out gradually with all due caution, and

with that adjustment of details to local circumstances which the Government has all along contemplated and desired. Great latitude in this respect is everywhere being left to the local authorities; the system as we are working it, and have always intended to work it, is thoroughly elastic; in some parts of the country inhabited by wild races or disorderly tribes nothing will be done or attempted; in other districts, which, though more advanced, are yet comparatively backward, any steps which may be taken will be cautious and limited; while even in the most civilised and best educated portions of country, where our principles may be fully applied, every care will be taken to consult local wishes and pay regard to local conditions. The manner in which the announcement of our policy has been received by the public is, on the whole, full of promise. The way in which it has been hailed by the natives throughout the country is a matter of surprise, for, after all, it is not such a great boon which we are giving them; we are simply proposing to allow them to manage their own local affairs,—schools, roads, sanitary matters,—by themselves, and in their own way, under the strict superintendence and control of the Government. Small, however, as the gift really is, it has called forth the expression of universal satisfaction and gratitude; the scheme has been commented upon, week after week, by the native newspapers, and numerous public meetings have been held in connection with it, and, what is more satisfactory a great deal than any number of laudatory articles and votes of thanks, the tone of the discussions which have taken place has been to a very large extent really practical; a certain amount of high flown nonsense has of course been written and spoken; but, as a general rule, writers and speakers appear to feel that it is for the people themselves to shew that they are fit to receive the share which is now offered to them in the conduct of their own affairs. They seem perfectly to understand the limits and conditions of the offer, and to be ready to accept them, and there is no doubt that at this moment the Government of India is in possession of an amount of popularity which it has rarely enjoyed. Of course such popularity is not in itself any conclusive argument that our scheme is a good one, and it is only too likely to be fleeting; but it is needless to point out how serious might be the political result of disappointing the hopes which have been raised; it would not merely be that the good feeling which now exists would be destroyed; a great deal more harm than that would be done; the people would become convinced that they could place no reliance on the English Government; that their rulers were really hostile to them and desired only to keep them down; that they were utterly distrusted and regarded as unfit to look after their own parish affairs: the revulsion of sentiment would be very great, and the effect produced would be fraught with serious mischief. It is only my strong conviction of the evils which would follow from a reversal of our policy on the subject with which this memorandum deals which can justify the length to which it has run. But, entertaining that conviction, I have felt bound to

put the case in favour of the course which the Government of India has pursued in this matter as clearly and as fully as I could, and to state my firm belief that no question connected with India is at the present moment of greater and more critical importance than that of the attitude which may be assumed by Her Majesty's Government, or by Parliament, on the subject of Local Self-Government.

26-12-82.

R.

(372)

Three points seem to me to be clear—

The first is that, although the exploration may serve to satisfy the curiosity of geographers, from every other point of view it will be quite useless.

The second is that Mr. Ney Elias must run *some* personal risk in performing the proposed service.

The third is that, in case of necessity, we should be powerless to exercise any effective interference on this behalf—and, under these circumstances,—more especially as Mr. Ney Elias is the recognised Agent of the Government of India, whatever influence we may possess in neighbouring territories cannot but be diminished.

If the choice lies between sending an officer of the Survey Department, and Mr. Ney Elias, the latter would on every account be preferable. But I should be inclined to think that neither an officer of the Survey Department, nor Mr. Ney Elias, should be allowed to go. The advantages to be gained by the exploration do not, to my mind, compensate for the risk to be run.

On the other hand, I see that the exploration was sanctioned last year, and there is really no greater objection to it now than there was a year ago.

Very truly yours,
(Sd.) E. BARING.

No. 375.

FROM

THE HON'BLE C. H. T. CROSTHWAITE,
Addl. Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

TO

H. W. PRIMROSE, Esq.,
Private Secy. to the Viceroy.

SIMLA;

June 6th, 1882.

MY DEAR PRIMROSE,

Will you kindly place the enclosed Note on district self-government before the Viceroy? I venture to ask him to read it before we proceed further with the Central Provinces Self-Government Bill.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C. H. T. CROSTHWAITE.

(373)

[ENCLOSURE TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.]

Note by the Hon'ble C. H. T. CROSTHWAITE on district self-government.

The difficulty in constructing a scheme of local self-government for an Indian district is to steer between the danger of making a reality which will not work, and that of creating a sham behind which everything is to go on as at present. I am equally opposed to either of these courses; but I have not yet seen any proposals for the constitution of the committees which are free from one or other of these defects.

There is no doubt that the present local committees are more or less a sham everywhere, so far as my information extends: partly because the members are not always fit men, partly because the areas under each committee are too large; chiefly because these institutions, as at present organised, are mere excrescences attached to, but not grafted on, native society.

It is possible to leave the committees constituted very much as heretofore, and composed of the same kind of men, and to make them a reality by giving them large powers, and by rigorously excluding all official interference.

In this case there is reason to apprehend that they will not work. It is hardly possible, speaking from my own experience, to find men with the intelligence and business-habits necessary for administering the local funds who, from mere public spirit, will devote their time to work of this sort.

A great deal of money will be wasted, trade checked, and the public inconvenienced, and the whole scheme will be discredited.

It is easy, on the other hand, to draft a Bill which, while it is in accordance with the views of Government, will practically leave the executive officers of Government to administer the local funds as they do now. This is in some respects the worse alternative of the two. It is the danger most likely to affect the experiment in a country like the Central Provinces, in which the number of intelligent men capable of taking a share in public business is small.

In order to give life to a system of self-government, it must be grafted on, and made to develop from, some existing living organism. The individual of Indian political life is the village; and although much has been done, and many circumstances have combined to decompose the village, it still has sufficient vitality for the present purpose.

In the Revenue Act, passed last year for the Central Provinces, power was taken to appoint for each village a makaddam or headman with the view of preserving the village for administrative purposes. Where there is a resident proprietor fit for the duties, such proprietor will be the headman. In other cases the most substantial ryot or cultivator will be appointed. The headman, when he is not the proprietor, is to get a small remuneration from the village rents.

Now, I think, if the scheme of self-government is based on this village organisation, it will have a distinct meaning to the people at large, and will contain within itself both life and the power of growth.

If committees or boards are appointed consisting, as hitherto, of A, B, and C, chosen because they are the habitual courtiers of the authorities, or because they live near the headquarters of the district, or for no reason at all, they will be looked on as foreign institutions—puppets to be made and unmade at the caprice of the Government. They will not be regarded as in any way representative of the people.

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If, on the other hand, they are chosen from among the headmen of villages and eventually elected by them, I have some hope that they will take firm root and add greatly to the strength of Government, both in the ordinary work of the administration and in dealing with famines. The first step then in the whole business is to see that each village has its headman.

The district should then be divided into convenient circles, the size of which must necessarily vary with the conditions of the district. Circles should be composed as far as possible of villages which have like interests; e. g., villages which depend on the same road, the same pass through the hills, the same schools, and the like.

The circles again should be brought together in groups (for which some local name, such as *pargana*, or *taluka*, might be used), and for each group there should be a local committee consisting of representative headmen from each circle.

From these local committees should be chosen the district board, which should have a considerable power of control and direction over the committees; and on the board also should sit local magnates and prominent merchants, who would, as a rule, be above the class of village headmen of which the local committees would consist.

I am inclined to think that the honorary titles which the Government intends to give should be restricted to the members of the district boards; otherwise there is some danger of bringing these distinctions into discredit.

The mercantile members of the board would be taken from the prominent members of their profession. There exists a regular organisation among the trades or castes which would make it easy to extend the elective system to them.

It is in my opinion necessary that the members of local committees should receive some remuneration. Unless this is done, we shall not get as much as we want from them, and there will be no pressure of public opinion on them to make them work. If they get a fair remuneration, the position of representative headman of a circle will be coveted as a profitable distinction, and the headmen in his circle will not let neglect or indifference on his part pass unnoticed.

The form of remuneration which I would prefer to adopt would be that most consonant with native ideas—the remission of the revenue on a certain portion of his Sir land, or of the land in his cultivation to the extent of about Rs. 100 per annum for each man. The cost would in my calculation not exceed from two to three thousand rupees per district, and I think it would add greatly to the chances of success. The expenditure must be regarded as a percentage paid for the supervision of local works.

The members of the district board would not be remunerated. Such of them as were on local committees would get their remuneration in that capacity, and the rest would not be in a position to care for it, or require it. The question of *ex-officio* members is one of considerable difficulty. It seems to me impossible to start the boards and committees in the first instance without associating with them one or more persons accustomed to the business. At the same time I am averse from laying down in the Act that such and such officials shall be on the committee or board.

The best way out of the difficulty appears to be a provision by which some of the places on the board and on the committees should be at the disposal of Government; the number of such places not to exceed say one-third or one-fourth of the whole number—I mean that this provision should remain even after a system of election had been generally adopted. The power need not always be exercised.

The system I propose would then be as follows:—

- 1.—Every village to have a headman.
- 2.—The district to be divided into circles of villages, and the circles to be arranged in groups.
- 3.—A local committee to be created for each group.
- 4.—The local committee to consist of representative headmen, one from each circle, to be appointed at first by the local Government on the district officer's nomination, and afterwards elected by the headmen of each circle.
- 5.—Over the local committees a district board, which should consist of (1) representatives elected by each local committee, (2) representatives of the mercantile classes, who would eventually be elected, (3) local magnates who might be chosen at first by the Government and afterwards by the board itself.
- 6.—The Government to have the power, which at first starting it would necessarily exercise, of appointing additional persons to be members of committees or boards, the number of such persons being restricted.

The question then arises, should the law which it is intended to pass recognise and provide for the constitution, or should it be so framed as to render the plan possible but not imperative? My own opinion is that the main lines should be laid down in the law, and that the Act should be so framed as to show clearly what is intended.

The matter of remuneration might be left open. Power might be given to the local Government to frame rules for the remuneration of members and to decide whether, and in what cases, remuneration should be given. Another question which it is quite possible may arise in the Central Provinces is whether the application of any scheme of self-government is practicable in some districts. I am very much averse from introducing the scheme into places where, from the present condition of the people and the utter absence of leading men of intelligence, it must fail or become a sham. I would therefore in the local extent clause provide that the Act need not be extended to all districts at once. It is not at all improbable that the exclusion of a district would be felt by the upper classes as a disgrace, and might have a stimulating effect.

(Sd.) C. H. T. CROSTHWAITE.

No. 376.

FROM
GENERAL SIR D. M. STEWART, BART., G. C. B., C. I. E.,
Commander-in-Chief in India.

To
THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

SIMLA;

June 6th, 1882.

DEAR LORD RIPON,

No one has ever thought of recommending Dr. Cuninghame for a good service pension, because he has no field service, and it was for purely military services that these rewards were instituted.

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No. 236.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

A. O. HUME, Esq., C. B.

CALCUTTA;

December 6th, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. HUME,

I should have thanked you sooner for your letter of last month, if I had not found it very difficult to get time for correspondence of any kind during my late tour. I avail myself, however, of the first opportunity, which has presented itself since I have been once more settled here, to tell you how much obliged to you I am for the excellent letter about local self-government which appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 4th November. You put the case as well as possible, and your words have already had a very useful effect.

I am rather afraid that the native supporters of our policy are not unlikely to fall into a trap which is, I suspect, being skilfully laid for them by some of our opponents. I have observed during my tour a tendency in some official quarters to decry control from without, and to represent it as much harsher than control from within. I look upon this sort of talk in the mouths of the persons to whom I am alluding as an ingenious device for rehabilitating control from within and setting the District Officer up again as the Chairman of Local Boards. Now, control of some kind we must have, or our scheme, if it were not stopped at the outset by the outcries of the Members of the Indian Council at home, would ere long be discredited by a few cases of bad local mismanagement, which we should be unable to remedy. An outbreak of fever in a station where there were a certain number of Europeans, and which had hitherto been well managed as regards sanitary matters by an energetic District Officer, opposed, as such officers will often be, to the management of local affairs by any body but himself, might, if well worked by the enemies of our policy, produce an impression at home capable of endangering our whole system while it was still in its infancy. We must, therefore, place ourselves in a position to show in any such case that we have the means and the will to act promptly so as to prevent the supineness or want of intelligence of a local body from endangering the lives of the people whose affairs it has been called upon to administer. In the early days of the scheme great care must be taken in any instances of this kind. When local self-government has taken firm root in the country, occurrences of this sort will be comparatively unimportant, but

at first they will require careful watching and the speedy application of remedies; and, therefore, although it is my strong and expressed wish to see local bodies treated with all patience and gentleness, I am bound, in the interests of my policy, and with a view to its maintenance and farther extension, to retain in the hands of the Government adequate means for compelling the recalcitrant and slothful to do their duty.

The question then is, how is this to be done? I say—as a rule from without, not from within. There is, I am convinced, all the difference in the world between external and internal control. With internal control the growth of real self-government is almost impossible; the local officer, just in proportion as he is an able and energetic administrator, will overshadow the rest of the Board, and will so continually keep hold of their hands, and lead them in the way that they should go, that they will never learn to walk alone; there may be exceptions in the case of men very earnest for the promotion of self-government, but they will be few and far between, and, generally speaking, the great object of the policy of the Government, the training of the people to manage their own affairs, will be defeated. It must also be remembered that control from within is a thing of constant daily occurrence, and that it is, so to speak, the result of the insensible action of the strong trained European will upon the infirmer purpose and smaller experience of the Native Members of the Board. It is, therefore, quite possible that the whole aim of the Government may be frustrated, and that the Boards may remain the shams which they have hitherto so often been, without its being possible for the Government to take hold of any definite act of the official Chairman as being in itself inconsistent with their orders.

But in regard to control from without, the case is quite different; that control can only be exercised in regard to some particular case or cases in which the Board can be shown to have misused its powers or neglected its duties. As a rule, its members will be left alone; they must make a slip, or what can be represented as a slip, before they can be interfered with, and when the interference comes there will always be an appeal to the local Government upon tangible questions of fact, which are capable of proof or disproof. With the increasing power of the Press, with the growing strength of public opinion in this country, the danger of the serious and general abuse of external control is small, and will become steadily less and less. One or two cases in which a defaulting Board was sharply dealt with, while they would show our critics here and at home that the Government had no intention of allowing the important duties handed over to the local bodies to be neglected, would be sure to arouse an amount of criticism and discussion which would render it impossible for any local Government to interfere wantonly or frequently. But I hear it said that such interference, even when just and necessary, would produce much irritation; possibly it might, but that very fact would tend to check the interference, and to render officials cautious in attempting to exercise it.

If, therefore, there must be a power of control somewhere, and this cannot, I think, be reasonably contested, I am convinced that control from without, wherever Local Boards are fit to walk alone at all, is the right system to adopt; and I am sure that to run it down is only to play the game of those who dislike the whole policy of the Government on this subject, and would be glad to see it fail.

I should much like to know how far you agree with the views which I have expressed above.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

No. 237.

FROM THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.
TO SIR C. U. AITCHISON, K. C. S. I.,
Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab.

CALCUTTA;
December 7th, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,

I have just been reading your review of the Punjab Education Report, and I cannot resist writing you a few lines to say how heartily I agree with the views which you have expressed in it. It is only another pleasant proof of the deep sympathy of opinion which exists between us.

We accomplished the rest of our tour after I left you very successfully, and arrived here *au point nommé* on Saturday last. I am sure that you will be sorry to hear that we have since received news that my Aide-de-Camp, E. Brett, is very dangerously ill of typhoid fever in London. We are in great anxiety about him.

I trust that your daughter has joined you in good health.
Lady Ripon unites with me in kind regards to Lady Aitchison, and

I remain
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

I enclose for your perusal an extract from a letter which I have received from a leading Mahomedan gentleman of Surat regarding the representation of Mahomedans on the Municipal and Local Boards. He fully supports what I have repeatedly endeavoured to impress on Government that, unless some special provisions are embodied in the Acts, it will go hard with the Mahomedans. I believe the matter is not finally settled yet, and I beg you to bring it, if possible, to His Excellency's notice. There are several methods by which a fair representation of the Mahomedans may be secured, one of them being the method suggested by the Central National Mahomedan Association to the Bengal Government. I will tell you frankly I am extremely anxious on this subject, for I fear very much, if no step is taken to guarantee a fair representation of the Mussulman element, it will be a fruitful source of trouble and difficulty in the future. As you know, I am an enthusiastic advocate of the Local Self-Government scheme. What I want is that my people should not, as they are apt from sheer force of majority to be, excluded from representation. With two different communities, utterly alien to each other in creed and language, customs and usages, subsisting side by side, you cannot expect one uniform system will work without any friction at all.

The *Indian Mirror* is gone clean off its head. It is incessantly harping on the Ilbert Bill and the *concordat*, and thus keeping alive the race-bitterness of the agitation-period. It is now endeavouring to create bitterness of feeling among the Mahomedans by attacking Syed Ameer Hossain, who has just been appointed Presidency Magistrate. This gentleman's appointment has given satisfaction to all classes, for he possesses great tact and judgment, and is just the man for the post in these ticklish times. But the irreconcilable *Mirror* won't see it.

Yours very sincerely,
(Sd.) AMEER ALI.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

I am very sorry to have to inform you that the system of the Local Self-Government introduced by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Lord Ripon is worked here for the benefit of one community only. I give below a table showing the result of the election and different class of population in each of the 16 Municipalities in the Bombay Presidency, Sind being excepted. It will appear to you from this table that the Mahomedans are very meagrely and disproportionately represented in the Municipal Boards of Belgaum, Surat, Nasik, Malegaum, and Broach, and not at all represented in the Boards of the principal cities of Ahmedabad, Poona, Ahmednagar, Dharwar, Satara, Ratnagiri, Nariad, and Yeola.

| Name of Municipality. | POPULATION. | | | | NO. OF COMMISSIONERS ELECTED FROM EACH CLASS OF POPULATION. | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------|---|-------------|-------------|--------|
| | Hindus. | Mahomedans. | Parsis, &c. | TOTAL. | Hindus. | Mahomedans. | Parsis, &c. | TOTAL. |
| Ahmedabad City ... | 86,544 | 27,124 | 13,953 | 127,621 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 12 |
| Surat " ... | 76,264 | 21,430 | 12,150 | 109,844 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| Poona " ... | 86,387 | 10,519 | 2,716 | 99,622 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 12 |
| Sholapur " ... | 41,387 | 14,780 | 2,114 | 61,281 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 12 |
| Broach " ... | 22,201 | 10,847 | 4,233 | 37,281 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 12 |
| Ahmednagar " ... | 29,239 | 5,934 | 2,318 | 37,491 | 11 | 0 | 5 | 12 |
| Satara " ... | 24,525 | 3,596 | 907 | 29,028 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 12 |
| Nariad " ... | 23,978 | 4,028 | 298 | 28,304 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 12 |
| Dharwar " ... | 19,709 | 6,545 | 857 | 27,191 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| Nasik " ... | 21,579 | 3,754 | 1,737 | 27,070 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 12 |
| Belgaum " ... | 16,519 | 5,161 | 1,435 | 23,115 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 12 |
| Yeola " ... | 12,191 | 4,972 | 522 | 17,685 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Thana " ... | 11,458 | 1,398 | 1,600 | 14,456 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 12 |
| Malegaum " ... | 8,086 | 5,870 | 446 | 14,402 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 9 |
| Kalyan " ... | 9,949 | 2,359 | 302 | 12,910 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 7 |
| Ratnagiri " ... | 9,343 | 3,076 | 197 | 12,616 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 12 |

From the above table, which I have prepared after careful enquiry, it will appear that the proportion of the Mahomedan population to Hindus and others is about one to three in the chief cities of the Bombay Presidency, and I have also ascertained that the proportion of Mahomedans possessing the qualification of voters is also equal to that of the population, viz., one Mahomedan to three Hindus. Thus where there are 12 Commissioners to be returned by the voters, three at least ought to be Mahomedans, but alas! such is not the case as has been proved above, and what is it due to? I deny that the Mahomedans are wanting in efforts to stand candidates, or are not anxious for seats in Municipal Boards as the Hindus seem to represent. I also deny that they are not possessed of the qualification to become Municipal Commissioners, but I attribute this to the system of election introduced by Government. I shall just give you a brief sketch as to the manner in which this system was got up.

A meeting of the public and principal residents of the place and of the Municipal Commissioners for the time being was held some time before the time of election to decide what sort of election system should be carried out. The Hindus were of opinion that it should be by ward; the Mahomedans and some of the leading members of the Parsi community advocated the system by communities, pointing out the injustice which will be done to the communities consisting less population in the ward. Votes were taken, and, in consequence of the preponderance of the Hindus, it was decided to have the election by ward, and the Government of Bombay not only sanctioned it, but rejected the representation made by the Commissioner of the Northern Division, Mr. Shephard, that the election would not be fair to the communities on the ground of their containing less number. Thus by such means the Government has been the means of getting one community overruled by the other, and yet the Local Self-Government has been known to be one of the most popular works of the present Government. Municipalities have been entrusted with the supervision of primary and elementary education. The Hindu Commissioners will examine the Urdu, Persian, and Arabic schools, not knowing a letter of any of those languages. Is it fair? I trust you will kindly do something in the matter as soon as possible, specially now, when there is to be a reconstitution of the whole Municipal Boards under the Amendment Act. I am sure you will kindly do this for your co-religionists. Your efforts in the amelioration of the conditions of the Mahomedans have done a good deal towards the attainment of that object, and I fervently hope you will be pleased to take up this matter

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the part which they took in the Salem riots of 1882. I have placed a copy of the address with the accompanying papers. I replied to it by saying that the cases of these persons had been very fully considered by the Courts of Law, and especially by the High Court on appeal, and that I could hold out no hope of being able to remit sentences which had been pronounced after such very careful judicial inquiry. I tried to make the tone of my remarks as considerate as possible, while at the same time I discouraged any hope of my being able to reopen the cases of the prisoners.

Since then a Madras newspaper has got hold of a demi-official letter of Mr. McIver, the Additional Joint Magistrate sent to get up the case for the prosecution, and of the notes of the Government and Members of Council upon it, and has published them. The result has been a great recrudescence of excitement upon the subject of the Salem trials, and the question is now being warmly and angrily debated in the Press throughout India. There can be no doubt from inquiries that I have made that the Hindoos generally believe that false charges were got up against the leading members of their community in Salem by the special detectives brought in by Mr. McIver, and that the principal men now undergoing punishment were unjustly convicted.

Under these circumstances I have thought it right to read through the judgments pronounced in the High Court and to examine the other papers available here. The impression left on my mind is that the case was very carefully gone into by the Judges of the High Court, and that their bias, if they had any, was certainly not against the accused. They evidently felt the case to be a difficult one, and regarded a good deal of the evidence for the prosecution as untrustworthy. Mr. Justice Innes, who was the least favourable of the three Judges to the accused, says,—“The case was one of great complexity and difficulty, and one as to which the opinions even of those who are accustomed to deal with evidence may fairly differ.” If when I was at Madras I had known as much about the matter as I do now, I should probably have referred the address to the Chief Justice and asked his opinion upon it. I can of course do so now, but before taking such a step I should like to have your advice upon the whole question. Please therefore look over the papers which I send with this letter and let me have your opinion upon them.

It seems to me that Mr. Maclean, the Collector of Salem, was much to blame for being absent at a moment when there was great reason to believe that a serious riot was impending (it is said that he was at Bangalore Races, but I do not know whether this is true), and I think that the Madras Government ought to have taken very serious notice of his conduct, but this has of course nothing to do with the guilt or innocence of the persons convicted.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

The publication of Mr. MacIver's letter, and of the minutes upon it, was very unfortunate; but it was merely a sensational incident, and does not affect the merit of the case. It shows that Mr. MacIver is a gentleman of more zeal than discretion, and that he is capable of writing a very injudicious letter. It also shows, what we know already, that Members of Council do not weigh their words when writing minutes which are not intended for publication. But it does not show that any undue influence was brought to bear on the High Court, or that the case for the prosecution was presented to them in an unfair or a misleading form.

The Hindu papers throughout the country appear to have echoed the cry that the prisoners are the innocent victims of a conspiracy. But they could hardly be expected to take a judicial view of the case.

On the whole, I should be disposed to send a copy of the petition to the Chief Justice of Madras, and to ask him whether it would, in his opinion, be expedient or proper to remit, as a matter of grace, any part of the sentences passed on the prisoners. The objection to doing so would, of course, be that the remission might be construed as implying a doubt about the justice of the convictions.

The conduct of Mr. Maclean has, as you say, nothing to do with the innocence or guilt of the prisoners; but it appears to me that his absence at so critical a juncture was passed over too lightly by the Madras Government. It might be well to ascertain privately whether there is any truth in the report that he was at the Bangalore races.

Believe me,
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C. P. ILBERT.

No. 2.

FROM

THE HON'BLE SIR CHARLES A. TURNER, *Kt.*,
Chief Justice, High Court, Madras.

TO

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, *K. G.*

WOODLANDS, OOTACAMUND;

June 4th, 1884.

DEAR LORD RIPON,

When your Excellency's letter reached me enclosing a petition on behalf of the persons under sentence for offences in connection

with the Salem riots, I had left Madras to spend the vacation on the hills, and could not at once procure the files which I desired to consult. This must be my excuse for the delay in replying to your Excellency.

I find that 51 persons are now undergoing sentence. Their names and sentences are shown in the enclosed table. The cases of the prisoners 1-25 came before me on appeal. The cases of the prisoners 26-42 were, I believe, disposed of *by other Judges on appeal*. The prisoners 43-51 did not appeal from the judgment of the Sessions Court.

I have again considered the evidence in the cases which were heard by me on appeal in reference to the arguments offered by the petitioners, and I see no reason to doubt the propriety of the convictions.

The petitioners allege that "the riot was purely a fight between demoralized mobs of Hindus and Mahomedans, that the higher orders took no part in it, and that there was no conspiracy." That on the morning of August 16th the Mahomedans rose in Salem (the eastern portion), and attacked and wounded a number of Hindus, and that a little later on at Gogai the Mahomedans burnt down Hindu houses and chucklers' huts and shot many Hindus; that at the beating of drums in Mahomedan quarters the Mahomedans collected in numbers, the Hindu mobs rose, the Mahomedans were driven to their houses, and that the mob having secured an easy and unexpected victory, began to burn down Mahomedan houses in revenge, and finally burnt down the mosque.

They assert that "the presence of intelligent and respectable citizens at the mosque leading the mob was not discovered until after the arrival of the special detective officers, and the formation of the prosecution theory."

They suggest that the admission of the Judges who supported the convictions, that much of the evidence was untrustworthy and that the ascertainment of the truth was difficult, justifies suspicion of the whole of the evidence and of the soundness of the Judges' conclusions. Lastly, they refer to an expectation held out by the Sessions Judge that the sentences pronounced by him would be revised by the Government after a certain period.

In confirming the convictions it will be seen from my judgments that, with one exception, I was careful to support the judgment of the Sessions Court only in the cases of those persons against whom there was direct and, as I considered, reliable evidence that they had taken part in the actual attack on the mosque. I did not disbelieve wholly the evidence that there had been combined action on the part of some and necessarily influential Hindus to achieve certain ends. There was a combination to refuse supplies to Mahomedans in

Shivapet, and there was a combination formed subsequently to refuse supplies to Mahomedans in Salem. There was also, I have no doubt, a combination to prevent the Mahomedans from performing their usual ceremonies on the Klutba day; and there was evidence, which I still believe to be trustworthy, that a conspiracy was formed not later than August 14th to destroy the mosque at Shivapet. But inasmuch as I regarded the evidence of the witnesses, who were called to prove the alleged meetings, with the exception of the meeting at Baradiah's house as untrue, I acted only on the evidence of the last mentioned meeting.

As to the circumstances of the day of the riot, the prosecution adduced evidence wholly free from suspicion to prove large and disorderly assemblies of the Hindus in the several divisions of the town. Mr. Mullaly, the Assistant Magistrate, who went to whatever point was threatened with disturbance, does not mention any assemblage of Mahomedans. The first report he received was of the firing of a Mahomedan house at Kichipolum, and in proceeding there he was shown a Hindu who had been shot. He also saw two Mahomedans, one of whom was dead and the other dying. There was no evidence to show how the disturbance which had resulted in these crimes had originated; but while there was evidence to show that the Hindus were assembled in numbers, there was no evidence called on the part of the defence to prove a similar assemblage of Mahomedans. At a later hour the mob of Hindus crossed the bridge and attacked the houses of Mahomedans in the bazaar, but there was no evidence offered to show that this attack had been provoked. In the east of Salem Mr. Mullaly's attention was called to a Hindu boy who had been severely wounded, but it was not shown under what circumstances this violence had been inflicted. Putting together the evidence as to the fighting between the Hindu suburb of Gogai and the Mahomedans in the Fort quarter, it appeared that Hindus had commenced the engagement by firing from Gogai across the channel into the fort, and that the Police had crossed the river to disperse the rioters, and it appeared probable that when they drove the rioters back they had been accompanied or followed by Mahomedans who set fire to some huts in the neighbourhood of the place from which the firing had proceeded. Having again consulted the records of the principal cases, I remain of opinion that there was a design formed to destroy the mosque, and that combined action was taken for that purpose by certain Hindus, although it is most probable that the design was known only to a few.

Mr. Mullaly's evidence disposes of the suggestion that the theory that the rioters were led by respectable men had its origin after the arrival of the special Police force. He swore on the 2nd trial in the Sessions Court that Sundaram, Vencatachella, and Manicka Mudely were mentioned to him as ringleaders on the day following the riot, and no special detective had then reached Salem.

The Judges who confirmed the convictions were careful to exclude from their consideration all evidence, which appeared to them from any cause tainted. The circumstance that they felt compelled to reject some as wholly untrustworthy, imposed on them more than ordinary caution in accepting any, but did not justify them in refusing to act in what they believed to be worthy of credit.

The prisoners 1-6 were, it appeared to me and my colleague Mr. Justice Innes, shown to have been ringleaders. The position, which the Police force under the Superintendent and accompanied by the Magistrate took up, would have prevented them from observing who led the attack, if indeed they had arrived before the destruction of the mosque was attempted, which was not proved. The special guard had, it would seem, deserted their post when the mob arrived. At any rate the constables who composed it were examined by neither party.

From the store of Shammugam Achari the implements were procured with which the destruction of the mosque was attempted. Ramasami was a brother of Baradrah, in whose house members of his own caste asserted the destruction of the mosque had been arranged by Ramasami. The prisoners 9-25, and at a much later date the prisoner 42, were identified as having taken part in the actual destruction of the mosque. While the Police were restrained by the mob from advancing to interrupt the destruction of the mosque, opportunity was afforded to take note of the rioters who stood near, and after a little time a Sub-Inspector was directed to make a note of the names and addresses of the persons recognised. Many of the prisoners convicted in Session case No. 5 were entered in their note, and several were arrested within a day or two after the riot, while a larger number of the persons accused and tried in the Sessions case No. 5 were convicted by the Assessors than by the Judge. The prisoners 26-41 were convicted of plundering shops in the vicinity of Kichipollem bridge and Salem market. The shops were plundered, and I see no reason adduced for doubting that the witnesses who spoke to the identity of the accused were actuated by any other desire than to bring to justice the offenders. They appear to have accused a few persons only out of the large number engaged in the crimes; and although in each case the Judge acquitted some of the persons accused with the prisoners, this occurred because the Judge was scrupulous to convict only such persons whose guilt was fully established, rather than from a conviction that the evidence against the persons he acquitted was false.

I cannot recommend your Excellency that any such doubt arises as to the propriety of the conviction of any of the persons now undergoing sentence, that the intervention of the Crown is on that ground called for.

As to the propriety of revising the sentences in any of the cases, I think that any person who considers the magnitude of the offence will be satisfied on perusing the enclosed list that the Courts did not deal severely with the offenders, while, however, the case was one in which the Courts were bound to visit what was to some extent a rebellion against authority with exemplary punishment; in a large degree, and not altogether without reason, popular sympathy suggests such modifications of the sentences as the Government may feel justified in according.

The Hindus had of old enjoyed a right of procession around Shivapet. That right was disturbed by the erection of a mosque on a site possibly selected for the very purpose of constituting an impediment to the procession. The Hindus sought their remedy in the Civil Courts; and were declared, apart from usage, entitled to the right of procession. The District Magistrate, Mr. Stokes, found himself in a position to allow the enjoyment of the right. The order of the Madras Government of the 6th June 1882, which apparently was issued in the belief that the usage was novel, and certainly under the impression that usage was material, suggested to the Magistracy that there were few occasions on which they would be in a position to allow processions, if resistance to them was threatened. When the District Magistrate, Dr. Maclean, went even beyond the order to express a doubt, if it would be his duty to sanction a procession, even if he had at hand sufficient force to prevent disorder; men who had properly sought to enforce these rights by civil remedies, it may be, were persuaded that the only course open to them was to show that they were as keen to resent the deprivation of their rights as their religious opponents were to prevent them from enjoying it. The circumstances of the case not unnaturally provoke some sympathy with the offenders.

I venture to advise your Excellency to suggest to the Government of Madras that effects may be given to the promise held out by the Sessions Judge; that the sentences should after a season be re-considered by the Government, and that such modifications should be made as the Madras Government might consider could be conceded without detriment to the ends of justice.

I have the honour to be,

your Excellency's respectfully and faithfully,

(Sd.) CHARLES. A. TURNER.

P. S.—I have shown this letter to Mr. Wigram, who expresses his entire concurrence in the views I have expressed.

| No. in this letter. | No. of Sessions case. | No. of Appeal. | Name. | Sentence of S. C. | Sentence of H. C. |
|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1 | 1 of 1882 | 331 of 1882 | Sundaram Chetti | Tr. for life | Confirmed. |
| 2 | " | " | Venestachella Mudeli | " 7 yrs. | " |
| 3 | " | " | Manicka Mudeli | " | " |
| 4 | " | " | Kumarasami Anjen | " | " |
| 5 | " | " | Gunmada Anjen | " | " |
| 6 | " | 335 of 1882 | Gopalsami Mudali | 5 yrs. r.i. | " |
| 7 | " | 332 of " | M. Ramasami Chetti | 5 yrs. r.i. & fine Rs. 2,500. | " |
| 8 | " | 331 of " | Shamugan Achari | 3 yrs. r.i. | " |
| 9 | 5 of 1882 | 340 of " | Eswara Chetti | Tr. 7 yrs. | " |
| 10 | " | 423 of " | Subbanya Pellai | " | " |
| 11 | " | 340 of " | Guruva Maistri | " | " |
| 12 | " | 376 of " | Mariappa Achari | Tr. 7 yrs. | 5 yrs. r.i. |
| 13 | " | " | Mari Bellala | 5 yrs. r.i. | Confirmed. |
| 14 | " | 340 of 1882 | Kusturi Ranjiat Chetti | " | " |
| 15 | " | 341 of " | Alagamanna Kistna Chetti | " | 3 yrs. r.i. |
| 16 | " | " | Adi Ranganayakalu Chetti | " | 3 |
| 17 | " | 340 of 1882 | Papia Chetti | " | 3 |
| 18 | " | 376 of " | Mannuthu Bellala | 3 yrs. r.i. | Confirmed. |
| 19 | " | " | Subbararyan Kannar | 3 | " |
| 20 | " | 340 of 1882 | Naziah Chetti | " | " |
| 21 | " | 376 of " | Velumylu Pillai | " | " |
| 22 | " | " | Marimuthu Mudeli | " | " |
| 23 | " | " | Momisami Kavari | " | " |
| 24 | " | " | Gangathara Chetti | " | " |
| 25 | " | " | Kuppna Chetti | " | " |
| 26 | 6 of 1882 | 408 of 1882 | Gamden Banian | " | " |
| 27 | " | 388 of " | Ramachendra Chetti | 4 yrs. r.i. | " |
| 28 | 6 of 1882 | 388 of " | Shervan Madikar | " | " |
| 29 | 8 of " | 388 A of " | Sabapathe Bellala | 4 yrs. r.i. | " |
| 30 | " | " | Devaraya Bellala | " | " |
| 31 | " | " | Vrasami Naick | " | " |
| 32 | " | " | Mottyan Banian | " | " |
| 33 | 7 of 1882 | 381 of 1882 | Appou Gounden | " | " |
| 34 | " | " | Kupparaman Karunda | " | " |
| 35 | 9 of 1882 | 383 of 1882 | Kuppna Chetti Kosava | " | " |
| | | 385 of " | The same | 2 yrs. r.i. to take effect after former sentence. | " |
| 36 | " | 388 B of " | Bodi Naick | 4 yrs. r.i. | " |
| 37 | " | " | Muthu Pariah | " | " |
| 38 | " | " | Armagam | " | " |
| 39 | 10 of 1882 | 382 of 1882 | Perujandi Chackler | " | " |
| 40 | " | " | Chumandi Chackler | " | " |
| 41 | " | " | Nadir Chackler | " | " |
| 42 | " | " | Mylerum Pella Vellalu | 5 yrs. r.i. | " |

The following persons convicted by the Sessions Judge did not appeal to the High Court.

| No. in this letter. | No. of Sessions case. | Names. | Sentences. |
|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|
| 43 | 5 of 1882 | Burija Chetti, weaver | 5 years r.i. |
| 44 | " | Perianasari, carpenter | " |
| 45 | " | Yellapan Bania, Coolie | 3 years. |
| 46 | " | Kistna Chetti, weaver | " |
| 47 | " | Kaveri Kosasai, potmaker | " |
| 48 | " | Dassanpasari, Coolie | " |
| 49 | " | Rawanappasari, " | " |
| 50 | " | Soobasari, Brass smith | " |
| 51 | " | Gurusami Asari, goldsmith | " |

No. 3.

FROM

THE HON'BLE SIR CHARLES TURNER, *Kt.*,
Chief Justice, High Court, Madras.

TO

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, *K. G.*

WOODLANDS, OOTACAMUND;

June 9th, 1884.

DEAR LORD RIPON,

In advising your Excellency that I saw no reason to doubt the propriety of the convictions in the case of the persons now undergoing sentence for offences connected with the Salem riots, I formed my opinion on the evidence given at the trials which came before the High Court.

Mr. Vijiaraghava Chari, who was acquitted by the High Court, obtained sanction to prosecute some of the witnesses whose evidence against him the Court rejected as false.

In the inquiries now proceeding in the Magistrate's Court, I find the Counsel for the prosecution has examined Mr. Wilkinson. This gentleman was the Judge of Salem at the time of the riots. The enclosed is a report of his evidence which appeared in a recent edition of the *Hindu*.*

* June 6th, 1884.

It may be in your Excellency's recollection that the High Court, in affirming the convictions of the alleged ringleaders, relied on the evidence given by the Mahomedan witnesses, whose houses and shops were plundered and burnt in the vicinity of the mosque.

If the report is correct Mr. Wilkinson has deposed that, on the day following the riots, he went to Shivapet with Major Whitlock (the Superintendent of Police) to make inquiry, that he asked the Mahomedans at the burnt mosque and at the burnt houses whether they could give any clue as to the perpetrators of the outrage, or whether anybody could be identified, that they mentioned no names and said they suspected nobody. It seems hardly probable that they entertained no suspicions; but assuming Mr. Wilkinson is right that no names were mentioned, and that the persons to whom he addressed his inquiry admitted they had no suspicion as to the perpetrators of the outrage, if these persons are the same as were called and at the trial pretended to have identified the accused, there is strong ground for suspecting that their evidence was false.

If they are the same persons it is singular that Mr. Wilkinson, who was at Salem, and must have known what evidence they had given, did not at once come forward to show the worthlessness of their statements.

There is another statement made by Mr. Wilkinson which is noticeable.

The attack on the mosque commenced about half past twelve. The Police who had taken up a position near the mosque were driven back to a point in Kaunar Street. The witnesses deposed that soon after the attack commenced the leaders stood at a lamp post. It was urged on the part of the defence that if they had been at the lamp post they must have been seen by the Police. It was deposed, and the Additional Sessions Judge, who was acquainted with the spot, appears to have accepted the evidence, that the lamp post could not be seen from the position taken up by the Police.

If Mr. Wilkinson is right as to the time when he arrived at Shivapet, the evidence he now gives would have been material for the defence, for he asserts that he could plainly see the lamp post. Mr. Wilkinson was accompanied to Shivapet by Mr. Pritchard. This gentleman must have been in a position to see what Mr. Wilkinson saw. If my memory serves me, he was engaged in one or both of the principal trials, yet he neither called Mr. Wilkinson, nor offered himself as a witness to contradict the evidence of the Police.

Seeing that in the course of the inquiries now proceeding something may come to light in favor of the persons under sentence or suggesting the propriety of further inquiry, I venture to recommend that the Government should abstain from passing final orders on the Salem petition till the perjury cases are concluded.

Believe me,
respectfully your Excellency's,
(Sd.) CHARLES A. TURNER.

(85)

No. 88.

FROM

SIR A. C. LYALL, K. C. B.,
Lieut.-Governor of the N. W. P. & Oudh.

TO

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

ALLAHABAD;

March 4th, 1884.

DEAR LORD RIPON,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's letter dated March 1st; and I have to thank your Excellency for your expression of willingness to consider any arguments that I may urge in support of my request that Mr. Knight's attacks on me may be publicly contradicted. As the contradiction would involve the publication of confidential papers belonging to the Foreign Department, I must necessarily leave this question in your Excellency's hands; and since your Excellency's view is decidedly adverse to publication, I do not hold myself justified in pressing the point further.

I must nevertheless ask leave to represent that the position which I now have the honour to hold in India makes it no light matter that I should be publicly accused, by name, of having connived at notorious corruption, for that is what the *Statesman* article means, and indeed says.—“There is not a native in Hyderabad who does not believe that Sir R. Meade was corrupt,” says Mr. Knight; and he ends by stating that “Sir R. Meade and the Foreign Office escaped by the usual device,”—the device, that is, of stifling the enquiry that the India Office endeavoured to make. That such a public charge against a Lieutenant-Governor should be silently passed by would in any case be thought unusual, I believe, by ordinary readers of an Indian newspaper; and I doubt if it would be possible for a high officer in England to disregard such an attack. But in the present instance the charge is supported by a quotation from a letter to the Editor of the journal from the Under-Secretary of State for India, which quotation Mr. Knight has *twice* published recently, showing that he is thoroughly aware of the strength it gives to his accusation. What are people to infer when they read of Sir Louis Mallet actually explaining to Mr. Knight, (if the letter is genuine), that his statements have made due impression, but that the Secretary of State is in a helpless position as to verifying his charges, because any enquiry must be made through the Government of India, whereby, as Sir Louis plainly implies, the enquiry is invariably defeated. It appears to me that any one reading the whole article would conclude, until the contrary were affirmed, that there must be something substantial in so deliberate a charge thus (apparently) authenticated, and that

lazy thing in this by the reflection that no new cases are likely to be taken up during the few days that remain, and that the old ones can be disposed of by Colonel Newmarch as well if not better than by me. I hope to be at Simla a day or two before your Excellency, and write this mainly to say that the Admiral at Suakin seemed to feel a little hurt that his telegram to you reporting Baker Pasha's first defeat had not been acknowledged in any way. The omission was no doubt accidental.

I am,
MY DEAR LORD,
very faithfully yours,
(Sd.) G. CHESNEY.

No. 85.

* Telegram, 3rd March 1884, 10-45 a. m. (Recd. 3 p. m.)

From—Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, Neemuch.

To—Private Secretary to Governor-General, Calcutta.

Your cipher telegram 27th. I understand Duke of Connaught visits Jeypore at invitation of Maharajah. In my opinion His Royal Highness must be guest of Maharajah; but as Maharajah has no means of suitably receiving His Royal Highness except at house of Resident, His Royal Highness will have to stay there. Visit quite unobjectionable.

No. 86.

Telegram, 4th March 1884, 8-32 a. m.

From—Resident, Hyderabad.

To—Private Secretary to Governor General, Calcutta.

Nizam is doing well. Circulation of blood restored, and he is now out of immediate danger.

No. 87.

Telegram, 4th March 1884, 10-29 p. m. (Recd. 6th, 5-33 p. m.)

From—Resident, Hyderabad.

To—Private Secretary to Governor General, Calcutta.

Dr. Beaumont writes 9 o'clock:—Begins,—His Highness is keeping very well in every way, but there has not been any urine yet; if it does not come soon, it will be a cause for great anxiety. I am doing all I can. Ends.

I have just got your telegram suggesting Sir R. Thompson as Baring's successor. I know him well, having had a good deal to do with him at the War Office. Personally I like him; but I doubt whether he is quite good enough for the place, and Baring takes the same view. As you seem to have some difficulty in finding a man, I sent you in the telegram, which I have just despatched, some names which have suggested themselves to me and to others. Under all the circumstances I think that I myself prefer Colvin; Baring would put him second, and Gurdon first. I have known Lyulph Stanley a long time, and should not have thought of him myself; but Ilbert says he has a good head for finance, and he is no doubt clever, though he used to want ballast. As to Chesney, I am far from sure whether he would support the Criminal Procedure Bill, and I have some doubts about his views on Local Self-Government; but as he has himself told me that he would like the appointment, it is right that I should mention his name to you.

Thanks for your readiness to meet, as far as you can, our views about the Iron-works question. It certainly startles me to find doubts expressed as to the economical orthodoxy of a proposal started by Baring, who belongs to the strictest sect of Political Economists.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

P. S.—I was glad to receive so good an account of the Queen.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

FROM THE HON'BLE SIR A. C. LYALL, K. C. B.,
Lieut.-Governor of the N. W. P. & Oudh.

To THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

[Private.]

NAINEE TAL;

June 8th, 1883.

DEAR LORD RIPON,

I send a few lines in development and explanation of the telegrams that have passed regarding the question asked in the House by Mr. Dawnay about an affair at Allahabad. The first telegram, from the Private Secretary, transmitted the question, and asked,—“Is there any truth in story?” The truth is that it is an exaggerated version of the circumstances, so far as I recollect them, of an affair which did take place last March at Allahabad; and the confusion made between Holkar's son and the Gaekwar by Mr. Dawnay is not in itself a very material blunder. So I thought it best to place your Excellency in possession of the facts, in case your Excellency might desire to frame at Simla the answer to be sent to the Secretary of State.

When your Excellency's private telegram came last night, I understood that my reply would probably be transmitted to the Secretary of State; and as it was not possible to answer the query “any truth in story?” without some mention of the real facts, or allusion to them, I fell back on a reference to papers. I was not at all sorry to do this, because I cannot say from memory exactly what happened; and the whole business, to be understood, requires detailed explanation.

So far as I can recollect, the real story is this:—Captain Moore of the Public Works was staying with his sister at the Allahabad Hotel. He and his sister occupied adjoining rooms, and his sister's room was next to a room occupied by the servants of Holkar's son, who was also staying at the Hotel. In the night Captain Moore heard what he took to be a knocking at his sister's door; he went to it, and opened it, found Holkar's servants there, who excused themselves on some pretext for making the noise; and indeed it seemed doubtful whether the noise was not accidental. There was some altercation that night; and next morning, when Captain Moore was walking in the corridor of the Hotel, he met some of these servants, recommenced the altercation, and ended by caning one of them. Whereupon, shortly afterwards, the other men belonging to Holkar's son met him again in the corridor, threw him down, and treated him very roughly; but there was no violent beating. Holkar's son came out and offered to fight Captain Moore.

Captain Moore reported the affair to General Macpherson. I heard of it accidentally, and sent for the Magistrate to learn what he thought of it. He had made a personal inquiry at the Hotel, and brought me his notes. Holkar's son and party had disappeared, having left at once for their own country. The Magistrate thought Captain Moore had put himself in the wrong at first. General Macpherson, to the best of my recollection, agreed; and, on the whole, my conclusion was that the case was not one that could be taken up by the Government, and pressed against Holkar to any satisfactory result. The *Pioneer* at first intended to take up the matter, but, on consideration, left it unnoticed.

Unluckily I have just heard by telegram that the Magistrate's notes, which he probably kept private, cannot be found. Mr. A. B. Patterson was the Magistrate; he is now on furlough; the India Office must have his address. If full details are demanded in the House, I much recommend that he be sent for to the India Office. I am having a search made for papers at Allahabad. It is the kind of case which can only be properly judged when all the circumstances are accurately looked at.

* * * * *

I remain
very faithfully your Excellency's
(Sd.) A. C. LYALL.

No. 48.

FROM THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.
To THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY,
Secretary of State for India.

SIMLA;

June 21st, 1883.

MY DEAR KIMBERLEY,

There are two Frontier questions which I ought to mention to you. The first relates to a quarrel which appears to be imminent

(97)

No. 136a.

FROM

H. W. PRIMROSE, Esq.,

Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

TO

R. KNIGHT, Esq.,

Editor of the *Statesman*.

SIMLA;

April 26th, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant relative to certain papers connected with the Chanda Railway Project. These or similar papers have been twice offered to the Government of India by Mr. Mowis at a price, but the Government has declined to purchase them, and to this decision Lord Ripon desires to adhere. I accordingly return you the printed paper and the Persian document which you forwarded to me. I have had an abstract made of the substance of the latter, and cannot see that it "shows beyond question that the scheme was forced upon the Council by Abdul Huq and the Residency." All that it shows in regard to the "Residency" is that on two occasions Mr. Jones is represented to have made remarks favorable to the project, but this hardly justifies your statement.

With regard to the statements made to you by Mr. Mowis and Mr. Guest, I must observe that both gentlemen appear to be under some misapprehension. I cannot find that there is any foundation for Mr. Mowis's statement to you that "the Viceroy wished to see either you or him upon the papers in your hands," and I am at a loss to understand how any message can have

you are mastering your work and meeting its difficulties, some of which you had no reason to anticipate when you started from Calcutta.

I greatly regret the disturbances among the Garos; but I am confident that you will deal with them in a wise spirit, and that you will not be content with merely suppressing the disturbance, but will try to fathom its causes and to remove them. The problem of dealing with wild races of this kind is always a difficult one requiring great tact, and above all, as you say speaking of the Nagas, sympathy. I am very glad that you intend to insist upon more constant and systematic visiting of all the villages by district officers on tour, but the results of such visits will depend very greatly upon the character of the officers. I have no wish to be too hard upon Major Peet for a single error, but I doubt if he is a man of the right stamp for this sort of work. If the present trouble has arisen, as appears to be the case, from the unreasoning fear of wild men, the true mode of preventing its recurrence is to gain their confidence; this is of course impossible if they are never visited by the officers in charge of their districts.

Your account of the Naga Hills has interested me greatly, and I am very glad to find that you take so favourable a view of the state of affairs there. It had struck me, from what Sir S. Bayley told me, that the appointment of head-men in the villages would be an useful measure, and I am pleased to hear that it has been adopted, and if the men selected are supported by Government authority, as you propose, they will, I hope, in time exercise a very wholesome influence over their neighbours. The agricultural habits of the tribes about Kohima seem to me to render the task of civilizing them much more hopeful than it would otherwise have been.

I hope that you will be able to retain Kohima as the site of the new station. I have sent an extract from your letter of the 22nd March, on the question of supplies, to Sir D. Stewart, who has been already considering the subject and making arrangements with regard to it.

Your description of the scenery about Kohima is very attractive, and when you have discovered your second Outram or Cleveland, and had him at work for a year or two, I shall be much tempted to pay you a visit in this beautiful region.

There are only two words in your letter with which I am inclined to quarrel; those in which you describe it as "too long." I hope you will inflict many such upon me, as judging from the first two specimens I am sure that they will both interest and gratify me.

Believe me,
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

No. 135.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

THE HON'BLE SIR R. E. EGERTON, K. C. S. I.,
Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

[Private.]

SIMLA;

April 6th, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 2nd. The questions relating to rations and to the supply of blankets and shoes for camp-followers connected with the Waziri expedition have been settled in a manner which will, I trust, be satisfactory to you.

We have decided to leave General Kennedy free to employ the Reserve Brigade as he may think best, on the ground that it is only right to trust in a matter of this kind to the discretion and judgment of a general officer in whom we have confidence; but, at the same time, I must not conceal from you that there is a good deal of hesitation among those military men, whose opinions I have been able to ascertain as to the wisdom of dividing the force at General Kennedy's disposal into two distinct portions operating at a distance from one another and with no means of lateral communication. In European warfare such a course would be highly dangerous; but there is no doubt a wide difference between an European enemy and the tribes with whom the present expedition has to deal; and if General Kennedy has fully weighed the objections to the arrangement which he proposes to adopt, I am content to leave the decision of the questions to him.

With respect to the terms to be imposed upon the Waziris, I ought perhaps to explain to you that if no demands had ever been made upon them, and if I had had to determine for the first time what those demands should be, I should not have included the surrender of the ringleaders among them. The story of the Jowaki expedition proves, I think, the inconvenience of attempting to obtain this surrender. But as the demand had already been made in 1879 it seemed unadvisable to recede from it before any offers of submission had been received from the tribe. I am, however, anxious that you should understand that you are at full liberty to make concessions upon this point, if you should deem it advisable, and that if a satisfactory settlement can be come to in other respects, I should be reluctant to enter upon, or to prolong, hostilities with the sole object of enforcing the surrender of particular individuals.

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doing excellent work in Assam, and I should be sorry to move him. If you consider any one else, of whom I have not thought, likely to do better than either Mr. Mackenzie or Mr. Buck, pray mention him.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

P. S.—My present impression rather is that Mr. Mackenzie is the man for Secretary, and that Mr. Buck would be the best selection for Director of Agriculture to the Government of India, if such an appointment should hereafter be made. What do you say to this?

No. 216.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

C. A. ELLIOTT, Esq., c. s. i.,
Offg. Chief Commissioner, Assam.

[Private.]

SIMLA;

May 2nd, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. ELLIOTT,

I am much obliged to you for your interesting letter of the 22nd April on the subject of the recent trouble in the Garo Hills. The course which you have taken and intend to take in dealing with this matter, appears to me very judicious, and meets with my entire approval.

With respect to Major Peet I am quite ready, after reading what you have said on his behalf, to relieve him from any serious blame; but I cannot express approval of his having burnt the village, and I must maintain my condemnation of the practice of burning villages; it is to me very difficult to conceive a case in which the burning of a village in our own territory can be justified. But you may assure Major Peet that, as far as he himself is concerned, I accept your explanation of his conduct, and shall think no more of the matter. What weighs most with me is your statement that he is "a man of gentle and kindly nature."

I am very sorry to hear of Captain La Touche's serious illness. It is, as you say, a great misfortune for a man of his age and position. If he is still near you, pray tell him how much I sympathise with him.

I have before me, at the present moment, your telegrams and demi-official letters to Lyall on the subject of the Abors. The case seems to me to be a

difficult one requiring to be carefully handled. I do not quite agree with your proposals as I understand them. It appears to me that to tell the Abors that they will not be allowed to cross the Diborg, and then, if they do cross it, and if the stopping of their "posa" does not induce them to return, to let them remain in the territory from which we have warned them off, would be a course of proceeding of doubtful policy. That you recommend it, however, weighs strongly with me in its favour, and I shall not decide finally against it without further consideration, but at present I incline to think that our choice really lies between either occupying militarily the posts which it was intended to take up in 1879, and excluding the Abors from the district between those posts and our present "inner line," or withdrawing altogether within that inner line and adopting it as our political as well as our military frontier. There are very obvious objections to the latter course, but I have been a good deal struck by Captain Beresford's evident inclination towards it. Military men are not usually apt to recommend a withdrawal from any position, which has once been taken up by Government, and I cannot help thinking that if Captain Beresford, whose "notes" give me a favourable impression of his ability, suggests such a proceeding, there must be a good deal to be said for it.

If the other course should be finally decided upon, and we should occupy the posts contemplated in 1879, it would not, as it seems to me, be advisable, if the Abors should cross the river with hostile intent, to do more than drive them back again. I should be very reluctant, especially after the experience of former expeditions, to attempt to follow them into their own country. I say that I would drive them back if they crossed with hostile intent, but I should be quite willing to let them come over if they were contented to keep the peace, and to abide by such simple regulations as we might find it necessary to enforce with that view.

You must not take what I have said above as embodying final conclusions on my part; but merely as intended to put you in possession of the views, which a first examination of the papers has suggested to me, in order to elicit from you such observations as you may be inclined to make upon them.

I am afraid that you may be disappointed at not receiving a more rapid decision upon the points raised in your letters; but the whole question seems to me to involve consequences of too much importance to be decided with full and deliberate consideration.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

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Hills had taken out a military expedition against a village. I thought it was probably a "shave;" but, on reaching the telegraph again, I wired to Major Michell to ask if it was true, and, to my surprise, received a reply that it was true, and to-day I have received his written report on the subject. It seems that a Kohima man was murdered a short time ago by some one in the village of Chajubama, and the headmen of that village, when sent for, came in, and declared the murderer was not a man of their village. They were let go to bring proof of this, but afterwards refused to return, and Major Michell in consequence started on the 16th April to arrest the murderer, or punish the village, with 60 men of the 42nd N. I. and an English officer. When he got there, he found the village deserted, and in consequence he burned it and returned. I am very sorry that this has happened. Considering that it was not urgent to lead out the expedition on a given day, and that Kohima is connected with Shillong by telegraph, I think Major Michell should have reported the circumstance, and asked leave before taking such a step. There are also several matters of detail in the manner in which the expedition was conducted with which I am not pleased, but I need not trouble your Lordship with these at present. This habit of burning villages is a very serious thing, and I am sure that some expression of the views of Government on the subject is needed. It has been so habitual a practice hitherto in our Naga warfare that I cannot be altogether surprised that Major Michell should have followed precedents, and should not have understood how entirely circumstances have changed now that we have occupied the country and begun to settle it. This event confirms the opinion I had formed before that Major Michell is not a suitable officer for so delicate a position, but I believe I shall be saved from the necessity of removing him, as I hear he has applied for furlough. I have just finished drafting a letter to the Home Secretary, in which I have tried to set out my views on the general question of the conditions under which it may be necessary and right to burn a village, and have solicited an expression of the opinion of the Government of India on this subject. This letter was written as forwarding Major Reet's report on the recent Garo disturbances, and will reach your Excellency in about a week's time, as it has to go to Shillong to be printed. I have not telegraphed any announcement of this expedition, as it was completed and over long before I heard of it, but I will send up an official report in due course.

Believe me,
 DEAR LORD RIPON,
 your Lordship's faithful servant,
 (Sd.) C. A. ELLIOTT.

No. 240.

FROM COLONEL THE HON'BLE G. T. CHESNEY, R. E.,
 Provisional Member of the Viceroy's Council.
 To THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

SIMLA;
 April 29th, 1881.

MY DEAR LORD,

In reply to your Lordship's note just received, I have the pleasure to submit two draft telegrams for approval. I think the longer is perhaps the better, but I dare say they may both be improved.

Very faithfully yours,
 (Sd.) GEORGE CHESNEY.

[DRAFT TELEGRAM ENCLOSED IN ABOVE AND APPROVED BY THE VICEROY.]

Telegram, 29th April 1881, 8.35 p. m.

From—Viceroy, Simla.
 To—Secretary of State, London.

Present condition of army transport and need for some definitive organisation engage our attention. I propose to maintain transport as part of Commissariat, but services of skilled officer, in addition to present staff, necessary to work out details which need much care. I propose appointment of an extra Deputy Commissary-General. Matter is urgent, as on return of Candahar Force and Waziri Expedition, large reduction of animals necessary, although some will be retained as nucleus. Proposed peace establishment not more costly than present, but should be better organised and more efficient. Chief and Baring concur. Please reply by telegraph.

No. 241.

FROM A. C. LYALL, Esq., C. B.,
 Secy. to Govt., Foreign Dept.
 To THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

SIMLA;
 April 29th, 1881.

DEAR LORD RIPON,

With reference to the Palitana boundary draft, I would not give special directions to the Bombay Government to treat the case

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No. 232.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

To

LEPEL GRIFFIN, Esq., C. S. I.,

Agent to the Governor-General, Central India.

SIMLA;

[Private.]

May 9th, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. GRIFFIN,

I am much obliged to you for your interesting letter of the 29th April. Your account of the two Kings of Brentford amused me greatly. I did not before know of the peculiar form of double government which exists in Dewas.

The state of things in Bhopal is certainly not altogether such as one could wish. The Nawab Consort is evidently an element of evil in the State; but beyond keeping a watchful eye on his proceedings, I do not see that there is anything to be done. The question of disarmament is a serious one, and will require very careful consideration. I have no doubt that, when you submit the case to the Foreign Department, you will put it fully before us with all its *pros* and *cons*, as what is done in British territory has some, though not a conclusive, bearing upon the subject. I ought, perhaps, to tell you privately that we are about to issue a circular to Local Governments in connection with the Arms Act of 1878, one object of which will be to restrict considerably the area, to which the general prohibitions against the possession and carrying of arms (Sections 13 and 14) will in future be applied.

Do you hear any complaints either from Chiefs or people of the salt arrangements which were lately made with the Central India States?

I hope you will write to me whenever you have time and inclination, and

I remain,
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

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No. 233.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

To

C. A. ELLIOTT, Esq., C. S. I.,

Offg. Chief Commissioner of Assam.

[Private.]

SIMLA;

May 9th, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. ELLIOTT,

I have received your letter of the 28th April, and am very sorry to hear of Major Michell's proceedings, and especially of his having burnt a village. As you say most truly, this habit of burning villages is a very serious thing, and it is absolutely necessary that measures should be taken to check it. I shall await the receipt of your official letter upon the subject before determining how to deal with it; but at present I see very considerable difficulty in laying down "the conditions under which it may be necessary or right to burn a village" within our own borders. Burning villages in an enemy's country is always a barbarous, though it may be in some cases a necessary, proceeding; but I have the greatest doubts whether it is a course which ought ever to be adopted in our own territory, except, perhaps, in some such terrible exception to all rules as the mutiny. As now advised, therefore, I should, I think, be very reluctant to promulgate conditions under which village burning may be permitted. My inclination would rather be to lay down a broad general rule prohibiting it, and to leave to any one who might resort to it the burden of proving that the circumstances of the particular case justified him in doing so. I should be inclined to put the same sort of restraint upon officers tempted to take this means of enforcing their authority which is put upon ministers who think it necessary in a great emergency to break the law; they should be required to ask for a Bill of Indemnity. You may rely upon it, however, that I will give your proposals the most careful and impartial consideration, especially as I am quite sure that you are just as averse from these uncivilised methods of punishment as I am.

Believe me,
yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

doubt come before you in due course; but my special reason for writing to you direct is with reference to the remark at the end of the 5th paragraph, saying that I had instructed Major Michell privately as to my views, and would not refer further to the subject of the past officially. It seems right that I should submit for your perusal a copy of the demi-official letter I sent him. I thought that he had done wrong in leading out this expedition on his own responsibility without asking for orders, and in confining his ideas of punishment to the destruction of the village; but I was anxious not to say this officially and publicly, because it would weaken his influence among his subordinates, and because he is a proud, sensitive man, who has already taken much to heart some remarks of mine shewing that I was not well pleased with him, and I did not wish to drive him into resigning. I admit that I do not think him quite the man for the post, and shall be glad that he should go; but I do not wish to get rid of him in any harsh or ignominious way, since in some respects he has served the Government well, and has filled a very difficult post with tolerable, if not complete, efficiency. I trust, therefore, your Excellency will approve the way in which I have treated him, and that the Government of India will, in answering my letter, confine itself to instructions as to the future, and not think it necessary to record any opinion on what has been done in this particular case.

I am not at all satisfied with the conclusions I have propounded in my 9th paragraph (printed letter), and shall be very thankful for the light which I hope to receive from the instructions of the Supreme Government. I see great difficulties, in whichever way it may be decided, to treat the question of a murder of one of our own subjects in a trans-frontier village. I began by thinking that we ought to refuse to take any cognisance of what may happen beyond the border, but the more I thought about it and the more I considered the impossibility of restraining the Nagas, with their wandering and trading habits, within an imaginary line which they have always been accustomed to cross and recross, the less practicable did that policy seem. However, I will not trouble you with any further remarks on this point, as I have said all I have to say in my official letter, and only wish to explain that I have framed the conclusion there set forth with much doubt and diffidence.

I trust your Lordship is keeping well at Simla. Mr. Adam's death is a great calamity, not only as a serious loss to the Liberal Party, but as increasing the dislike which leading men at home feel towards a sojourn in India.

Believe me,
DEAR LORD RIPON,
your Lordship's faithful servant,
(Sd.) C. A. ELLIOTT.

[ENCLOSURES TO THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Letter from C. J. Lyall, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Shillong, 26th May 1881, No. 643, forwarding correspondence regarding a recent expedition against Chajubama, a village in the Naga Hills.

Demi-official letter from C. A. Elliott, Esq., to Major T. B. Michell on the same subject, (see below).

FROM
C. A. ELLIOTT, Esq., c. s. i.,
Chief Commissioner of Assam.

TO
MAJOR T. B. MICHELL,
Political Officer in charge, Naga Hills.

SHILLONG;
May 22nd, 1881.

MY DEAR MICHELL,
I have given long and anxious consideration to the way in which I ought to treat your conduct with regard to the Chajubama Expedition. At last I have decided

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to report the occurrence to the Government of India, saying as little as possible of what I think regarding the past, but expounding the principles which should guide your action in the future, and a copy of that letter will be sent you officially. I reserve, for this demi-official communication, the reasons for which I disapprove of your conduct, as I do not wish to weaken your influence, or to dishearten you, by official censure.

In the first place, I much regret that you should not have consulted me before leading out this expedition. You urge that your predecessors used to do the same, but you have not sufficiently considered how much circumstances have altered since then. The telegraph is open, so that you can report to, and hear from, me in a day, instead of the former delay of two weeks or more. In the second place, yours has now become a British district, and the Nagas are subjects of the Queen, not outside barbarians; we have decided to take them in hand and civilise them, and to do this we must gradually introduce the reign of law and order, instead of that of military expeditions and village-burnings. In a case of urgency, no doubt, you would have been justified in acting on your own responsibility, but there was no urgency here. You cannot have considered it a serious matter when, on the 21st March, you sent the Dobhashias out to Chajubama without mentioning the matter to me, or even telling me of the murder, though I was at Kohima at the time, and expressly asked you if any acts of blood and violence had been committed during the past year. However, I will not dwell on this point, for I am confident that you will see the propriety in future of consulting me in any difficult and exceptional case of this kind. I may add that there is no part of India, not even in the frontier districts of the Punjab, in which District Officers would take such responsibility on themselves without a reference to the Local Government.

With regard to the expedition itself, I have already told you how strongly I disapprove of village-burning, and you have seen the letter in which I discussed the subject, in the case of the Garo Hill disturbance. The spectacle of a British force, led by British officers, accompanied by a horde of savages, marching to the sack and destruction of an unresisting village, is not one that can be contemplated with any satisfaction. The fact that the Nagas from Konoma, Kohima, &c., swarmed round you, and disregarded your orders to return, is an alarming one, as shewing both their delight in entering on the war path, and their contempt of your authority; and it would, no doubt, be a lesson to you, should you have to make such an expedition again, not to give out your direction and objective before you are well on your way. The practice of punishing a village for the offence of individual members is peculiarly unsuitable to the Naga country, where it is admitted that no communal feeling exists, and that the headmen have little or no authority to coerce the bolder spirits among the younger men. I trust you will see from my treatment of this case how little anxious I am to make the most of what I consider your mistake, or to visit it with severity. I think you

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had not realised the great change in policy which ought to have followed on the pacification of the country, and that you have too blindly adopted the course pursued by your predecessors; but this can hardly be imputed to you as blame, because I had had no opportunity of explaining to you the nature of the change I desired, and you could not be expected to have divined it. I trust, however, that you understand me now, and will be ready to follow in the course I have pointed out; and, if you do so, I can assure you of my support and confidence.

Yours, &c.,
(Sd.) C. A. ELLIOTT.

No. 316.

FROM

MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON'BLE T. F. WILSON, C. B.,
Military Member of the Viceroy's Council.

TO

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

SIMLA;
May 29th, 1881.

MY DEAR LORD RIPON,

Before I received your note I had seen Sir Donald Stewart on the subject of the normal garrison for Quetta and Pishin. His Excellency informed me that he proposed that one of the infantry regiments should be an European Regiment; he further explained to me some of the features of the country, and that it is thinly inhabited, and that if circumstances should alter, the question of the precise strength of garrison can be again considered before the present force is reduced. I have, therefore, withdrawn my objection, and noted to that effect on the papers, and desired that they be at once sent to the Foreign Department in accordance with your Lordship's request.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) T. F. WILSON.

The sanction of the Secretary of State to the re-establishment of the Department was received at the beginning of the week, and I have to-day telegraphed to Mr. Buck to offer him the post of Secretary. I feel satisfied that he is the right man for it, and I am in hopes that under him some really important work may be done, both in agricultural and in revenue matters.

Your letter to Mr. Primrose on the co-operative instincts of the Burmese peasants has interested me very much. Co-operation is a very old hobby of mine, and I am therefore always on the look out for traces of it wherever they may be found. I believe that it affords the best, if not the only, solution of some of the most difficult problems of modern industrial organisation in European countries; and I should always be glad to encourage and develop any tendencies in that direction which may exist in these Eastern lands.

I was very glad to receive the Secretary of State's sanction to the Tonghoo Railway. Do you think that there would be any chance of getting a private company to take over and work the Burmese railways and extend them as opportunity might offer? I was not in favour of delaying the commencement of the Tonghoo line until we could find a company ready to undertake its construction. But if substantial capitalists could be got to take up the matter, they would probably develop the country more quickly in the end than would be possible for the Government.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

No. 299.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

THE HON'BLE SIR R. STUART, *Kt.*,
Chief Justice, High Court, N. W. P.

SIMLA;

June 15th, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,

I am obliged to you for your letter of the 13th, and glad to learn from it that your High Court is working so well.

Lady Ripon joins with me in kind regards to Lady Stuart and yourself, and

I remain,
yours faithfully,
(Sd.) RIPON.

No. 300.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

C. A. ELLIOTT, Esq., C. S. I.,
Chief Commissioner of Assam.

[Private.]

SIMLA;

June 15th, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. ELLIOTT,

I have been meaning to write to you for some time, but I have been very busy lately, and have only now been able to find a vacant half hour to do so.

I have to thank you for your two letters of the 10th and 21st May. An official letter has already been sent to you on the subject of village burning, and you will find that it is in entire accord with the principles laid down in the 6th paragraph of Mr. C. J. Lyall's letter of the 26th May to the Foreign Secretary; in that paragraph you have treated the subject exactly as I wish it to be treated. Mr. Lyall's letter has, however, not yet come before me officially; when it does, I will endeavour to deal as lightly as I can with Major Michell's case; but I scarcely think that it will be possible to pass his proceedings by without any comment whatever; but, in accordance with your wish, I will say as little as I can. I quite approve of the way in which you have treated the matter.

We have relieved Major Peet from censure, accepting your explanations exactly as they were given, and thus, I hope, strengthening your hands in dealing with the officers under you. Major Peet has a great deal more to say for himself than Major Michell, whose conduct deserves all the disapprobation which you have expressed in regard to it in your demi-official letter, but I admit that we must not expect men who have been accustomed to a different state of things to change their proceedings all at once, and as I have entire confidence in you, and see that you thoroughly understand and heartily enter into my views, I am well content to leave things as much as possible in your hands.

There is one matter in respect to which I hope that you will proceed with great caution, and that is the destruction of the village defences in the Naga districts. I quite agree with you that the existence of those defences is a serious obstacle to the pacification and civilization of the country, and that it is very important to get rid of them as soon as we

in the class of female diseases. His published reports from year to year speak to the excellence of his work and of its great value to the whole community of Southern India. He has enjoyed a reputation amongst his professional brethren as a skilled consultant, and as a specialist his skill is almost unique.

Madras Jyasami Pillai.

Began life as a dresser, but he showed such marked ability and skill as a Surgeon that he was permitted to return to the Medical College and study for the grade of Sub-Assistant Surgeon. He obtained his Diploma as graduate of the Medical College in 1858, and has since been employed principally in the Cuddapah District, and for the last twelve or thirteen years has been Civil Surgeon of the District and Superintendent of the District Jail. During the famine period of 1877-78 the duties falling upon him in consequence of the famine were discharged with great zeal and humanity. He is an excellent Medical Officer, a brave Surgeon, and fearless operator; and, considering that he is a Native of India, it is much to his credit that he has filled the delicate position of Medical Officer, not only to the District Officials, but to their families, for many years past without complaint.

(Sd.) C. G. MASTER,
Offg. Chief Secretary.

No. 353a.

FROM

SIR A. C. LYALL, K. C. B.,
Secretary to Govt., Foreign Dept.

TO

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

SIMLA;

June 18th, 1881.

DEAR LORD RIPON,

I submit a copy of the official letter referred to in Mr. C. A. Elliott's letter to your Excellency of the 28th May about an expedition in the Naga Hills. The official papers have come up to me after some delay, and the points raised are not easily settled; so perhaps your Excellency may be able, on reading the official letter, to send Mr. Elliott an intermediate answer. I will bring up the case on Monday. But I must say that I think the manner in which Mr. Elliott desires to treat this case is open to some objection. The whole affair, and the questions arising out of it, are of the ordinary official nature; and Mr. Elliott desires to be instructed thereupon for

future guidance. There is no reason why, on such a matter, the official report should not give us officially the reasons why the Chief Commissioner objects to both the policy of these expeditions or to the manner of punishment inflicted; and it is inconvenient that we should not have all this on record. It is also unusual that the Government of India should be asked, privately, not to record any opinion on this particular case. All these restrictions, and withdrawals of material questions from the record, are wrong in principle, and are very likely to breed trouble or confusion. I hope, therefore, that I may make Mr. Elliott's letter to Major Michell, which he has sent to your Excellency, a keep-with on my official file, and that your Excellency may see no objection to letting him know that this has been done. I do not understand why it should not be recorded confidentially.

I remain,
very sincerely,
your Excellency's,
(Sd.) A. C. LYALL.

No. 354.

* Telegram, 18th June 1881, 2-22 p. m.
From—Ronald Thomson, Esq., Teheran.
To—Viceroy, Simla.

Secret. I instructed Meshid Agent to make proposal to Afzul Khan in terms of your telegram of 15th; he replies all Ayub's servants have left; at Agent's request Afzul Khan remained at Meshid, and question of sum to be given discussed; amount offered does not appear to satisfy Afzul Khan, and I gather from Agent's remarks that he would prefer fixed allowance to lump sum; as Afzul Khan has, however, yet made no actual reply to proposal, nor has stated what he would accept, it would not be necessary for Indian Government to come to decision till Meshid Agent telegraphs again. End.

No. 355.

FROM
THE HON'BLE J. GIBBS, C. S. I.,
Member of the Viceroy's Council.
TO
THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

SIMLA;

June 19th, 1881.

MY DEAR LORD RIPON,

Did your Lordship see the enclosed? It is an extract from Mr. Maclean's (the London correspondent of the *Bombay*

the appeal should be decided in Surendro Nath's favour, and you had, while it was pending, deprived him of his position as an Honorary Magistrate, you might be placed in a somewhat awkward position.

I am very glad indeed to learn that you have no intention of taking proceedings against any of the native newspapers on account of objectionable articles which may have appeared in them. I can scarcely conceive an occasion, except in the case of actual insurrection when all ordinary rules are suspended, on which Press prosecutions are not acts of folly almost certain to turn out to the disadvantage of the Government which undertakes them; but, apart from this general consideration, nothing could be more objectionable than to begin prosecutions against native newspapers at a time when the Government of India has deliberately abstained from taking any action in regard to the violent and unscrupulous attacks which are made upon it continually by a portion of the European Press, to the unblushing falsehoods which are industriously circulated, or even to such scandalous proceedings as the incitement to the Volunteers to resign and the attempt to tamper with the fidelity of the British troops, which were resorted to last February and March. I therefore cordially approve from all points of view of the course which you intend to take in respect to this matter.

It rests with the Government at Home to decide finally what is to be done about the Criminal Procedure Bill. The extreme violence of the opponents of the measure and the general character of the policy which they advocate and of the spirit by which they are animated have made a most unfavourable impression upon that Government. English Ministers are not men to be bullied out of their purpose, and no set of people ever played their cards worse than the *enragés* of the Anglo-Indian community have played theirs upon the present occasion. Pending the decision of Her Majesty's Government, it is the duty of every one connected with the administration in this country to do his utmost to allay the storm, and to discourage by every means in his power the use of violent and irritating language, and the dissemination of false reports; whatever a man's opinion may be upon the merits of the proposed amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code, no person, who has the public interests at heart, can approve of the means by which it is being opposed. As a rule, I disbelieve nine-tenths of the stories which reach me, and I therefore give no credit to the prevalent rumour that the letters of Britannicus to the *Englishman*, which would be so highly discreditable if they were not so ridiculous, were written by a member of the Civil Service, but it is very difficult to doubt that many members of that service have not given that discouragement to unbecoming violence and to the exhibition of bitter race feeling which it was their duty to give. I am most ready to make every allowance for the difficulties of the times and for the strong temptations, by which very good men are often beset, to adopt the tone of the society in the

midst of which they live; but just because the times are difficult and the temptations great, it is all the more necessary that you and I and all men in high positions in this country should throw the whole weight of our example and our authority into the scale of justice and moderation. I have done what I can in this direction by abstaining absolutely from taking any notice of the very gross attacks which have been made upon myself personally; but I can do little just now, because I am not at present in a position to take any action, and because the men who are violently excited against me will not listen to anything which I might say; but you are differently situated; your declared opposition to the Criminal Procedure Bill, however much I may regret it both on public and on personal grounds, gives you facilities for influencing your own officers and the more reasonable among the non-official community, which you might not otherwise have possessed, and which I have no doubt that you are steadily using in the cause of fairness and good sense. But as I am writing to you on this subject, I feel it my duty to point out the great opportunity which you have of rendering a really great service not to the Government only, but to the country, to England and to India alike, by sparing no effort to induce all who come within the sphere of your great and wide-reaching influence to labour to restore the sway of reason, to counsel moderation in act and in language, and to discountenance the mischievous doctrines, bred of race-hatred, which are now so undisguisedly preached in many quarters. The task may be perhaps a hard one; but to promote such an end is worth any effort which it may cost.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) RIPON.

No. 204.

FROM THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.
TO THE HON'BLE A. RIVERS THOMPSON, C. S. I., C. I. E.,
Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

[Private.]

SIMLA;

May 15th, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. RIVERS THOMPSON,

I should have replied sooner to your letter of the 1st if I had not been waiting for the arrival of the Secretary of

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No. 203.

FROM

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K. G.

TO

THE HON'BLE A. RIVERS THOMPSON, C. S. I., C. I. E.,
Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

[Private.]

SIMLA;

May 15th, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. RIVERS THOMPSON,

Your letter of the 10th reached me yesterday, and I lose no time in replying to it. The first thing to be done in this, as in every other case in India, is to maintain the peace against all who may violate it, whoever they may be. This, fortunately, as Mr. Harrison points out, cannot be an arduous task when you have Bengalis to deal with; but the material peace being preserved, it is necessary that you should keep a careful watch over the proceedings of the Magistrates in order to see that no injustice is done, and that no unnecessary severity is exercised. The European community in Calcutta have so completely lost their heads and taken leave of all sense of justice as to make the temptation to Magistrates to give way to the prevailing sentiment very great, and to render it essential that they should be checked when they yield to the passions of the day, and supported when they resist them, by the whole weight of your authority.

If the High Court are wise, when all symptoms of disturbance are at an end, they will obtain some more full and unreserved submission from Surendro Nath Banerjee, if they require it, and will let him out. The longer they keep him in prison, the greater martyr he will become, and an act of grace at the first suitable opportunity would do more than anything else to allay the existing excitement.

With respect to Mr. Harrison's inquiry about the removal of Surendro Nath Banerjee from the roll of Honorary Magistrates, I think that it would certainly be desirable to give him, as Mr. Harrison suggests, an opportunity of resigning; but if he appeals, as the newspapers say he intends to do, to the Privy Council, it is worth your while to consider whether you should take any steps for removing him from the Honorary Magistrates' roll until the appeal has been decided. I do not think it likely that the Privy Council will pronounce in his favour, as even if they thought the sentence upon him unduly severe, they would probably say that the matter was one for the discretion of the High Court, and that they could not interfere; but if by any chance