SIR WALTER LAWRENCE

AND INDIA 1879-1918

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Council for National Academic Awards for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

OCTOBER 1991

The Polytechnic of North London

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WALTER ROPER LAWRENCE was born in Herefordshire on 9 February 1857; he was educated at Cheltenham College (1867-76) and Balliol College, Oxford (1877-1879), being head of the Indian Civil Service exam list in 1877. Lawrence's career was unusually varied but there are two themes which unify his wide-ranging experiences.
The first is a reflection of Lawrence's education and early training especially in the Punjab; his approach to administration was one of "benevolent paternalism" and he was motivated by the ideal of service.
The second theme is that of Lawrence's own personal character and abilities. He was a very likeable man and an able administrator. He combined an eye for detail with the capacity to understand the broad sweep of policy. These themes are illustrated and discussed within each chapter.

This study begins with an examination of the importance of Lawrence's education and his early years in the Indian Civil Service. His service in the Punjab, in Rajputana and in the Government of India between 1879 and 1889 moulded his approach to Indians and to the administration of India.
In Kashmir from 1889 until 1895 Lawrence undertook the land revenue assessment and settlement. This chapter discusses the problems he faced; the mechanics of the survey; the implementation of the settlement and its aftermath.
Lawrence returned to India in December 1898 as Private Secretary to Lord Curzon. Lawrence's role was to facilitate implementation of Curzon's policies. His second function was to act as confidant and adviser to Curzon. This chapter highlights these differing roles and reviews Curzon's style of administration from the perspective of his subordinates.
The management of the Prince and Princess of Wales' Tour of India in 1905-06 illustrates Lawrence's abilities in liaison and organisation.Lawrence served on the Council of India from 1907 until 1909. During the First World War he was responsible for monitoring the provision of medical care for the Indian troops serving in France (1914-15). Once again his co-ordinating powers were utilised to the full. The study concludes with an account of the activities of Lawrence's last years; he died on 25 May 1940.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank the many people who have contributed to this project with advice and encouragement:

My supervisors Professor Denis Judd and Dr Patricia Mercer at the Polytechnic of North London; also Professor Eric Stokes, Dr Anil Seal and Dr Zara Steiner who encouraged an interest in British India while I was an undergraduate at Cambridge, and Dr Chris Bayly, Dr Clive Dewey and Dr Grant Guyer for their helpful comments and advice

Professor Peter Marshall and his colleagues at the Institute of Historical Research "Monday at 5" Imperial History seminar

Sir David Lawrence (3rd Bt.) and Mr Murray Lawrence for their assistance in researching the life of their grandfather

The staff of the following libraries, who have always been knowledgeable and helpful - Dr Richard Bingle and the staff of the British Library Oriental and India Office Collections, better known as the India Office Library; the British Library and British Library Manuscripts Room; the School of Oriental and African Studies; the University Library, Cambridge; the Institute of Historical Research; the Public Records Office; the British Newspaper and Periodicals Library, Colindale; Alan Tadiello and James Armstrong, Balliol College Library, Oxford; Mrs Marie Draper, the Bedford Estates; the Hartley Library, University of Southampton; the History Department, Portsmouth Polytechnic; and last but by no means least the ladies of the Hampshire County Library, Bishop's Waltham branch.

Ms Kate Crowe of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Historical Department for information on the India Office and a tour of the refurbished buildings

John Gibbs of the Geography Department, Polytechnic of North London for the maps; Rod Hamilton of the India Office Library Photographic Department and David Goldby for the photographs

Finally my particular thanks are reserved for the encouragement and support of my father, John Putnam, and my husband Stephen.

SIR WALTER ROPER LAWRENCE - BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

9 February 1857	Born at Moreton Court, Moreton-on-Lugg, near Hereford, sixth son of George Lawrence,JP.
1867-1876	Educated at Cheltenham College.
1877	Placed first in Indian Civil Service exams.
October 1877-June 1879	At Balliol College, Oxford.
1879-1896:	Served in the Indian Civil Service
December 1879-1882	In the Punjab. Postings to Peshawar, Thal, the Khyber Pass, and Hazara. Census Officer for Peshawar under Sir Denzil Ibbetson.
1882-1884	In Rajputana. Postings to Merwara, Ajmere, Mount Abu. On tour to Udaipur under Colonel Bradford.
1884-1886	To Lahore as Under Secretary in the Secretariat of the Punjab Government under Sir Charles Aitchison. Included six months as Settlement Officer in Kurnal-Umballa.
18 March 1885	Married Lilian Gertrude James of Hereford in Mount Abu.
9 April 1886	Birth of Percy Roland Bradford Lawrence.
September 1886-1888	Under Secretary in the Revenue and Agriculture Department of the Government of India under Sir Edward Buck. On tour to Bombay and Madras, and Upper Burma.
1888-April 1889	Acting Secretary in the above Department while Buck was on furlough.
April 1889	To Kashmir, as Settlement Officer, Jammu and Kashmir State.
1891	Awarded CIE (Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire).
26 October 1891	Birth of Henry Walter Neville Lawrence.
September 1894	Survey of Kashmir completed.
March 1895	Returned to England with leave owing; on furlough until official retirement date of March 1897.
October 1896-December 1898	Agent for the Estates of 11th Duke of Bedford (Herbrand Russell).
December 1898-October 1903	Private Secretary to the Viceroy (Lord Curzon)
1903	Awarded KCIE (Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire).

From 1904	Member of the Council of Cheltenham College.
1905-1906	Chief of Staff to the Prince of Wales' Tour of India.
1906	Awarded GCIE (Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire).
July 1906	Made Baronet.
1907	Served on Lord Inchcape's Committee on the Finances of Indian Railways. To Canada on behalf of the Trustees of the Duke of Bedford's Estates, to advise on investments.
October 1907-March 1909	Member of the Council of India.
1914-1918	Wartime posts: Commissioner for the Indian Wounded Work for the Air Board 1916 under Lord Curzon and Assistant Adjutant General and Liaison Officer between the War Office and the Bureau of Pensions.
January 1917	Made CB (Companion of the Order of the Bath).
November 1917-March 1918	Led a British delegation to the USA.
June 1918	Awarded GCVO (Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order).
1919	Visited Palestine and Syria to report to the Foreign Secretary (Lord Curzon)
25 May 1940	Died at Woking at the home of his son Neville.

MAP TO SHOW LAWRENCE'S POSTINGS IN THE 1880s

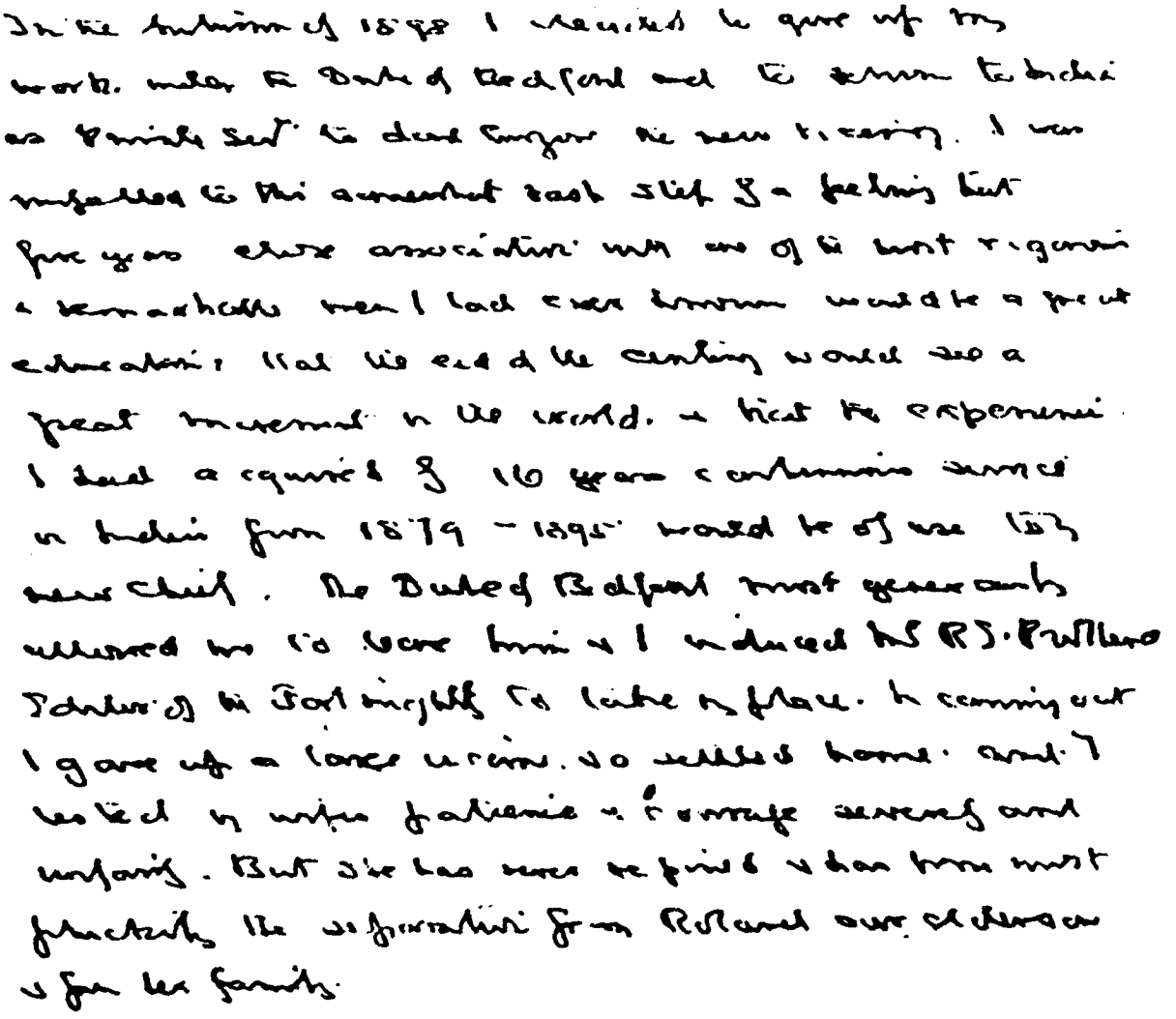
MAP TO SHOW LAWRENCE'S POSTINGS IN N.W. INDIA AND KASHMIR

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

'THE PRINCE'S CICERONE'

Cartoon by 'Spy' : Vanity Fair 15 June 1905

SIR WALTER LAWRENCE'S DIARY, 1901
Facsimile and transcript of page one of the Introduction. IOL F143/26



In the summer of 1898 I decided to give up my work under the Duke of Bedford and to return to India as Private Secretary to Lord Curzon the new Viceroy. I was impelled to this somewhat rash step by a feeling that five years close association with one of the most vigorous and remarkable men I had ever known would be a great education, that the end of the century would see a great movement of the world and that the experience I had acquired of 16 years continuous service in India from 1879 - 1895 would be of use to my new Chief. The Duke of Bedford most generously allowed me to leave him and I induced Mr R.S. Prothero Editor of the Fortnightly to take my place. In coming out I gave up a large income and a settled home and I tested my wife's patience and courage severely and unfairly. But she has never repined and has borne most pluckily the separation from Roland our elder son and from her family.

GLOSSARY

anna	1/16 of a Rupee
assami	The lawful occupant of the land under assessment
Bandobast Sahib	Literally the 'arranging' or 'managing' Sahib; the man in charge
begar	Forced labour, levied by officials and by the government
chaupal	An open square in the village where people gather in the evening
chilki	10 annas
dacoity	Armed banditry
Dogras	Hindus of all castes, Sikhs and Muslims from the area around Jammu
giriftani	Additional revenue payments of offset arrears
havildar	NCO in the Indian Army, corresponding to sergeant
izzat	Esteem, honour or reputation
jagir	Revenue-free land
kangni	A type of grain, used for food and fuel
karkun	The non-priestly Brahmins
kham	8 annas
kharwar	An ass-load, or 177 lbs. In area, a kharwar of land is the amount of land which needs one kharwar of rice-seed for cultivation, which equals exactly 4 British acres
lakh	100,000 usually written as 1,00,000
lambardar	The village headman, responsible for handing over the revenue collection to the government
mirasdar	A hereditary landholder
pai kishti	Remote land, held far from a city
Pandit	A Hindu Brahmin
patwari	The village accountant; a Pandit
rais	The head or chief
ryot	A peasant cultivator
ryotwari	A land settlement made direct with the cultivator
sar kishti	Land held near a city
sepoy	Private soldier in the Indian Army
shali	Unhusked rice
tahsil	An area of land which is a sub-division of a district
tahsildar	The revenue official in charge of a tahsil
wazarat	An area corresponding to the British district. In Kashmir 15 tahsils were grouped into 3 wazarats
wazir wazarat	The officer in charge of a wazarat

PREFACE

The late 19th century saw the zenith of the Raj in India. In the years following the rebellion of 1857 British power was consolidated, and British administration was stable and self-confident. Lawrence's career spans this period and very usefully illustrates the attitudes and thinking of many Britons in India at this time.

The biographical approach of this study brings together a variety of Imperial themes. Areas such as land revenue and settlement policy, the foreign policy of the Government of India, social and economic reform, and rural uplift, all provide fertile ground for the student of late 19th Century British India. Some studies result in detailed accounts of individual villages, others give an overview of the entire sub-continent. Yet none of these themes should be viewed in isolation. It is easy to overlook the fact that the full range of British policies were implemented at the lower levels of government by individuals. These men were subject to the pressures of work and family, conflicting policies, and complex local circumstances. A biographical case-study can draw together these threads through the activities and experiences of

one person, and Lawrence's career is particularly well-suited to this form of academic scrutiny.

Lawrence's educational background and his early experiences in India were typical of many Indian Civil Servants of his generation. The problems he faced during the first ten years of his service in Northern India, and in Kashmir for a further six years, were similar to those being encountered by Britons across the Indian sub-continent. His career included postings at district, provincial and central government levels.

However, after sixteen years service, Lawrence resigned from the Indian Civil Service. Paradoxically, this apparent break with India was to give rise to fresh opportunities and an unusually broad experience in Indian affairs.

He was to become in turn Private Secretary to Lord Curzon, Chief of Staff for the Prince of Wales' Tour, member of the Council of India under the Secretary of State John Morley and Commissioner for the Indian wounded reporting to Lord Kitchener. All of these posts, each interesting in its own right, also illustrate a different aspect of British rule in India. To each, Lawrence was able to bring a wealth of background information, and insights into life in

India, and into the problems and opportunities facing British administrators, all built upon the wide foundation of his own sub-continental experience.

In addition to official publications and records, directories, and published works a biographical survey is able to draw on a wide range of manuscript sources to illustrate its findings (for example, the letters and diaries of Lawrence's contemporaries while in India and colleagues both in India and England). Lawrence's own letters and diaries are preserved in the Lawrence Collection of the British Library Oriental and India Office Collections; this study extensively reviews this material for the first time. Lawrence also published a number of newspaper and periodical articles, a history of Kashmir The Valley of Kashmir (London,1895), and a volume of memoirs The India We Served (London,1928).

THE EARLY YEARS 1857 - 1889

No country has ever possessed a more admirable body of public servants than the Civil Service of India.

Sir John Strachey [1]

WALTER ROPER LAWRENCE was born on 9 February 1857 at Moreton Court, Moreton-on-the-Lugg, near Hereford, the sixth son of George Lawrence, JP., and his wife Catharine (née Lewis).[2] He spent his early years in the family home followed by two years at a small dame school of only eight boys in the Cotswolds. From there he entered Cheltenham College, which he attended from 1867 until 1876.[3]

George Lawrence had been one of the founders of the College in 1841, and four of his sons were educated there. The College List states the aims of the foundation: "to provide a Classical, Mathematical, and General Education of the highest order, on moderate terms, in strict conformity with the principles and doctrines of the Church of England" - in other words, to produce Christian gentlemen, well-rounded and liberally educated. The College was divided into three Departments - the Classical, the Military and Civil, and the Junior. The pupils in the Classical Department were being prepared for University, the professions, and the Indian Civil Service.[4]

Walter Lawrence progressed through the College to reach fourth place in the Classical Department in the College exams of December 1875. He also won the

Iredell Modern History prize - the senior College prize at that time.[5]

Lawrence's father and his housemaster wanted him to become a barrister, but he opted instead for a career in India, so there followed a year at a "crammer" to prepare for the Indian Civil Service exams. There were those at Cheltenham who doubted if he would compete successfully, but Lawrence was determined to prove them wrong. In fact, of the thirty successful candidates in 1877 he was placed head of the list.[6]

The Indian Civil Service exams were largely classical, mathematical and literary. There were seventeen subjects in all, and a candidate could attempt as many as he wished in order to accumulate as many marks as possible. The language, literature and history of England, Greece and Rome accounted for 38% of the total marks, and maths accounted for 16%. In the modern languages section French, German and Italian were offered. There were five Natural Science papers. Arabic, Sanskrit and Political Science were also offered.[7] Lawrence scored 1719 marks. His childhood and adolescent enjoyment of 'poetry, literature and tales of chivalry'[8] was reflected in his exam results - he scored particularly well in Latin, and English

literature and history. He achieved a very low figure for Natural Science and did not even attempt the maths paper.[9]

After being accepted for the Indian Civil Service there was a two-year probationary period to be spent at one of the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, London, or Trinity College, Dublin. At the end of this time there was a further set of qualifying exams.[10] Lawrence spent his two years at Balliol College, Oxford, from October 1877 until June 1879, under Benjamin Jowett. Dr Jowett had been a member of Macaulay's Committee on Appointments to the East India Company's Service in 1854 and took a keen interest in Indian affairs. In 1870 Jowett became Master of Balliol College, and in 1875 the College decided that it would allow up to ten places each year for Indian Civil Service probationers. This was a very significant number in a college whose total roll was only about 165 men.[11] Between 1877 and 1895 more than one quarter of all the Indian Civil Service probationers were at Balliol College.[12] Jowett wrote to a number of the successful examination candidates; and Lawrence's father received a letter offering his son a place.[13] Lawrence was among the 54 men admitted in 1877-78, of whom eight were destined for India.[14]

His tutors were Arnold Toynbee and James Leigh Strachan Davidson. Both were young (only 25 and 34 years old respectively) and Lawrence admired them greatly, finding Toynbee in particular, "full of enthusiasm, very tolerant, and very stimulating".[15] Michael O'Dwyer, who was at Balliol from 1882 until 1885, and joined the Indian Civil Service in 1885, was later to describe Toynbee as:

> One of the most brilliant exponents of the new humanitarian school of thought in economics, which was then battling against the frigid materialism of the Manchester school. To my mind, Toynbee's inspiring lectures and essays ... were great factors in revolutionising the outlook on economic questions.[16]

Toynbee was a Lecturer in Political Economy, and is perhaps now better known for his work of social and educational reform among the poor. In 1878 he was made Tutor in Charge for the Indian Civil Service probationers.[17] Strachan Davidson was the son of a Scottish merchant in Madras and was very influential in developing the links between Balliol and India. He was, by 1877, the Classics Tutor and Senior Dean, and taught Lawrence Roman history and political economy.[18]

Lawrence's other subjects included a study of the Indian penal code, and the history of British India. There was also a test of horsemanship, and an exam

in an Indian language. He achieved another distinction with a £10 prize for Law (Notes and Cases) awarded by the Civil Service Commissioners in 1878.[19] It was during his two years in Oxford that he applied himself to learning Hindustani (Urdu) thoroughly and, in particular, its grammar. He believed that this study was the "foundation for a happy and successful life in India".[20]

Jowett's philosophy could be summarised as "working hard, not wasting opportunities or talents, persevering in the face of difficulty".[21] These themes were not, in themselves, particularly remarkable. What was unusual, was the way he influenced his students to take up the themes with such success. Under his Mastership Balliol men reached high positions in Parliament, the Church, the Civil Service, and India. Although the Indian Civil Service training has been criticised for producing "omnicompetent generalists" with no understanding of the applied sciences,[22] Jowett's wide-ranging approach was very practical. He saw the need in India for the improvement of agricultural techniques, engineering and waterworks.[23] Lawrence recalls his last meeting:

> I said, on wishing him goodbye, that I should see him again in three years. He replied: 'You will never see me again, but don't forget to write to me about the

> introduction of tobacco into India.' They had told him that his days were numbered, but that did not impair his sacred thirst for knowledge.[24]

There were two particularly interesting features of the intellectual climate of Balliol under Jowett, T.H.Green, Toynbee and others in the late 1870s. One was the widespread belief in the ideals of 'service' and the conviction that Balliol men would be the people best suited to carry the ideals into practice.[25] The other was the development of Historicist and Idealist theories, which gradually began to undermine the earlier Utilitarian school of thought.[26] For example, Toynbee made a conscious effort to adjust his teaching to take account of conditions in India.[27] This resulted in a more critical approach to Utilitarianism, and a recognition of the importance of groupings such as the village community, tribe, caste and extended family, in Indian society.[28]

The Indian Civil Service probationer of the late 1870s and 1880s left England with a breadth of background study in social and natural science, law, economics and history unparalleled in England at that time, and with their minds filled with a welter of ideas and theories. These ideas would be supplemented by their own observations when they

reached India, and modified by the comments and advice of more experienced colleagues.[29]

Two friends from Balliol were profoundly to influence Lawrence's life in future years; one was Herbrand Russell and the other was George Curzon. [See Photograph 1, p.9]. Herbrand Russell had come up to Balliol a year earlier than Lawrence, in 1876. He was the brother of the 10th Duke of Bedford, and succeeded him as 11th Duke in 1893. In Lawrence's first year, both men had rooms on Staircase 10 of the Garden (or Back) Quad.[30] Curzon came up to Balliol in 1878, Lawrence's second year, when they had rooms on adjacent staircases (Staircases 4 and 5, again in the Garden Quad).[31] Russell was to "tempt" Lawrence back to England to manage his family estate after Lawrence's sixteen years service in India,[32] while Curzon would later persuade Lawrence to return to India once more as his Private Secretary.

Late in 1879 Lawrence sailed for Bombay and took up his first Indian Civil Service appointment in Lahore on 5 December. He had originally opted for the North-West Provinces but had instead been assigned to the Punjab, which was regarded as the destination

Photograph 1. The Devorguilla Debating Society, Balliol College, 1879.

of the 'cream' of the Indian Civil Service intake.[33] He had an unusually varied career and served sixteen years continuously without a full furlough, finally returning to England in 1895. A résumé of his service shows the variety of tasks required of young Indian Civil Service officers and provides a background knowledge of Lawrence's training, his experience, his thinking, and his approach to problems.

Lawrence experienced postings at all levels of the Indian Civil Service and in a wide geographical area. December 1879 to 1882 were spent in the Punjab. His first post was at the District Staff offices in Lahore. The new recruit usually spent his first year in India watching other officers at work. He was often also given some minor responsibilities. Lawrence was in charge of some judicial work, as well as being responsible for the Moghul Gardens, the Zoological Gardens, and the Municipal Committee. His chief task was to deal with a strike by the market gardeners who cleared away the 'night soil' of the city. In his ignorance of caste rules, he broke the strike by encouraging his high-caste Municipal Committee members to join him in shovelling away some of the ordure that was building up in the streets. They realised that it

was no time to demur - it was a question of sweeping or dying from the illnesses that would rage if the streets were not cleared.[34] Lawrence learnt how to take firm and immediate action, and quotes with approval the advice of a senior officer that sometimes it was better to take a decision, even a wrong one, than to delay.[35]

In Lahore Lawrence lived at the Punjab Club where his room was next to that of John Lockwood Kipling. He became very friendly with both him and his son Rudyard, who later wrote the Preface to Lawrence's book The India We Served.[36]

Lawrence then moved to Peshawar on the upper frontier of the Punjab for a short time, where he was in charge of the Militia forts. His duties were light, he simply had to travel round checking that the men on the payroll were actually present in the forts. The main benefit of the posting was the opportunity it gave for learning the Pashtu language.[37]

His next move was to Thal, in the Kurram Valley, where he was Political Officer to a Brigade; he spent most of his time with the 18th Bengal Cavalry. Among his duties he had to accompany the Brigade on its military activities which included on more than

one occasion seizing and burning a village. He accompanied the Brigade on the expedition to explore unknown mountain territory beyond Thal for which the 18th Bengal Cavalry was rewarded with being made a Lancer Regiment. Lawrence had to deal with the administration of, and supplies for, the unit and also manage its camel transport. He was awarded the military medal for the Second Afghan Campaign for his work. He also uncovered a serious Commissariat fraud, but because the Brigade was called to Kandahar, no action was taken. There followed, in the autumn, a short time at the Khyber Pass covering for the Political Officer, who had fallen ill.[38]

Lawrence comments unfavourably on his early training in India. The new Civil Service recruits were expected to learn their duties from more experienced officers, but everyone was busy because of the Second Afghan War, and few had time to spare to teach him. He claimed that the most useful tool he had acquired in these early posts was a thorough knowledge of Hindustani.[39]

Things were very different at Lawrence's next post as Census Officer for the city and district of

Peshawar under Sir Denzil Ibbetson. He calls Ibbetson the 'great instructor' and wrote:

> He was the greatest of the Indian Civilians of my day. Even at that early period of his service, men recognised him as unique.[40]

Ibbetson had entered the Indian Civil Service in 1870 and was to rise to Secretary of the Land Revenue and Agriculture Department in the Government of India (1896-98), Member of the Viceroy's Council 1902-05, and Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab 1905-08.[41]

Ibbetson was one of the pioneers of anthropological and ethnographic studies in India.[42] The trend towards such studies in India coincided with the development of Historicist and Idealist theories in England. The renewed recognition of the importance of the village community, caste, and customary law engendered a climate of sympathy towards Indian society which had been lacking under Utilitarianism. Ibbetson believed that the British encouragement of the rights of the individual over the community had been a "grievous blunder" and saw anthropology and the understanding of Indian society to be a crucial element in the training of Indian Civil Service officers. He wanted a paper in anthropology to be included in the Indian Civil Service exams, and saw

the whole of the Service as an army of anthropologists producing results which would influence future policy.[43]

In the course of land settlements information was collated on many aspects of village life - land tenure, caste, leading families, religion. In the Punjab the Settlement Officers also compiled a code of customary law.[44] Settlement Officers had a positive view towards such anthropological field-work and towards the policies which stemmed from their observations. Ibbetson's own studies, Report on the Census of the Punjab 1881 and Punjab Castes are still standard works today.[45] Lawrence's The Valley of Kashmir was to follow in this tradition.[46]

Lawrence's role in 1881-82, under Ibbetson's tutelage, was to visit not only the city of Peshawar but all the villages and frontier forts, numbering the households, and the inhabitants, and noting their occupations. This work enabled him to build up a fascinating and most revealing picture of Indian life, covering religion, race and customs, and was a task full of surprises and full of interest.[47] A less enjoyable post followed, after the completion of the Punjab Census, at the Hazara district headquarters at Abbottabad. Lawrence

believed that his superior had given him the dullest and most routine duties. In addition, some of the work was unpleasant - such as 'jail work' which involved supervising executions.[48]

Lawrence then had a temporary break in his Punjab service, and spent the period from 1882 until 1884 in Rajputana. During the time he spent in Merwara district he was one of only four Britons there, the others being missionaries and the manager of a cotton press. It was here that he became used to life without frequent European contact, and began really assimilating Indian ideas and exploring the language, the customs (such as festivals and processions) and village songs. His duties included jurisdiction over two hundred miles of railway track; and assisting the Police Superintendent from Ajmere in tackling dacoity, a task they accomplished by raising a body of local men and stalking the bandits for two months.[49]

As Acting District Officer at Ajmere he accompanied the doctors during a cholera epidemic, and was also responsible for the weighing of opium and stamping and sealing it for excise duty.[50] It was while in Ajmere that he first met Edward Buck, who was a Secretary to the Government of India. Buck was a lifelong champion of the development of Indian

agriculture and Indian products.[51] Throughout his career, Buck's schemes for establishing a scientific department of agriculture and for experimental agricultural methods were starved of funds, mainly because he was generally seen as a dreamer, whereas Lawrence saw him as a visionary and an original thinker:

> Most of the Civil Service had no time to think, as the work gave no respite and no leisure....His eyes were always seeing an India where two blades of wheat were growing instead of one.[52]

Buck was concerned about the problem of land alienation and land settlements. For some years he called for an elastic system that would allow fluctuating assessments, and wanted to see the restriction of the right of transfer of land.[53] His views would finally become Government policy in 1895,[54] and would also be reflected in Lawrence's Kashmir land settlement.[55]

Buck was to remain friendly with, and helpful to, Lawrence throughout his Indian service, and especially when giving advice to Lawrence on the agricultural development in Kashmir. Lawrence was to work for Buck later (from September 1886) in the Government of India Land Revenue and Agriculture Department, where Buck was Secretary for many years.[56]

Lawrence claims that all of his previous Indian Civil Service acquaintances had been district and provincial officers and that Buck was the first official of the Government of India he had met.[57] At Ajmere even Mount Abu, the headquarters of the Provincial Government, seemed far away, while Simla was remoter still. In fact, Mount Abu was Lawrence's next posting, as a "Fourth Assistant to the Agent to Government for Rajputana" and he therefore became part of the Government of India's Political Department.[58] Most members of the Political Department were recruited from the Indian Army; few were Civilians.[59] Here, Lawrence wrote:

> I was no longer to deal with ryots but with the Rais [landowners], with the Rajas of Rajasthan.[60]

In October 1882 he went on tour with Colonel Edward Bradford, the Agent; although it was usually the privilege of the First Assistant to accompany the Agent on Tour, he (the First Assistant) kindly arranged for Lawrence, then only 25, to take his place.[61] So Lawrence visited all the Chiefs of State. The formal interviews were full of ceremony and conversation was stilted, but the real business took place in the informal interviews. Lawrence's role was to record notes of these conversations. His lifelong interest in the Native States stemmed from

this Tour. The courtesies of the tour seemed to Lawrence reminiscent of the Middle Ages - the ceremonial, the perfect hospitality, the bard and minstrels, the jester and dancing girls and drummers.[62]

In 1883 problems arose in Bikanir as the Maharaja was short of money and consequently he increased taxation. This led to a dispute with his barons, and eventually to a siege in the fort of Bidasur. It became clear that the Political Officer would not be able to achieve a settlement, so a Brigade of the Indian Army was sent, with Colonel Bradford in political charge and Lawrence as his Assistant. Twenty years later when Lawrence was once more in Bikanir with Curzon on a Viceregal Tour, he was to meet again one of the rebellious barons, who remembered him and the incident well.[63]

By the end of his first four years in India, from December 1879 until December 1883, Lawrence had gained experience in working with every level of Indian society, and with both Hindus and Muslims. He had seen district and provincial government in operation. His pay had risen to Rs 400 a month, Rs 64 of which was expended on eight servants.[64]

In January 1884 Lawrence's service in Rajputana ended. He received an offer of the post of Under Secretary of the Punjab Government from Sir Charles Aitchison, the Lieutenant Governor. Apart from the additional experience that a post in the Punjab Government would offer, the two great attractions were that the post would be based in Simla for the summer and that the salary would be Rs 766 per month. Lawrence decided to accept the post.[65]

Sir Charles Aitchison was a reforming administrator well-known for his vigorous and clear style of working. He was Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab from 1882 until 1887. Aitchison was probably less interested than Ibbetson in the analysis and understanding of Indian society, although he was not unsympathetic to those over whom he ruled. His main concern was the problem of applying a regular system of government to the Punjab.[66]

Lawrence's workload in this new post was very heavy and the work was mostly fresh to him. It was here that he first encountered in detail the principles of Land Revenue. He turned with relief to the more familiar questions of trade, excise and forests and drew up the rules for the Aitchison College at Lahore (he knew and admired the Mayo College for Chiefs at Ajmere). The pay turned out to be a

disappointment, as living in Simla was very expensive - costing Rs 450 per month at a Club.[67] However, here he saw all sides of official life - there was a great variety of official activites and he met officers from all over the sub-continent, as well as participating in the balls, tennis and dinner parties. Later he found that life in Simla palled, and was glad to leave the social whirl and the expense,[68] but as a young bachelor in 1884 he found it delightful.[69] One of his friends at this time was James Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary to Aitchison. Dunlop Smith was himself to be appointed a Private Secretary to a Viceroy - to Lord Minto (1905-1910).

Lawrence's second season in Simla was very different from the first, as he by then bore the responsibilities of a married man. He had married Lilian James, from Hereford, at Mount Abu on 18 March 1885. She was a daughter of John Gwynne James, a solicitor, from Ayleston Hill, Hereford and sister of Arthur Gwynne James. Arthur Gwynne James had been at Cheltenham with Lawrence, and was later to become a judge.[70] Lilian James and Lawrence were married from Colonel Bradford's house, and their honeymoon trip included a stay of a fortnight at the Viceroy's Camp at Rawalpindi in the

north-western Punjab, before travelling on via Umballa and Simla to the Himalayas.[71] Not all of Lawrence's colleagues agreed with a young civilian marrying (Lawrence was by this time 28) believing that a man should postpone marriage until later in his career or even until back in England - a usual term of service was 25 years, and retirement from the Indian Civil Service was compulsory after 35 years.[72] Lawrence was well aware of the qualities that the wife of an Indian Civilian would need - someone who would not mind:

> roughing it, long journeys, constant transfers, sometimes a lonely life away from doctors, dentists and civilisation; a wife who likes India, the Indians and the adventure of Indian life; a wife of noble patience and pluck.[73]

Lilian's fortitude was to be tested to the full over the years. She was to be a constant support to Lawrence and was very involved in his work in India. Two sons were to be born in India, Roland in 1886 and Neville in 1891.[74] The Lawrences were a close family, and domestic matters were important to Lawrence. Over the coming years his diaries and letters frequently demonstrate his concerns about the children's health and their schooling.[75] Lilian's diaries mention how she regularly met Lawrence from

the office[76] and how Roland would accompany Lawrence to work:

> Every morning he drives with Walter when he goes to the office, and then his own especial attendant...brings him back again, and then he comes running up to me to tell me he 'has taken Daddy ride safe to of-fice'![77]

Letters from Lawrence's sister and brother-in-law Lilian and Henry Glenny, show that Lawrence was fond of children and young people.[78] He had a lifelong involvement with Cheltenham College, serving on Committees and speaking at College functions.[79] He wrote in 1889 that:

> my one dream is watching children digging sandcastles at the sea.[80]

Lilian's first taste of her future life came later in 1885, when Lawrence departed for a six-month spell as Settlement Officer for the Revenue Secretary for the assessment area of Kurnal-Umballa. He had been offered a post supervising Indian exhibits for an exhibition in England by his old mentor Sir Edward Buck, but instead opted for the type of work he was to find the most educative and interesting.[81] The work of a Settlement Officer he describes graphically in <u>The India We Served</u>, conveying very clearly the meticulous attention to

detail that was required, while presenting the overall picture of the village's well-being:

> The "Settlement" of a District is the most important and most educative work which can fall to a Civilian. He has to survey the land; study the various soils; the crops; the conditions and resources of the peasants; the land tenure; the communications and the markets. He has also to ascertain the characters and methods of the village headmen, and the village accountants; and generally he has to learn, and learn thoroughly, all that concerns the agriculture and the well-being of the villages. Finally, he has to "settle" for periods of twenty or thirty years the land revenue which each village is to pay to the State, and has to decide in each village the actual fields which belong to the individual peasant, and the amount of the village revenue for which that individual is responsible. It is a work which never ceases day and night. All day the Settlement Officer rides from village to village inspecting and checking the survey and the entries in the field register, making notes on the appearance of the crops, the people and the cattle, talking to the cultivators and watching them at their work; sitting by the wells and judging their capacity for irrigation; and, at night, after long talks at the village chaupal, writing up notes in his tent. This work may last from three to five years, but the Bandobast Sahib goes on, never tiring and always interested. He naturally becomes fond of the people, because he knows that their happiness for twenty or thirty years will depend on his valuation. It is therefore essential that his proposals should be supported by painfully-won knowledge, and by practical, almost expert, reasoning. He has to convince three authorities, known as the Settlement Commissioner, the Financial Commissioner, and the Provincial Government. While the quiet Settlement Officer is plodding along, the Government of India wants money for some new scheme of administrative advance, and the Provincial Government wants more money for

> education of police. Everyone wants money, and the man who finds the money is the peasant, that splendid, patient man....So the good Settlement Officer must hold the balance between the Government who say "give", and his friends, the peasants, who point to the poor crops and say they are ruined.[82]

Lawrence's "circle" of land included 100 villages, occupied by Rajput Muslims ruled by Sikh landlords. These overlords would take up to half of the standing crops and might decline to accept fields of ripe crops simply in order to prevent the tenants establishing occupancy rights. One of Lawrence's two principal assistants was a Muslim called Shah Sahib. Lawrence respected his work and persuaded him to join the Kashmir Settlement team in 1889.[83]

The tradition of land revenue assessment and settlement in the Punjab was based on a desire to create and preserve a stable rural base. It was believed that light assessments would secure political stability through a numerous body of contented peasant proprietors. Problems were to arise in the Punjab due to the granting of transferable rights to the land, which led, in certain districts, to transfers of land to moneylenders and townsmen.[84]

It was the opinion of many Punjab officers, by the end of the century, that settling directly with the

individual smallholders did not, in the long run, allow for any improvement in cultivation, as the smallholders found it difficult to raise any capital. Nor did it necessarily secure agricultural contentment. Some officers, therefore, believed that it would be more prudent to foster the leading local men.[85] In his Kashmir settlement, Lawrence did not go as far as this. His settlement was made direct with the Muslim cultivators. He was, however, at pains to avoid the problem of land transfer and included in his settlement restrictions on subsequent transfer.[86]

The six-month period in Kurnal-Umballa ended with a crisis, when Lawrence was called back to Simla due to his wife's ill-health, probably related to her pregnancy. She nearly died, and as there were so few British nurses in India at that time she was seen through her illness by two kindly Englishwomen - Lawrence said numerous examples of such kindness in times of trouble were found in the British community. The Lawrence's first son, Roland, was born safely on 9 April 1886 at Simla.[87]

Lawrence remained with the Punjab Government in Simla until September 1886, consolidating his understanding of the Land Revenue System, but he was disappointed that he rarely met an Indian during

this period apart from occasional ceremonial visits by representatives of the Indian States of the Punjab. The Revenue Secretary, for whom Lawrence worked, believed that "downright dogged drudgery was the only training for a young man". Consequently Lawrence had little time for socialising, he kept long hours at his desk and took boxes of files home to work upon in the evenings.[88]

The next change of position came in September 1886. Lawrence was first offered the post of guardian of the young Maharaja of Jodhpur by his friend Colonel Bradford, but then came a letter from Sir Charles Aitchison with the offer of the great advancement of an Under Secretaryship in the Government of India, which Lawrence accepted.[89]

Lawrence naturally was pleased about the promotion, but what delighted him more was that his chief would be his old friend and mentor Sir Edward Buck, who was then Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Land Revenue and Agriculture.[90] Sir Charles Aitchison had retired to England when his term of office had expired in the Punjab and had been brought back to India by Lord Dufferin to run both the Home Department and the Department of Revenue and Agriculture. At this time Sir Frederick Roberts was Commander-in-Chief and Sir George

Chesney ran the Military Department - forming a team under Dufferin that comprised, in Lawrence's view, the best team of Indian administrators ever brought together.[91]

His own chief, Buck, was the only Secretary permitted to make long and frequent tours and Lawrence acted as Secretary in his place when he was absent, thus acquiring wide experience of the workings of the Government of India. Even so, it was a red-letter day when he took work direct to Dufferin, whom he greatly admired.[92] He also admired Lady Dufferin and felt greatly honoured when she asked him to act as Honorary Secretary to the Lady Dufferin Fund - a post he held until his departure for Kashmir in 1889.[93] She was striving to improve the lot of women in India, bringing women doctors from England, starting a school of medicine for Indian women, and trying to curb the worst excesses of female infanticide and other abuses.

Lawrence was always very concerned about social questions and the problems of custom, caste and religion. He remained a firm champion of the improvement of conditions for women. He believed India would never prosper unless her women were healthy and free and that the country would never achieve any status in the world while her women

were "blinded and bound by old customs and superstition".[94] Even worse, Indian boys were being educated to western ideas while girls were given no education and remained in "dark ignorance".[95]

Lawrence believed that, in an earlier era, men such as Elphinstone had had time to think upon and ponder the complexities of British rule, but by the 1880s and 1890s British officials at all levels of administration, from the Secretariat to the districts, were over-burdened with work. Officials produced statistics and reports but had to cut short interviews with Indian callers and had less time to deal with the wider issues such as justice, caste prejudice and education.[96] When writing his memoirs, Lawrence could not recall ever having heard any discussion at all among the British about the future of the Indian peoples, and the ends to which the British were working (such as Elphinstone's idea of the gradual relinquishment of the British share in civil administration) and the consequences of their rule.[97]

Lawrence was unusual in his wider social concerns, although of course his views were still coloured by those around him. During the Prince of Wales' Tour of 1905-06, the Prince (the future King George V) was astonished to discover that no Indian could join

a British club - Lawrence explained that the clubs would become too crowded and that the British needed unfettered conversation after a long day's work among Indians.[98] Although many Britons saw contact with Indians as "work" and thought that it formed part of their official duties, it is surprising that Lawrence held this view after his wide experience of living in remote places entirely without European company. It is possible that his service in Simla with its stricter social codes had temporarily displaced his earlier ability to mix well with all races and backgrounds. Certainly, later in his career, when organising the medical care of Indian troops in 1914-15, he demonstrated once more the ability to sympathise with, and understand the concerns of, Indian soldiers of all ranks.[99]

In 1888 Lawrence was offered a choice between three posts: the Under Secretaryship in the Foreign Department; First Assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad; or Settlement Commissioner in Kashmir.[100] According to his autobiography it was the lure of the very name of Kashmir that drew him to opt for the third.[101] To some friends it seemed strange that Lawrence accepted the Kashmir appointment - having reached the dizzy heights of central government it

seemed foolish to disappear out of sight, where he might be overlooked for later promotions.[102]

However, although this factor undoubtedly played a part in Lawrence's considerations he did not need to worry unduly about promotion. In comparing his progress with that of "an average Indian Civil Service man" he was doing very well on the hierarchy and promotions scale. For example, he had achieved the Under Secretary level in Provincial Government after only six years service which might more usually come after ten years;[103] and it was believed in 1895 when he returned to England that he would have risen to a Provincial Governorship if he had remained in the Indian Civil Service.[104] Lawrence felt that by doing a good job in Kashmir he would enhance his position,[105] and he was not afraid of making a career move which did not conform to the normal pattern.

In the Indian Civil Service in the 1880s and 1890s, and indeed right up until 1947, it seems that there was a yawning chasm between district level officers and central Government. To some extent the antipathy between district and Secretariat could be healthy, when it promoted practical administration by spurring on officers in their work, each one trying to surpass the other. But relationships

could become embittered and generate more friction than friendship. The Secretariat staff had all come from districts, and Lawrence was most unusual in leaving the Secretariat to return to a remote district posting. He could see that Secretariat work had its charms, but these were evident only to those of very exceptional ability.[106] For most officers the duties were very heavy and the main merit of a Secretariat posting was the social environment. Lawrence loved district life - it was much freer than the Secretariat and more full of interest and excitement:

> Hardly a day passes without some adventure; and to the man who does not mind occasional solitude and likes the Indians, life in the District is full of interest and enjoyment.[107]

Another factor in the decision was the family's expenses. He decided it would be much cheaper to live in Kashmir as there would be far fewer social expenses, such as entertaining, and he and Lilian would be able to save more.[108] Such prosaic considerations were probably more important than "the lure of the name of Kashmir". So, in March 1889, at the age of 32, Lawrence and his family were to set off to Kashmir.

By this time, after nearly ten years service in India, two themes are apparent which are to recur

throughout Lawrence's subsequent career. The first stems from Lawrence's education and training. "Benevolent paternalism" and the ideal of service summarise the thinking of many well-intentioned Indian Civil Service officers in the late 19th century. The second theme is a more personal one, covering Lawrence's attributes and capabilities.

The first theme is a reflection of Lawrence's education and training, and the widely-held assumptions of late 19th century Englishmen. Lawrence's approach to administration was "benevolent paternalism". The contents of the Indian Civil Service exams, his studies at Balliol, and the influence of his early superiors promoted a sympathetic interest in India and its people, and a desire to improve the lot of the Indian peasant. Lawrence was always willing to intervene in local disputes in order to advance justice and fairness. However, the underlying and unspoken assumption was that any improvements would best be achieved through British rule. Lawrence believed that real happiness in India was only to be found in British territory.[109]

Lawrence was strongly motivated by the ideal of service and the motif of being a 'servant' was to appear throughout his comments on India. His

autobiography is entitled The India We Served, and in 1932 in an article in The Times he describes service in India as "splendid happy slavery".[110]

This ideal of service was also part of the Indian Civil Service tradition and was, therefore, further impressed upon him during these early years in India. Each province had a distinct character, and the 'Punjab tradition' was one of "stern but compassionate paternalism".[111] It was an imperious tradition but it was, as Eric Stokes explains:

> mitigated by its respect for indigenous custom and by its type of personal and paternal rule, which brought the district officer into intimate contact and understanding with the people.[112]

The Indian Civil Service officers in the Punjab saw themselves as an élite corps, and prided themselves on their hard work, undertaken because of their sense of duty. The Punjab approach to practical administration strongly reinforced the theories Lawrence had learnt at Oxford. In addition, like all new recruits, he was influenced by his early superiors (Bradford, Ibbetson, Aitchison, and Buck) and by his early meetings with Indians. For example, his lifelong interest in the problems of the Indian states was born during his early posting

to Rajputana.[113] Lawrence's own comment on the influence of his early years was:

> It is curious how the impressions made in the first years on Indian service form the real and only valuable ideas. We grow wiser and more critical as the years pass, but the early impressions remain.[114]

The second theme that unifies Lawrence's career arises from his personal character and abilities. He was a charming, likeable and 'clubbable' man who got on well with people. This would have been an important point in his favour both in the very insular atmosphere of the Government of India and in the far-flung districts. The British community in India was very small, and people travelled about a great deal. Families would visit friends in the hot weather to escape the heat of the plains, and there was constant movement owing to fresh postings. The ability to mix well was a useful attribute for an Indian Civil Service officer.

When it came to his work Lawrence was not a man who was afraid of being disliked. He had a good deal of courage in dealing with difficult situations. He had no hesitation in rooting out fraud, or reporting a landlord or official if he saw an instance of malpractice.[115] He admired the qualities of efficiency, honesty, fairness, and loyalty[116] and expected that others (his Indian officials and

British colleagues) would also recognise these qualities.

The most outstanding ability Lawrence displayed as an adminstrator was to be able to combine an observant eye for detail with the capacity to see policy issues with a broad overview. He could notice a trivial detail at one moment and make a wide-ranging comment on Indian government immediately afterwards. It was an approach that would prove to be of value when Lawrence worked for Curzon as Private Secretary, for the Prince of Wales as Chief of Staff, and for Kitchener as Commissioner for the Indian War Wounded. However, even before these posts, this ability was to be demonstrated in Lawrence's work in Kashmir. Amidst all the intricate technicalities of the Land Settlement he never lost sight of the overall objectives. These objectives and the tasks facing Lawrence on his arrival in Kashmir are discussed in the next chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1 - THE EARLY YEARS

Abbreviations:

Lawrence India	Sir Walter Roper Lawrence The India We Served (London, 1928)
PRO	Public Records Office

Notes:

1. Sir John Strachey India: Its Administration and Progress (London, 3rd edition 1903) p.76
2. George Lawrence,JP., of Trevella, Langwm, Mon.
   b. 3 August 1805 d. 6 March 1896
   m. (1) Mary Geach and had one son and three daughters
   (2) in March 1844 Catharine Lewis d.3 November 1901, and had six sons and two daughters
   Sources: Burke's Peerage and Baronetage (London 1967) p. 1459 and Lawrence Collection 'Family papers' 1875-1938 IOL F143/157
   So Walter Lawrence was his father's sixth son, and his mother's fifth son. Lawrence greatly admired his brother Wyndham, b. 1851, and corresponded with him more than his other brothers. Wyndham became a solicitor and died aged 35 in 1886.
3. Walter Roper Lawrence The India We Served (London, 1928) pp.1-3
4. See:
   Cheltenham College Registers The four brothers at Cheltenham were Arthur b.1849, Wyndham b.1851, Walter b.1857 and Charles b.1860.
   Cheltenham College Lists 1871-76
   Letter to the author from the Secretary of the Cheltonian Society
5. Lawrence was at Newick House, under Rev. J. Mugliston who was also the Master in charge of the Classical Department.
   Mr Lawrence paid fees of c £20 pa to the school and 50 guineas pa to the boarding house for Walter Lawrence's education.
   The subject of Walter Lawrence's prize-winning essay was "The Reign of William III as described and illustrated by the Historians Macaulay and Hallam".
   Source: Cheltenham College Lists 1871-1876
6. Lawrence India p.3
7. Civil Service Commission, Open and Limited Competitions, Regulations, Rules and Memoranda 1877-1880 - Item 8 Regulations for the Open Competition of 1877 (Exam 20 March 1877) Public Records Office Ref CSC 6/2

8. Lawrence's Notebook 1889 IOL F143/3
9. Civil Service of India Open Competition of 1877: Table of Marks PRO Ref CSC 10/14
10. Civil Service Commission Open and Limited Competitions. Regulations, Rules and Memoranda 1877-1880 - Item 8 Regulations for the Open Competition of 1877 PRO Ref CSC 6/2
There were four categories in the Final Exam:

1. Oriental Languages	Sanskrit	500 marks
	Vernacular Languages, each	400 marks
2. History and Geography of India		350 marks
3. Law		1250 marks
4. Political Economy		350 marks

11. John Jones Balliol College: A History 1263-1939 (Oxford,1988) p.218
Sir Ivo Elliott (ed.) Balliol College Register 1833-1933 (Oxford,2nd edition 1934)
12. Clive Dewey The Official Mind and the Problem of Agrarian Indebtedness in India, 1870-1910 (unpublished PhD thesis Cambridge,1972). Richard Symonds in 'Oxford and India' in F. Madden and D.K. Fieldhouse (eds.) Oxford and the Idea of Commonwealth (London,1982) p.58 cites E. Abbott and L. Campbell Life and Letters of B. Jowett (New York,1897) p.348 stating that in 1879 more than half of all the ICS probationers were at Balliol College.
13. Lawrence India p.4
14. Sir Ivo Elliott (ed.) Balliol College Register 1833 - 1933 (Oxford,1934)
15. Lawrence India p.4
16. Sir M. O'Dwyer India As I Knew It 1885-1925 (London,1925) p.20
17. Sir Ivo Elliott (ed.) Balliol College Register 1833-1933 (Oxford,1934) p.89
18. Sir Ivo Elliott (ed.) Balliol College Register 1833-1933 (Oxford,1934) p.39
19. Minute Book of the Civil Service Commissioners 1878. Entry p.133 for 6 February 1878. PRO Ref CSC 8/5
20. Lawrence India p.6 and Civil Service Commission Open and Limited Competitions ... 1877-1880 PRO Ref CSC 6/2
21. John Jones Balliol College: A History 1263-1939 (Oxford,1988) p.227
22. For example, see R. Braibanti and J.J. Spengler (eds.) Administration and Economic Development in India (Duke University, Durham,N.C.,1963) p.9
23. E. Abbott and L. Campbell Life and Letters of B.Jowett (New York,1897) p.122 cited by Richard Symonds in 'Oxford and India' chapter 3 of F.

Madden and D.K. Fieldhouse (eds.) Oxford and the Idea of Commonwealth (London,1982) p.60

24. Lawrence India p.5

25. See for example, M. Girouard The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman (Yale,1981) p.223

26. The Utilitarians had "looked to the the reformation of society and the liberation of individual potential and energy ... through firm government, sound law, and the application of scientific principles of political economy" Judith M. Brown Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy (Oxford,1985) p.63. It should be remembered though, that when it came to carrying out settlements, pragmatism had always been of greater importance than ideals.

27. Clive Dewey The Official Mind and the Problem of Agrarian Indebtedness in India, 1870-1910 (unpublished PhD thesis Cambridge, 1972) p.18

28. Four works illustrate especially clearly the intellectual currents that particularly influenced the Indian Civil Service trainees:
Melvin Richter The Politics of Conscience: T.H. Green and His Age (London,1964)
J.W. Burrow Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory (Cambridge,1966)
A.W. Coats 'Sociological Aspects of British Economic Thought, 1880-1930' Journal of Political Economy (1967) pp.706-22
Clive Dewey The Official Mind and the Problem of Agrarian Indebtedness in India, 1870-1910 (unpublished PhD thesis Cambridge,1972)
Broadly speaking, the theme is that the Historicists reinstated the traditional groups such as the family, the village community and the tribe from the limbo to which the individualist Utilitarians had consigned them. These groups should disappear as society progressed but their function in under-developed societies was recognised. The Idealists also rehabilitated the group, stating that it is through groups that individuals realise and define themselves and satisfy their wishes. Dewey emphasises (i) that Toynbee fuses the two schools in his Lectures on the Industrial Revolution and (ii) that this theory system was not devised in England and transplanted in India, rather it was distinctively Anglo-Indian.

29. See Dewey Op.cit. and David C. Potter India's Political Administrators, 1919-1983 (Oxford, 1986)

30. Staircase 10, Garden Quad
Lawrence No. 1 Room, rental £4-13-4d per term
Russell No. 8 Room
Source: Notebook showing occupancy of rooms in Balliol College, Balliol College Library, Oxford.

31. Lawrence No. 3 Room, Staircase 4, Garden Quad rental £5-6-8d per term
Curzon No. 2 Room, Staircase 5, Garden Quad
Source: Notebook showing occupancy of rooms in Balliol College, Balliol College Library, Oxford.

32. Lawrence India p.12

33. Lawrence India p.12
H.F. Prevost Battersby in India Under Royal Eyes (London,1906) p.88 comments on the sense of superiority among the officers in the Punjab. They saw themselves as a "select and sacred band"; and Prevost Battersby notes wryly that "'Punjab head' is the ailment which we call 'swelled' at home".

34. Lawrence India pp.20-22

35. Lawrence India p.34

36. Lawrence India p.18

37. Lawrence India pp.22-23
However, it must be remembered that Lawrence writes in a modest and self-deprecating style. He would not have pleased his superiors if he had not been hard-working and able.

38. Lawrence India pp.23-30

39. Lawrence India p. 33

40. Lawrence India p.34

41. India Office Lists (London,H.M.S.O.)

42. Other men with a Punjab background were influential in this field, such as Rivaz, James Wilson [who wrote on tribal customs], Maclagan and Sir Lewis Tupper [Punjab customary law].

43. P.H.M. Van den Dungen The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth Century India (London,1972) and Dewey Op.cit. chapter III 'The Formation of Operational Norms and the Anthropological Experience'

44. An impression of the breadth of the duties of a Settlement Officer can be gained from:
Clive Dewey The Official Mind and the Problem of Agrarian Indebtedness in India 1870-1910 (unpublished PhD thesis Cambridge,1972) p.93 and passim.
Lawrence India pp.92-3
Sir Michael O'Dwyer India As I Knew It 1885-1925 (London,1925) p.53

Roland Hunt and John Harrison The District Officer in India 1930-1947 (London,1980) passim.

45. D.C.J. Ibbetson Report on the Census of the Punjab 1881 3 vols. (Calcutta,1883)
D.C.J. Ibbetson Punjab Castes (Lahore,2nd edition 1916)
46. Walter Roper Lawrence The Valley of Kashmir (London, 1895)
47. Lawrence India p.34
48. Lawrence India pp.35-37
49. Lawrence India pp.38-46
50. Lawrence India pp.47 and 50
51. Lawrence India pp.53 and 51
52. Lawrence India p.52
53. P.H.M. Van den Dungen The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth Century India (London,1972) pp.196-200
54. In 1895 Ibbetson wrote a Government of India Memorandum on the alienation of land; see Van den Dungen Op.cit p.243
55. See pp.25,42 [note86], and 128 [note132] for Lawrence's view that the right of sale of land following the Kashmir Settlement would be disastrous, and would prevent the solution of Kashmir's economic problems in the long term.
56. India Office Lists (London,H.M.S.O.) for entries on Lawrence's career p.556 (1907 edition) and Buck p.455 (1907 edition)
57. Lawrence India p.53
58. Lawrence India p.55
59. Philip Woodruff The Men Who Ruled India Vol. II 'The Guardians' (London,paperback edition 1963) p.270
Basil Gould The Jewel in the Lotus: Recollections of an Indian Political (London, 1957) p.3
60. Lawrence India p.56
61. Lawrence India p.60
62. Lawrence India p.73
63. Lawrence India pp.64-65
64. Lawrence India p.57
Rs 400 per month = £320 per annum [using a rate of exchange of Rs 1 = 1s 4d - see B.R. Tomlinson The Political Economy of the Raj 1914-1947 (London,1979) p.xii]
Rs 64 = £51 4s
65. Lawrence India p.75
Rs 766 per month = £612 per annum
66. See P.H.M. Van den Dungen The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth Century India (London,1972) pp.145-46 and 162

Lawrence India p.78
Charles Aitchison had entered the Indian Civil Service in 1855 - the first year of competitive exams. He had previously served in the Government of India secretariat [1859-65] and as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India [1868-78].

67. Lawrence India p.79
Rs 450 per month = £30 per month
68. Lawrence to Mrs Gwynne James 17 March 1889 IOL F143/11
Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction pp.2-3 IOL F143/26
69. Lawrence India pp.80, 82 and 121-22
70. Lawrence India pp.84-85
The Times 27 May 1940
Cheltenham College Register
71. Lawrence India p.85
72. Lawrence India p.84
Roland Hunt and John Harrison The District Officer in India 1930-1947 (London, 1980) pp.24-25
73. Lawrence India pp.84-85
74. Percy Roland Bradford Lawrence, b.9 April 1886
Henry Walter Neville Lawrence, b.26 October 1891
Lilian Lawrence was known as 'Lala' within the family; her brother Arthur Gwynne James was to look after Roland during his education at Eton (January 1899 - October 1903) while his parents were in India. Source: letter to the author from Sir David Lawrence, 3rd Bt.
75. Lawrence writes on 16 May 1894 "I find little to make me happy when Lily and the children are away" IOL F143/11. Other examples occur throughout the Lawrence Collection IOL F143
76. Lilian Lawrence Diary 1889. 22 January 1889 IOL F143/16
77. Lilian Lawrence to her mother 11 February 1889 IOL F143/16
78. IOL F143/29 Letters to Lilian and Henry Glenny 1896-1914
79. Lawrence was a member of the Cheltenham College Council 1904-1918 - letter to the author from the Secretary of the Cheltonian Society, Cheltenham College.
For an example of a speech at a Cheltenham College function see his prizegiving speech 28 June 1912 IOL F143/134; this speech was also reported in The Times 29 June 1912
80. Report/letter to his brother (unnamed) 17 November 1889 IOL F143/11
81. Lawrence India pp.91-92

82. Lawrence India pp.92-93
83. Lawrence India p.94
84. For more detail on the Punjab tradition of land revenue assessment and settlement see:
P.H.M. Van den Dungen The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth Century India (London,1972)
Eric Stokes The English Utilitarians and India (Oxford,1959 and Oxford India Paperbacks 1989)
Clive Dewey The Official Mind and the Problem of Agrarian Indebtedness in India, 1870-1910 (unpublished PhD thesis Cambridge,1972)
85. See, for example, Van den Dungen Op.cit.pp.31-41, which describes the evolution of the thinking of Arthur Brandreth towards fostering the leading local men and John Maynard towards fostering the townsmen.
86. See chapter 2 'Kashmir' and Walter Lawrence The Valley of Kashmir (London,1895) Chapter XVIII 'The New Settlement' especially pp.430-33
87. Lawrence India pp.103-104
and Who Was Who 1941-1950 (London,1952)
88. Lawrence India pp.105-106
89. Lawrence India p.106
90. It is impossible to establish the mechanics of this promotion but it is very probable that Buck engineered this advancement for his protégé. It was of great benefit to Lawrence in advancing his career and would have brought Buck an able and like-minded assistant.
91. Lawrence India p.106
92. Lawrence India pp.107 and 109
93. Lawrence India p.110
94. Lawrence India p.111
95. Lawrence India p.111
96. Lawrence India pp.112-113
97. Lawrence India p.112
98. Kenneth Rose King George V (London, 1984) p.65
99. See chapter 7 for examples of his understanding of the worries of the Indian troops, and Lawrence Collection IOL F143 notebooks and diaries
100. Lawrence India p.119
101. Lawrence India p.119
102. Lawrence India p.119
Lilian Lawrence to her mother 11 March 1889 IOL F143/6
103. Roland Hunt and John Harrison The District Officer in India 1930-1947 (London,1980) pp.24-25
104. Lilian Lawrence to her mother 17 March 1889 IOL F143/6

Lawrence's obituary notice The Times 27 May 1940

105. Lilian Lawrence to her mother 8 April 1889 IOL F143/6
106. Lawrence India p.121
107. Lawrence India p.120
108. Lilian Lawrence to her mother 11 and 17 March 1889, IOL F143/6
Lawrence to Mrs Gwynne James 17 March 1889 and to his brother 17 November 1889 IOL F143/11
109. Lawrence India p77; but his views are developed later in his memoirs and are discussed further in chapter 6.
110. Lawrence wrote an article on the Indian Civil Service for The Times on 25 February 1932 as part of a series entitled 'Fifty Years', which looked at changes in such diverse aspects of British life as politics, the countryside, the Navy, sport, the theatre, and the City.
111. Judith M. Brown Modern India The Origins of an Asian Democracy (Oxford,1985) p.98
112. Eric Stokes The English Utilitarians and India (Oxford India Paperback edition, 1989) p.268
113. Lawrence India p.286
For Lawrence's thoughts on the Indian States see India chapters X and XIV and Diary 1901: Introduction p.15 IOL F143/26
114. Lawrence India p.77
115. For example,Lawrence India pp.28-30
116. Lawrence India p.157

KASHMIR 1889 - 1895

> My chief problem is to mediate between a rapacious Government and a weak and oppressed people.
>
> Walter Lawrence, 1889.[1]

Lawrence was the Settlement Commissioner in Kashmir and Jammu State from April 1889 until after the Land Settlement survey was completed in September 1894. He returned to England in March 1895. This Settlement and associated reforms were crucial elements in the development of Kashmir and in the relations between the Government of India and Kashmir. This chapter discusses the Land Settlement itself and its implementation and also demonstrates Lawrence's involvement in other areas of reform within Kashmir. The chapter commences with a description of Kashmir prior to Lawrence's arrival, and, in particular, outlines the British view of the strategic importance of Kashmir.

Kashmir Before the Settlement - Its Geography, Agriculture, and Transport

The remote mountainous terrain of Kashmir, and its geographical isolation contributed to the under-developed transport systems and agriculture that were to confront Lawrence on his arrival. Kashmir falls into two regions - the Valley through which the river Jhelum flows and the Frontier comprising the areas around Ladakh, Baltistan, and Dardistan which contains Gilgit and Chitral. These frontier regions lie between 13,500 and 28,000 feet in height and are very sparsely populated, with a rigorous climate.

They stretch from the Valley up to the Karakoram Range and the Himalayas.

The Valley itself is a river plain, 84 miles long and about 20 - 25 miles wide. It lies at an altitude of 5,000 to 6,000 feet in a ring of mountains of 8,000 to 18,000 feet. It is famous for its freshwater lakes and the River Jhelum provides one of the main means of transport as well as draining an area of about 4,000 square miles and supplying water to the fields of the Valley floor. The summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir state, Srinagar, lies on the bank of the Jhelum in the centre of the Valley. The villages of the State are little groups of chalet-style houses, built wherever the sites are sheltered and there is sufficient space. The cultivation is on terraced fields grouped together as much as possible. In the Valley proper where the land is less mountainous the villages are larger. The state winter capital is Jammu city. The district of Jammu lies to the south of Kashmir and it is separated from the Valley by the Pir Panjal range or "Middle Mountains". It lies at a much lower altitude than the Valley and has a tropical climate and vegetation, the crops being similar to those of the Punjab plain.

The accounts of the earliest European travellers to these regions are fascinating, and one of the most interesting features of their writings is the extreme scantiness of their geographical knowledge.[2] Among the early explorers were William Moorcroft and Godfrey Vigne. Moorcroft was an adviser on horse-breeding to the Bengal Cavalry but he was also interested in agriculture, commerce and politics. His travels took him to Kashmir in the winter of 1811-1812. During his "Great Journey" of 1820-1824 he returned to Kashmir once more, from November 1822-December 1823.[3] Vigne made four journeys to Kashmir and the surrounding areas in the 1830s.[4]

By 1889, when Lawrence arrived in Kashmir, the Valley itself had become comparatively well-known to Europeans, but the remainder of Kashmir and the neighbouring states and territories were still very remote and very rarely visited. For example, when Lawrence began the land survey he had no idea how many villages there were in Kashmir or how much land was under cultivation. Nor did he have any clear picture of the layout of the Valley; indeed, his only indication of the scope of the problem was an estimate of the area of the Valley which varied from 1,278 square miles at the minimum to 1,775 square

miles maximum.[5] He was certainly far from treading a well-worn path.

The major occupation in Kashmir was agriculture, and the main crops were rice, maize, kangni (a grain used for both food and fuel), buckwheat, oil-seed rape, and some flax, sesame and a little cotton. Spring crops were largely barley and wheat. There were also important specialised crops which were grown in small quantities, such as saffron, tobacco, chillies, herbs, vegetables and fruit. Of particular interest were the floating gardens of the Dal lake, which produced melons, tomatoes, cucumbers and other fruits and vegetables.[6] Outside the Valley, Lawrence was to find little evidence of vegetable cultivation but fruit was grown throughout Kashmir, the climate making it a fruit-grower's delight. Among the very wide range of fruits indigenous to Kashmir are the mulberry, walnut, almond, cherry, peach, apricot, pomegranate, and quince. Lawrence was always keen on schemes to increase Kashmir's production and export of hops and fruit, especially pears, apples, and grapes.[7] Fortunately he was able to obtain the advice of his friend Sir Edward Buck:

> On the 20th I meet my old chief Sir Edward Buck at Barramulla the entrance to Kashmir. He is a great authority on fruit culture and is coming up to improve the apples and

> pears and to introduce the Spanish chestnut.[8]

An important requirement facing those trying to initiate or implement any reforms in Kashmir was the improvement of transport and communications. Immediately prior to Lawrence's posting there, it seems that a vicious circle prevailed - both internal and external trade were weak because transport was so poor, while in turn (due to the lack of movement of goods and the generation of cash) there existed no funds or incentive to improve transport. One form of transport was barges on the lakes and rivers; and, near Srinagar, ponies were commonly used. In most of Kashmir, though, because of the extremely mountainous terrain, travel was on foot and the most common means of transporting goods was by carrying them on the back. There were many paths, and just a few tracks, but no roads nor any wheeled vehicles. Therefore, the building of a cart road along the Jhelum Valley to link Srinagar with the railway at Rawalpindi two hundred miles away was a truly revolutionary development. This road was opened in 1890. Prior to this, as Lawrence records in <u>The Valley of Kashmir</u>:

> One of the points which at once strikes a visitor to Kashmir is the absence of roads fit for wheeled carriages. In the flat country around the Wular Lake, low trollies resting on wheels roughly fashioned from the round trunks of trees

> are used for carrying crops, but at the time when I write [1895] there is no other wheeled carriage in Kashmir. There are roads along which ponies and bullocks can pass in fair weather but roads as understood in other countries do not exist.[9]

With the introduction of a uniform and regularised currency came expenditure on public works; gradually other cart roads and tracks were developed, but progress was slow. There was no road over the Banihal Pass linking Jammu and the Valley until 1915 and even then it remained a private road until 1922. While it is true that the railway came to Jammu from Sialkot in 1890, it had little impact on the Valley which was still separated by two hundred impassable miles from the rail link.

The lack of proper roads was not the only feature of Kashmir's inadequate transport system. There was also the social problem of begar or forced labour. Under this system men could be forced to act as coolies, with no wages and no compensation for the loss of crops if they were cultivators called away at sowing or harvest-time. Women, Sikhs, Hindus and city dwellers were all exempt, so the work always fell on Muslim cultivators. Naturally enough, when officials approached a village the men would run and hide to avoid being called to work as coolies - men pressed into service would sometimes be away for weeks at a time if the official wanted something

carried a long way. Thus the agricultural and revenue problems of the State were heightened. Since the cultivator might be sent away when it came to harvest-time, and since so much of the yield was taken as revenue, there was little value in increasing his production or his plot size.[10]

Of course, the system of begar also generated deep bitterness among the Muslim cultivators, especially in the villages near Srinagar which were always hardest hit, because they were the easiest for the officials to reach. The final strains came with the depopulation of the villages following the 1877-79 famine which led to a smaller workforce to call on, and the small but increasing number of European tourists who also requisitioned labour.

In 1891 the State Council agreed to abolish begar but were afraid that without it the whole of Kashmir's transport system would collapse since begar had prevented the development of a labouring class to replace impressed labour.[11]

Lawrence was instrumental in devising a transitional scheme which would abolish the worst features of begar immediately and would also prevent the collapse of transport arrangements.[12] In summary, this proposal immediately ended the right of government officials

to requisition labour, and halted the carrying of goods to Gilgit. It also postponed the building of the Gilgit road. With the money saved and with a levy of 1 anna (in Jammu) and ½ anna (in Kashmir) for every rupee of land revenue payable, a Transport Department was established; it was to employ 200 pack ponies and 1,000 labourers who would be paid Rs 5 per month. This scheme was implemented by a Resolution of the State Council of 18 April 1891 and continued, with only minor modifications in 1906, until 1920.[13]

Kashmir's Political History and the Strategic Importance of Kashmir to the British

Kashmir is unique among Indian states in possessing an uninterrupted series of written records dating back before the Muslim conquest of 1586. The Sanskrit chronicles recount the history of the Hindu kings from 1148. In 1586 Akbar conquered Kashmir, which remained under Mughal sway until 1754. The Pathans, or Afghans, ruled from this date until 1819 when the period of Sikh rule began. This ended after the British victory in the First Sikh War of 1845.

The Sikh rulers of the Punjab had been served by the Dogras of Jammu - Dogra was originally the name of the area around Jammu. The Dogras comprised all

castes and included Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims. The Dogras had a reputation as good soldiers and under their leader Gulab Singh had been employed by Ranjit Singh until his death in 1839. Gulab Singh was a Hindu Rajput, born in Jammu in 1792. He had worked his way up the hierarchy of Sikh power from horseman to the commander of Ranjit Singh's armies. In 1822 he had been made Raja of Jammu. However, in the turmoil of the collapsing Sikh court after Ranjit Singh's death and at a crucial stage in the Sikh Wars, Gulab Singh switched his allegiance to the British.[14]

Under the Treaty of Lahore in 1846 the British annexed much Sikh territory and by the Treaty of Amritsar in the same year in turn granted Kashmir to Gulab Singh in return for an indemnity of Rs 75 lakhs. Under these Treaties all the remainder of the ceded land came under direct British rule.[15] Gulab Singh saw Kashmir as his reward for military services first to the Sikhs and then to the British. From this point began a period of Hindu Dogra rule which saw Kashmir almost in the position of a semi-feudatory state - a situation perfectly satisfactory to the British who made a handsome profit, safeguarded Kashmir's frontiers at no cost, and

also exerted considerable influence on the state's internal affairs.

Some Britons opposed the decision of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor General, to cede Kashmir to Gulab Singh. They believed that Kashmir should have been annexed outright:

> [The cession was] one of those political mistakes that we make in a hurry to appease the demons of economy...and repent at our leisure or regret the fatality of the national tradition that we threw away by diplomacy what we had won by the sword.[16]

Francis Younghusband (1863-1942), was an explorer in Central Asia. He was later to become Political Agent in Chitral (1893-94), Commissioner to Tibet, and Resident in Kashmir (1906-09). In his book on Kashmir (1909) he acknowledged this belief, writing:

> Surprise has often been expressed that when this lovely land had actually been ceded to us, after a hard and strenuous campaign, we should ever have parted with it for the paltry sum of three-quarters of a million sterling.[17]

Younghusband believed, however, that Hardinge's aim was not to aquire territory, but to secure India's borders.[18] This argument was to recur throughout the 19th century.[19]

Despite the controversy surrounding his accession, Gulab Singh did become Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State (Table I). He took over an economy at a very

low ebb. During the period of Afghan and Sikh rule, from 1754 until 1846, Kashmir was impoverished by her rulers' avarice.[20] She was bled dry and land that had yielded about Rs 62 lakhs in revenue in 1819 yielded fewer than Rs 10 lakhs by 1846.[21] William Moorcroft noted that Kashmir was "infested by numerous and audacious bands of mendicants"[22] and also that he had never before encountered disease on such a scale anywhere in his travels in India, Afghanistan or Nepal.[23]

Land was viewed by the Sikhs as the property of the ruler and even on land granted as jagir land they took the land back, ousting thousands of cultivators. Trodden grain used to be divided equally between the farmer and the government but under the Sikhs the government took 7/8 of the sar kishti crop (lands near the city lent out for cultivation) and 3/4 of the pai kishti (remoter lands). The farmer was not even allowed to sell the portion he retained at a lower price than that set by the government.[24]

So after a century of Afghan and Sikh rule, a state which could have been rich, with her fertile soil and extensive forests of deodar, was exhausted and her population diseased, oppressed and scattered from their villages.

Although in 1846 Gulab Singh had been granted independence in the internal affairs of Kashmir, the British were determined to ensure that he carried out his treaty obligations in the securing of Kashmir's northern frontiers. They also applied pressure on him to agree to carry out reforms within Kashmir to improve its internal stability. In 1852 a British "Officer on Special Duty" was appointed, who was posted in Kashmir from March through to November each year. One of his tasks was to monitor the territorial ambitions of the Dogras. Moves towards Western Tibet and the Yarkand Valley threatened to upset the balance of Britain's relations with Russia and China, and could also prejudice the very lucrative wool trade. The British believed that there was great wealth to be found in Central Asia through the trade routes into Tibet and through the Karakoram. The trade in goats' wool was particularly valuable, and the British did not want Gulab Singh's actions to jeopardise their commercial gains. Of course, Gulab Singh did not welcome this appointment but he had to recognise Britain's de facto supremacy.[25]

Gulab Singh's first task was to restore order; he then had to improve trade and commerce; reorganise the revenue administration, as he had done in Jammu

while Governor; improve the distribution of rice between urban and rural areas; reform begar (or forced labour); and overhaul the shawl industry. He was unable to co-ordinate these reforms, however, nor could he create a stable machinery of government because of frontier disputes and court intrigues.[26]

In order to avoid disturbances, or a vying for the succession after his death, he installed his son Ranbir Singh as Maharaja in 1856. Ranbir Singh attempted to follow in his father's footsteps as a reforming ruler but his efforts at land reform were of limited effectiveness. He set up three new government departments - the Revenue, the Civil, and the Military, each with clear responsibilities. He reorganised the judicial system; built new paths (there were virtually no roads in Kashmir at the time); developed agriculture (for example vines, hops and silk) and tried to save the traditional shawl-making industry.

His well-intentioned efforts were nullified, however, for two reasons. The first was the result of the activities of his officials, who still tried to extract as much as they could out of the people, who, in turn became unwilling to cultivate more land in case they received no benefit from doing so. The combination of the disintegration of the Sikh regime

and disastrous famines in the 1830s meant that cultivation had fallen to a minimum. The second reason was the famine of 1878-79. Ranbir Singh's efforts at reform never overcame the effects of these hindrances.[27]

When Ranbir Singh died in 1885, the British forced his son Pratap Singh, the new Maharaja, to accept the appointment of a British Resident.[28] The British justified this move by reasoning that no one faction would be able to hold his position without British assistance. Therefore they would step in to advise and guide the new Maharaja. They also believed that Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh had failed to achieve their promised goals. The British were very nervous about the possibility of disorder in Kashmir, especially as they realised that there was great suffering amonst the Kashmiri people. Clearly something had to be done for Kashmir, but an outright annexation might have provoked the very disturbance the British were striving to avoid, and in any case would be financially and militarily costly.

The aim of the British, then, was to encourage stability and security within, so that Kashmir would become neither fertile ground for internal disorder nor would she be liable to fall under the influence of another power. Ideally this would be achieved

without resorting to outright annexation.[29] Therefore, instead of sending an army to annex Kashmir, the Brtish were to force Maharaja Pratap Singh to accept a British Settlement Officer, whose task was to bring about land reform.

As far as Kashmir's northern frontiers were concerned, until the 1870s Britain was happy to allow Kashmir nominal suzereinty over the small states and tribes to the north and west. Although Kashmir could not really enforce her claims, the British were confident that the area was protected from Russia by the Pamirs and Hindu Kush. It was considered impossible for Russia to mount any invasion through the high Himalayan passes.[30]

However, from the 1870s onwards, the British became more concerned about the threat from Russia, and therefore British policies towards Kashmir became more interventionist. They were determined to avoid internal disorder in Kashmir because of their fear that Russia would take advantage of any disruption and march on India through Kashmir. The British were happier with a buffer between the frontiers of British India and Russia, rather than having a common border and direct contact with Russia. Even though it is unlikely that Russia did have any designs to invade India in general or Kashmir in particular, the

possibility that she might have harboured such intentions was widely believed in India at the time.[31] It must be remembered that the distance between Russian and British frontiers was reduced from about 2,000 miles early in the 19th Century to twenty miles in places by 1907, and that there were times when Russian was advancing at the rate of 50 square miles a day.[32] The securing of a stable frontier was a cardinal feature of British policies, amounting almost to an obsession.

The installation of a British Resident in Kashmir in 1885 gave the British a further opportunity to influence the affairs of Kashmir. The Maharaja had to agree to British suggestions for reform because Britain could threaten greater involvement if Kashmir did not comply. The British always justified this on the grounds that without such British interference Kashmir had proved unable to carry out its obligations.[33]

The agreed reforms included schemes for tackling both the most pressing issues in Kashmir, and a supplementary list of secondary reforms. Both the Foreign Department of the Government of India and the Resident saw reform of the state finances and judicial system as the primary objectives. The secondary measures were the improvement of the roads

and bridges, the improvement of postal and telegraph arrangements, the introduction of a coinage system, and preliminary work on a rail link with the Punjab.[34]

After his accession in 1885 Maharaja Pratap Singh was hampered by political intriguing. This coincided with Russian threats to the north, and suspicions of dealings between Kashmir and Russian agents, so Pratap Singh was deposed in 1889. Thus the year of Lawrence's arrival in Kashmir, also 1889, was a time of many changes for the State.

Control passed to a State Council, from April 1889 until 1905. This Council was composed of five members under the control of the Resident, two of these five being brothers of Pratap Singh. The Resident had power to veto any resolution of the Council, and he received his instructions from the Secretary to the Government of India, at the Foreign Department.[35]

There was widespread ill-feeling about the de facto administration of the State by the British Resident. To counter this Pratap Singh was appointed President of the Council in 1891, after the British had taken Gilgit and therefore felt more secure and able to slacken control in Kashmir. Pratap Singh continued to complain that he was only a figurehead.[36] Limited

powers were restored to him by Curzon in 1905, after anti-Russian fears had further died down, but it was not until 1921 that full power was restituted. Lawrence, who was a great friend of Pratap Singh's until Singh's death in 1925, commented in The India We Served:

> I always thought that the temporary depostion of Pratap Singh was a mistake, for I know that he was the most loyal of the loyal.[37]

Younghusband saw Pratap Singh as:

> a great gentleman, staunch in his loyalty to the British crown.[38]

Under pressure from the British through the influence of the Resident, the period of rule by the State Council from 1889 to 1921 saw the realisation of the schemes for reform that had been discussed since 1846 but never achieved. This was ideal for the British, since annexation had been avoided and reform was achieved. Apart from Lawrence's Land Settlement, which was the most significant reform, two important new cart roads were built (down the Jhelum Valley, and over the Banihal Pass); the Sialkot-Jammu railway was opened; trade taxes were reduced; the draining and reclamation of waste land and flood prevention schemes were implemented; and there was an overhaul of the State administration.

The Role of Kashmir's State Army

Under Ranjit Singh (1819-1839) Kashmir and the isolated forts of the frontier regions had been garrisoned by three Sikh regiments. They were paid very infrequently and on one occasion they had to travel to Lahore to demand their pay; consequently there were many desertions. Under Dogra rule the soldiers' pay and allowances were regularised and medals and pensions introduced.[39] The majority of troops in Kashmir were Dogras since the Maharajas did not usually recruit Kashmiris, other than a few Kashmiri Sikhs, originally from the Punjab. The first duty of the Kashmir Army was to protect the frontiers of the state. Its second role was to enforce payment of revenue, on a seemingly rather lax basis: soldiers would ride into a village with the revenue official and simply force the cultivators to hand over the revenues demanded of them. Despite a number of bands of wandering mendicants, Kashmir was not a violent state and the Army does not seem to have been needed to keep order. Early travellers often had an armed escort but this was not so much for protection within Kashmir as in the lawless regions beyond.[40]

In 1888 the Imperial Service Corps was founded to utilise the strengths of the Native Armies throughout

the sub-continent. It was intended to augment the Indian Army, and at the same time to restore dignity to the traditional Sikh Rajput and Dogra battalions. The troops would be trained by British officers and would serve alongside troops of the regular Indian Army. In the same year (1888) Lord Roberts, as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, visited Kashmir to review the progress of the Corps. By this time Kashmir had amassed an army far greater than that of any other Indian state - 18,000 regular soldiers and 66 guns under its Commander-in-Chief Raja Ram Singh, brother of Maharaja Pratap Singh.[41]

Roberts recommended a reduction in the number of troops to 10,000 and in the number of guns to 30. This would rid the Corps of many old and unfit men leaving an effective force, with lower expenses. Four British officers came to implement these changes, and to supervise the building of a military road to Gilgit and to choose more strategically placed locations for the remaining troops.[42]

The whole scheme neatly solved many of the problems of protecting the frontiers, particularly since it was agreed that the Imperial Service Corps troops would be subject to the control of the Indian Army in matters of the defence of the British Empire. It maintained the fiction of Kashmir's independence

while Kashmir paid for the Corps; and it avoided having to send British Indian troops, since the Corps was to be properly trained and therefore would become increasingly effective.[43] The Corps was later to prove a very valuable contribution to the Allied forces in the First World War.[44]

The Social and Demographic Structure of Kashmir and Its Implications for the Land Settlement

Until the 14th century Kashmir had been exclusively Hindu. With the conquest by Shah-i-Hamadan and King Sikander the Iconoclast came conversion to Islam and such persecution of Hindus that only 11 Hindu families remained. Their descendants are the Malmas. The Banamas are the Hindus who later returned to Kashmir from the Deccan. Almost all the Kashmir Hindus at Lawrence's time were Brahmins, usually called Pandits (from the Sanskrit, pandita or learned). Of the 57,000 or so Hindus a little more than half lived in Srinagar and the towns; the rest were scattered throughout the state and were divided into three classes: the astrologers, the priests, and the 'working class' or karkun. The vast majority were karkuns who traditionally worked for the state. They had gradually branched out of the traditional

government service but still looked down upon agriculture and trading.

The Khattris were non-Brahmin Hindus who were traders and shopkeepers in Srinagar. There were also Sikhs originally from the Punjab. Some were cultivators, others were in government service or in the State army (which was used mainly to enforce revenue payment and to defend Kashmir's frontiers).[45]

It might be expected that the Pandits, being the traditional state officials and the representatives of the urban elite, might have wielded a disproportionate influence with Lawrence and caused him to weight the Land Settlement in their favour. In fact, the reverse was the case - he by-passed local officials and made his assessment by direct observation, coming down firmly on the side of the cultivators and opposing the traditional tyranny of the Pandit middlemen.[46] Lawrence seemed to agree with the prevailing view of the Kashmiri cultivators that the city dwellers were lazy and feckless and relied on the state to support them. An old proverb which he quotes claimed that city Hindus live by "nalam, kalam ya halam" (lying, writing or begging).[47]

In the countryside Lawrence comments on the rapacity of the local Hindu officials and their monopoly of

state privileges. He had rather mixed feelings about the Muslim cultivators who numbered about 790,000 and were the majority of Kashmir's rural population. On the one hand he asserts that the Hindu is more able and of a better character and disposition than the Muslim,[48] yet on the other he approvingly notes the quick wit of the villager and how he:

> can turn his hand to anything. He is an excellent cultivator when he is working for himself. He is a good gardener, and has a considerable knowledge of horticulture. He can weave excellent woollen cloth and can make first-rate baskets. He can build himself a house, can make his own sandals, and makes his own ropes. There is scarcely a thing which he cannot do, and as there are no middlemen like the Banyas of India, the Kashmiri is his own man of business. He understands profit and loss and does not often make a bad bargain.[49]

95% of the Muslim cultivators were Sunni and only 5% Shia Muslims. The latter abhorred any contact with Hindus but the former seem to have maintained friendly relations and were not zealous and fanatical. Lawrence's views were based on his own observations and on the comments of the people he met in Kashmir.[50] His conclusion was that there was a striking degree of mutual religious tolerance in Kashmir in the 1890s. This was largely due to the rather heterodox form of Islam practised locally. The peasant cultivators were overwhelmingly Muslim, but their religion was not practised with great

fervour and rural Kashmiris were more concerned with the local deities than with the mosque.[51] Lawrence records how:

> Holy men from Arabia have spoken to me with contempt of the feeble flame of Islam which burns in Kashmir and the local Mullahs talk with indignation of the apathy of the people....In fair and easy times he [the Kashmiri] allows the mosque and the shrine to fall into ruins and pays very little attention to the Mullah.
>
> The indifference shown in the matter of mosques and mullahs may be accounted for by the fact that the Kashmiri Sunnis are only Mussalmans in name. In their hearts they are Hindus, and the religion of Islam is too abstract to satisfy their superstitious cravings...
>
> I attribute much of the delightful tolerance which exists between the followers of the two religions chiefly to the fact that the Kashmiri Mussalmans never really gave up the old Hindu religion of the country.[52]

The first population census ever taken in Jammu and Kashmir State was in 1891. Before this date population data are therefore very patchy and rather unreliable, but Lawrence's own estimate, in The Valley of Kashmir, was that the population of the Valley was 492,000 in 1873.[53] The data below are taken from the 1891 Census returns.[54]

Kashmir	= 949,041
Jammu	= 1,439,543
Frontier states(Ladakh,Skardu,and Gilgit)	= 155,368
Total population Jammu and Kashmir State	= 2,543,952

There were 102 Europeans in Kashmir at the time of the census; 93 were British and of these 70 were aged under 15 or over 60.

The total area of Jammu and Kashmir State was 80,900 square miles. The population density per square mile of 31.5 meant that Jammu and Kashmir was the least densely populated of all the Indian states examined. The average population density for all feudatory states was 111 per square mile. The population was overwhelmingly rural. Srinagar (118,960) and Jammu city (34,524) were the only large towns. There were 3,500 villages in Kashmir, most of which had a population of under 500 people.

The majority of people in the State were engaged in agriculture. Of the 2,543,952 people in the whole of Jammu and Kashmir State the average figure was 69%; in Skardu it was 96% and Ladakh 87%; while in Kashmir district 61% were involved in agriculture. This

meant that in Kashmir there were 581,966 people, distributed as follows:

Tending livestock	18,214
Occupants of land, cultivating	419,230
Tenants of land, cultivating	141,365
Lessees of villages	2,743
Growers of special products and trees	411
Directors of agriculture	3
Total	581,966

In addition, 10% of the population of Kashmir worked with textiles and fabrics - such as shawl and blanket weaving or the carding and spinning of woollen yarn. 10% were involved in commerce. A very small number were gold-smiths and silver-smiths which were traditional skilled occupations in Kashmir.[55]

In terms of religious groupings, in Kashmir itself the population of 949,041 comprised 93% Muslim, 6% Hindu, ½% Sikh and ½% all others, but these groupings were unequally divided between the towns and the countryside. In the towns the figures are 19% Hindu and 80% Muslim and in the country 2% Hindu and 96% Muslim.[56]

The poulation variation of the State over time is shown in Table I.[57]

The picture, then, is of a very sparsely populated area, with a predominantly rural population involved in agriculture and some small-scale traditional industrial and commercial pursuits. The population was largely Muslim, but a small Hindu population was to be found concentrated in the towns.

Land Revenue Before the Settlement

The sheer remoteness of the villages in Kashmir and the lack of any effective network of communications meant that each village was very isolated. Although small, each was virtually self-sufficient, and with no interaction between markets, no cash economy and little buying or selling, there was little concept of economic efficiency.[58] There was not even a standard currency; at the time of Lawrence's Settlement the chilki, kham and British rupees were all being used. In 1889 Lawrence wrote:

> money prices did not exist. Salaries were paid in grain, and I ... was requested to take oil-seeds in payment of my salary. Oil-seeds were looked upon as an appreciated currency, while maize and singhara nuts were regarded as a depreciated medium. Not only did the State pay its officials in grain, but private persons paid their servants in the same fashion, and 16 to 20 kharwars of shali was the ordinary wage of a domestic servant. The currency was to a great extent shali.[59]

Revenue was paid in both cash and kind even under the new Settlement, despite Lawrence's wish to make an assessment solely in cash.[60]

Each village was economically independent. Its needs were met both in resources (for example, food production) and in skills. No village was forced to look outside its territory, largely because of the diffuculties in trade and communications posed by the mountainous terrain. The need for economic integration at higher, regional levels arose not because of the needs or wishes of the villages themselves, but because of political pressures at state level. During the period of the turmoil at the Sikh court and the Sikh Wars, Kashmir was milked ruthlessly. The rulers needed money, and did not interfere with the methods of the officials who raised it for them. Therefore, the officials levied extortionate demands with impunity.

Even before the rule of Maharaja Pratap Singh the need for some kind of reform had been recognised. An attempt at a three-year ryotwari settlement had been made in 1873 but any positive aspects were lost in the chaos and confusion of the 'Great Famine' of 1877-79. In 1880 another assessment was begun. There was no inspection of the cultivation and irrigation of the villages being assessed; nor were

any records made of the living conditions of the cultivators. The assessment was worked out solely on the basis of the amounts collected over the previous three years. It was not based solely on cash - the State Government could arbitrarily choose each year how much it would take in cash and how much in kind. The sub-division of the assessment within a village was left entirely to the discretion of the lambardar (village headman) and patwari (village accountant, invariably a Pandit). The villagers considered the whole process grossly unfair and refused to accept the assessed revenue demand.[61] Thus it was not until 1887 under Lawrence's predecessor Andrew Wingate that an effective survey got underway. Wingate had spent most of his Indian Civil Service career in the Bombay Presidency. After a posting in the Government of India Famine Department, he was sent to Kashmir in February 1887.[62] His task was to undertake a preliminary study before the appointment of the Settlement Commissioner, who would carry out the full Settlement.

Despite its long history and the existence of written records there were no maps of Kashmir nor any records of revenue liability or payment. Therefore all descriptions of early revenue systems are of necessity tentative. It is impossible to judge the

exact amount of revenue previously raised, but Lawrence carefully examined the claims and came up with figures for the period immediately prior to his Settlement which are probably reasonably correct and certainly the best that we have available.[63] [see Table III]

It seems that in pre-Mughal times some kind of ryotwari system existed; under Mughal rule the lambardar and patwari were brought into the system, and the concept of joint responsibility for land revenue introduced. The land was viewed by the rulers as the property of the state, and allotments were made annually to the cultivators. In return, the state claimed ¾ of the land's produce - and this very high claim was enforced with the help of the State army backed up by sepoys of the British Indian regular army.[64]

In 1860 the State share was lowered to ½ of the produce, but a changed system of collection by the 'middlemen' more than outweighed any advantage to the villagers. All the local officials and middlemen were Pandits; they were local men and could read and write, so they were a natural choice from the rulers' point of view; but this one 'class' was able to hold the Muslim cultivators in an iron grip. The Pandits were able to levy extortionate amounts from the

cultivators, often using force to obtain bribes in addition to the land revenue due. The resulting lack of development of the agriculture of the State was detrimental to all Kashmiris, and not just to the Muslim cultivators. Fertile land lay fallow instead of providing food or income. The key features of the new Settlement were to be the creation of a stable agricultural base and the provision of an incentive to expand the area of land under cultivation.

The Valley was divided into three districts or wazarats. It should be noted clearly that Lawrence's Settlement covered only the three wazarats of Kashmir. It did not cover Jammu territory, nor the frontier wazarats. Each wazarat had an officer in charge called the wazir wazarat. He reported to the Governor of Kashmir, the Hakim-i-Ala. Within the three districts were fifteen tahsils (later reduced to eleven by the Settlement) - the tahsildar dealt with a group of villages and did not negotiate directly with individual cultivators. The revenue was collected from each village on the basis of "last year's average plus 30%". This was a very unfair system between villages, as a lambardar could pay off revenue officials which then threw a heavier burden on neighbouring villages. It was also unfair within the village, as the distribution of revenue

between cultivators was left entirely at the discretion of the lambardar and patwari.

This system offered plenty of scope for peculation and fraud, especially with many items being paid in kind; on top of all this there was an inequitable system of arrears. Some villages in each tahsil were deemed unable to pay - whether or not they were in fact able - and regardless of the amount of revenue the middlemen could wring out of the cultivators. In addition, huge running totals of arrears were carried forward from year to year; and all of the revenue payments due were fixed regardless of bad weather and other unfavourable conditions such as famine or disease.[65]

The revenue officials were also responsible for the collection of State taxes. The State had a monopoly of each product and then sub-contracted it back to local officials - Lawrence records some of the taxable items:

> Silk, saffron, chob-i-kot [the root used for incense], violets, forest products, hemp, tobacco, water nuts and paper...the rights to legalise marriages, the office of grave digger

and concluded:

> It may be said that nearly everything save air and water was brought under taxation.[66]

It is little wonder that he wrote:

> In short, when one considers the past system of the revenue administration, one wonders that any village should have remained honest in the midst of so much corruption, and wonders too, not that the land revenue rapidly decreased but that any revenue [at all] should have found its way to the State Treasury.[67]

The effect on the cultivators was to rob them of any 'community spirit'; since they were treated as serfs, and induced to cultivate the land by force, they took no interest in agricultural improvement. On the contrary, since they would gain no benefit from producing more crops they did not even attempt to do so. In his Preliminary Report of August 1888, Wingate had summarised the position:

> The revenue system is such that, whether the Kashmiri cultivator works much or little, he is left with barely enough to get along on till the next harvest. He is a machine to produce shali for a very large and mostly idle city population. The secret of the cheap shali is because if the price were allowed to rise to its proper level the whole body of Pandits would compel the palace to yield to their demands.
>
> The Muhammadan cultivator is compelled to grow shali, and in many years to part with it below its proper market rate, that the city may be content. If the harvest is too little for both, the city must be supplied, with any force that may be necessary, and the cultivator and his children must go without. That is the explanation of the angry discontent that filled the valley during the famine. The cultivator is considered to have rights neither to his land nor to his crops. The Pandits and the city population have a right to be well

> fed whether there is a famine or not at two Chilki rupees per kharwar.[68]

By 1889 Jammu and Kashmir State was bankrupt. A Kashmiri proverb that Lawrence heard many times in 1889 went "We are crying for food and the tax collector is after us".[69] So much land was left uncultivated that the Army was sent to force the villagers to plough and sow, and returned at harvest-time to take all the grain. Meanwhile all the city dwellers and officials continued to insist on cheap rice and fuel. A full and detailed Land Revenue Settlement became a necessity and the Maharaja formally requested the Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, to nominate a Settlement Officer.[70]

WALTER LAWRENCE AND THE KASHMIR LAND SETTLEMENT

In 1889 Lawrence was offered a choice of three appointments - Settlement Commissioner in Kashmir; First Assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad; or the Under-Secretaryship in the Foreign Department of the Government of India.[71] Lawrence's wife Lilian wrote to her mother:

> Since I last wrote to you Walter has had two good appointments offered him...one is Under Secretary in the Foreign Office, and we should be as we are now between Simla and Calcutta. The pay is a trifle more than he gets now, but the work would be far more pleasant, and he would be under Sir

> Mortimer Durand who is charming .... The other appointment is in some ways more tempting ... to go to Kashmere [sic] as Settlement Officer for 18 months or two years: of course, the climate and scenery are perfect, and the pay is much better than the Under Secretary in the Foreign Office, and our inclinations tend to Kashmere.[72]

A week later she adds:

> I must tell you our destination, it is Kashmir, and we are most charmed about the appointment....We are very glad it is not Hyderabad, as that meant the plains....[Of Kashmir's climate, we] could not have a better one: the pay is a little better than our present pay, and of course Kashmir is a cheaper place to live ... the work is very difficult, because the Rajah is set dead against everything the Government does, and he has been making himself very troublesome lately. We shall be camping all about the country for 6 or 8 months.[73]

Lawrence's acceptance of the Kashmir post was considered a risky and retrograde move by some of his friends and colleagues; one of them, knowing that Lawrence's arrival would certainly not be universally welcomed, gave him the following cryptic advice: "Don't accept a cook from the Kashmir State".[74] In fact, these fears were unfounded and the post turned out to be a high-point in his Indian Civil Service career. He was well aware in advance of the problems he was likely to encounter, but hoped that it would be all the more to his credit if he did it well.[75] In April 1889 he wrote to his father:

> We are on our way to distant Kashmir. We left Simla and numerous friends yesterday

> [12 April] but I am delighted with the prospect of beautiful Kashmir and the interesting though very difficult work which awaits me there.[76]

After arriving in Srinagar on 26 April 1889 [see Photograph 2, p.81] he immediately set off on camp to begin his inspection of the villages:

> The one reverse to all the loveliness of the Kashmir valley is the miserable condition of the cultivators and my great hope is that I shall be able to induce the Kashmir State to accept a revenue which will leave enough to the people to keep body and soul together.[77]

He then quotes with approval an old Kashmiri proverb "He who has ploughed the land shall reap the crop".

It seems to be widely agreed now among historians of Kashmir, even those most anti-British in outlook, that the Land Settlement was the most important reform of the era of Dogra rule; and that it was a genuine advance, bringing stability and even a measure of prosperity to the lives of the cultivators. Much of the dishonesty and corruption of the previous systems was eradicated. The major part of the credit for the success of the settlement and assessment is laid at Lawrence's door and its benefits are attributed to his efforts.[78]

Photograph 2. Srinagar, c. 1895.

The avowed object of the Settlement was, in Lawrence's words:

> To evoke order of this chaos; to restore the office and insist on the responsibilities of the tahsildar and patwaris; to provide them with village records defining the rights of the cultivators and their revenue liabilities; and lastly to secure those rights and limit those liabilities in such a manner as to create a feeling of confidence in the country, and to make the title in the land valuable and an object of desire.[79]

Lawrence saw the Settlement falling into four phases.[80] The first stage was to encourage all the villagers to return to their own villages. As early as the 1820s William Moorcroft had estimated that only one sixteenth of the cultivable land was under cultivation, largely as a result of depopulation of the rural areas.[81] In the 1830s, when Godfrey Vigne visited Kashmir, he had noticed:

> numerous ruined villages that were scattered over the surface of this once thickly peopled district. Many of the houses were tenantless and deserted; the fruit was dropping unheeded from the trees; the orchards were overgrown with a profusion of wild hemp and wild indigo.[82]

Even more people had fled from their villages after the severe famine of 1877-79 and never returned; others had left due to the vagaries of the previous "settlements" to live in areas with a lower revenue demand. Once the Settlement survey had begun, word seems to have spread quickly from village to village.

When people began to see the benefits of the Settlement in neighbouring villages they gradually began to return, and by 1891 even the most reluctant were reinstated in their original villages. Lawrence knew of another old proverb "Every bird is fond of its own twig".[83] He was impressed with the way in which each village welcomed back the families who had moved away, and how each landholder had his land restored to him.

> I have never found it difficult to ascertain whether the fugitive was a mirasdar [a man with a greater hereditary claim than an assami or tenant] or not. The Kashmiris have a bad name for dishonesty, but their conduct in the matter of admitting fugitive mirasdars is worthy of praise and admiration.[84]

The second stage of the Settlement was to visit and survey each village to make a realistic assessment of the revenue which could be expected from it. Lawrence had a small team to help him in this work - one Briton who was the Irrigation and General Assistant and two Indian assistants. This stage involved travelling the length and breadth of Kashmir, and to Lawrence this inspection and surveying work was a fascinating and often exciting part of the job - for example, he rode on inflated bullock skins down rivers [see Photograph 3, p.84].

Photograph 3. Crossing the River Sutlej on an inflated skin, c. 1900

In the evenings he sat around camp fires listening to the folklore, proverbs and songs of the old Kashmiris.[85]

There are very few contemporary accounts of the Land Settlement written by someone outside government. One is E.F.Knight's Where Three Empires Meet.[86] Knight, a Times correspondent, accompanied Lawrence through Kashmir in 1891. He was impressed with Lawrence's methods:

> I found my friend encamped...in a pleasant orchard by the river...he was sitting at his tent door, surrounded by a crowd, dispensing justice like some Caliph of the Arabian Nights.[87]

He also referred to the wide range of Lawrence's duties, covering all aspects of land ownership, agriculture and irrigation.[88]

The problems facing Lawrence in carrying out the survey were formidable. The first difficulty he encountered was simply to persuade anyone to talk to him. A letter of November 1889 illustrates his feelings in these early months:

> My work progresses but I have to deal with the worst lot of intriguers in the East. The villagers cannot believe that anything will be done to ameliorate their serfdom and the officials know that anything done for the villagers must necessarily affect their perquisites.[89]

As he recalled in The Valley of Kashmir:

> It was only natural that the officials should oppose the settlement and that they should boycott my subordinates, but the serious impediment to my work was the fact that the villagers themselves distrusted the settlement[90]

and:

> When I commenced work I found that the people distrusted everything and everybody, and that they placed no value on the occupancy of land.[91]

However, feelings of resentment towards the British, and in particular towards the Resident, were more likely to be found in the towns and among the Pandits. In the scattered villages the cultivators were more likely to collaborate with anyone who would alleviate their dreadful hardship.

Lawrence's approach was to win the confidence of the villagers. He felt that to achieve this he had to combat the Indian belief in izzat or reputation and esteem. If Lawrence could win a verbal confrontation with a village elder then he would have the confidence of the whole village in the future. When he encountered an intractable problem he would not give up, but would pursue a solution by appealing to a higher authority. This sometimes brought him into contact with Maharaja Pratap Singh who always accepted Lawrence's suggestions.[92]

Several incidents illustrate this approach. On one occasion the inhabitants of three villages were bivouacked on the open mountains to avoid being called as coolies by a Colonel Natha of the State Army. Natha had torn the moustache from a local man and Lawrence intervened in the dispute. The confrontation that followed culminated in Lawrence sending a telegram to the Government of Kashmir stating that either Natha must be dismissed or Lawrence would resign. After a few days the order came that Natha was to be removed.[93]

Lawrence dealt with another incident in a more summary fashion. He discovered a bleeding man who had just been tortured in irons by a local official for failing to deliver enough rice. Lawrence sought out the official who, naturally, denied all knowledge of the man. Lawrence demanded to search a wooden box and found the torture irons. Still the official denied any involvement. Lawrence then said that he did not want any more lies and ordered the official to be thrashed on the spot.[94]

Not all cases were as extreme as these. The Kashmiris had a good sense of humour and gleefully followed all the exchanges between Lawrence and the local officials and village spokesmen. One spokesman was bemoaning his village's bad luck, and asking for

a reduced revenue assessment. He backed up his case by showing Lawrence some rotten walnuts and a very stony field. Lawrence was not deceived by this and immediately retorted that on the contrary, the village was under-assessed. All the arrears would be wiped out but a larger revenue would be imposed in the future. All the listeners laughed at the discomfiture of their representative.[95]

Once the cultivators had come to see the benefits of the Settlement their attitude changed from "grim silence to glad loquacity".[96] This was, of course, a relief to Lawrence as:

> It was bad to be shunned by the people of the valley, it was depressing to know that my own staff thought I would fail, and it was irritating to hear that the English visitors to Kashmir regarded me as a lunatic for leaving Simla for an enterprise so full of humiliation and so impossible of success.[97]

It also made his daily life travelling around Kashmir a lot more peaceful:

> I live a quiet out of door life, I take one glass of whisky, an hour after my dinner, read a great deal and talk a great deal with the natives. I am happy in that I find some new thing about the natives every day, and their ways and their life have not yet become tedious to me.[98]

Although there were English visitors to Kashmir they usually did not venture beyond Srinagar and were not interested in the State administration.[99] Lawrence

spent most of his time travelling around the countryside, but he recalled:

> Though lonely so far as the English were concerned, I was far from lonely from the Kashmiri point of view. Indeed, from early morning to bed-time I was never allowed to be alone. Often when taking my bath I would see a hand gliding inside the hanging fall of the tent, with a petition in the hand, and for six long years there was no privacy. But it was all so full of interest, humanity and good humour that I never tired of their importunity.[100]

Once Lawrence had demonstrated his good intentions, it was relatively easy to obtain the collaboration of the villagers. However, it was still necessary to weigh the cultivators' remarks carefully. Wingate had concluded that:

> Nowhere in India has the plan of preparing accounts to conceal the truth and baffle inquiry been brought to a higher degree of perfection![101]

Lawrence found it more difficult to talk to the Pandits. Their traditional authority and status was undermined by Lawrence's dealings direct with the villagers. Naturally they did not welcome his intervention and on at least one occasion Lawrence received a written death threat.[102] The threat to his life and the problems he encountered did not seem to disquiet him. On the contrary, he rather despised the officials, writing in November 1889:

> There is not a man of them [the officials] but wd [sic] gladly blow my brains out if he only had the resolution and pluck for such an act.[103]

He continued to ride around the State alone, or with a small number of companions, questioning the villagers to unfold the true situation in each place. Lawrence saw clearly that he had a fundamentally different objective to that of the Pandits:

> My object was to encourage the peasants to cultivate their fine land, and to restore the land revenues of Kashmir. The object of the pandits was simply to take the best of the land and to force the Moslem cultivators to work for nothing...No wonder that the city disapproved of me, and that the fermier pandits, who lost their power and perquisites, disliked me.[104]

But he understood their position:

> After all, it's only natural. The officials have been lords of the country for generations and they don't see the point of a stranger coming in and putting them on one side.[105]

Elsewhere he added:

> Though I was determined to put an end to the corruption of the officials, and to the monstrous privileges of the pandits, I had a certain sympathy for them, and I did my utmost to raise the position and pay of the officials, and to secure for the pandits abundant and fairly cheap rice and cheap fuel. Thus by degrees the relations between us became friendly, and indeed pleasant...It must have infuriated the pandits to see the emancipation of the Moslem cultivators carried out by a beef-eating foreigner - to the ruin of old vested interests, and, as they wrongly imagined, in opposition to the real wishes of the ruling family.[106]

The Civil and Military Gazette in 1890 summarised the difficulties of his position and how he was resolving them:

> Nothing could have seemed more hopeless than Mr Lawrence's task at the outset. No one believed in the permanency of his office because nothing except corruption and oppression ever had been permanent in Kashmir. The good effect of his measures was discounted before they were taken and were nullified directly his back was turned.... At first, his labours must have seemed those of a man who writes laws on the sand. Little by little, however: by insisting that an example should be made of an offender now and then, by steadily working at one small sub-division until he had cleared it of agrarian abuses and established something like local confidence, he has been able by degrees to effect an immense amount of good which now only requires honest supervision and intelligent expansion to be of permanent growth.[107]

The Times looked back over the Settlement in 1895, detailing Lawrence's methods in achieving a Settlement:

> In spite of being boycotted by the corrupt Kashmir officials who saw that their period of spoilation must end, in spite of their threatening the cultivators with cruel penalties if they dared to hold any intercourse with the stranger, Mr Lawrence went resolutely on with his work, won the confidence of the villagers, trained a native staff, and turned into friends and assistants the very officials who had most bitterly opposed him...
>
> The attitude which Mr Lawrence took up from the outset, and to which he owed his compelling power over hostile surroundings, was that he could not remain a servant of a State which shielded oppression, or which shrank from dismissing the oppressors. The

> Maharaja of Kashmir had again and again to choose between losing Mr Lawrence or getting rid of old extortionate officials. To the honour of His Highness be it recorded that in each case he preferred not to lose Mr Lawrence.[108]

In summary then, as a visitor to Kashmir concluded, Settlement work was:

> no sinecure, between the corrupt officials and lying peasants![109]

It is interesting to examine the mechanics of the survey. Each village was mapped on a scale of twenty-four inches to the mile, or 220 feet to the inch, on cloth-backed paper marked in 5-inch squares. All the paper and entry books were bought from the Punjab Government and much advice was given by Colonel Wace the Financial Commissioner for the Punjab. Prior to Lawrence's arrival Wace had recommended introducing standardised weights and measures and measuring holdings rather than fields, therefore reducing some paperwork. Wace also advised extensive supervision and testing of the figures while the work was still in progress which, although slowing down surveying, cut down on the checking of numbers later on in the Settlement offices.[110]

The following factors were recorded :- altitude and topography; trees - number and description; area of

holding and type of soil; source of irrigation; name of owner; name of cultivator; amount of rent paid by tenant, if applicable; crop yields; actual revenue paid since 1880; giriftani paid since 1880 [additional revenue payable to offset arrears]; comments on begar; produce of village previously taxable, now to be brought into the Settlement eg: apricots, walnuts and fruit; and lastly, other resources, for example sheep, or willow trees which were used as winter fodder.[111]

The Settlement team carried out the survey, but it was always Lawrence himself who made the final assessment.[112] The total area of land surveyed in this way amounted to 1,196,000 acres. This included all cultivable land in the Valley of Kashmir; but excluded forests, mountainsides, swamps and stretches of incultivable land between villages (even though incultivable land often provided some food and grazing). The survey also excluded some jagir (revenue free) villages. The total area under crops reported by Lawrence was 492,117 acres, some 40% of the land surveyed.[113]

The level of asssessment decided upon in the 3 wazarats of Kashmir averaged Rs 3-2 annas per

cultivated acre, varying from 10 annas to Rs 12 per cultivated acre. This represented 30% of gross produce.[114] In comparison with districts in British India this was a relatively high assessment, reflecting the fertile soil and pleasant summer climate of Kashmir. In 1901 the average assessment rate over all British India was Rs 1-7-8 per cultivated acre, and in the Punjab was only Rs 1-1-5.[115] The comparison suggests that Kashmir could have been more prosperous in the past if its land had not been plundered so ruthlessly.

The third stage of Lawrence's Settlement was to announce the value of the revenue assessment to each assembled village for approval. Usually it was readily accepted, and even where it was not, agreement was reached in every village within six months of the introduction of the Settlement.[116] The cultivators could see the benefits of working to fixed rules rather than paying revenue and bribes at the whim of the local officials or soldiers. They knew that an equitable system was being applied throughout the Settlement area. They saw the patwaris lose their position and witnessed the ending of begar. In certain areas they were involved in irrigation projects that would increase the

production on their land.[117] Overall, it is not surprising that the terms of the Settlement were seen as satisfactory.

The next decision, having agreed on the assessment figure, was whether to accept payment in kind. Originally Lawrence wanted a solely cash settlement. The first group of objectors to this suggestion was the local officials. More seriously in Lawrence's view, the numerous poor people of Srinagar objected since they depended on the influx of government grain and rice to the city. Eventually he agreed to accept some rice and maize, but no pulses, cotton or oil-seed and he worked out a scheme to phase out gradually this payment in kind.[118]

A grave set-back occurred after the floods of 1893. While Lawrence was away in 1891 the Government had without warning demanded all payment in cash, so that when hardship arose after a fire in 1892 and floods occurred in 1893 there was no Government grain available with which to feed people. Lawrence had not been in favour of the collection of grain because of the difficulties of its carriage, storage, and sale. It became clear, however, that payment in kind was necessary to save lives and to retain the credibility

of the Settlement.[119] In 1895, at the end of his Kashmir tour, Lawrence remained optimistic that with increased public works, improved trade, and more visitors, both commercial and tourists, to the State, it would become possible in the future to collect the revenue in cash.[120]

Having established the assessment for each village and how the revenue was to be paid, the last stage of the Settlement was to distribute this revenue demand between the holdings in the village. This problem was complex, partly because of the way in which property and land were viewed both by the Kashmiris and by the British.

The traditional Kashmiri idea was that individuals actually owned the land on which they worked. The passage of two hundred years of Mughal, Pathan, Sikh and Dogra rule had not entirely obliterated this belief. In practice, although not deeply rooted in Muslim law, the rulers of Kashmir since the early 18th century had claimed ownership of the land. The cultivators' claim to a share of the produce was seen as a symbol of hereditary right to till the land rather than a claim to ownership of the land itself.[121]

As far as the British were concerned there was a dilemma or tension which Lawrence, and indeed every Settlement Officer, had to resolve. On the one hand there was a tendency for a Settlement to result in a more individualistic and exclusive view of property ownwership.[122] At the same time the intellectual climate was moving away from focussing on individuals towards a more 'group orientated' view of Indian society.[123]

In Kashmir, as in most Settlements in British India, expediency had its part to play. Very often theory would have to give way to what was expedient in practice. Lawrence would have preferred to make assessments of individual holdings, but time was short and he had to agree to a Settlement made with each village, ie. an overall demand covering all the holdings in the village.[124] That this was a new departure for the cultivators was demonstrated by the fact that there was not even a word in the Kashmiri dialect which could convey the idea of a 'village' equating to 'an entity holding land'.[125] However, the cultivators' rights as individuals to till the soil were not only still recognised, these rights were also formalised. Families who had fled their villages had their lands restored and were therefore encouraged to return. Lawrence was

impressed with the way this happened in each village, without acrimony and with little interference from the Settlement team.[126]

After the total revenue demand for a village had been assessed, it was broken down between the assamis [people recognised by the State as the lawful occupants of the land and recognised by the Kashmiris as the rightful owners] so that each individual knew in advance the exact amount for which he was to be held responsible. The three main factors in this division were: area, quality of the land, and irrigation.[127] Although the assessment was decided upon at the village level, each assami was aware of the proportion of the total assessment of the village which he personally had to meet. Even though he still paid the revenue through the patwari and lambardar the opportunities for peculation were greatly reduced. Previously the patwaris and lambardars had managed to escape any burden of payment; now the revenue was to be more evenly allocated. The lambardar was to be held responsible for the collection of the village's total revenue payment, and in return would be paid a salary of 5% of this sum. He retained his status in the village, similar to that under the former system, but in a regularised and formalised way.[128]

The patwari was the officer who fared badly; his post was no longer recognised by the villagers who had appointed him to it. Instead of one- or two-year local appointments a smaller number of permanent officials were to be appointed by the Government. These new patwaris would be properly trained - for example, in keeping accurate maps and records. Some of the old patwaris were to be given these posts after a period of training. Most, however, were to lose their positions.[129]

It was probably inevitable that a re-shaping of the land assessments would cause some dislocation to existing Kashmiri society. However, a radical overhaul of the State finances was exactly what was needed to provide the State Government with a measure of stabilty and to bring a less oppressed future for the Kashmiri people. The remarkable feature of the Settlement was not that the patwaris lost their traditional positions, but that there were so few 'losing' groups. Gains were not made simply by squeezing out the Hindu officials and redistributing the revenues formerly raised by them. Rather, the Settlement levied a rate of assessment agreed in advance, which was seen by the people as a reasonable level. Each village knew that it would be treated fairly as compared with other villages in the

Settlement area. By this method the State treasury was able to bring in more revenue, on a more regular basis than had been the case before. In addition, incentives to bring more land under cultivation would bring in more revenue to the State coffers for programmes of development and reform, and would benefit the men taking on the extra land.

The final difficulty in implementing the Settlement was that of arrears of revenue. After a good deal of negotiation Lawrence finally persuaded the Maharaja Pratap Singh to agree to write off the outstanding arrears.[130] Generally speaking when a Settlement was carried out the British did not see the remission of debts as a particularly important factor;[131] but in Kashmir the previous revenue demands had been so high that enormous sums in arrears had built up. Lawrence was convinced that if the arrears were not remitted the whole Settlement could be in jeopardy.[132] At a Durbar in Srinagar on 1 October 1892 Pratap Singh announced that in the eleven tahsils so far assessed, arrears of revenue valued at over 30 lakhs of rupees were remitted.[133] In practice it would never have been possible to establish how much of this figure was genuine and how much

fictitious, and it would have been even more difficult actually to collect it.[134]

Overall, as The Times concluded in 1895:

> In six years his [Lawrence's] task was accomplished; the revenues were increased, while a fairer and more equal distribution of their pressure lessened their weight on the cultivators. Every peasant has had his land rights secured to him, his possession of his fields placed beyond dispute, and a moderate fixed tax substituted for unlimited extortions and demands....The results [of the Settlement] are already visible...villages repeopled, lands recultivated, the peasantry able and willing to pay a larger aggregate revenue in advance than could formerly be squeezed out of them in driblets of arrears. The magic of fair dealing has done its work. Old institutions and customs have been scrupulously preserved but stripped of old abuses.[135]

The Land Settlement was the cornerstone in the re-building of Kashmir's economy, and in six years placed it on a sound footing. It was the mainstay of the State's finances providing 69% of revenues in 1889/90 and 62% in 1893/94.[136] But its importance was much wider than this. As The Pioneer said in 1898, it represented the:

> re-casting of the fiscal and economic conditions of the country and the restoring of its general prosperity.[137]

The aims of the Settlement, as Lawrence laid them down, did not specifically include the term "economic development" but this was an important part of any Settlement. Some historians criticise the British for being insufficiently concerned with economic development,[138] but to Lawrence it was a crucial part of his work.[139] The previous administrations had been so rapacious, the standards of living and cultivation were so poor, and disease was so widespread that he had a very low base-line to start from, and it was not difficult to put forward ideas for improvements.

Some potential changes have been mentioned in the introductory sections - for example, the building of roads and canals to improve transport and the abolition of <u>begar</u> or forced labour. Lawrence also played a part in improving the standard of irrigation. He worked alongside the British designer of the headworks and canals. He enabled the engineers to achieve their objectives by organising hundreds of men into gangs of labourers, and arranged for their payment in rice and snuff.[140]

Another area of reform was that of industrial and agricultural development. Lawrence was keen on the development of commercial fruit production and also strongly encouraged the revival of sericulture (the rearing of silkworms and the production of silk).[141]

Sericulture and the manufacture of silken articles had been traditional Kashmiri industries. While it is important not to under-estimate the complexity of local economies, for example the cottage-based silk industries which had formed part of an intricate network, in Kashmir the manufacture of silken products had died away under Afghan and Sikh rule. Trading in the traditional shawls had been undermined by the production of much cheaper manufactured textiles.

Back in the 1820s Moorcroft had written about silk production, noting that:

> the quantity produced is insufficient for domestic consumption. It might with due encouragement be carried to any extent.[142]

Ranbir Singh tried, rather unsuccessfully, to revive the industry. It was under Pratap Singh, early in Lawrence's time in Kashmir that, for the first time, sericulture was established on a commercial scale and in a scientific manner.

Lawrence was actively involved in encouraging the extension of sericulture and included questions about silkworm rearing in the Settlement surveys. In April 1894 he was placed in charge of the Silk Department of the State and he took a keen interest in the whole silk-related industry. Tourist demand for

Kashmiri silk from the 1890s onwards helped to boost the revitalised industry. By the 1920s more than 1 lakh of kilograms of raw silk was being produced annually. Lawrence took the opportunity when in London to arrange for the sale of some Kashmiri silk in 1894, which had been a good year for the burgeoning silk industry.[143]

Lawrence was also involved in the development of fruit cultivation and vineyards, and the subsequent production of wine.[144] He also made his own cider from local apples,[145] a brew much admired by Knight. Lawrence was a keen gardener and tried many experiments with imported fruits and vegetables in his garden in Srinagar. He was always willing to provide free cuttings to anyone who asked.[146] When he left Kashmir he passed on advice on other varieties of oats, sugar beet, and potatoes that he thought would do well.[147] He also found time to enjoy other interests while in Kashmir. One of these was shooting. In 1893 he sent his mother a snow leopard skin and he found the wild duck shooting better in Kashmir than anywhere else.[148] He was a cricket enthusiast and followed English cricket news, while Lilian frequently mentions in her letters her enjoyment of the Hereford Times.[149] Lawrence also

mentions skating on a backwater of the River Jhelum in February 1893.[150]

The Immediate Aftermath of the Settlement

The effects of the Settlement were seen very rapidly. The benefits of the Settlement were already being claimed while Lawrence was still carrying out the survey. Within five years of his arrival the area of land under cultivation had increased considerably and, although more difficult to measure, Curzon records on his journey as Special Correspondent for The Times in 1894 that the "contentment and prosperity of the peasants was materially increased".[151] In 1895 The Times added:

> In six years his task was accomplished....The results are visible to every traveller in Kashmir.[152]

Previously cultivators had tended to wander from village to village looking for security and fair treatment. According to Knight all of the Kashmiri cultivators wanted to return to their own village. He mentions one hamlet which numbered seven families in 1890. Just one year later twenty-three families had returned.[153] The cultivators were now more settled and more sure of their future. They were even voluntarily prepared to pay their revenue demand in

advance - instead of in arrears and having it collected by force. Thus the need for retaining soldiers simply as revenue collectors was considerably reduced. The village tahsildars found their pay increased; this pay-rise, coupled with a greater degree of supervision of revenue collection, reduced the demands which they formerly made by extortion. The assamis knew in advance their exact revenue liability.

The Settlement led to a gradual re-population of the villages and to a general rise in both prosperity and population. When Lawrence arrived he noted that the Kashmiris:

> were a very hopeless people, but as they gained confidence thay threw off their indolence, and I saw large tracts of country which had been left waste turned by their skilful toil into fat belts of fertile fields.[54]

The cultivators were quick to appreciate that the Settlement fixed the revenue demand for ten years; that they would be left with ample food, since only part of the demand was paid in kind; and that the aim of the Settlement was to place the needs of agriculture above those of begar. The reform of the worst aspects of begar meant that the cultivators would not be dragged away from their fields at planting or harvest-time, so there was a greater

incentive to tend their existing land more carefully and to take on the cultivation of new land. Ruined houses and desolate gardens were restored, villagers returned to their original homes, and applications for waste land came in faster than the Settlement Office could conveniently handle them.[155]

Lawrence also saw the management of waste land as important to the future of land revenue; only land already under cultivation was included in the Settlement survey. As no individuals held rights over waste land, cultivation rights could be granted for waste land by the Settlement Office on behalf of the State. The extra cultivated areas would then become liable for revenue payment in the future, which would further improve the State's revenues. There were certain constraints to prevent the wholesale cultivation of waste land around villages however; for example, each village was given rights of tree-planting in waste land to ensure an adequate local source of wood for fuel and of timber to make agricultural implements, but the remaining waste land had to amount to at least 10% of the total cultivated area. If this residual area were to be reduced by the State (for example, the State might plant additional trees as part of a forest

conservancy programmme) then the village revenue demand would be lowered.[156]

The Settlement brought the State immediate financial benefits. Lawrence stated that the costs incurred in carrying out the Settlement amounted to Rs 3,37,010 and estimated that the annual increase in revenue from the current land under cultivation would be Rs 1,85,103. So even without increasing the land under cultivation and simply spreading the burden of revenue more evenly and equitably there would be a great increase in revenue. In addition, Lawrence estimated that the waste land being brought under cultivation would raise Rs 51,893 per year.[157] Furthermore, payments to the collecting soldiers would be saved since the use of sepoys and the Kashmir Army to enforce the payment of revenue would no longer be necessary.

With this increase in the area of cultivated land, there is an impression of a rise in general prosperity. This is borne out by an increase of imports to the State of piecegoods, salt, sugar, tea and metals. These imports more than doubled in value between 1892/3 and 1904/5. The export of fruit, linseed, silk and ghee rose almost four-fold over the

same period.[158] A letter to Lawrence in 1919 from one of his Settlement Assistants states:

> The agriculturalists of Kashmir since your Revenue Settlement have been flourishing .... They get plenty of good food to eat and the clothing of the males and females and also the ornaments of the latter are well provided for. They now use brass and copper vessels in their kitchens, and there is hardly a village in which several Pucka houses and a mosque ... have not sprung up. The luxuries of tea, sugar, and baker's bread are now enjoyed by all the people.[159]

Thus, although it is difficult to quantify the improvement in the well-being of the Kashmiri population, by 1900 Lawrence believed that:

> there was no State in India more prosperous.[160]

The Longer-Term Problems of Kashmir

Amidst all the reforms of the 1890s, many of them initiated by Lawrence, there was one area that remained especially intractable - namely, education, and in particular Muslim education. Lawrence's primary task was to carry out the Land Settlement in order to achieve a stable economic base, so that all Kashmiris, urban and rural alike, would have enough to eat, and somewhere to live with a reasonable degree of security.[161] Many other reforms, for example, begar and transport, were intended to support this aim, while other reforms such as public health and disaster relief measures went beyond his original

brief and were intended further to improve the quality of life for all Kashmiris. It was left for those following him to tackle the problem of education, but the challenge was not met and this failure has led to untold trouble since.

The difficulties encountered in educational reform began with two decisions taken in 1889. The first was the change of the official court language of the State from Persian to Urdu.[162] This was brought about by an order of the new State Council, three of whose members were from the Punjab. New examinations were introduced as qualification for State service. These changes meant that many Kashmiris lost their administrative posts to Punjabis and the influx of Punjabis to the State continued until 1925. Although there was an outcry, in practice the Resident had the power to impose these changes, and he did so, against the Kashmiris' interests.[163]

The second decision, which was taken by Lawrence himself, was to bring in Punjabis to carry out Settlement work. He would rather have employed Kashmiris to do the work but found that they lacked the necessary training. Kashmiris needed a lot of supervision; for example, one basic requirement of the work was an ability to write neatly in bound books which he found Kashmiris were generally unable

to do. He foresaw problems with this policy of bringing in outsiders, but regarded it as a purely temporary measure, to meet the immediate objective of completing the survey. He envisaged Kashmiris in the meantime being trained to take over from the Punjabis.[164] This did not happen, though, and over the next thirty years there was increasing tension between local Kashmiris and the Punjabis who occupied posts previously held by Kashmiris in the State Government administration.[165]

Mission schools had been opened in 1881, and two colleges were founded (at Srinagar in 1905 by Annie Besant and at Jammu in 1908). Most of the college places were taken by the Hindu Pandits, who had lost status and many jobs in 1889. They saw Western education as a route to regaining their former status by opening up opportunities in Government service. The Muslims remained reliant on the mosque schools and on private tuition. Many Muslims could read and write Persian with ease but were not qualified to pass the new competitive examinations in Urdu for posts in the State service. Through travel beyond the Valley and through the influence of the two colleges both Hindus and Muslims began to call for Kashmiris exclusively to man the Government administration.[166]

After a petition to the Maharaja in 1913, 18 years after Lawrence's time in Kashmir, Kashmiri Muslims living in India founded the All India Mohammedan Educational Conference and in 1916 pressurised the Kashmir Government into requesting the Education Commission of the Government of India to report on education within Kashmir. Maharaja Pratap Singh accepted the Report's recommendations but they were never properly implemented. In 1924 a petition was sent to the Viceroy, Lord Reading, which displeased Pratap Singh as by this time full powers had been restored to him and he saw the petition as a British attempt to interfere in Kashmir's affairs and stir up communal tensions.[167] Muslim education was to remain one of the key issues in Kashmir.

Another factor in Kashmir's troubles was the growth in population.[168] The pattern (see Table I) shows that after fluctuating population rises following the Settlement, with the falls partly due to disasters such as fire, floods and disease, the 1920s brought a dramatic increase, which put great pressure on the land. This was coupled with the world-wide trading depression which hit very hard the craft industries such as silk, and gold-work and silver-work. Furthermore, as Kashmiris went elsewhere to find work, they realised how restrictive their régime

had been - for example, all public meetings were banned, and all press reports were carefully monitored. Even after the uproar of the first mass uprising in Srinagar in 1931 and the report of the subsequent Glancy Commission, the new Legislative Assembly still only enfranchised 3% of the population. The Assembly was comprised of 75 members of whom only 33 were elected.[169]

Thus the Land Settlement brought temporary peace. By the 1930s however, the issue of education combined with the growth in population during the 1920s, the world trade depression which hit the craftsmen and a realisation that the State Government was restrictive and bureaucratic, meant that Kashmir was ripe for change.

All this lay in the future, though, at the time of the completion of the Settlement by Lawrence in late 1894. During the autumn of 1893 Lawrence's elder son, Roland, was ill with a fever. Lilian and the two boys (Roland born 9 April 1886 and Neville born 1891) went to stay with their friends the Dunlop Smiths in Sialkot.[170] On 27 March 1894 they sailed for England for medical care, and stayed in Hereford

with Lilian's parents.[171] Lawrence wrote in April to Mrs Gwynne James:

> Of course, Lily's going home upsets many of my plans and makes my work much less efficient as she spared me all work and enabled me to devote all my energies to the State. But her going has not in any way changed my permanent plans as I had long ago settled that I wld [sic] leave Kashmir in April 1895.[172]

Lawrence's efforts had not passed unnoticed even beyond the borders of Kashmir. He received long tributes to his work in the press, for example in The Civil and Military Gazette in 1890 and 1892,[173] and The Times on his departure in 1895;[174] while at the official level he was awarded the Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire in January 1891 and in October 1892 he was commended in a list of Indian Civil Service officers showing merit and ability.[175]

In Kashmir itself, a more permanent reminder of the Settlement was a bust of Lawrence and accompanying plaque unveiled in the compound of the Settlement Office in September 1922. There was a large crowd to see the band, guard of honour and speech by Maharaja Pratap Singh. Many of those present remembered "Larren Pab" or "Lawrence father".[176]

The Kashmir Land Settlement provides many examples of the two themes unifying Lawrence's career. The first theme was "benevolent paternalism" and the ideal of service. The British argument in favour of intervention in Kashmir was that the Dogras of Kashmir had proved unable to carry out their treaty obligations without British assistance. Britain had been obliged to ensure that reform took place in order to secure the north-west frontiers of British India.

The conditions described both by Lawrence and by earlier visitors to Kashmir, conclusively demonstrated, in the British view, that British rule was the best way forward. The oppression of the previous despotic regimes was such that British benevolence undoubtedly brought improvements for most of the population. Benevolent paternalism might be scoffed at for its arrogant and dogmatic self-righteousness, but in Kashmir its other face could be seen. The lot of the cultivators improved and the reforms of the 1890s were genuinely intended to raise the majority of the population out of misery and oppression.

This benevolence is closely linked to the ideal of service. At the beginning of his Settlement work, Lawrence was often under pressure from the Pandits.

Weighting the Settlement so strongly in the cultivators' favour and undermining the position of the Pandit élite was not necessarily the easiest option. However, Lawrence was convinced that he was pursuing the correct course and was intent on carrying his Settlement through.

Lawrence's work in Kashmir also exemplifies the second theme. The challenge brought out qualities such as his courage and the fact that he was not afraid of being disliked. He admired honesty and fair-play and did his best to foster these virtues. He was able to get on with people and draw out the information he needed. Most important, he had a clear idea of the overall purpose and framework of the Settlement and also had an intimate understanding of all its details. On the one hand,he had ideas about the broad policy aspects, such as the remission of arrears and the mortgaging of land, whilst on the other he had gained a field-by-field knowledge of the Settlement area and had to make the final decision on each assessment. Lawrence's success in Kashmir was a notable personal achievement and marked one of the high points of his career.

TABLE I

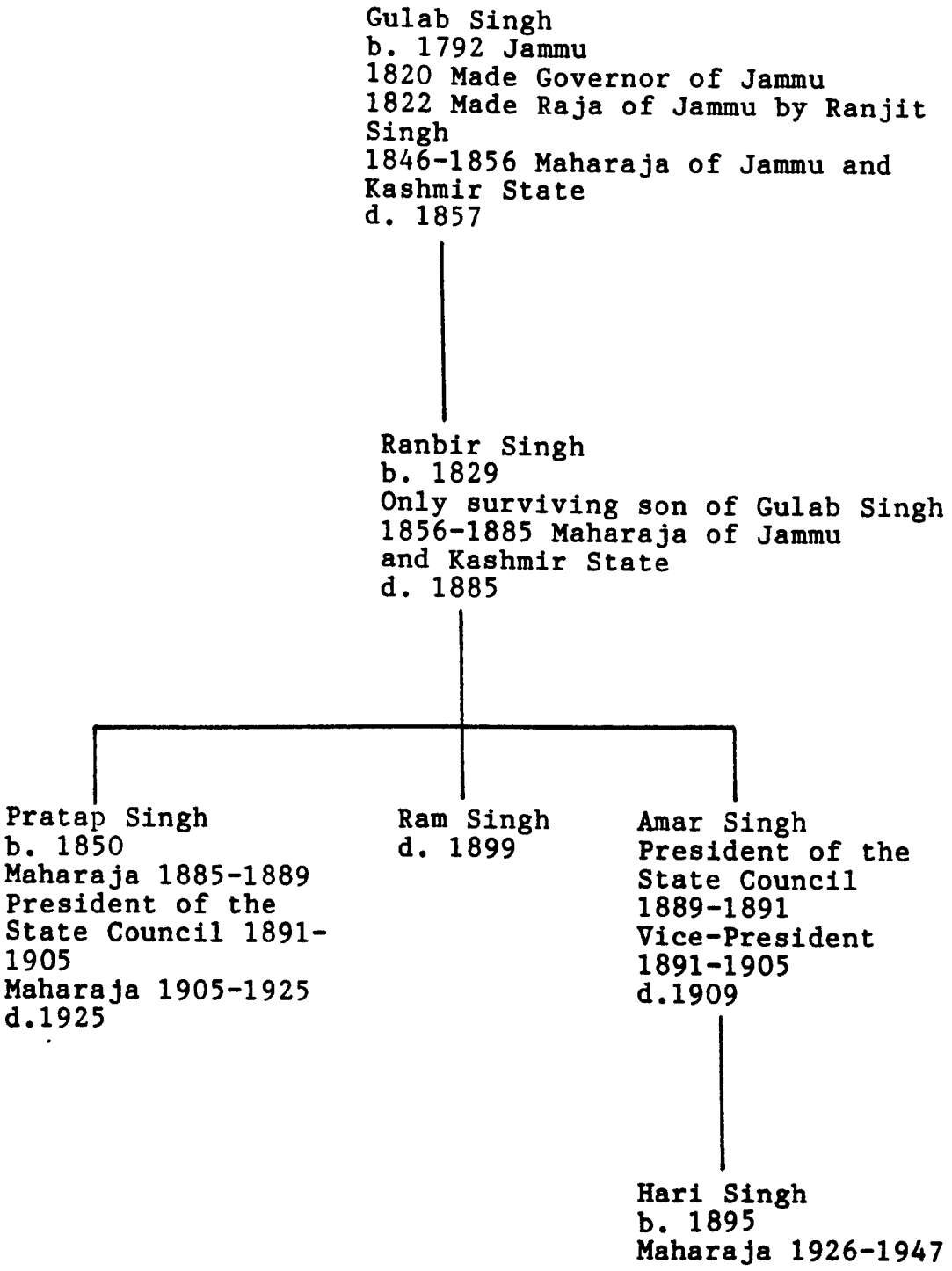

Gulab Singh
b. 1792 Jammu
1820 Made Governor of Jammu
1822 Made Raja of Jammu by Ranjit Singh
1846-1856 Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State
d. 1857
Ranbir Singh
b. 1829
Only surviving son of Gulab Singh
1856-1885 Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State
d. 1885
Pratap Singh
b. 1850
Maharaja 1885-1889
President of the State Council 1891-1905
Maharaja 1905-1925
d.1925
Ram Singh
d. 1899
Amar Singh
President of the State Council 1889-1891
Vice-President 1891-1905
d.1909
Hari Singh
b. 1895
Maharaja 1926-1947

TABLE II

	Jammu and Kashmir State	Variation	Kashmir Province	Variation
1891	2 543 952		949 041	
1901	2 905 578	+361 626	1 157 394	+208 353
1911	3 158 126	+252 548	1 295 201	+137 807
1921	3 320 518	+162 392	1 407 086	+111 885
1931	3 646 243	+325 725	1 569 218	+162 132
1941	4 021 616	+375 373	1 728 705	+159 487
Overall		+1 477 664		+779 664
		+58%		+82%

Source: Census of India 1941

TABLE III

	Average Land Revenue Assessments (Rs)	Other Collections (Rs)
Mughal period	12,69,381	
Pathan period	Unknown	
Sikh period	13,00,000	
Dogra period: 1861	15,00,000	
1871 (est)	27,75,990 $	
1887 (est)	16,07,542 $	
1888	12,31,258	
1880-1888 (av)	12,68,280	
1888-89	12,31,258	5,53,124
1889-90	12,55,734	5,72,440
1890-91	12,48,374	4,02,859
1891-92	12,49,614	5,93,441
1892-93	14,06,634	6,27,119
1893-94	14,79,839	9,15,265

* = receipts such as Post and Telegraph, excise, court fees, timber depots

$ = actual collected unknown, but probably much less since Lawrence encountered a high level of uncollected arrears when he began his survey.

Based on: Lawrence The Valley of Kashmir

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2 - KASHMIR

Abbreviations:

Lawrence Valley of Kashmir	Walter Roper Lawrence The Valley of Kashmir (London,1895)
Lawrence India	Sir Walter Roper Lawrence The India We Served (London,1928)
Hassnain British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921	F.M.Hassnain British Policy Towards Kashmir (1846-1921): Kashmir in Anglo-Russian Politics (Delhi,1974)
Knight Where Three Empires Meet	E.F.Knight Where Three Empires Meet A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries (London, 1893)
Moorcroft and Trebeck Travels in the Himalayan Provinces	William Moorcroft & George Trebeck Travels in the Himalayan Provinces 2 vols. (London,1841)
Vigne Travels in Kashmir	Godfrey Vigne Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the Mountain-course of the Indus and the Himalaya, North of the Panjab 2 vols. (London,1842)
Wingate Preliminary Report (1888)	Andrew Wingate Preliminary Report on Settlement Operations in Kashmir and Jammmu (Lahore,1888)
	IOL Records V/27/314/783
IOL	India Office Library and Records
F143	MSS.EUR.F143 Lawrence Collection

Notes:

1. Walter Lawrence to his father 13 April 1889 IOL F143/11
2. There are a number of fascinating accounts of early travels in the Kashmir and Himalayan regions. The works consulted which proved most relevant to this chapter include:
   George Forster [an officer in the Bengal Army] A Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of India, Kashmere, Afghanistan and Persia and into Russia by the Caspian Sea (London,1808)
   William Moorcroft and George Trebeck Travels in the Himalayan Provinces 2 vols. (London,1841)
   Victor Jacquemont Letters from India 1829-32 translated from the French with an introduction by C.A.Phillips (London,1936)
   Godfrey Vigne Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the Mountain-course of the Indus and the Himalaya, North of the Panjab 2 vols. (London,1842)
   Frederic Drew The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories

(London,1875)
Sir Alexander Cunningham Ladak: Physical, Statistical and Historical (London,1854)

3. William Moorcroft and George Trebeck Travels in the Himalayan Provinces 2 vols. (London,1841)
4. Godfrey Vigne Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the Mountain-course of the Indus and the Himalaya, North of the Panjab 2 vols. (London,1842)
5. Andrew Wingate Preliminary Report of Settlement Operations in Kashmir and Jammu (Lahore,1888) pp.8-9 IOL V/27/314/783
6. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir chapter XIII 'Agriculture and Cultivation'
7. Government of Kashmir 'Cultivation of grapes and manufacture of wine. Sericulture' IOL File R/Z/1062
   Lawrence Valley of Kashmir chapter XIII 'Agriculture and Cultivation'
8. Lawrence to his father 9 October 189- [date unclear] IOL F143/11
9. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.23
10. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.411-13
11. File 34 of 1891 Kashmir Government Records cited in Hassnain in British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846 -1921: Kashmir in Anglo-Russian Politics (Delhi,1974) pp.111-12
12. File 12/P-13 of 1892 Kashmir Government Records cited by Hassnain in British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921 p.111
    Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.411-13, 425 and passim.
13. Kashmir Government Records 1891 File 34 and 1892 File 12/P-13, cited in Hassnain British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921 pp.111-112
14. Accounts of the early political history of Kashmir and details of the Dogra regime are to be found in:
    M.L. Kapur Kashmir: Sold and Snatched (Published privately,1968) pp.1-9
    F. Younghusband Kashmir (London,1909) pp.162ff.
    Lawrence Valley of Kashmir chapter VIII 'Political History'
    G.L.Kaul Kashmir Through the Ages (Srinagar, 1954)
    S.N. Dhar Kashmir: Eden of the East (Allahabad, 1945)
    P.N.K.Bamzai A History of Kashmir: Political, social and cultural from the earliest times to the present day (Delhi,1st edition)
    Tikoo The Story of Kashmir (Delhi,1979)
    Hassnain British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921
    J.Ferguson Kashmir: An Historical Introduction

A book recently published and not yet available which should prove valuable, especially on the political and strategic history of Kashmir, is Alastair Lamb Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990 (London,1991)

15. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.201
For a brief summary of the Sikh Wars and the Treaties of Lahore and Amritsar see also P.Spear A History of India (London,1965) pp.143ff.
16. From Dugsal Letters from India and Kashmir (1874) p.163 cited in M.L. Kapur Kashmir: Sold and Snatched (Published privately,1968) p.9
See also Tikoo The Story of Kashmir (Delhi,1979) p.89
17. F. Younghusband Kashmir (London,1909) pp.171-72
18. F. Younghusband Kashmir (London,1909) pp.171-72
19. See note 31 for a list of some helpful works on Anglo-Russian rivalry and the debate on the merits or otherwise of a 'forward' frontier policy.
20. Vigne Travels in Kashmir pp.317-18 and passim.
21. Vigne Travels in Kashmir Vol II pp.118ff.
22. Moorcroft and Trebeck Travels in the Himalayan Provinces Vol II p.128
23. Ibid. p.124
24. Ibid. pp.124-25
25. See Lawrence Valley of Kashmir, Hassnain British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921 pp.29-34, the general political histories of Kashmir [note 14] and the literature relating to Anglo-Russion relations which describes the British view of the role of the "Officer on Special Duty" and later Resident [note 31]
26. See Lawrence Valley of Kashmir, P.N.K.Bamzai A History of Kashmir and G.L.Kaul Kashmir Through The Ages
27. For Ranbir Singh's rule see the works cited in note 26 above and Tikoo The Story of Kashmir (Delhi,1979)
28. Tikoo Op.cit. p.94; Hassnain British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921 p.74
29. Hassnain Op.cit. pp.47-8
30. M.W.Fisher, L.E.Rose and R.A.Huttenback Himalayan Battleground (Dunmow Press,1963) p.66
31. In forming an impression of the ebb and flow of Anglo-Russian relations through the 19th century the following works have been especially useful:
G.J.Alder British India's Northern Frontier 1865-95 (London,1963)
G.J.Alder Beyond Bokhara. The Life of William Moorcroft (London,1985)
G. Curzon Russia in Central Asia (London,1889)
A. Durand The Making of a Frontier (London,1900)
M. Edwardes Playing the Great Game (London,1975)

M.W.Fisher, L.E.Rose and R.A.Huttenback Himalayan Battleground (Dunmow Press,1963)
P.Hopkirk The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia (London,1990)
John Keay When Men and Mountains Meet: The Explorers of the Western Himalayas 1820-75 (London,1977)
John Keay The Gilgit Game: The Explorers of the Western Himalayas 1865-95 (London,1979)
G.Morgan Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia 1810-1895 (London,1981)
R.A.Pierce Russian Central Asia 1867-1917 (Berkeley,1960)
M.Yapp Strategies of British India: Britain, Iran and Afghanistan 1798-1850 (Oxford,1980)

32. Philip Woodruff The Men Who Ruled India (London, 1963) Vol II 'The Guardians' pp.69 and 149-54
Peter Hopkirk The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia (London,1990) p.5
33. 'Measures taken by the British Government on the commencement of the Rule of Maharaja Sir Pertap Singh to secure reforms in the Adminstration of the Kashmir State' IOL Records File R/Z/1073/193
By the time of Knight's visit to Kashmir in 1891 this was received wisdom: "Without this interference on our part Kashmir would have been quite unable to carry out her treaty obligations" Where Three Empires Meet p.29
34. 'Measures taken by the British Government on the Commencement of the Rule of Maharaja Sir Pertap Singh to secure Reforms in the Administration of Kashmir State' Memoranda of 20 January 1884, 1 August 1884, 19 October 1885 IOL R/Z/1073/193
35. Ibid. 20 January 1884
36. Bamzai A History of Kashmir p.629 quotes from Kashmir Government Records 1892 File 1 and quotes letters to the Resident 29 January and 7 September 1895
37. Lawrence India p.200
38. From F.Younghusband Kashmir (London,1909) cited in G.L.Kaul Kashmir Through the Ages (Srinagar, 1954) p.114
39. G. Vigne Travels in Kashmir Vol II pp.118-20
Hassnain British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921 p.109
40. Knight Where Three Empires Meet p.17
See also references in Hassnain Britsh Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921 and J.Keay The Gilgit Game: The Explorers of the Western Himalayas 1865-95 (London,1979)
41. Lord Roberts Forty-One Years in India: From Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief (London, 30th edition 1898) pp.526-27

42. Lord Roberts Ibid. pp.526-27
43. Ibid. p.527
44. Kashmir mobilised her own Army in 1914, sending the Kashmir Rifles, the Kashmir Imperial Lancers and the Kashmir Mountain Battery to Europe and East Africa; in addition Kashmir sent a large number of recruits to the British Indian Army - the largest number from any one state and made a monetary contribution of Rs 1,11,00,000
Source: G.L.Kaul Kashmir Through The Ages (Srinagar, 1954)
45. See Lawrence Valley of Kashmir chapter X 'Social Life' chapter XI 'Religions' and chapter XII 'Races and Tribes'
46. This theme recurs throughout both The Valley of Kashmir and Lawrence's chapters on Kashmir in The India We Served
47. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.282
48. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.282
49. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.277
50. Lawrence India and Valley of Kashmir passim, especially India chapter IX on religion in India
51. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir chapter XI 'Religions' and India passim.
52. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.285-86
53. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.224
54. Government of India Census of India 1891 Vol RR1 India General Report and Vol RR43 Kashmir Report
55. For the agricultural statistics see Census of India 1891 Report pp.158 and 171
For the industrial occupations see p.163
56. Census of India 1891, with additional discussion in Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.225
57. Obtained by comparing the Census of India Reports from 1891 until 1941
58. See T.Metcalf Land, Landlords and the British Raj: Northern India in the 19th Century (Univ. California,1979) and W.C.Neale Economic Change in Rural India: Land Tenure and Reform in Uttar Pradesh 1800-1955 (Yale,1962)
59. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.243
The Kashmir State mint was closed in 1895 and the currency was gradually standardised. File 55 of 1896, Kashmir Government Records cited in Hassnain British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921 p.112
60. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.438-40
61. This section summarises the material in Lawrence Valley of Kashmir, P.N.K.Bamzai A History of Kashmir, G.L.Kaul Kashmir Through The Ages and Ferguson Kashmir: An Historical Introduction
62. India Office Lists (H.M.S.O.)
63. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.237-41
64. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.402

65. This section summarises Lawrence Valley of Kashmir chapter XVII 'The Old Administration' pp.399ff.
66. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.417
67. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.409
68. Wingate Preliminary Report (1888) IOL Records V/27/314/783
and quoted by Lawrence in Valley of Kashmir p.272
69. Lawrence India p.127
70. Lawrence India p.127
71. Lawrence India p.119
IOL F143/11 and F143/6
It must have been a difficult decision - success in Kashmir was by no means a foregone conclusion, while both Woodruff in The Men Who Ruled India and Michael O'Dwyer in India As I Knew It 1885-1925 (London,1926) state that the Residency in Hyderabad was the 'blue ribbon' of the Indian Political Service, so experience as First Assistant would be very beneficial to Lawrence's career.
72. Lilian Lawrence to her mother 11 March 1889 IOL F143/6
73. Lilian Lawrence to her mother 17 March 1889 IOL F143/6
74. Lawrence India p.123
Lord William Beresford, who gave the advice, had served as Military Secretary to three Viceroys
75. Lilian Lawrence to her mother 8 April 1889 IOL F143/6
76. Lawrence to his father 13 April 1889 IOL F143/11
77. Lawrence to his father 6 May 1889 IOL F143/11
78. G.L.Kaul Kashmir Through The Ages (Srinagar, 1954)
M.L. Kapur Kashmir: Sold and Snatched (Published privately,1968)
P.N.K.Bamzai A History of Kashmir (Delhi,1st edition)
Particularly anti-British is Tikoo The Story of Kashmir (Delhi,1979) and even he comes down firmly in Lawrence's favour, for example pp. 102-3
79. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.423
80. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir chapter XVIII 'The New Settlement' especially pp.433ff.
81. Moorcroft and Trebeck Travels in the Himalayan Provinces Vol II pp.123-24
82. Vigne Travels in Kashmir
83. Quoted in Knight Where Three Empires Meet p.79
84. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.429
85. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.433-38
Lawrence to his father 6 May 1889, 19 February 1890, 4 May 1891; also 9 October and 20

October 189- [date unclear] IOL F143/11
Lawrence India p.145

86. E.F.Knight Where Three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries (London, 1893)
87. Ibid. p.57
88. Ibid. pp.57-70
89. Lawrence to one of his brothers [the document is unheaded but has been catalogued as being written to his brother] 17 November 1889 IOL F143/11
90. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.424
91. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.425
92. For an example see Lawrence India pp.128-30
See also a tribute to Maharaja Pratap Singh for his backing of Lawrence in his work The Times 17 June 1895
93. Lawrence India pp.130-32
94. C.E.Tyndale-Biscoe Tyndale-Biscoe of Kashmir (London,1951) pp.255-56
Lawrence mentions a similar incident in passing, see India p.134
95. Knight Where Three Empires Meet pp.80-81
96. Lawrence India p.132
97. Lawrence India p.132
98. Lawrence to his father 4 May 1891 IOL F143/11
99. Lawrence India p.152
100. Lawrence India p.153
101. Wingate Preliminary Report (1888) p.12 IOL Records V/27/314/783
102. Lawrence's letters IOL F143/11
103. Lawrence to one of his brothers 17 November 1889 IOL F143/11 [see note 89 above]
104. Lawrence India pp.133-34
105. Lawrence to one of his brothers 17 November 1889 IOL F143/11 [see note 89 above]
106. Lawrence India pp.134-35
107. Civil and Military Gazette 5 November 1890
108. The Times 17 June 1895
109. Knight Where Three Empires Meet p.81
110. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir chapter XVIII 'The New Settlement'
Wingate Preliminary Report (1888) pp. 2-4 IOL Records V/27/314/783
111. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.434-38
112. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.239-40 and 438
Lawrence India p.138
113. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.239-40
114. F.Younghusband Kashmir (London,1909) chapter X 'Administration'
115. Imperial Gazetteer 1907 Vol IV
116. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.438

117. Lawrence to one of his brothers 17 November 1889 IOL F143/11 [see note 89 above]
118. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.438-40
119. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.441-42
One of the reasons that Lawrence was opposed to the storage of grain by the State Government was that frequently the grain never reached those for whom it was intended. Tyndale-Biscoe describes an occasion which demonstrated beyond any doubt that the Pandit storeholders had sold on the Government grain. See Tyndale-Biscoe of Kashmir (London,1951) pp266-67
120. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.443
121. Useful early accounts of agriculture, land settlement and economic development include:
Vera Anstey The Economic Development of India (London,3rd edition 1936)
B.H.Baden-Powell Land Systems of British India 3 vols. (London,1892)
B.H.Baden-Powell The Indian Village Community (Delhi,1972 reprinted edition; originally Oxford,1892)
Sir Edward Buck Review of Land Records and Agriculture (1890)
A. and G. Howard Land Revenue Policy of the Indian Government (1920)
J.A.Voelcker Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture (1893)
Later works include:
Agrawal Indian Agriculture and Its Problems (Delhi,1951)
Robert E. Frykenberg (ed.) Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History (Wisconsin,1969) especially chapter III Ainslie Embree 'Landholding in India and British Institutions' and chapter IV Bernard Cohn 'Structural Change in Indian Rural Society'
R.Hunt and J.Harrison The District Officer in India 1930-1947 (London,1980)
Thomas Metcalf Land, Landlords, and the British Raj: Northern India in the 19th Century (Los Angeles,1979)
Walter Neale Economic Change in Rural India (Yale,1962)
Raj British Land Policy (1965)
Eric Stokes The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in agrarian society and peasant rebellion in colonial India (Cambridge,1978)
For Lawrence's own summary of the land ownership in Kashmir see Valley of Kashmir chapter XVII 'The Old Administration' and chapter XVIII 'The New Settlement'
122. See for example, Thomas Metcalf Land, Landlords, and the British Raj: Northern India in the 19th

Century (Los Angeles,1979) p.379

123. See chapter 1 The Early Years for an account of the intellectual influences on Indian Civil Service officers.
124. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.433
125. B.H,Baden-Powell The Indian Village Community (Delhi,1972) p.74
126. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.427-30
127. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.445
128. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.445-47
129. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.446-47
130. Lawrence India p.194 and pp.198-99
131. For example, J.A.Voelecker Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture (1893) pp.289-90
132. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.448-50
Lawrence India pp.194 and 198
Lawrence believed that the problem of arrears was of primary importance, but that further problems would arise if the cultivators were allowed rights of sale and mortgage - which rights they were not even expecting to receive. See Valley of Kashmir pp.430-33
133. Civil and Military Gazette 4 and 17 October 1892
Punjab Patriot 10 October 1892
These articles are found in an album of cuttings IOL F143/24
134. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.448-50
135. The Times 17 June 1895
136. Imperial Gazetteer 1907
Lawrence Valley of Kashmir pp.237-38
137. The Pioneer 12 November 1898
138. Dietmar Rothermund in Government, Landlord and Peasant in India: Agrarian Relations Under British Rule 1865-1935 (Wiesbaden,1978) states baldly "British Indian agrarian legislation was entirely political and not at all designed with a view to economic development." p.189
Hunt and Harrison in The District Officer in India 1930-1947 (London,1980) summarise the duties of British District Officers and conclude "This recital of ... duties ... must prompt the question whether, after he had done all his touring, checking, inspecting and verifying, there was any time or energy left over for general welfare and development work. Traditionally, the general pattern of district administration was not remarkable for any vision of economic and social uplift" See pp.54-6
139. Lawrence's approach illustrates Embree's contention that the British tended to view efficient government as that which provides a sense of order in which commerce and the economy generally will flourish. See A.T.Embree

'Landholding in India and British Institutions' in R.E.Frykenberg (ed.) Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History (Wisconsin,1969) p.35

140. Lawrence to one of his brothers 17 November 1889 IOL F143/11 [see note 89 above]
141. 'Cultivation of grapes and manufacture of wine. Sericulture.' IOL Records R/Z/1062
Lawrence: Letters 1885-1895 IOL F143/11 passim.
142. Moorcroft and Trebeck Travels in the Himalayan Provinces Vol II p.155
143. Bamzai A History of Kashmir pp.641-43
Lawrence to his father 31 August 1894 IOL F143/11
144. 'Cultivation of grapes and manufacture of wine. Sericulture.' IOL Records R/Z/1062
145. Knight Where Three Empires Meet pp.45-6
146. Ibid. p.46
Lawrence: Letters 1885-1895 IOL F143/11 passim.
147. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.355
148. Lawrence to his mother 2 January 1893 IOL F143/11
Lawrence to his brother 17 November 1889 IOL F143/11
149. Lilian Lawrence: Letters 1885-1894 IOL F143/12 - F143/21 passim.
150. Lawrence to his father 10 February 1893 IOL F143/11
151. The Times 7 November 1894, the first in a series entitled 'Across the Indian Frontier' published between 7 November 1894 and 24 January 1895 by a "Special Correspondent" (Curzon)
152. The Times 17 June 1895
153. Knight Where Three Empires Meet p.79
154. Lawrence India pp.144-45
155. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.425
156. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.427
157. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.452
158. Imperial Gazetteer 1908 Vol XV pp.132-34
159. Letter to Lawrence from Radha Kishan Kaul 1 January 1919 IOL F143/120
160. Lawrence India p.126
The British Resident in Kashmir had written on 8 October 1885 that Kashmir could be a very rich country, needing only free trade and better communications. IOL R/Z/1073/193
161. Again illustrating Embree's argument about the British approach to economic reform [see note 139 above]
162. P.N.K.Bamzai A History of Kashmir 'Islam in Kashmir' p.644
163. Ibid. p.644
Tikoo The Story of Kashmir (Delhi,1979) p.94
164. Lawrence Valley of Kashmir p.425

Wingate Preliminary Report (1888) pp. 5 and 9 IOL Records V/27/314/783

165. Bamzai A History of Kashmir p.644
Kaul Kashmir p.121

166. Bamzai A History of Kashmir pp.644-46

167. Ibid. p.646
Hassnain British Policy Towards Kashmir 1846-1921 pp.112-15

168. Census of India 1941 shows population growth from 1891 to 1941

169. Bamzai A History of Kashmir pp.649-61

170. Lilian Lawrence to her parents 5 January 1894 IOL F143/21

171. Lawrence to Mrs Gwynne James 1 April 1894 IOL F143/21

172. Lawrence to Mrs Gwynne James 1 April 1894 IOL F143/21

173. Civil and Military Gazette 5 November 1890 and 3 November 1892

174. The Times 17 June 1895

175. The Pioneer 4 January 1891 and The Punjab Patriot 24 October 1892 from an album of cuttings collated by Lawrence IOL F143/24

176. For accounts of this ceremony see IOL F143/120

AGENT FOR THE DUKE OF BEDFORD'S ESTATES 1895-1898

> I am now 36 years old and my health is good. I have great hopes that I shall be able to serve Your Grace well and loyally for many years. I thank you most gratefully for your kind offer of an appointment in every way congenial to me, the duties of which I humbly believe I shall be able to discharge.
>
> Walter Lawrence to the Duke of Bedford[1]

After returning from India in March 1895 Lawrence commenced his appointment in October 1896 as Agent for the Duke of Bedford, his old Balliol friend Herbrand Russell. Russell had joined the Grenadier Guards and later had gone out to India as an aide-de-camp to the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin) from 1884 until 1888.[2] Russell and Lawrence had kept in touch while they were in India and together they welcomed Curzon to India when Curzon arrived in Calcutta in 1887.[3] Russell had unexpectedly inherited the title of 11th Duke of Bedford from his brother in 1893. He wrote to Lawrence in October of that year concerning the running of his estates:

> In a few years (say a couple at most) I shall need an agent in chief to help in their administration. My present agent ...is a most valued adviser of my family but being now well over 70 years of age I see that soon I must look for a successor to him in his office. It occurred to me before proceeding further in the matter to write and ask you if you would think about accepting the post
>
> ...The salary is £2,000 a year and a house. There are four estate agents under the chief agent. One for Beds and Bucks, one for Devon and Dorset, one for Cambridgeshire and Fens, one for London. These four all work under the chief agent who controls them in all respects. The most important part of the work of the chief agent is to establish and maintain a sound system of accounts and to "finance" the estate.[4]

He concluded by offering Lawrence the chance to return to England to view the duties and to ask any

questions, but Lawrence did not hesitate and immediately seized this opportunity:

> I have today received your letter of October 1st in which you kindly offer me the post of agent-in-chief to your estates....I thank you most gratefully for offering me the appointment and I accept it most readily.[5]

Lawrence then outlined his experience in Kashmir relating to land valuation, revenue administration and the improvement of agriculture, and discussed the possible timing of a return to England:

> If you wish me to come before 1895 I will come with pleasure but if possible I shld [sic] be glad if I cld [sic] postpone my homecoming at any rate until October 1894 by which time I could finish all that was important in my Kashmir work.[6]

In a further letter in December 1893 Lawrence continues:

> If I am to give up India now will be the best time. After 1895 I may have to serve in a bad climate and I might be worn out by the time I got my pension. Now I am full of work and I want to join you as soon as possible
>
> You offer to me an appointment which will give me work in which I shall always be interested, which gives me a home in England, and enables me to look after the education of my two boys
>
> ...I can only add that your kind remembrance of me has lifted a great load off our minds as regards the future and has made a great change in our lives.[7]

In fact Roland's illness late in 1893 and early in 1894 meant that Lilian and the children left India earlier than originally planned, in March 1894. However, this illness did not alter the intention to return home; plans were already well-advanced.[8] During the period before Lawrence's return the Duke of Bedford asked him to make arrangements for the collection and transport of certain species of plants and animals from India, which he wanted to add to his newly-created wildlife park at Woburn.[9] Lawrence himself left Kashmir in 1895 and after three months training in accountancy back in England formally took up his new post on 26 October 1896.[10] During this period the Lawrences bought 22 Sloane Gardens, Chelsea which was the family home for several years.

The next two years were spent travelling around the Bedford Estates, monitoring the work of the agents in each locality and advising on investments and other policy matters. Lawrence wrote to his sister in 1896:

> I have been regularly working in the London office, inspecting houses in the afternoon....I spent a week in Cambridgeshire and three days this week in Bedfordshire. Next Tuesday I go down with the Duke to Devon and I shall stay there for about 3 [sic] weeks or a month. The work is very [sic] heavy but full of interest and I find that there are many problems in management very similar to

those which presented themselves in India and Kashmir."[11]

Lawrence also collected material for Herbrand Russell's book A Great Agricultural Estate - which was privately published in 1897 - and Lawrence probably wrote a good deal of the book.[12]

Even after his work as Chief Agent ended in 1898, Lawrence remained a Trustee of the Duke of Bedford's Estates (until the age of 65 in 1922). In 1907 at the request of the Duke he made a trip to Canada to inspect possible investments and employ an Agent to deal with the Duke's Canadian land and property.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3 - AGENT FOR THE DUKE OF BEDFORD'S ESTATES

Abbreviations:

IOL India Office Library and Records

Notes:

1. Walter Lawrence to 11th Duke of Bedford, copy letter, undated, October/November 1893 IOL F143/22
2. Sir Ivo Elliott (ed.) Balliol College Register 1833-1933 (Oxford,1934)
3. Kenneth Rose Superior Person: A Portrait of Curzon and his Circle in late Victorian England (London,1969) p.200
4. Duke of Bedford to Lawrence 1 October 1893 IOL F143/22
5. Lawrence to the Duke of Bedford, copy letter, undated, October/November 1893 in reply to the Duke's letter of 1 October IOL F143/22
6. Lawrence ibid. IOL F143/22
7. Lawrence to the Duke of Bedford 15 December 1893 IOL F143/22
8. For example, Lawrence to Mrs Gwynne James 1 April 1894 IOL F143/21 and the correspondence above of October/November 1893 IOL F143/22
9. Duke of Bedford to Lawrence 11 March 1894 IOL F143/22
10. Bedford Office Papers, Duke's Box. The Bedford Estates, Montague Street, London.
11. Lawrence to Lilian Glenny, undated 1896. IOL F143/29
    There seems to be very little in print about the duties of a Land Agent on a large estate, but one book which suggests a few pointers is David Spring's The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration (Baltimore,1963)
12. Herbrand Russell, 11th Duke of Bedford A Great Agricultural Estate. Being the Story of the Origin and Administration of Woburn and Thorney (London,1897)
    and references in the Bedford Office Papers.

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CURZON 1898 - 1903

My name is Walter Roper Lawrence,
My talk flows on, but not in torrents -
My voice is low, my manner suave -
I'm <u>not</u> Lord Curzon's humble slave.

Rhyme in the possession of the
Curzon family, in the style of
<u>The Masque of Balliol</u>, 1881[1]

Lord Curzon's appointment as Viceroy was announced on 11 August 1898; it was a position long-awaited on Curzon's part and one to which he had been laying claim, in appeals to Salisbury, at least since April 1897.[2] On accepting office, Curzon asked for and received advice from his friends and colleagues on many aspects of the arrangements of his viceroyalty, including the importance of finding a suitable Private Secretary.[3]

Among those proffering advice was Lord Cromer, who as Evelyn Baring, had served as Private Secretary to his cousin Lord Northbrook from 1872 to 1876 and subsequently sat on the Viceroy's Council. In 1883 he was appointed British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt. Cromer's career was viewed by Curzon with the greatest admiration.[4] In a letter to Curzon of 21 August 1898 Cromer writes about the appointment of a Private Secretary:

> I should be inclined to take a man who knew nothing of India. You get lots of expert advice out there. It is as well to have some English experience by your side. I have been torturing my brains to think of anyone whom I would recommend but without success. You might, I should think, find a suitable man in one of the London offices. I should look amongst the younger generation who produced ... Dawkins, Babington Smith etc. They are the sort of men.[5]

Lord Lansdowne (a former Viceroy 1888 - 1893, Secretary of State for War 1895 -1900, and Foreign Secretary 1900 - 1905) writes on 25 August 1898:

> I would not have a married P.S. [sic] and also a married Mily Secy [sic] - I am sure it is a mistake to have too many ladies on the staff. If Mrs Curzon wants companions of her own sex she can easily bring out a friend or relative for a year or so from time to time.
>
> If you have any difficulty in finding a good man at home, it is worth bearing in mind that you might get a very good one in India - there are disadvantages in this - of which the chief is the possibility of a suspicion that your Private Secretary is connected with a school or a clique - on the other hand it is a great comfort to have in your pocket a man with perhaps 12 or 15 years accumulated local knowledge.[6]

Advice also came from Sir John Ardagh (Private Secretary to Lord Lansdowne 1888-1894) on 7 September 1898:

> Lawrence is a good fellow, but I know many better, and I think a married man unsuitable for the work. The P.S. [sic] should be at the Viceroy's call <u>always</u>. [sic]
>
> Don't take an Indian Civilian. They are all too closely bound up in the country. An outsider will be far more useful, particularly one who knows English official and parliamentary routine, and the exigencies of party government.[7]

Curzon asked Lawrence himself for a suggestion. Lawrence writes:

> Up to this time private secretaries had been selected from England, and no Viceroy had, in my recollection, chosen a Secretary

> from the Indian Civil Service. But it seemed to me that it would help a Viceroy to have with him someone who knew at any rate the puzzling terms and technicalities with which Indian administration bristles.[8]

Lawrence suggested the name of James Dunlop Smith, an old friend of his, but wondered if he himself could be considered a suitable Private Secretary:

> For Private Secy [sic] I think that you, knowing so well the working of the India Office, could afford to appoint an Anglo-Indian. I would name: Captain J.R. Dunlop Smith, erst Private Secy to Sir Charles Aitchison, now holding a high appointment in the Punjab Govt.[sic] He has seen all kinds of work and knows all sorts and conditions of people in India. He is able, tactful and respected. Married a daughter of Sir Chas. Aitchison but the only children live in England.
>
> Feeling that I do possess some of the qualifications of a "buffer" I would come myself - if you wanted me, but there are two obstacles
>
> (1) I could not go if the Duke of Bedford objected strongly. He has been such a good friend to me that I would not act contrary to his wishes. But as originally he offered to keep my present appointment open for me till I had earned my pension it is possible that he would not object.
>
> (2) I could not go unless the India Office would re-admit me to the benefits of the Civil Service so that at the end of 5 years I could count on a pension.
>
> Personally, the charm of serving under you, and the idea of playing a part in what I believe will be a great five years so possess me that I would not care for the second obstacle. I must, however, consider my wife's people, and they would object to my throwing away the £1,000 pension to which my engagement with the Duke entitles me.

> Please treat all this as confidential as I cannot mention the matter to the Duke on the slender basis of your kind and too complimentary letter. If I cannot help you in India I shall hope to chronicle occasionally your successes at home.[9]

Arthur Godley (Under Secretary of State for India 1883 - 1909) was not very encouraging:

> From what I have heard of W. Lawrence (I do not know him) I should suppose him to be extremely well qualified. But you would be taking him away from a comfortable and well-paid post: might he not (even with a pension) be rather "on the pavement" at the end of his five years? Would this not be a serious responsibility for you? And I suppose he would be open to <u>some</u> of the objections which are commonly urged against India Civilians as candidates of the P. Secretaryship...To go back to Lawrence and his pension - I am rather afraid <u>prima facie</u> that we could not re-admit him - But I will at once inquire.[10]

In the face of this barrage of advice Curzon, undaunted, pursued his choice of Lawrence. He carried out an extensive correspondence on Lawrence's behalf and made the necessary arrangements with Herbrand Russell, the 11th Duke of Bedford (an old Balliol friend of both Curzon and Lawrence).[11] Curzon never regretted his choice, and was to recommend to his successor, Lord Minto, that he should follow the same path and appoint as Private Secretary a man with Indian experience.[12]

So on 15 December 1898 Lawrence was one of Curzon's entourage when the party sailed for Bombay, with his

wife Lilian and son Neville. The Lawrence's elder son, Roland, was to start at Eton College in January 1899.[13] The Viceregal party landed on 30 December 1898 and Curzon formally took office on 3 January 1899. In his recollections Lawrence records that:

> Many of my friends pointed out the unwisdom of giving up a most delectable post in England for a five years' appointment in India, on much smaller pay, and with no prospects of employment at the end of five years; for I had resigned the Indian Civil Service in 1896 and could not be re-instated. But I had heard the "East a-calling".[14]

Curzon must have felt glad that Lawrence did decide to return to India; he could hardly have found a more loyal and devoted Private Secretary, and was fully aware of his qualities for the post. His opinion is revealed in 1901 in a letter to Lord George Hamilton (Secretary of State for India 1895 - 1903) about the appointment to the vacant post of Resident in Kashmir:

> I have at hand in my Private Secretary, Lawrence, a man who has a unique acquaintance with the country, and a unique influence with its ruler and its people. He would in most respects, be an ideal Resident in Kashmir. Were he not my Private Secretary, and from this point of view, indispensable to me, I should not hesitate to send him there at once. It would be in the public interest that I should do so, and I am certainly the last man to allow my private inclinations to stand in the way either of the public interest, or of the advancement of anyone among my own entourage...

> On the other hand there is another aspect of the public interest in which are involved personal interests of both Lawrence and myself. If it is important that he should go to Kashmir, it is even more important that he should stay with me. This is my desire; it is also his. His great knowledge of India, his popularity with all classes, his tactfulness and charm of manner, render him in many ways, invaluable as a Private Secretary. In fact, as I often say, he applies a very useful and necessary foil to the more imperious characteristics of his chief. It would be a singularly unfortunate thing for me, and would, I know, be intensely disappointing to him, if in the midst of our co-operation, which has hitherto been a most pleasant, and I venture to think a not unfruitful one, were we called upon to part.[15]

Curzon's modus operandi in administrative matters, under which system Lawrence had to work, and the nature of the Private Secretary's role are to be examined in greater detail. The extract above, while referring obliquely to one of the major functions performed by Lawrence, is quoted here to demonstrate the high regard and esteem in which Curzon viewed his aide. On the occasion of Lawrence's return to England in 1903, Curzon writes, in one of his regular telegrams to the King:

> Sir Walter Lawrence whom Your Majesty honoured by an invitation to Balmoral last year, is shortly leaving the Viceroy and returning to England. Domestic reasons prevent him from staying out in India longer than 5 years. His loss will be a great one, for he has much experience, tact and popularity; it is difficult to know whither to turn for a successor.[16]

Lawrence, in turn, has recorded his respect for Curzon. The extract below was written in 1901, following Curzon's letter to Hamilton quoted above:

> The Viceroy's action in writing home about me has cheered me up immensely. It amounts to a declaration that we have been partners, which is the fact but, so far as I know, he has never made known the fact, and I have often felt that I was left "out in the cold". It does not alter my feelings of devotion for him as a chief but it intensifies my affection for him as an individual.[17]

In Lawrence's farewell speech in October 1903, after remarking that:

> No man is a hero to his banker, his lawyer or his valet...and ten thousand times less is a hero to his Private Secretary. Well I have found my Chief ...to be a man to whom the test could safely be applied...

he continues by expounding some of Curzon's characteristics:

> [There have been many] great qualities which have commanded my admiration, but what has most endeared him to me, and has won my affection and my absolute devotion, has been his invariable consideration. My work has been a daily pleasure, a daily tonic.[18]

Even allowing for the inevitable hyperbole of the valedictory address, it is nevertheless plain that Curzon was well-pleased with his Private Secretary and that Lawrence served him for five years with success, loyalty and devotion.

Photograph 4. Walter Roper Lawrence, December 1899, Lucknow.

In this chapter the two themes that have emerged earlier in Lawrence's career will be examined once more, this time from the perspective of his work as Private Secretary.

The first theme arose from Lawrence's education and training. It is interesting that Curzon and Lawrence shared the same background - English public school and Balliol, and many of their assumptions were the same. Both were well-intentioned in their concern for the welfare of the Indian people and both saw their time in India as one of service and duty. Many of the differences between the two men were due to their characters and personal qualities. An analysis of these qualities constitutes the second theme.

Curzon had an unshakeable belief in the fitness and rightness of British rule. The dedication to his book Problems of the Far East, published in 1894, runs:

> To those who believe that the British Empire is, under Providence, the greatest instrument for good that the world has seen.[19]

Curzon's conviction in the wisdom, justice, and incorruptibility of British rule naturally resulted in a dictatorial style of leadership, but it was an

impostition of a benevolent and paternalistic character. He cared deeply about India and its people, and its cultural heritage. His motives towards the peoples he governed were of the highest order. In 1903 he wrote to Godley:

> My first duty lies to my constituents and they are the people of India. I would sooner retire from my post than sacrifice their interests.[20]

In this he was echoing the views and wishes of the Queen-Empress, who ended each letter to her Viceroy with the words "be kind to my Indian people".[21] Curzon never ceased to believe that British rule in India was a sacred trust and a:

> noble work which I firmly believe has been placed by the inscrutable decrees of Providence upon the shoulders of the British race.[22]

British rule was not only seen as benign, it was also essential:

> If we were to withdraw, the whole system of Indian life and politics would fall to pieces like a pack of cards.[23]

Curzon's opinion was that Indians were unfitted for rule:

> Politically the Indian people, even the most advanced are still in the nursery and no worse fate could befall them than to be mistaken for grown-up men.[24]

He also asked rhetorically:

> It is often said why not make some prominent Native a member of the Executive Council? The answer is that in the whole continent there is not one Indian fit for the post.[25]

When asked by Hamilton in 1900 about the lack of Indian appointments in the highest ranks of the Indian Civil Service Curzon replied:

> Because they are not competent, and because it is our constant experience that, when placed in authority, if an emergency occurs, they lose their heads or abdicate altogether.[26]

To Alfred Lyttelton, a lifelong friend, in the same year he explained:

> We cannot take the Natives up into the administration. They are crooked-minded and corrupt. We have got therefore to go on ruling them and we can only do it with success by being both kindly and virtuous. I daresay I am talking rather like a schoolmaster; but after all, the millions I have to manage are less than schoolchildren.[27]

In March 1901 he wrote to Balfour:

> We shall never continue to hold this country except by convincing the mass of the people that our rule is juster, purer, more beneficent than any other ... rule could be, or than would be the rule of their own men.[28]

Curzon's sense of "missionary zeal"[29] in administration was matched by his sense of duty and obligation. For him, as he stated in a speech in Calcutta in 1900, India was duty written in five letters instead of four.[30] He justified his long hours of work by saying:

> Here I am, working away the whole day long and a considerable part of the night in the discharge of what I believe to be a serious and solemn duty.[31]

The trouble was, as Lawrence observed, that Curzon:

> expected to find the same energy and application in others [that he had himself] and when I pleaded that long years in the Indian climate are apt to enervate even the most diligent, he would never accept my plea. He held that India and its problems must needs arouse enthusiasm in all officials, and that the man who was not full of an almost missionary zeal for the welfare of Indians would be better at home.[32]

Although Lawrence thought along broadly similar lines, and was certainly of the opinion that British rule was best for India,[33] he was more flexible than Curzon in realising that there were groups with very different opinions. Curzon refused to admit the legitimacy of any viewpoint other than his own.

Lawrence saw that divergent views could not simply be scorned or pushed aside as if they were insignificant. He deplored these ideas, but nevertheless recognised their potential power. By 1906 he was warning of the changes that were sweeping through India.[34]

The second theme running through Lawrence's earlier career was that of character and personal qualities. In this chapter this is approached by looking first

at a comparison of the administrative abilities of Curzon and Lawrence. This will be achieved by analysing Curzon's mastery of detail and the characteristics of his style of administration.

The final section of the chapter will examine the role and duties of the Private Secretary. This will illustrate the importance of Lawrence's personal qualities, such as his tact, charm and ability to get on with people.

Lawrence's career has demonstrated his most important administrative ability, namely the ability to observe detail and at the same time to understand the broader aspects of policy. The argument in this chapter is that this was also Curzon's supreme ability. Curzon's very considerable administrative ability, his zeal for reform, and his appetite for work coupled with his powerful position over-shadowed Lawrence's talents during the years 1899 to 1903. Curzon's pre-eminence meant that Lawrence was given little scope for his administrative talents. Curzon's characteristics also had an impact on the structure of the governmental machine and the men who carried out the orders and policies of their chief.

Naturally, Curzon's personality and style of administration had a major effect on Lawrence and the Secretariat staff, but the impact went far beyond the Secretariat. It temporarily at least, shook up the whole rather creaky machinery of government; and Lawrence was in a unique position to observe and comment on the changes. Three principal characteristics of Curzon's style of work are considered: (i) he was irascible and very prickly to deal with (ii) he was unwilling to delegate work to his colleagues or to his officials which had a stultifying effect on the initiative and activities of Government Departments and (iii) his drive for efficiency had implications for the structure of government and the way in which its business was carried out.

The first characteristic of Curzon's administration was that he was very irritable and drove himself very hard. The tendency to push his staff at the same terrific rate meant that he was constantly under strain. He was also frequently in pain from his chronic back trouble.

In 1878 he had been diagnosed as suffering from incurable curvature of the spine.[35] The pain he subsequently suffered had an important influence on his Viceroyalty, which has not always been

acknowledged, and seemed to drive him to ever more extreme lengths. In 1898 St. John Brodrick, a friend from Eton, Oxford and 'the Souls' (Under Secretary in the Foreign Office, and later to succeed Hamilton as Secretary of State for India 1903-1905) warned Curzon of the dangers of fatigue and over-work:

> Subject to one thing only I cannot doubt you will make your Vice-royalty memorable, if not unique. You have knowledge, energy, talent and resolution in a degree I think never previously combined in the history of India.
>
> But I, with many others, are sorely troubled - about your health. For years I have envied your marvellous nervous energy and recuperative power, and it is only because I seem to see that the one has been over-taxed and the other has ceased to come to the rescue that I now write - not on my own behalf alone.

Brodrick continued:

> You have lived a fuller life for the last 10 years than any man alive - and for the last 9 months you have hardly known a day's real health ... If you go on as at present you will come back like Dalhousie and Canning. For the appetite for work when one is over-strained (I know it well) becomes a disease...
>
> You are to my mind bound by heavy "recognizances" to spare yourself at the first symptom of fatigue.[36]

Unhappily, rest was the one thing Curzon refused to allow himself; as his biographer the Earl of Ronaldshay remarks:

> He was constitutionally incapable of living a life of ease. In health it was from

> constant work that he derived his zest for life; in suffering and sorrow it was in fierce and concentrated labour that he found the only effective anodyne.[37]

This is borne out both by the view of his Secretariat that when prostrate Curzon's output of work was even greater than usual[38] and by letters to Curzon from his wife and from Lord George Hamilton. Lady Curzon writes in March 1899 from Simla where she was reading in the newspapers about the Viceroy's programme:

> No amount of pleading from me will keep you from doing too much. We have all been shocked at the awful number of things you do daily - and in such heat too. Oh! do listen, and don't do so many things every afternoon - your life and your strength are so precious.[39]

That Curzon did not act on this advice nor take heed of the warning is borne out by letters from Hamilton in the same month:

> I hear a very satisfactory account of the results of your work in India, but it was also accompanied by the observation that you were working 11 hours a day...No desire or wish, however laudable, of mastering all the details of the unnumerable questions that come up before him can ever compensate India for her Chief becoming incapacitated from over-work. Now be a good fellow, and take my advice in good part and save yourself as much as you can. I am not expressing my own views, but those of several of your best friends, when I say that one of your dangers in India is your wish to do too much work yourself. Spare yourself as much as you can, and recollect that in doing so you are really acting in the true interests of good and efficient government in India.[40]

This letter of 23 March 1899 was followed on 14 April with further cautions from Hamilton:

> From 2 or 3 sources I hear that you are really attempting too much, and there is not one of the 12 questions which you enumerate which is so important as the maintenance of the health of the Viceroy.[41]

At the time Curzon promised to take this well-meant advice to heart,[42] but throughout his Viceroyalty he found himself unable to slacken his relentless, and self-imposed, pace. He would work on, even when racked with the pain that he described to Lawrence as "toothache in the leg".[43] According to Lawrence, Curzon was obsessed with the idea that he would be unable to complete his task in India:

> Though he rarely spoke of the pain which so cruelly beset him, he more than once told me of the hill-top in Simla where he desired to be buried.[44]

On returning to Simla after an absence Lawrence:

> would look with apprehension to see whether the flag [at Curzon's residence] was mast-high. For I always dreaded that the high pressure of work would kill him.[45]

The result of Curzon's conquering of his own physical weaknesses was admitted by Lawrence:

> He [Curzon] held that the work itself was its own reward. He always appreciated good work, but he regarded it as part of a man's duty, and it was a surprise to him when men failed to do their duty, or did careless or inefficient work. He had fought against his own physical disability, and by sheer grit and grim purpose had trained himself

> to be fit for any work and ready for any strain. And it was this knowledge of what he himself had surmounted that made him contemptuous of weaklings and slackers.[46]

Curzon's rigorous schedule was outlined to Lord Ampthill (Governor of Madras 1899 - 1905, and Viceroy during Curzon's absence April - December 1904):

> You ask me how I get through my work. I think I can answer: (1) By never doing anything else (2) By sitting up late into the night. I invariably get 2½ to 3 hours good work after dinner (3) By rapidity in writing - the result of long practice (4) By familiarity with most of the subjects which are not entirely new to me, as I have been studying India for years (5) By invariably devoting Sunday to some big subject, upon which I am working in independence of the ordinary routine. Thus I keep pace, more or less, with both. Again I write the MS[sic] of letters in pencil, either in bed, or on a boat, or when dressing, or anywhere, whenever the thing comes into my mind... I am far from recommending my methods to anyone else: for the concentration that they represent is the result of temperament far more than of training.[47]

In February 1902 he wrote to Hamilton:

> I am up here [Darjeeling] taking what purports to be a holiday. But anyone who saw the state of my table at the present moment would probably smile at the term. Perhaps it is as well that the weather is so dull, cold and foggy that I have given up the tour in the mountains which I had proposed, and can enjoy relative quietude here.[48]

In another letter Curzon confessed that the idea of a holiday seemed a remote dream.[49] Often, Lawrence was convinced that while at dinners or balls, Curzon was longing to be back at his work; and he once shocked

Lawrence by correcting some proofs while presiding over a dinner party.[50] In his recollections, Lawrence records his memory of Curzon's vast capacity for work:

> An old friend of mine, one of the Secretaries to the Government of India, was talking to a merchant of Calcutta. The latter said: "This new Viceroy will hustle you Secretaries" "No" said my Secretary friend, "he will be paper-logged in three months". But he was wrong...[Curzon] revelled in files, and was never paper-logged, and by the end of the first three months of Calcutta it was the Secretaries who were paper-logged, while the Viceroy sat at his unencumbered table asking for more.[51]

Problems arose because Curzon expected everyone else to work as hard as he did,[52] and at the same rapid pace. At the same time he treated his officials "as if they were serfs".[53] The problem was compounded by the fact that he was out of touch with the lifestyle and aspirations of the Indian Civil Service officers under him, and also rode roughshod over his colleagues on the Viceroy's Council. Curzon had travelled in Asia but had never had to work through the heat of the summer in the plains. He had little knowledge of, or sympathy towards, the preoccupations and concerns of his subordinates. Pay and promotions, illnesses and honours were central to their lives.

Curzon was so concerned with getting through his vast labours and with brushing away every area of

inefficiency that he had no time left to pander to people's feelings. The problem was intensified because he had to wear a steel support to strengthen his back. This gave him a very rigid appearance which, throughout his life, even the most eminent colleagues were to find daunting.[54] Hamilton warned him of the effect of his scorn, pettiness and lack of courtesy which had been well-known in the Foreign Office:

> Try and suffer fools more gladly; they constitute the majority of mankind. In dealing with your colleagues and subordinates try and use your rare powers of expression in making things pleasant and smooth to those you over-rule or dominate. Cases have more than once come to my notice where persons have been deeply wounded and gone from you full of resentment in consequence of some incautious joke or verbal rebuke, which they thought was harshly administered.[55]

Even the loyal Lawrence admitted that:

> with all this power or charm, there was often intolerance, and his fault was that on occasions he regarded the average man as an invertebrate. He could not suffer fools gladly... If he could have been a little more patient, a little more understanding, he would have been a very perfect Viceroy. For, apart from his striking ability and his untiring industry, he had noble qualities. His love of justice, his hatred of tyranny, his contempt of meanness, and his scorn of inefficiency or apathy would have made him perhaps the greatest of the great line of Viceroys, if only he could have recognized that the officials were not sprinters but long-race runners. He had an intense admiration of the work of the Indian Civil Service, and believed that England had been singled out by Providence

> for the greatest mission in history; but while he admired their work, he had little sympathy for the hardships and trials of the workers.[56]

In the introduction to his diary of 1901 Lawrence records:

> There is a general impression abroad that the V. is of an imperious temperament and he has often admitted the possession of a large amount of hubris. They call him Imperial George but they fear and respect him.[57]

As Lawrence's aside indicates, Curzon's relationship with his subordinates was based on fear rather than sympathy or trust. He continued to apply his own very rigorous and exacting standards to the work of his officials. In his memoirs Lawrence enlarges upon this view:

> After what he would rather pathetically call one of his "angry days", when things had gone persistently wrong...he would ask what was amiss, and I would always answer: "Too much hubris". To which he would reply "I was born so, you cannot change me".[58]

At home, Hamilton, while generally holding a very high opinion of Curzon's ideas, was not blind to his failings in dealing with others, particularly his own staff:

> It is such a pity when a man has such a rare power of work, ability, and go, that he should so rub up the people around him.[59]

Lawrence was in an extremely awkward position. He was fully accepted by the Indian Civil Servants -

where a man straight from England with no previous Indian experience might not have been - and so was aware of all the Simla gossip about Curzon and his methods. He was distressed, however, because he realised that he could not possibly say anything to Curzon, and indeed there was probably no-one in India who could do so. He records:

> The gossip of the Club and the clever bons mots of Simla society reached me, but never penetrated to the still work-room.[60]

The second characteristic of Curzon's style of working was that he was unwilling to delegate to his colleagues or subordinates. There had been indications of this well before his departure from England[61] and it was to be a trait that continued unabated throughout his life. He insisted on giving the same exhaustive attention to the engaging of a servant for his household as to a diplomatic problem of international importance.[62] His continual plaint was that he could trust no-one but himself to do a job well:

> People say - trust to others to get things done! In my view there is no madder philosophy in the world.[63]

Again:

> It is supposed to be a mark of efficiency and even greatness to get your work done for you by other people. I frankly

> disagree. I say that if you want a thing done in a certain way, the only manner in which to be sure it is so done, is to do it yourself. It is supposed that big men ought to have a soul above detail. I assert that every really great man from Caesar to Napoleon has been a master of detail.[64]

In other words he was so convinced that his way was the only "right" way that he would allow of no other approach. In any event, his opinion of the abilities of all but a few men in India was very low. What Curzon really wanted was:

> some fairly intelligent officer who will understand what I mean and do what I say.[65]

Lawrence illustrates the combined effects of this lack of delegation and sense of self-assured rightness by describing Curzon's handling of the introduction of the newly-formed North West Frontier Province in 1900:

> [Curzon] never omitted a single detail in the elaboration of his plans...There were many good reasons for this change, but as I had been in the Punjab I knew that the loss of this interesting charge would be bitterly resented by those who had so long watched and warded the passes into Afghanistan, and I was anxious that the wind should be tempered. But Lord Curzon would not bate one jot, and he marshalled every argument he could bring. I pointed out that he had proved his case and that some of the arguments were superfluous and might cause unnecessary pain to the Punjab Government. But he replied that a statesman should never omit an argument. When the command of the Punjab Frontier Force was removed from the Punjab Government and made over to the Commander-in- Chief, there had been no friction and

> no heart-burning; but unhappily Lord Curzon's up-to-the-hilt method left raw edges. He was always painfully thorough, and once convinced that a measure was beneficial and right would ignore all susceptibilities, and never wore a velvet glove upon his iron hand. He always scorned the balancing mind when he had decided upon a policy. Day by day he would collect in large envelopes, trays and baskets, any material which proved his case, and this material was never wasted. He spared no pains to get at the facts, and when not busy with the problems of the moment would, as a pastime, review the events and the verdicts of the history of the past.[66]

In British Government in India (1925) Curzon wrote critically of Lord Dufferin:

> He was careless about detail, interfered very little in departmental business, and left the conduct of minor matters to his Private Secretary and officials.[67]

Lord Dufferin himself had said of his Private Secretary that he relieved him of half his labours, enjoyed everybody's confidence, completely effaced himself, and worked eighteen hours a day.[68] Curzon completely failed to appreciate that Dufferin's methods were virtues rather than faults; instead Curzon immersed himself needlessly in trivia. He engaged in a voluminous correspondence about whether to sign himself 'Curzon' or 'Curzon of Kedleston';[69] he followed every detail of the restoration of the Palace at Mandalay and of the Taj Mahal at Agra as well as other great monuments.[70] He over-saw each element of the preparations for the 1903 Coronation

Durbar from the pattern of an individual carving to the accommodation of thousands of people.[71] Even when supposedly on holiday he could not resist correcting the French Consul who was showing him around the quarters of the Emperor Napoleon on the island of St. Helena.[72]

Curzon maintained a wide-ranging correspondence in his own hand throughout his life, but also wrote out himself, in longhand, many official documents.[73] Lawrence describes how he would never alter or amend but would tear up twenty sheets of paper and re-write them from scratch.[74] Ronaldshay opined that Curzon took "a strange delight ... in travelling over reams of paper with a swiftly moving pen",[75] and very rarely dictated to a secretary or clerk; if copies were taken they would be copied out from his script.[76] Curzon always maintained that:

> by the time a letter or Dispatch had been dictated, transcribed, submitted for correction, corrected and returned for signature, he could have written it twice over in his own hand.[77]

Because he could trust no-one else to meet his high standards he would draft papers for his secretaries to send out under their own names, and would re-draft and correct even the most mundane minutes or memoranda.[78] He would not even trust his staff to open the blinds of the offices in the approved

manner.[79] If Lawrence thought this behaviour excessive or irritating he does not record it. Rather, he marvels that such eccentric actions displayed Curzon's unique power of work, diligence and accuracy.[80]

Curzon delighted in confounding the experts in order to demonstrate to himself how right he was to hold on to all the minutiae of power and how right he was to believe no-one could be trusted. He usually achieved this by prodigious reading, which in turn bolstered the opinions he had formed on his travels and while still in England. In The India We Served Lawrence provides a good example. Lawrence modestly claims for himself a smattering of technical knowledge in the intricacies of the Land Revenue system of India. He urged Curzon, who was considering the education of the Indian aristocracy, to allow young princes and nobles three months observation of the work of a Settlement Officer to see how the Land Revenue record was made. Curzon replied:

> "I am amused at your insistence on a Settlement training. If this is essential, how is it that I who have no such training, have drafted a Resolution on the Land Revenue system of India?" He said this in all modesty. He had torn up the Resolution drafted by the Secretary, an expert in Land Revenue, and had written a draft which all acknowledged as a masterpiece. He had done this by sheer industry, by days and nights of reading the dry-as-dust reports on the

> most difficult and technical subject in India.[81]

Curzon commented twice on his Draft Resolution in letters to Lady Curzon, first on 7 August 1901:

> It is the most abstruse, technical and difficult subject in the world, and here am I, a Viceroy who has only been for 2½ years in the country, having to write a great pronouncement on it because the experts are incapable of doing it for me.[82]

Again, a week later:

> I have at length finished my big Despatch about the Indian Land Assessments. One of the things that Rop [Lawrence] does know is land assessment ... and when I submitted my long draft to him, though he suggested some useful additions he could not detect in it one single mistake from beginning to end. That was good.[83]

Lawrence's dealings with his chief seem invariably to have been cordial. Unfortunately, Curzon's relations with his staff were not always good. His unwillingness to delegate, as described above, and his tendency to perform even the most mundane and routine administrative tasks himself had a very harmful effect on his staff. Many laughed at him and at the same time feared him. He was universally believed to be very pompous.[84] His consistent impatience led his staff to become "irritated, evasive, and full of subterfuge".[85] He would abuse them one day and write ecstatic letters of appreciation the next.[86] Both individually and

collectively the effect was stultifying - every move was watched and whatever they did would be found wanting. They would be criticised and their work corrected - so it was simpler to leave things to Curzon. It was easier to lapse into silence and acquiescence than to display initiative.

Even those whose memoirs describe Curzon's administration with great respect and admiration, such as Evan Maconochie, convey the picture of the Viceroy directing every manoeuvre and taking every decision.[87]

Lawrence remembers the wide scope of Curzon's enquiring mind:

> If he got on the track of a problem [he] would never let go till he and his officials had solved it. After the first year I saw the tragedy of the situation and realised the strain: so instead of looking for problems, I sought to bury them out of sight....
>
> All of us who have served in India have our ideas, and many of us used to agree that in theory certain changes were desirable. But...there were many good arguments for leaving well alone.[88]

Curzon's enormous industry is beyond doubt; but much of his workload should surely have been undertaken by others. For example, when Lady Minto arrived in India with her husband in 1905, she was concerned about the volume of work Lord Minto would face. Dunlop Smith

reassured her by explaining "I am here to keep that burden within reasonable limits".[89] Lawrence and others on the Viceroy's staff would have been capable of undertaking greater responsibilities, if Curzon would only have allowed them.

Lawrence recalls:

> The Viceroy ... complains of overwork and says sometimes he feels as if he were going mad. I ask him to let me do work for him but he says he cannot trust the Departments.[90]

Hamilton had described to Curzon the role of the Private Secretary to the members of the Viceroy's Council, but his advice is applicable to the Viceroy's own Private Secretary. His role was to:

> relieve them [the Council members] from routine work and enable them to give more time for thinking over questions of first-class importance.[91]

This is precisely what Curzon would not allow Lawrence to do. Indeed, his interference usurped the very tasks to which Lawrence would have been most suited. Lawrence's attention to detail and understanding of policy issues could have been useful to Curzon in relieving him of some of his burden of work.

The third result of Curzon's pace of work and the strains which this imposed both on himself and on his staff was that the actual structure of the administrative machine was affected. Curzon's inability to relax his grasp on the reins of government even momentarily meant that he had personally to monitor the business of all his staff. This he could only do by reducing the sheer volume of paperwork being generated and by extraordinary feats of reading himself. In his Second Budget Speech in March 1901, Curzon listed the reforms he intended to effect.[92] Amongst crucial reforms such as the creation of a new Frontier province, and educational and social reforms, the "diminution of report writing" seems incongruously placed. However, it is not out of place if the philosophy of Curzon's method of administration is understood; if it is assumed that his aim was personal involvement in every decision of government then it is logical that the amount of work generated is kept on the margin of the quantity manageable by a single person.

In order to resolve the major questions of policy that he believed had been shirked for twenty years and to re-appraise India's needs, Curzon soon decided that the administrative machine itself required scrutiny and overhaul. Some areas of India were

operating quite independently of central Government, and central control had loosened because the bureaucratic machine had become clogged and stagnant. The two main areas of administrative reform Curzon intended to implement were bound up with greater efficiency - first, to reduce the number and volume of statistics and report produced by the Government; and second, to increase efficiency by centralisation.[93]

Only nine days after assuming office, Curzon had launched into an examination of the detailed working of the Departments.[94] By 1903 some progress had been made - 300 obligatory reports to the Government had been abolished; the total length of other reports had been reduced from 18,000 to 8,600 pages; and the pages of official statistics were reduced from 17,400 to 11,300.[95] However, even Curzon's great energy was not sufficient to conquer completely what he termed "Departmentalism".[96]

The second area of administrative efficiency that Curzon intended to tackle was the debate over "centralisation vs. devolution". While his style of leadership was to impart impetus and drive from the top, he always denied the charge levelled at him by the India Council that he was trying needlessly to concentrate authority at Simla and Calcutta.[97] In fact, Curzon's Viceroyalty probably represented the

peak of centralised power of the Goverment of India. Power was later to shift from India to London; and the chapter about Lawrence's term as a Member of the Council of India will describe this. Like Lawrence, Curzon had a great respect for district officers, saying:

> India may be governed from Simla or Calcutta; but it is administered from the plains.[98]

But on the other hand he insisted that India must have clearly laid-down policies on such issues as education, agricultural development and irrigation, the police, railways, and famine, if she was to avoid both squandering her meagre resources and following fitful and inconsistent local policies. In some fields, such as the Railway Commission and the replacement of five-yearly reviews by permanent allocations of funds to local governments, real steps toward the devolution of power were achieved. In other spheres central supervision had been tightened, but Curzon argued:

> that is not grabbing fresh authority. It is making existing authority a reality.[99]

Lawrence had to understand the issues behind all these discussions and he had to follow the central decision-making process over topics such as the partition of Bengal, foreign policy, and the exchange

rate of the Rupee. However, the final judgements on the structure and policies of the Government of India were not Lawrence's. That prerogative lay with the Viceroy, not with his Private Secretary.

The final section of this chapter examines the role of the Private Secretary. This will demonstrate that Lawrence's charm and ability to get on with people were well utilised during Curzon's Viceroyalty. The contrasting styles of the forceful and irascible Viceroy and his urbane Private Secretary made a vigorous combination.

Lawrence's work as Private Secretary fell into two categories - the official, public duties (carried out in the imposing surroundings of Calcutta and Simla - see photographs 5-8, pp. 171-174) and the informal and private realm. His official task as Private Secretary was to smooth the way for the execution of the policies of the Government of India and of his chief, rather than to determine policy himself. Lawrence's part in policy formation was limited to acting as a sounding-board for Curzon's schemes and ideas. Indeed, Curzon was not looking for a strong decision-maker. He realised that Lawrence was tactful and affable, as well as knowledgeable.[100]

Photograph 5. Government House, Calcutta.

Photograph 6. Number 6, Council House Street, Calcutta. The Office of the Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Photograph 7. The Mall, Simla.

Photograph 8. Changing the Guard outside the office of the Private Secretary to the Viceroy in Simla.

Curzon wrote to Brodrick:

> His [Lawrence's] main function is to pour in the daily oil... there are an infinitude of persons to be pacified and smoothed, and this sort of work he has done admirably.[101]

Lawrence was able to assist in bridging the gulf that lay between Curzon and many groupings of people - for example, Indian rulers, the Viceroy's staff, the Viceroy's Council members, and other Indian Civil Servants.

Lawrence's informal function was not only to act as a confidant and friend to Curzon but also to bring to the Viceroy his long and varied experience of India. At the time, an apt sobriquet for the partnership of Viceroy and Private Secretary was "the iron hand and the velvet glove"[102] and a less polite nickname for Lawrence among the junior staff was 'Soapy Sam'![103]

The overwhelming impression of the work of the Private Secretary is that this official acted as a buffer between the Viceroy and everybody else; he was a filter of advice, information and instructions and was the first port of call for those seeking to write to or to meet the Viceroy. This was true of those holding the post of Private Secretary before Lawrence and of those subsequently (such as Lawrence's friend James Dunlop Smith who served under Lord Minto, 1905-1910). Dunlop Smith summarised his duties in his

journals of 1905 and 1906; his biographer concluded that every day the Private Secretary was:

> likely ... to be confronted with a wide range of problems ... from the profound to the trivial; from the question of Indian participation in government to the absurd "problem" of whether some official should be given leave to visit his local dentist.[104]

Thus Lawrence dealt with Indian Civil Service officers, with the Viceroy's Council members, with local governments, and with the India Council. Other specific duties included the drawing up of lists for the bestowal of honours and appointments; superintending the Viceroy's accounts; and some involvement in making arrangements for social and ceremonial occasions.[105]

In this official area of his work Lawrence's duties were not significantly different from those of other Private Secretaries, but they were probably more demanding simply because of Curzon's massive workload and the amount of work he generated for his support staff. In 1901 Lawrence comments:

> My work though heavy is always interesting. I go to the V [sic] every morning and afternoon taking files and do. [ditto] correspondence. I send all Foreign Dept. cases direct to him, save those in which I have some special knowledge. But cases from the other Depts. I take up and briefly explain the purport of the case. This often saves great trouble to him but whenever it is a case involving many issues he keeps the papers to read. He is a

> voracious reader and his memory is wonderful.[106]

Concerning his "screening" role in meeting people coming to see Curzon, Lawrence writes:

> Much of my time is devoted to interviews with Natives and Europeans. Sometimes I obtain useful information but very often the interviews with Natives are purely complimentary. I was glad to find on my return to India that I had not lost my fluency in Hindustani and this has been useful when I act as an interpreter for the V. [sic].[107]

When Curzon suggested that a telephone be installed in the Secretariat Offices, Lawrence pleaded that:

> this would interfere with my most important work of interviewing the numerous visitors who thronged to Simla and Calcutta.[108]

However, in his diary he remarks upon the time that could be wasted in such meetings:

> I have advised the V [sic] to break away from the practice of his predecessors and to refuse annual interviews to the fat and opulent citizens of Calcutta, who only come to call in order that their fellows may read of their reception in the Press. This change may arouse unpopularity but the V's time is too valuable for such banalities. If they were men who played any real part in the Empire it would be different but these Bengali Gentlemen should be content to call on Sir John Woodburn, the genial Lieut. Governor of Bengal.[109]

Although Lawrence was scathing about the value of these meetings with the "Bengali Gentlemen", he was

keen to maintain links with Indian opinion in general, and with the Princes in particular:

> The subjects which chiefly interest me are Native States and the District Officer. The V's policy is to honour good chiefs whom he claims as his colleagues, eg: Gwalior, Jeypore, Bikaner, Mysore to all of whom he is all kindness and courtesy, and to give the cold shoulder to men like Kapurthala, poor Patiala (now dead), Holkar, Rampur, Pudkata, Kooch Behar and the cumberers generally. It is now the only lever left to Govt. [sic] the lever of izzat and it is galling to a man like Holkar to be steadily ignored socially by the Viceroy. In connection with this policy it was decided to buy Hastings House in Calcutta as a guest house for the chiefs who visited Govt...
>
> I have considerable correspondence with the chiefs, with Jeypore about the Fateh Singh Jagir case which I have precipitated to a conclusion; with Kashmir and others; and I have also a large correspondence with our Political Agents, many of them old friends of mine. I am very particular not to tread on the prerogative of the Foreign Secretary!!o

The contacts and experience built up by Lawrence over sixteen years in the Indian Civil Service in the Punjab, Rajputana, and Kashmir were of great value to Curzon between 1899 and 1903. Lawrence knew many of the senior officers in Simla, such as Colonel David Barr, Sir Edward Buck and Sir Denzil Ibbetson and many others. But these contacts were not only with Europeans, nor even only with Indian chiefs and princes. With his experience of work at every level of the Indian Civil Service Lawrence had been used to

living in remote places far from other Europeans, and he had been accustomed to speaking to the ordinary people in their own tongue. This familiarity with the multitude of people was dear to the heart of Queen Victoria, who wrote to Curzon hoping that:

> he [the Viceroy] will be able to hear from the princes and still more, other respectable native people what they have to say and ask for, and not let everything be only brought to him by officials.[11]

The danger of losing touch with local Indian opinion was very evident to Lawrence:

> I find Hindustani carries one practically all through India and on our frequent tours I can always understand what is being said, even in Bombay or Central Provinces. It seems to me that officials do not speak the languages so fluently now as they did 20 years ago and it is rare to hear a really good interpreter. This is no doubt due to increase of office work which prevents officials from seeing and talking to natives. Everywhere we go we find this unfortunate state of things. In Madras every official uses an interpreter. The excuse for this is the multitude of languages but this is no excuse. Why not keep a man while he is an executive officer in a Tamil or Telegu country? It seems as though the authorities, in other words the Secretariat, was deliberately trying to emasculate the executive. It is playing the game of "India for the Indians" with a vengeance, and the Native Politician must smile as he watches the rapid process of "losing touch". Office work and frequent transfers are making our officials real aliens and we have lost influence and power even since I left India in 1895. Everyone sees and deplores the fact.[12]

This passage highlights not only the importance of local contact and understanding but implicitly assumes, in the comparison of changes over the preceding twenty years, that Lawrence had had such contact himself during his own career. This was indeed so, as the study of his service in Kashmir demonstrates. It is possible that the insular attitudes in Simla and the nature of the work in the Government of India Secretariat prevented the formation of friendships with Indians that had been possible earlier in Lawrence's career.

Lawrence's filtering, screening and mediating role also extended to Indian Civil Service officers and even to provincial Governors and members of the Viceroy's Council. Although Secretaries to the Government in each Department saw Curzon once or twice a week, and although his Council colleagues always had access to him, Curzon still remained a remote and aloof figure. Lawrence's task was to lubricate the machinery at the working interface between the Viceroy and his colleagues and subordinates.

This gulf between the Viceroy and his colleagues, other Britons and the millions that he ruled was largely owing to the pre-eminence of the Viceroy's position. With Curzon it was heightened by the

fact that his ideas and policies were largely formulated before he arrived as Viceroy - being based on his travels in 1887-88 and 1894 and on his voracious reading. He had never lived abroad before 1898; he had never been responsible for a local administration; he had never worked in isolation from other Europeans. He was not easily shaken in his views once they had been formed, despite receiving first-hand advice, and he retained many of his preconceptions. Lawrence noticed this tendency even before Curzon's arrival in India. In his memoirs Lawrence recalls:

> We spent Christmas [1898] at sea, but there was no holiday for him or for me: work was continuous after our ship left Marseilles. Day and night he toiled in the Captain's quiet cabin: day and night he wrote, and talked, and when he was not extracting facts from his formidable collection of books, he was extracting information from all on board whom I had mentioned as experts. I, who had regarded voyages as intervals of enforced rest, wondered how long the pace would last; but it seemed to quicken in the heat of the Red Sea,never slackened in the dust and glare of the Indian tours, and to the end of five years it grew faster and faster.[113]

Moreover:

> He had studied, travelled, and had noted, and he came out a Viceroy knowing more than most of the glacis that stretches out beyond the confines of our Eastern enceinte. He had travelled round the Frontiers which were known to most officials merely through books...But though he believed in travel, he had a curious indifference for local experience and for technical knowledge; for he believed that

> anyone who had vision could learn from books.[114]

Curzon was aware to some extent of the danger of this limited vision, and as a corrective to the relatively enclosed environments of Simla and Calcutta he undertook a number of tours even more extensive than those of former Viceroys. (See photograph 9, p.183 for a Viceregal group in Hyderabad in 1902) One of the more important of these tours was the 1900 'plague and famine tour', undertaken at Lawrence's suggestion:

> Famine and plague were our portion in the first year, and I suggested that if a tour were made in the worst afflicted districts, without a following, with myself and only one A.D.C. (a Viceroy has eight A.D.C.s) he would see the real facts, and also see what officials could do in times of stress. This tour was of greater benefit than any progress of pageants and huge camps, when the Viceroy only finds India en fete, whitewash and illuminations.[115]

However, even these tours could be misleading and Lawrence records his disappointment with aspects of the 1900 tour in his diary:

> I disliked the latter part of the tour immensely. It was thoroughly Viceregal and white-washy. No time to see or learn the real facts.[116]

A chasm also divided Curzon from officers of the Indian Civil Service. He regularly met the Secretaries of the Government of India Departments

Photograph 9. Viceregal Party at the Residency, Hyderabad, 1902.

and because of this he was convinced that he was accessible. This was not really true. Lawrence believed:

> He lived so much in his work that he had no time to think of or care for the little springs of life, the hopes, the anxieties which for ever beset the English in the East. His roots were well down in solid old soil and he never remembered that all of us in India were deracinated, without roots in India or in England.[117]

In addition, Curzon's remoteness was accentuated by his searching criticism of high-ranking officers - even Lieutenant Governors, who were used to being treated almost like kings in their own regions.[118] Nor did Curzon understand the concerns of the Indian Civil Service - for example, pay and pensions, promotion, and honours.

Honours were considered important in India, and the drawing up of lists of suitable candidates for honours was a significant and time-consuming duty. The Private Secretary had to submit the lists to the Viceroy for his decision. Hamilton wrote to Curzon in May 1899:

> I think one of the advantages of having a Private Secretary who has been for some time in the Civil Service is that the claims of persons outside the immediate Secretariat and <u>entourage</u> [sic] of the Viceroy have a much better chance of recognition for their work. I am glad you are acting upon this theory.[119]

Dunlop Smith recorded in his diary in 1906:

> I have had a trying time with the Honours List. How I hate these Honours. It is so hard to discriminate and one gets much too close a view of the weaknesses of humanity![120]

A week later:

> I had three hours with the Viceroy over the Honours yesterday![121]

As Lady Birdwood, daughter of a Political Officer and wife of an Indian Army officer, remembers, honours were extremely important:

> It mattered terribly because there was not an awful lot else. They were the only critical record of a successful career. When the Birthday Honours or the New Year passed and there was nothing in the list there was quite a marked depression in the household for a few days.[122]

The question of the bestowal of honours, occurs quite frequently in letters from India to Britain. Lilian Lawrence occasionally referred, over the years, to the progress of friends and acquaintances.[123] Lawrence himself was rewarded with a KCIE (Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire) in September 1903.

Curzon held very strong views, and was determined to implement his own policies without deflection; Lawrence's job was to smooth the way for the realisation of Curzon's decisions. Here, his powers

of influence and persuasion were essential qualities. As Lawrence knew, Curzon:

> was always painfully thorough, and once convinced that a measure was beneficial and right would ignore all susceptibilities, and never wore a velvet glove upon his iron hand. He always scorned the balancing mind when he had decided on a policy![124]

Lawrence had to act as the velvet glove - particularly difficult when Curzon refused to reconsider a policy in the light of new evidence or to moderate his proposals and conciliate public opinion.[125] In his diary Lawrence notes:

> My chief sees everything, passes over nothing and concedes nothing.[126]

The negative side of his screening role was ruefully commented upon:

> I am a kind of spittoon and kind of dumping ground for all these high officials. They have not the pluck to attack the big man so they yap at his unfortunate P.S. [sic].[127]

Lawrence had to work hard to keep the Viceroy's own staff content:

> The first cold weather in Calcutta was very trying. The staff constantly blundering - frequent rows. I remember a scene after a small dinner where Lady Maclean had been given a place higher than her right, and another painful scene at Barrackpore when the carriage was not ready for Bishop Welldon. ADCs all unhappy and all bring their grievances to me![128]

Thus Lawrence's role was to pacify here, sooth ruffled feelings there, and to make Curzon's ideas palatable to a wide variety of people. Lawrence achieved the very delicate balance required - the highest accolade for a Private Secretary was to be unnoticed and to oil the wheels of government to help achieve the objectives of his Chief.

Lawrence's less public role was that of adviser and confidant to Curzon. Much of this work involved private discussion and personal influence. While Lawrence's advisory role was not a formal one, he could often provide useful background information and insights. He was not a policy maker, but was much more than a mere attendant or messenger at Curzon's beck and call. Nor was he simply an old friend or companion, he was bringing the wealth of his sixteen years' experience of working in India to his discussions with Curzon. This is a much more difficult role to specify and there were severe limitations to his power. There were some topics, such as the unfavourable gossip in Simla about Lady Curzon's family on their visit in 1900,[129] which Lawrence felt he could not mention to Curzon. But

there were occasions when Curzon needed someone to relieve the loneliness of his position:

> What one longs for is help, solace, advice, the talk of friends. The Viceroy is too much above everybody to get it.[130]

While Lady Curzon wrote:

> The lot of the Viceroy is one of absolute aloofness and everyone is in mortal funk of the august being. Being a yankee I can't understand it but I manage to assume the necessary amount of awful respect for His X [sic] when we appear in public.[131]

Lawrence too was aware of the problem:

> The post of Viceroy of India is essentially lonely. He can have no friends. He is not primus inter pares, he is primus and apart: yet Lord Curzon craved for someone to be with him, and hated solitude![132]

Having known Curzon since 1877 when at Balliol, Lawrence would have been less likely than most to have been overwhelmed or intimidated by the Viceroy. Even though, while at Oxford, Curzon was already making a name for himself and Lawrence was only on the fringe of Curzon's glittering circle, Lawrence was still able to react to and comment freely upon Curzon's opinions and ideas in a way that very few other people in India could have done or maybe would have dared to do . Lawrence had no plans to remain in India once Curzon had completed his term of office and had no reason to worry about the effect upon his career prospects if he made an ill-judged

pronouncement - whereas most people around Curzon would be careful to avoid displeasing the Viceroy because of the effect it might have on their career prospects. Lawrence claims that Curzon never took offence at his criticisms although he sometimes disagreed with them.[133] Between April and October 1902 Lawrence was on a long furlough in England; and Lady Curzon was away for part of that time. Curzon wrote in May 1902 that he felt as though he were working in isolation from his friends and advisers.[134]

Lawrence's contribution to Curzon's first term as Viceroy lay in these two areas: the official duties and the informal adviser and confidant. In 1903 the partnership between the two men came to an end. Lilian Lawrence had suffered a long illness and in October 1903 the Lawrences travelled back to their home in London, 22 Sloane Gardens, Chelsea. Lilian Lawrence recovered, living until 1929, but she was never to return to India. Lawrence's place as Private Secretary was taken by John Ontario Miller.[135]

Curzon returned to England on furlough in April 1904. He went back to India for a second term as Viceroy from December 1904 until November 1905. When Minto, his successor, was searching for a Private Secretary

he received as much conflicting advice as Curzon had done in 1898.[136] Curzon recommended following his break with tradition and appointing a man with Indian experience.[137] It was Lawrence who put forward the name of James Dunlop Smith.[138] Minto interviewed and appointed Dunlop Smith, who took up his post in November 1905.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4 - PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CURZON

Abbreviations:

Lawrence India	Walter Roper Lawrence The India We Served (London,1928)
Dilks Curzon	David Dilks Curzon in India Vol I Achievement Vol II Frustration (London,1969 and 1970)
Gopal British Policy in India	S. Gopal British Policy in India 1858-1905 (Cambridge, 1965)
Nicolson Curzon	Harold Nicolson Curzon: The Last Phase 1919-1925 (London, 1934)
Ronaldshay Lord Curzon	Dundas, Earl of Ronaldshay The Life of Lord Curzon (London, 1928) Vol I 1859-1898; Vol II Viceroy of India 1898-1905; Vol III 1905-1925
Rose Superior Person	Kenneth Rose Superior Person: A Portrait of Curzon and his Circle in late Victorian England (London,1969)

Notes:

1. Rhyme belonging to the Curzon family, given by Miss Mary Curzon to L.B. Namier, then in 1952 to Sir David Keir Master of Balliol College Oxford. From the Library, Balliol College, Oxford.
2. Curzon to Salisbury 18 April 1897 and 19 April 1898 in the Salisbury Papers, Christ Church, Oxford - cited in Rose Superior Person pp.322-24 and Dilks Curzon I p.63
3. For example Curzon subjected the out-going Viceroy Lord Elgin to a string of questions 12 August 1898 cited in Rose Superior Person p.332 The advice given to Curzon about the appointment of a Private Secretary is found in IOL F111/220
4. Nicolson Curzon p.171
5. Cromer to Curzon 21 August 1898, IOL F111/220
6. Lansdowne to Curzon 25 August 1898, IOL F111/220
7. Ardagh to Curzon 7 September 1898, IOL F111/220
8. Lawrence India pp.219-20
9. Lawrence to Curzon 23 September 1898, IOL F111/220
10. Godley to Curzon 28 September 1898, IOL F111/220
11. Lawrence India p.220
12. Martin Gilbert Servant of India (London,1966) p.22
13. Lawrence 'Diary 1901: Introduction p.1' IOL F143/26
14. Lawrence India p.220
    According to the India Office List of 1900 the

pay of the Private Secretary to the Viceroy was Rs 24,000 pa. or approx. £ 1,700 pa. Lawrence's salary as Chief Agent for the Duke of Bedford was £ 2,000 pa. plus house. In addition, he had forfeited his Indian Civil Service pension on returning to England in 1895 and his pension from the Duke of Bedford in 1898.

15. Curzon to Hamilton 19 February 1901, IOL F143/32
16. Curzon to King Edward VII 15 October 1903, IOL F111/136
Curzon also wrote "You know well what a wrench it will be to me when I lose ... his fidelity, encouragement and devotion". Curzon to Lilian Lawrence 1 September 1903 IOL F143/33
17. Lawrence 1901 Diary: 27 January, IOL F143/26
18. Lawrence India p.251 and speech in IOL F143/128
19. George Nathaniel Curzon Problems of the Far East (London,1894)
20. Curzon to Godley 17 December 1903, IOL F111/162, see also in Kilbracken Papers F102/21
21. Lawrence India pp.240-41
Queen Victoria followed the activities of the Viceroy very closely; Dilks in Curzon I p.88 quotes her as writing "She hopes ... that he [the Viceroy] will be able to hear from the princes and, still more, other respectable native people what they have to say and ask for, and not let everything be only brought to him by officials"
22. Curzon Indian Speeches (4 vols) (Calcutta,1900-1906) Vol I.3
23. Curzon Indian Speeches Vol IV.44
24. Curzon to King Edward VII 10 September 1902, IOL F111/136
25. Curzon to Balfour 31 March 1901, IOL F111/148 and F111/160
26. Curzon to Hamilton 23 April 1900, IOL F111/145 and F111/159
27. Curzon to Alfred Lyttelton 29 August 1900, cited in Rose Superior Person p.345
28. Curzon to Balfour 31 March 1901, BM Add MSS 49732, quoted in Denis Judd Balfour and the British Empire: A Study in Imperial Evolution 1874-1932 (London,1968) pp.230-31
29. Lawrence India p.221
30. Curzon Indian Speeches Vol IV.52
31. Curzon to Hamilton 28 May 1902, IOL F111/152 and F111/161
32. Lawrence India p.221
33. See Lawrence India pp.77 and 282ff. for his qualification of this belief. In short, he believed by 1906 that the British system of government had many merits, Indians should be more involved in an advisory capacity even

though this would entail a lower standard of administration. This theme recurs in chapter 6 'London 1906-1914'

34. Countess Minto India, Minto and Morley: India 1905-1910 (London,1934) p.30
35. Rose Superior Person pp.45-47
36. Brodrick to Curzon 14 December 1898 cited in Rose Superior Person pp.340-41
37. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon I p.261
38. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon II p.116
39. Lady Curzon to Curzon 29 March 1899 cited in Ronaldshay Lord Curzon II p.52
40. Hamilton to Curzon 23 March 1899, IOL F111/142 and F111/158
41. Hamilton to Curzon 14 April 1899, IOL F111/142
42. For example, Curzon to Brodrick 19 December 1898, but he was still making the same promise over three years later, Curzon to Hamilton 9 April 1902, IOL F111/151 and F111/161
43. Lawrence India p.221
44. Lawrence India p.236
45. Lawrence India p.236
46. Lawrence India p.250
47. Curzon to Ampthill 10 April 1901 IOL E233/15
48. Curzon to Hamilton 18 February 1902,IOL F111/161
49. Curzon to Arthur Hardinge 11 June 1902
50. Lawrence Diary 1902: 7 March, IOL F143/27
    Lawrence India p.237
51. Lawrence India pp.224-25
52. Lawrence India pp. 224 and 250
53. Lord Haldane, quoted in Gopal British Policy in India p.225
54. After an incident at the Lausanne Conference of 1922 when Curzon had terrified Admiral Lacaze of the French delegation, Admiral Sir Roger Keyes was asked to mediate but, wilting before Curzon's "basilisk eye", his courage failed - see Nicolson Curzon pp.321-22
55. Hamilton to Curzon 16 September 1903, IOL F111/162 and C126/5
56. Lawrence India pp.223-24
57. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction p.8 IOL F143/26
58. Lawrence India p.223
59. Hamilton to Godley 23 Sept 1900, IOL C126 and cited in Dilks Curzon I p.99
60. Lawrence India p.227
61. See for example Earl of Midleton (St. John Brodrick) Records and Reactions 1856-1939 (London, 1939) p.191; Ronaldshay Lord Curzon III pp.85-86
62. On the eve of his departure for India Curzon wrote a letter, many pages in length, to his wife describing the interview he had held with

the prospective nurse for the children. Curzon to Lady Curzon December 1898 in Ronaldshay Lord Curzon I p.242

63. Curzon to Lady Curzon 12 January 1903 cited by Ronaldshay in Lord Curzon II p.179
64. Curzon to Hamilton 13 January 1903, IOL D510/13 and F111/162 and F111/154
65. Curzon to Hamilton 16 November 1899, IOL F111/144 and F111/158
    There are numerous other examples of Curzon's poor opinion of his subordinates, including:
    Curzon to Godley 10 May 1899 IOL F111/158
    Curzon to Hamilton 6 March 1902 IOL F111/161
    Curzon to Lansdowne 16 March 1902 IOL F111/161
    Curzon to Hamilton 9 April 1902 IOL F111/161
66. Lawrence India pp.234-35
67. Curzon British Government in India (London,1925) Vol II p.247
68. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon I p.313
69. Rose Superior Person pp.331-32
    Ronaldshay Lord Curzon II p.176
70. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon II pp.211, 160 and 333ff.
    Curzon to Hamilton 9 January 1902, IOL F111/161
71. Curzon to Lady Curzon 14 August 1901 cited in Ronaldshay Lord Curzon II p.225
    Curzon to Hamilton 26 October 1902 IOL F111/161
    Curzon to Hamilton 28 December 1902 IOL F111/161
    Curzon to Hamilton 13 January 1903, IOL F111/162 and D510/13
72. Curzon Tales of Travel (London,1923) pp.164-65
73. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon I p.176
74. Lawrence India p.221
75. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon I p.178
76. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon I p.176
77. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon I p.176
78. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon I p.177
79. J.D. Gregory On the Edge of Diplomacy: Rambles and Reflections 1902-1928 (London,1928) pp.247-49
80. Lawrence India p.221
81. Lawrence India p.230
82. Curzon to Lady Curzon 7 August 1901, quoted in Ronaldshay Lord Curzon II p.181
83. Curzon to Lady Curzon 14 August 1901, quoted in Ronaldshay Lord Curzon II p.181
84. J.D. Gregory On the Edge of Diplomacy: Rambles and Reflections 1902-1928 (London,1928) p.254
    See also Ronaldshay Lord Curzon II pp. 415-16 for Curzon's relations with subordinates
85. J.D. Gregory Op.cit. p.251
86. J.D. Gregory Op.cit. p.254
87. Evan Maconochie Life in the Indian Civil Service (London,1926)
    Maconochie was in the 1889 Indian Civil Service

intake; he was Sir Denzil Ibbetson's son-in-law. He served in the Government of India from 1897 until 1902, before taking up a post in Mysore. His comments on Curzon's style are all admiring, yet reveal how Curzon "directed the whole campaign" [p.107] and how the subordinate officers would await the Viceroy's decisions [p.119]
Lawrence writes in his Diary 1902 [IOL F143/27] on 10 March "The Depts. [sic] now leave everything for him to do. It is the same with his own staff. No one will do anything without his order."

88. Lawrence India p.221
89. James Dunlop Smith Journal: 9 November 1905, IOL F166/26
Minto's style was indeed to be very different from Curzon's; for example, on reading a file about a particularly thorny issue he minuted "This is a tough nut for somebody to crack"
in Basil Gould The Jewel in the Lotus: Recollections of an Indian Political (London, 1957) p.7
90. Lawrence Diary 1902: 15 March, IOL F143/27
91. Hamilton to Curzon 24 February 1899, IOL F111/142 and F111/158
92. H. Caldwell Lipsett Lord Curzon in India 1898-1903 (London,1903) p.10 gives a clear list of Curzon's twelve areas of reform: stable frontier policy; creation of a new frontier province; reform of transfer and leave rules in the Indian Civil Service; diminution of report writing; stable rate of exchange in currency system; increase in railways; encouragement of irrigation; cure of agricultural indebtedness; reduction of telegraphic rate between India and Europe; preservation of archaeological remains; educational reform; and police reform.
93. Ronaldshay Lord Curzon II pp.56-63
94. Curzon to Godley 12 January 1899, IOL F111/142 and F111/158
Curzon 'Memorandum on the System of Noting in the Departments of the Government of India' 24 May 1899, IOL F111/239
This Memorandum was followed on 21 May 1900 by a 'Note on the Madras System of Conducting Official Business' IOL F111/239
95. Lovat Fraser India Under Lord Curzon and After (London,1911) p.251
96. Curzon to Godley 19 March 1902, IOL F111/151 and F111/161
97. For a wider discussion of this point see Dilks Curzon I pp.246-48
98. Lovat Fraser Op.cit. p.260

99. Curzon to Lamington, Governor of Bombay, 27 February 1904, IOL F111/209 and Dilks Curzon I p.248
100. Dilks Curzon I p.92
101. Curzon to Brodrick 20 September 1899, IOL F111/142
102. Dilks Curzon II p.50
103. Dilks Curzon I p.93
104. Martin Gilbert Servant of India: A Study of Imperial Rule from 1905-1910 (London,1966) p.23
105. Lawrence Collection IOL F143 passim especially Diary 1901 F143/26 and Diary 1902 F143/27
106. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction p.9, IOL F143/26
107. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction p.13, IOL F143/26
108. Lawrence India p.231
109. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction pp.9 and 11, IOL F143/26
110. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction p.15, IOL F143/26
111. Dilks Curzon I p.88. See also Queen Victoria to Curzon 3 March 1899 quoted in Dilks Curzon I p.101
112. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction pp.12-13, IOL F143/26
113. Lawrence India p.220
114. Lawrence India pp.229-30
115. Lawrence India p.228
116. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction p.4,IOL F143/26
117. Lawrence India p.250
118. For an example, see Curzon's relationship with the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Mackworth Young, and his bitter opposition to Curzon's plan to create the new North-West Frontier Province, described by Gopal British Policy in India p.250 and Dilks Curzon I p.227
Curzon was also inclined to dominate the members of the Viceroy's Council. Younghusband describes Curzon's handling of a Council meeting: "He does not so much invite discussion as lay down the law and almost defiantly ask if anyone has any objection. If anyone has he is promptly squashed." cited in Peter Fleming Bayonets to Lhasa (London,1961) pp.89-90
119. Hamilton to Curzon 5 May 1899 IOL F111/143 and F111/158
120. James Dunlop Smith Journal entry 20 May 1906, IOL F166/26
121. James Dunlop Smith Journal entry 27 May 1906, IOL F166/26
122. Charles Allen (ed.) Plain Tales from the Raj (London, 1976 paperback edition) pp.101-02

123. Lilian Lawrence letters, IOL F143/12-21 passim.
124. Lawrence India pp.234-35
125. For the example of the reform of the Calcutta Corporation see Christine Furedy 'Lord Curzon and the Reform of the Calcutta Corporation, 1899: A Case Study in Imperial Decision-Making' in South Asia (New Series) Vol I 1978 pp.75-89 especially pp.81-2
126.. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction p.5, IOL F143/26
In his 1901 Diary, Lawrence writes on 23 June "The feeling is now widespread that the V. tramples on people's feelings" IOL F143/26
127. Lawrence Diary 1901: 1 May, IOL F143/26
Dunlop Smith confirms this view, writing on 7 January 1906 "People from all parts of India have come in, and every man with an axe to grind comes to see the P.S. [sic]" IOL F166/26
128. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction p.2, IOL F143/26
129. Lawrence Diary 1901: Introduction p.3, IOL F143/26
Lawrence Diary 1902: 10 March IOL F143/27
130. Curzon to Brodrick 7 June 1899, quoted in Dilks Curzon I p.72
131. Lady Curzon to Brodrick 12 April 1899, quoted in Dilks Curzon I p.73
132. Lawrence India p.226
133. Lawrence India p.226
134. Curzon to Hamilton 28 May 1902, IOL F111/152 and F111/161
135. John Ontario Miller had been in second place, behind Lawrence, in the 1877 Indian Civil Service entrance exams. After service in the North-West Provinces, Oudh and Government of India Revenue and Agriculture Department he was Private Secretary to the Viceroy from December 1903 to November 1904. India Office List (1907) p.580
Lawrence had been on leave from 5 April to 26 September 1902; on this occasion his job had been covered by Herbert Carnduff, a man from the Government of India Legislative Department who went on to become a Judicial Commissioner.
136. Martin Gilbert Servant of India (London,1966) pp.211-12
137. Martin Gilbert Op.cit. p.22
138. Martin Gilbert Op.cit. p.212

THE PRINCE OF WALES' TOUR 1905 - 1906

No piece of national duty was ever more admirably performed.

John Morley, Secretary of State for India, describing the Prince of Wales' Tour[1]

The Lawrences had returned to London in October 1903, and in the short time between this date and December 1904 Lawrence wrote a number of articles for The Times on Indian affairs. The topics covered included 'The District Officer', 'The Budget Debate', 'The Feudatory States', and 'Canal Colonies'.[2]

On 11 December 1904 Lawrence was appointed Chief of Staff by the Prince of Wales - the future George V - to organise a Tour of India, which was to last from 9 November 1905 until 19 March 1906.[3] This he did to the complete satisfaction of the Prince and Princess themselves, the Press and the public both in England and India.[4] This was no mean achievement considering that ceremonial displays, and especially a Royal Tour of this magnitude, were viewed as enormously important. The 1905-06 Tour was seen as outstanding, and Lawrence was duly rewarded with a GCIE (awarded before departing from Karachi in March 1906), a baronetcy in July 1906, and offers of directorships on his return to London. Lawrence also began a life-long friendship with the Prince of Wales.[5] Those responsible at each stage of the Tour went to almost unbelievable lengths to ensure that their contribution to the whole was a success. Some examples of these extraordinary efforts will be used

later in the chapter to illustrate the gulf between the India seen on the Tour and ordinary Indian life.

Lawrence's duties were threefold. Firstly, the planning of the Tour, including its route and the functions and events to be included. Secondly, advice on protocol and ceremonial, and speech-writing for the public aspects of the Tour. Thirdly, and probably most importantly, liaising with many people, interpreting for the Prince, and briefing him for the 'behind the scenes' discussions between the Prince of Wales and some of the Native Rulers and other influential figures in Indian life both British and Indian.

Lawrence's duties illustrate the overall themes of this thesis. They demonstrate his administrative abilities in dealing with many small details and also relied heavily on his personal tact and charm in getting on well with people. The theme of 'benevolent paternalism' also recurs, in that Lawrence was planning a Tour for the future King, who was "confident that India's needs were best served by a just paternalism".[6] The Prince of Wales believed that his role transcended the conflict of politics; rather he was the protector of the inarticulate.[7]

To take each of his three duties in turn: Lawrence first had to deal with the itinerary. In reaching a decision about which towns and cities and which Native States were to be honoured with a visit he had three mandatory events to work around, viz:- Lord Kitchener's Field Manoeuvres in the Punjab, the New Year Durbar to commemorate the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on 1 January 1877, and a shooting camp in Nepal during which the Prince was scheduled to relax for five days of tiger-shooting.[8]

A review of troops of the Indian Army had originally been scheduled to take place near Delhi for four days, but a lack of water and dreadful dust meant that the manoeuvres were moved to between Hasan Abdal and Rawalpindi and were reduced to only three days.[9] On the fourth day, in place of the intended manoeuvres, the Prince of Wales reviewed the 55,000 troops - the review line was 2½ miles long and included Sikh, Pathan, Dogra, Gurkha, Jat, Rajput and Moplah regiments and was the largest force ever brought together in India in peace-time.[10] Another factor to be borne in mind was the variation in climate - Bombay, Rangoon and Mysore were visited during a period of overpowering heat, while Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Quetta were bitterly cold. As a matter of fact,it turned out that the season of

the Tour was one of bounteous rains and bumper harvests, and the visit of the Prince of Wales went down in folklore because of this. Most places visited by the Royal party were absolutely parched until within a day or so of their visit, when the rain began to fall.[11] However, even the powers of Lawrence and his team could not claim responsibility for this piece of good fortune!

It was of immense advantage to the Prince of Wales to have conducted extensive tours before his accession to the throne - for example,he had visited Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada in 1901.[12] But of even greater significance was the impact of the Tour on India. The Times described it as "public service of the first importance".[13] The personal aspects of government were so important in India that a successful Tour was expected to boost considerably the image of British rule. The Prince and Princess of Wales more than lived up to expectations - they were unflagging throughout, and their good humour and charm and desire to see as much as possible of the ordinary life of the Indian people were widely appreciated.[14]

Lawrence had to arrange events ranging from traditional, formal ceremonial meetings with feudatory chiefs, to the modern ceremonial of laying

the foundation stone at the new Bombay dry-dockyard; from processions through the teeming crowds of the cities to visiting a famine camp caring for more than six thousand people at Gwalior. During the Tour more than 143,000 troops were inspected and numerous investitures held.[15] Each event had to be rigorously timetabled by both Lawrence and the local organisers. For their part, the Prince and Princess never once failed to keep an engagement, and luckily did not suffer from a single day's ill health during the entire Tour.[16]

The Tour took nine months to plan. At first Lawrence tried to keep a balance between official engagements and time for rest and quiet but each mail from India brought further pressing requests for ceremonies and interviews and the arrival in India brought still more appeals.[17] So each day became crowded with engagements - apart from Sundays on the Prince's insistence.[18] There were no detailed records of the Tour of King Edward VII thirty years before to help in planning, and in any case rail travel had opened up the sub-continent in the interval and allowed many extra interesting places to be brought within the itinerary. The route finally decided upon took in the entire sub-continent from Baluchistan in the north-west to Mysore in the south and encompassed

Burma, numerous Indian States and the major centres of British rule.[19]

The organisation in India was superintended by Curzon, now embarked on his second term as Viceroy.[20] In conjunction with General Stuart Beatson of the Prince of Wales's staff he kept a close eye on the detailed arrangements being made for the visit all over the sub-continent; and in October 1905 Beatson was sent on in advance to visit Simla, the Khyber Pass, Indore, Lahore, and Bombay to check that all was ready.[21]

An extraordinary paradox of the Tour was the feature of the security of the Prince and Princess. Many people sent messages warning Lawrence against allowing the royal couple to visit Peshawar and the Khyber Pass - where, in fact, they remained safe throughout their frontier visit. But he also received warnings about their safety in Calcutta; where due to a wave of anti-British agitation over the 1905 partition of Bengal it was feared that there might be some trouble. Lawrence found this paradox interesting:

> It was safe to pass through the wild and undisciplined country of the Pathans; it was dangerous to visit the Capital of India, the second largest city in the Empire.[22]

It should not have surprised Lawrence that the remote and backward areas of the Punjab might be considered safer than Calcutta, which was the home of many Western-educated and politically-aware Indian subjects. These men might have viewed the Tour as an opportunity to put forward their radical demands. In the event there was no trouble. The Prince of Wales wrote after his visit to Calcutta:

> Our stay in Calcutta was a great success politically. Our visit too was most opportune, as the feeling was very strong against the Government owing to the partition of Bengal & [sic] it made them think of something else & the Bengalis certainly showed their loyalty to the Throne in a most unmistakeable manner.[23]

Lawrence saw this last point as the key to the success of the Tour. He asserts in The India We Served that "the real strength of the British connection lies in the Royal House of Windsor".[24] Therefore it was not surprising that all sections of Indian opinion, even those holding radical views, welcomed the Prince and Princess. He develops this theme, and suggests a system of government with a royal Prince Regent of India.[25]

The second area of Lawrence's duties concerned the smooth running of the "public face" of the Tour while it was actually in progress. This included advice on

protocol and ceremonial, and speech-writing. After the Prince's speeches were delivered every phrase was analysed and debated all over India - and not only in the large towns; the speeches would also be read aloud and discussed in innumerable villages.[26] They usually seemed to hit the right note and gave widespread satisfaction to British and Indian hearers.

Ceremony, etiquette, and questions of precedence were seen as extremely important in India to both the British and Indians. Throughout the Tour Lawrence was called upon to decide how to deal with the various thorny issues that inevitably arose; for example, the correct number of guns in a welcoming salute or the appropriate reward for loyal service. At every stopping-off point on the Tour the Prince of Wales held investitures (the official record of the Tour lists all the numerous awards made) or presented military colours or took part in some ritual occasion such as receiving tribute or attending a formal dinner. Another feature of importance about which Lawrence would have been knowledgeable, was that of the correct dress of participants in these ceremonies. The British were keen to ensure that the appearance of the Prince and all the British participants was as perfect as possible because they

did not wish to seem outdone by the splendour of the costumes of the Indian Princes. In addition, the Prince of Wales was always a stickler for meticulous correctness in dress and uniform. To him, protocol and dress were not absurd but rather:

> the outward manifestation of an inner commitment to what was fine and noble.[27]

These ceremonial aspects of the Tour were intended for the public eye and were in both senses of the word 'performed' in public. However, there was more to the Tour than the royal processions, the pageantry and the pomp.

Lawrence believed that the most important work of the Tour lay not in the ceremonial and the pageantry - important though these were - but in the private conversations with chiefs and other leading Indians which were not witnessed by the Press or public.[28] For example, at a large reception, Lawrence introduced Gopal Gokhale, the Congress President, to the Prince and they were able to talk undisturbed for a while.[29] The Prince was also introduced to Moti Lal Ghose, the editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika.[30]

As in his work for Lord Curzon, Lawrence was invaluable in his background liaison work. At first sight the Tour might seem to be of little importance in his career, as it was an episode of only a few

months duration. However, the organisation of the Tour typifies the type of work which he was able to carry out particularly well - work which needed minute attention to detail coupled with a wider overall view; he spoke Hindustani and other languages fluently; he was well-acquainted with Indian customs in general and how best to conduct interviews in particular; he was used to speech-writing and knew how speeches would be received and interpreted; he had wider-ranging social concerns than many of his colleagues; and he was knowledgeable about Indian life, at least in comparison with most Englishmen of his day.

For all these reasons he was able to offer advice and information to a Prince of Wales who was sincere in his desire to learn more about the sub-continent which he was to rule and who was very kindly disposed towards India but was without much detailed knowledge. The Prince's opening speech of the Tour at Bombay on 9 November 1905 illustrated his benevolent approach towards India and demonstrated the influence of his advisers: The Times recorded that the speech

> cannot fail to go straight to the hearts of the Indian people ... [it] was not merely an earnest of Royal good will towards the people of India, but a proof also of the

thoughtful knowledge with which His Royal Highness has been equipped for his mission.[31]

The factors which made the Prince so easy to work for and which made him such a success in India were his charm and naturalness. This was shown most often not in the prepared speeches and carefully rehearsed plans, but in the sudden emergencies which brought out just the right response and considerate words.[32] In fact, he complained on one occasion that the speeches Lawrence wrote for him were too "high-faluting and everyone will know those are not my words".[33]

In many ways Lawrence's duties were similar to those of a Private Secretary to the Viceroy: dealing with the routine administration of the Tour, screening people wanting to meet the Prince of Wales, and advising the Prince on many subjects including the granting of honours.[34]

However, there was one crucial difference between this post and that of Private Secretary to Curzon - on this Tour Lawrence had a superior ready to take his advice. This did not necessarily mean that the Prince of Wales was unable to think for himself. An interesting sidelight on the Tour is shed by the Prince's own comments and insights which were

formulated almost despite the welter of information and opinions and impressions bombarding him on his journey.

His comments reveal that, although he listened attentively to men such as Lawrence, he was quite capable of forming his own judgments.[35] He commented on such diverse issues as the increasing influence of the Congress; the treatment of "Natives" by Europeans; the friction between the military and civilian branches of the administration; and the attitude of the Government of India towards the native chiefs. He also noticed a number of details such as the fact that the King-Emperor's birthday was celebrated on 23 June, the hottest time of year, when his actual birthday was in November; Civil Servants were not permitted to wear white uniforms; British and native officers in native regiments wore different uniforms.[36]

In other words, like Lawrence and Curzon the Prince of Wales demonstrated a grasp of some of the larger questions facing the British, and also an eye for small detail. On the wide issues some of his judgements proved more accurate than those of the much more intellectually brilliant Curzon. In recognising even the faint possibility of Indian

involvement in the shaping of India's political destiny, the Prince's vision was more realistic.[37]

Another feature of the Tour for Lawrence was that his role was much more publicly visible than that of Indian Civil Service officer or Private Secretary to the Viceroy. On the arrival of the Prince and Princess in Bombay it was Lawrence who accompanied them in their carriage, preceding the Viceregal party.[38] As Chief of Staff he was head of the Royal suite of twenty five staff, which was itself complemented by a further twenty eight clerks and servants.[39] Lawrence's experience as Curzon's Private Secretary proved invaluable - as The Times noted:

> The Prince is particularly fortunate in the choice of Sir Walter Lawrence as the head of his staff. None but the late Private Secretary of a peculiarly energetic Viceroy could claim so wide a knowledge of India, of its native chiefs, and of its provincial officials from Peshawar to Madras, and from Karachi to Mandalay.[40]

It was unusual to single out for praise the organiser of the Tour but Lawrence's experience in India had been so wide, from daily life in a village to the highest levels of state policy that it seems everyone turned to him for advice. Sir Stanley Reed's official account of the Tour says:

> This is not the occasion on which to acknowledge the services of that large band of officers of all grades to whose energy and skill was due the perfect organisation

> of the Royal Tour. But amongst every numerous body of successful workers there is inevitably one to whom all look for advice and aid in their difficulties, and so it was during these active months of Indian travel. When the Indian princes sought some buffer to break the reserve and embarrassment of their presentation to the Prince and Princess, they turned with perfect confidence to Sir Walter Lawrence. When Governors and Secretaries, Residents and Political Officers, were harassed by points of etiquette and precedence there was one unfailing point of knowledge - Sir Walter Lawrence. If the Staff were in any difficulty, from the timing of the Royal train to the re-mapping of a fortnight, they bent their footsteps towards Sir Walter Lawrence. In the Chief of Staff their Royal Highnesses also had at hand one who knows his India in a manner given to few men, and who loves it; who is as authoritative a guide to the questions of state policy as to the folklore of the Kashmiris and the daily life of the village community; whose sympathies are with all who are doing honest service in whatsoever capacity and whose ideal is India's good; and whose patience, tact and sagacity never flagged. Not even the distinguished services Sir Walter Lawrence rendered his country during his career as a Civil Servant, during the eventful first quinquennium of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, or during the busy years of his nominal retirement, surpassed those of the past twelve months.[41]

Having outlined Lawrence's duties and shown that the Tour was seen as a particularly successful one, the final theme of this chapter is more critical of the character of a Royal Tour and hence indirectly of Lawrence's achievements. The Tour of 1901 taking in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada awakened in the Prince of Wales a lifelong interest

in matters concerning the British Empire. The Prince and Princess claimed to want to see ordinary life in India;[42] this aim was no doubt laudable, but really the whole concept of a Royal Progress, even one as protracted as five months could never achieve this. It is true that Lawrence himself cannot be held responsible for this inevitable fact; nevertheless he must have felt his position to be a strange one. For someone so aware of the dangers of the British losing touch with India at the district level of administration due to pressure from the centre and as someone so interested in the minutiae of daily life and social and religious customs, it was ironic to be in charge of the organisation of a tour so totally isolated from the "real India". Some idea of how the Tour struck someone from England can be obtained from the press accounts. For example, in the Morning Post:

> One is really trying all the while to look, not at it [the colour and pageantry], but through it at the India beyond; the India which is the poor precarious tortoise on which this elephant of state stands.[43]

Again:

> We are, as it were, insulated from contact with Indian influences by the small but wholly English world in which we move.[44]

To give another example, in the middle of mile upon mile of uninhabitable desert in Bikanir, the

breakfast menu consisted of pomfrets Meuniere, omelette aux champignons, poulet Colbert and curry d'huitres![45] In Peshawar, only two days away from Kabul, and where every landmark round about was steeped in history:

> so invincibly English are we, that the day's programme for an event that can happen but twice or thrice in a century is indistinguishable from what might be arranged in any county at home.[46]

Clearly, it was more desirable that the Prince of Wales should visit India, even under the artificial conditions of a Royal Tour, than that he should not visit at all. Yet, the whole Tour, far from bringing the Prince and Princess closer to India, merely served to epitomise the isolation of the British from Indian life. The lavish expenditure on the show and pageantry; the ignoring of Indian culture (for example, the suggestion of visiting the temples of Southern India was turned down); and the seemingly endless and repetitive ceremonial occasions, all distanced the future monarch from those he was to rule.

In Bombay armies of workmen spent days covering the whole city with a scaffolding of wooden battens on which to suspend thousands of oil lamps, which were lit on the arrival of the Royal Party.[47] In camp, the tents were provided with electric light and mahogany

furniture,[48] and at Rawalpindi the camp was surrounded by acres of mustard and cress to provide greenery since no grass would grow there:

> For months the camp must have been preparing; for two days it was occupied; in a few more the tents had vanished, and the paths and palms and the green gardens; there was nothing left but the dusty waste out of which it had sprung.[49]

In Jammu a hall was built specially to accommodate the five hundred people who were to dine there; its walls were covered with embroidery and its ceilings and floors with dozens of priceless Kashmiri carpets.[50] At a time of exceptional shortage of water, thousands of coolies and oxen watered hundreds of miles of roadway to lay the dust.[51] Faced with this sort of reception and ceremonies such as showing homage by the laying-down of a scimitar studded with diamonds and rubies,[52] how could the Prince of Wales be expected to have any chance to see the "real India" ?

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5 - THE PRINCE OF WALES' TOUR

Abbreviations:

Nicolson King George V	Harold Nicolson King George V: His Life and Reign (London,1952)
Lawrence India	Walter Roper Lawrence The India We Served (London, 1928)
Reed The Royal Tour	Sir Stanley Reed The Royal Tour in India (Bombay,1906)
Rose King George V	Kenneth Rose King George V (London,1984 edition)
Prevost Battersby India	H.F.Prevost Battersby India Under Royal Eyes (London,1906)

Notes:

1. Nicolson King George V p.89
2. Lawrence India pp.253-256
   See The Times from 18 July 1904 onwards for a series of articles each Monday on imperial affairs. The articles continue through 1905 and since the articles do not bear the author's name the archivist at The Times cannot confirm the exact date of Lawrence's last article.
3. Lawrence India p.256
4. The Times and other English papers reported the Tour extensively, while for an impression of the reaction of the Indian press see Lawrence's album of press cuttings about the Tour IOL F143/48
5. Rose King George V p.270
   Lawrence's letters and diaries make occasional references to visits to Balmoral and enquiries about the health of Lilian by the King and Queen IOL F143 passim.
   Letter to the author from Sir David Lawrence (3rd Bt.) recalls that the Queen was very fond of Lawrence, he used to accompany her to the theatre and parties and each year she gave him a silver snuff box at Christmas
6. Rose King George V p.67
7. Rose King George V p.67
8. Lawrence in the Preface to Reed The Royal Tour p.vii
9. Prevost Battersby India p.106
10. Prevost Battersby India p.106
11. Lawrence in the Preface to Reed The Royal Tour p.xi
12. Nicolson King George V pp.66-74
13. The Times 18 May 1906 p.9
14. Lawrence India p.261
15. Lawrence kept a detailed journal throughout the

Tour IOL F143/43
See also extracts from newspapers (especially The Times) and the books listed at the head of these notes for information on the engagements of the Prince and Princess of Wales

16. The Times 18 May 1906 p.10
17. Lawrence India p.257
18. The Times 20 October 1905 p.5
19. Details of the route can be found in:
Reed The Royal Tour
Nicolson King George V p.85
Rose King George V p.61
The Times 18 October 1905 p.5
20. Earl of Ronaldshay Life of Lord Curzon Vol II p.390
Rose King George V pp.61-3
Nicolson King George V pp.84-5
21. The Times 20 October 1905 p.5
22. Lawrence India pp.260-261
23. The Prince of Wales to the King, 8 January 1906 cited in Nicolson King George V p.87
24. Lawrence India p.266
25. Lawrence India pp.285-86
26. Prevost Battersby India p.24
27. W.Golant The Long Afternoon: British India 1601-1947 (London,1975) p.100
28. Lawrence in the Preface to Reed The Royal Tour p.viii
29. Lawrence India p.265
Nicolson King George V p.86
Rose King George V pp.66-67
John Gore King George V: A Personal Memoir (London 1941) p.207
30. Lawrence India p.264
Amrita Bazar Patrika 21 March 1906, from Lawrence's album IOL F143/48
31. The Times 10 November 1905 p.5
32. Lawrence India p.264
33. Rose King George V p.64
34. Refer to the previous chapter for the duties of the Viceroy's Private Secretary.
35. Rose King George V pp.65-67
36. Rose King George V p.65
37. Rose King George V pp.65-67
38. The Times 10 November 1905 p.5
39. The members of the Prince of Wales' suite are listed in Reed The Royal Tour Appendix C p.512. The complete royal party totalled 262 people - for details see Martin Gilbert Servant of India (London,1966) p.33
40. The Times 18 October 1905 p.5
41. Reed The Royal Tour pp.465-466
42. Lawrence India p.258
The Times 18 May 1906 p.9

43. Prevost Battersby India p.63
44. Prevost Battersby India p.64
45. Prevost Battersby India p.64
46. Prevost Battersby India p.93
47. Prevost Battersby India p.15
48. Prevost Battersby India p.64
49. Prevost Battersby India p.113
50. Prevost Battersby India p.114
51. Prevost Battersby India p.154
52. Nicolson King George V p.86

LONDON 1906-1914

One cannot expect these old birds out here, whose feathers I stroke the wrong way, not to cackle home by post to the other old birds who have preceded them to the gilded aviary in Chas. Street.

Lord Curzon, on the Council of India, 1900[1]

On his return to London, Lawrence was appointed by John Morley, Secretary of State for India, to serve on Lord Inchcape's Committee to review the financing of Indian Railways.[2] In 1907 he visited Canada to advise the Duke of Bedford and his Trustees on investments in Canadian land.[3] On 23 October 1907, again at the request of Morley, he became a member of the Council of India.[4] He did not find the post particularly congenial, writing:

> There was very little of the Indian atmosphere in the quiet halls of the India Office.[5]

However, Lawrence counted it a privilege to work with men who had held high office in India, and an education to work with members of the Home Civil Service who viewed India with different eyes.[6]

Hamilton recalls that:

> the India Office is a miniature Government in itself. There is not a branch of administration or executive work connected with the big Government which is not represented inside the Office, and the great bulk of questions that come from the Government of India are not trivial or prosaic details of administration, but questions either of importance, or matters upon which there is a difference of opinion or controversy, or connected with change or reform.[7]

The head of the India Office was the Secretary of State for India. He was constrained in his powers by two factors. One was that he derived his own

authority from Parliament and was required to submit certain reports to the House of Commons. The second factor was the statutory relationship between the Secretary of State and the Council of India.[8] Unlike the portfolio system of the Viceroy's Council, the purpose of Council of India was advice and deliberation.[9] The Council of India and Secretary of State together formed an entity called the 'Secretary of State in Council'.[10] This device had been imposed by the 1858 Government of India Act to provide a check on the powers of the Secretary of State. However, the exact powers and duties of the Secretary of State and of the Council of India had never been laid down explicitly. Sir Henry Maine, formerly the Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council and from 1871 a Member of the Council of India, examined the powers of the Council of India in a Memorandum of 1880 which was to remain the classic statement until well after the First World War.[11] He defines the power of the Council:

> which is both great and real ... [it] is almost independent of any formal authority given to it by statute. It is simply the power of experience and knowledge in a given subject....[12]

The scope of the power of the Council of India continued to be debated through the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Very often the cause of

disagreement was the power of financial veto of the plans of the Government of India.

The Council itself was composed of fifteen members, of whom at least nine must have served in India for at least ten years.[13] In general, Council Members were conservative in their approach to policy and tended to be sceptical about reforms. This was recognised by both Britons and Indians, and the abolition of the Council of India as an obstacle of reform was one of the early aims of the Indian National Congress.[14] The Council met every Tuesday afternoon, with an average attendance of nine members. During the summer it was often difficult to achieve a quorum of five members and business would have to be delayed.[15] Only the Secretary of State could initiate business for the Council meetings, but even so, the Council Members had ample opportunity to shape and prune policy.

The years 1907 to 1909 lie within a very interesting period in the relations between Britain and India. The remainder of the chapter will consider two particularly important areas: the consolidation of power in London and the 1909 Morley-Minto reforms. Lawrence's views on both of these matters will be

demonstrated and contrasted with those of Curzon and Morley.

There are two differing approaches to the timing of the changing relations between Britain and India, represented most distinctly by the work of Stanley Wolpert and Arnold Kaminsky;[16] whichever approach is preferred it is agreed that Curzon's Viceroyalty probably represented the peak of the power of the Government of India. Wolpert suggests that from 1905 onwards, the tendency was for the Secretary of State in London to assert his dominance over the Government of India in Calcutta and Simla, while Kaminsky views the change as a more gradual one taking place over some twenty or thirty years.

Wolpert's work includes a summary of the dilemmas facing India's British rulers between 1906 and 1910.[17] Morley was a Liberal reforming Secretary of State, dealing with the bureaucracy of Simla, the conservative Council of India and a Tory House of Lords that could veto any of his legislation.[18] It seems that Lawrence was regarded as progressive in comparison with most men returning from India, and Morley was eager to appoint men of more progressive views to the Council.[19] Morley's statements about

the role of the Secretary of State and India Office would have been anathema to Curzon, who saw himself as the representative of the King-Emperor in India and the Governor-General in Council rather than the agent of the India Office.[20] Curzon had been a vigorous opponent of the composition and powers of the Council of India. He was even more antagonistic towards the Council after a Council Committee had ruled against him in his dispute with Kitchener and believed that Brodrick, the Council of India and the Cabinet were ranged against him in a conspiracy.[21] His views on Lawrence's appointment as a Council Member are not recorded, but Lawrence always remained loyal to Curzon and this might have made his position on the Council slightly awkward.

A second important development during Lawrence's period as a member of the Council of India, was the formulation of the 1909 Morley-Minto reforms. These reforms enlarged the provincial legislatures, abandoning the official majority; and provided that most of the non-official members should be elected locally. The Viceroy's Council was also enlarged, but the official majority was retained. The reforms introduced separate electorates for Muslims throughout India for the first time.[22] Morley viewed

the reforms as "a natural step in the direction of political education and progress".[24]

Morley would have been hoping for Lawrence's backing in the discussions at the Council of India. Lawrence's contribution at the time is not recorded, but judging by views expressed in The India We Served (1928),[25] it is possible that Lawrence's ideas may have been too radical for Morley to consider. In his thinking about a desirable governmental structure for India, Lawrence was influenced by his early impressions in Rajputana. He proposed a system based on modifying the indigenous structures of the Native States.[26] He believed that clinging to British structures would only result in failure.[27]

> I regard the average Indian State as better suited to the happiness and temperament of the Indian than the huge unwieldy administrations which are responsible for the vast Provinces of the Indian continent. And I believe that the average State ruled by Rajas of the standard which I have known, is better calculated to bring content and opportunities to the people than is the present system of British India, a bureaucracy of British mark ....
>
> If the two systems [British and Indian] must clash I should prefer to see the system of British India reverting to the type of the Indian State rather than to see the last of real India submerged in the dead and levelling waters of democracy.[28]

Lawrence realised that:

> Of course, this suggestion will not find favour with Englishmen of democratic mind. But India never has been, and never will be

> democratic. She is Aristocratic and loves Kingdoms .... The way to Imperial Federation should be blazed by the Indian Princes. They are the natural leaders who ... could most safely guide the march of social reform.[29]

Lawrence saw social reform as a necessary forerunner of political reform.

> I had always thought that there must be some improvement in the social standards of India before there could be any hope of real and healthy advance in political life.[30]

This social change would best be achieved by the Indian people in their own geographical areas; thus the nine British Provinces should be divided into about twenty-five units.[31] Lawrence advocated popular Assemblies in every Province to deal with matters relating to social and religious issues.[32]

> Some such beginning as this would enable the Indians to prove their mettle, and perchance to rise to higher things.[33]

The next stage would be for the British to hand over certain functions. For example, the British could lay down that:

> while retaining the Army, Imperial finance and communications in the hands of a British Government, the members of the Indian Civil Service should no longer do the executive work of the country but should leave it to the Indians and act in an advisory capacity. A lower standard of administration should be frankly accepted, but I admitted that the standard at present was perhaps uncomfortably high for the mass of the people.[34]

Next, each small Province would be ruled by a Provincial Government, entirely composed of Indians.[35] These Governments would be linked into a kind of 'United States of India' under a British Government of India headed by a Royal Prince Regent, until Dominion status was granted.[36]

Lawrence's idea of a gradual, step-by-step progression towards self-government might have been influenced by his Balliol days and the intellectual influences on the Indian Civil Service probationers. The tendency was then to look at problems in terms of 'evolution' and 'progression' and Lawrence's proposals are in this vein.[37]

His thinking was certainly unusual, even by 1928, and it would have been utterly impossible for Morley to implement any of these schemes, had Lawrence proposed them at the Council of India. It was as much as Morley could do to steer through the 1909 reform programme, without taking on any additional unconventional ideas.

After less than two years as a member, Lawrence resigned from the Council of India in March 1909. The reasons for his early departure are unclear. His obituary notice in The Times might give a clue,

saying that he left to take up directorships in the City.[38] Sir Stanley Reed notes in Lawrence's entry in the Dictionary of National Biography that the Council "interfered on a narrow ruling with his business interests".[39] It is certainly true that Lawrence took up a number of lucrative directorships in 1909 and 1910. These included the Clerical Medical and General Life Assurance Society (his fees amounting to £300 - £500 pa)[40] and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company.[41] Lawrence was always thorough in his assessments of his family's finances, and was concerned about school fees and other costs.[42] He weighed financial considerations carefully in reaching his decisions and possibly his short tenure of office at the Council of India was due to straightforward financial reasons. Perhaps he found it disheartening if his advice and theories to Morley and his Council colleagues had fallen on deaf ears. It is also possible that his close association with Curzon and personal loyalty to him made Lawrence's position uncomfortable during his term of office.

Certainly, after 1909 Lawrence was not anticipating further involvement in Indian matters:

> I had thought that this brief sojourn in the India Office would prove the last of my Indian experiences.[43]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6 - LONDON 1906-1914

Abbreviations:

Lawrence India	Walter Roper Lawrence The India We Served (London,1928)
Kaminsky The India Office	Arnold P. Kaminsky The India Office 1880-1910 (London, 1986)
Wolpert Morley and India	Stanley A. Wolpert Morley and India 1906-1910 (Berkeley and Los Angeles,1967)
Brown Modern India	Judith M. Brown Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy (Oxford,1985)

Notes:

1. Curzon to Clinton Dawkins 12 June 1900 cited in David Dilks Curzon in India (London,1969 and 1970) Vol I p.106
2. Lawrence India p.267
3. See 'Letters from Canada' IOL F143/30
4. Lawrence India p.267
   Council of India Minutes 23 October 1907 IOL C/99 July-December 1907
5. Lawrence India p.267
6. Lawrence India p.267
7. Lord George Hamilton Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections, 1868-1885 (London,1917) I p.68
8. For an overview of the role of the Council of India and the relationship between the Secretary of State and the Council of India see chapters 2 and 3 of Kaminsky The India Office pp.35-88.
   For more detail see:
   Sir Arthur Godley Memorandum on the Home Government of India (London: India Office, 1901 [first published 1887])
   Donovan Williams The India Office 1858-1869 (Hoshiapur,Punjab, 1983)
   S.N.Singh The Secretary of State and His Council 1858-1919 (Delhi,1962)
   Memorandum by Sir Henry Maine on the Powers and Responsibilities of the Secretary of State as Regards the Council of India 8 November 1880 IOL L/PO/Misc.5
9. Kaminsky The India Office p.38
10. Kaminsky The India Office pp.36 and 38
11. Memorandum by Sir Henry Maine on the Powers and Responsibilities of the Secretary of State as Regards the Council of India 8 November 1880 IOL L/PO/Misc.5
12. Ibid. pp.4-5
13. Kaminsky The India Office p.36
    More precisely, at least nine members must have served in India for at least ten years and must

not have been absent from the sub-continent for more than ten years prior to their appointment to the Council.

14. Philip Woodruff The Men Who Ruled India II 'The Guardians' (London, 1971 paperback edition) p.166

15. Kaminsky The India Office p.48 and footnote 73 p.60. He cites Morley to Minto 29 August 1906 Morley Papers IOL D573/1 and Hamilton to Curzon 26 August 1903 Hamilton Papers IOL C126/4

16. Stanley A. Wolpert Morley and India 1906-1910 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967)
Arnold P. Kaminsky The India Office 1880-1910 (London,1986)

17. Wolpert Morley and India pp.5-7
For example, on p.7 Wolpert sets down the two controversial questions of the 1906-1910 period: Was the Indian Councils Act of 1909 meant to pave the way for parliamentary self-government in India?
and were the separate electorates granted to the Muslims part of an official British policy of 'divide and rule'?

18. Brown Modern India p.143
Wolpert Morley and India p.3

19. Countess Minto India, Morley and Minto 1905-1910 (London, 1934) p.30 and others saw Lawrence among the more forward-looking Britons.
Morley's view of the Council Members was "they are not exactly of the noble tribe of born reformers" Morley to Minto 28 March 1907 IOL Morley Papers D573/2, quoted in Kaminsky The India Office p.79

20. John Morley Recollections (London,1917) Vol II pp.163-4
See also Wolpert Morley and India chapter iii and Kaminsky The India Office p.70

21. Lawrence India pp.268-269
This view was shared by Minto and many in India as is demonstrated by the outcry that followed the remarks of Edwin Montagu, the new Under Secretary of State for India, in 1910 describing the Viceroy as the Agent of the Home Government. See Martin Gilbert Servant of India (London,1966) pp.244-246

22. Kaminsky The India Office pp.42-44 and 74-77

23. Percival Spear A History of India (London, Penguin edition 1978)II pp.178-179 and Brown Modern India pp.142-145

24. Brown Modern India p.143

25. Lawrence India pp.182-184, 190-191, and 282-290

26. Ibid. pp.190-191 and 286
There is rather a dearth of literature on the Native States during the era of British rule,

but the following works are useful:
S.R.Ashton British Policy Towards the Indian States 1905-1939 (London,1982)
I.F.S.Copland The British Raj and the Indian Princes (London,1982)
R.Jeffrey (ed.) People, Princes and Paramount Power. Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States (Delhi,1978)

27. Lawrence India pp.289-290
28. Ibid. pp.182-183
29. Ibid. p.286
30. Ibid. p.283
31. Ibid. p.287
32. Ibid. p.283
33. Ibid. p.283
34. Ibid. p.283
35. Ibid. p.284
36. Ibid. pp.284-5 and 290
37. Refer to chapter 1, especially footnote 28, and J.W.Burrow Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory (Cambridge,1966)
38. The Times 27 May 1940 p.9
39. Dictionary Of National Biography 1931-1940 (Oxford,1949) p.532
40. Lawrence was a Director of the Clerical, Medical and General Life Assurance Society from 27 July 1910 until 25 May 1940.
His fees are estimated from a complex scale of fees based on the award of 4 guineas for each Board meeting attended, plus a sum to be subdivided among all the Directors. This sum rose to 10 guineas by 1939, a retaining fee was introduced, and fees were made free of income tax and super tax in 1921. The total quoted of £300 - £500 pa is probably the best estimate that can be achieved.
Source: letters to the author from Mr Nigel Wratten, Records Manager and Archivist of the Clerical Medical Investment Group, 7 and 15 May 1991.
41. Lawrence was a Director of P&O from 21 April 1909 until 25 May 1940.
Source: Mr Stephen Rabson P&O Librarian, 17 May 1991.
42. This is a theme that recurs throughout the papers of the IOL Lawrence Collection F143
43. Lawrence India p. 269

LAWRENCE AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR 1914 -1918

HINDU SEPOY IN FRANCE
This man in his own country prayed we know
not to what Powers
We pray Them to reward him for his bravery
in ours.

Rudyard Kipling
Epitaphs of the War 1914-1918

On the outbreak of war in August 1914 Lawrence was 57 years of age; and naturally, like all patriotic Englishmen he volunteered for service. On 19 November 1914 he was appointed by Lord Kitchener to the position of Commissioner for the Indian Sick and Wounded, with the rank of Colonel.[2] Kitchener was now Secretary of State for War, and Lawrence had known him while in India when Kitchener had been Commander-in Chief of the Indian Army. Although everyone who was able undertook some kind of 'war work' Lawrence's post was by no means a sinecure. His task was to inspect and monitor the work of the numerous hospitals required by the wounded of the Indian Army in France. The inspections ranged from field hospitals behind the trenches in France to convalescent hositals in England. He co-ordinated their standards and lobbied for the resources that they needed - not only trying to obtain assistance from the War Office, but also from the many charitable bodies raising money for war-time needs.[3] One of these bodies was the Indian Soldiers Fund chaired by Sir John Hewett, whose meeting place was Curzon's London house.[4]

Another important aspect of his work was his liaison with the Censor of Indian mails in monitoring the letters to and from the wounded which would

possibly be critical of the British and Indian Armies, and which were feared liable to cause trouble in India as well as providing possible channels for those trying to spread seditious literature and ideas.

Studies of India's contribution to the First World War leave no doubt as to the enormous input of supplies, finance, and personnel which India made to Britain.[5] One estimate suggests there was an expenditure of £129 m on military costs, £100 m on loans and a further £367 m to finance British expenditure on the war effort.[6] Of the £129 m in military costs, £51 m was incurred by the Indian Army. The Indian Army numbered 316,514 on the outbreak of war (76,953 British and 239,561 Indian).[7] Between September 1914 and December 1919 1,440,437 men were recruited for combat and support duties and during the war 1,381,050 men were sent from India overseas.[8] India bore the cost for all of this and also incurred costs of a further £78 m (making £129 m in all) on the movement of troops, manning the North West Frontier and providing a garrison at Aden.[9]

Two divisions, the Lahore and the Meerut, were ordered to France on 8 August 1914, only five days after the mobilisation of the British Army and three

days after Britain went to war. The two divisions arrived at Marseilles on 26 September and 11 October, and by 21 and 29 October respectively, were at the Front. Although Indian troops had served in China, Egypt, the Sudan, Somaliland, and Aden they had never before been stationed in Europe.[10] The formation of these two divisions into the Indian Army Corps and their posting to France by Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, was thought to be rather a risk. However, Kitchener had few options open to him: the British Army was heavily out-numbered, and faced superior artillery and numerous machine-guns. He had only the Expeditionary Force, the Territorial Divisions, overseas armies and the Indian Corps at his disposal.[11]

In fact, the Indian Corps successfully held a seven-mile stretch of line from Neuve Chappelle to Givenchy for 14 months. In September and October 1914 24,000 Indian Army men landed at Marseilles; and in less than a year more than 30,000 had been drafted to replace them.[12] During the period the Corps spent in France (October 1914 until November 1915) the casualties were as follows:- 4539 killed, 23,661 wounded, 5,373 missing, 679 other deaths, making a total of 34,252.[13]

The wounded were attended in the trenches by Regimental Medical Officers, with two assistants per Company. The wounded were then carried by bearers to Regimental Aid Posts at the rear of the trenches. From there they could be moved by horse ambulance 2-3 miles behind the lines to Dressing Stations; then further back again to clearing hospitals by motor ambulances. The task of the Medical Officers was not only to attend to the 23,600 wounded but also to treat the sick, to undertake sanitation work and to innoculate the troops against typhoid.[14]

Given the chaotic situation during the early stages of the war and the way that the Indian Corps was flung into the 1st battle of Ypres (23 and 24 November 1914) they fitted in surprisingly quickly. The Commander of the Corps, General Sir James Willcocks wrote:

> A great surprise to me, once we found ourselves in Flanders, was the ease with which everything worked. The Indian troops, as is well known, have their own peculiar customs. Their religious scruples and their feeding have to be arranged for on lines entirely different to British soldiers. All these details might reasonably have been expected to cause considerable difficulties, but we had been preceded by Staff Officers conversant with all the requirements, and General Headquarters gave such a free hand in these matters and so readily fell in with every suggestion which they felt was necessary, that in a few days things

were working more smoothly than in India itself.[15]

One of the reasons that problems were smoothed away was Kitchener's great interest and concern for the welfare of the Indian soldiers.[16] Kitchener not only received copious information from Lawrence and Willcocks in the midst of all his other preoccupations, but frequently acted upon their recommendations. Willcocks wrote personally detailing the progress of the Indian troops to Kitchener, Lord Crewe (Secretary of State for India), Hardinge (the Viceroy) and to the Military Secretary at the India Office,[17] while Lawrence wrote reports for both Kitchener and Hardinge.[18]

Lawrence's role in the medical arrangements was to assist in the setting-up and monitoring of the various levels of medical care from the trenches right back to the main hospitals in England and France. This task suited him very well, combining his administrative and organisational talents with the need for liaison and persuasion.

He certainly made a quick start: he was appointed Commissioner on 19 November 1914 and by 21 November he was in Brighton to persuade the Mayor and Town Council to release the Brighton Pavilion and other civic buildings for use as a military hospital for

the Indian wounded[19] (see Photograph 10, p.239). By the time he wrote his first report on 28 November 1914 he had visited the hospitals at Brockenhurst, Netley, and Barton-on-Sea[20] and on 6 December he arrived in France for the first of his tours of inspection. The index to his many reports to Kitchener from 28 November 1914 to 27 December 1915 shows the wide range of his interests: from Ambulances and Artificial limbs through Caste, Fire precautions, Pay, Reinforcements, Sedition to Waste.[21] His notebooks of his visits record his many impressions of each establishment, for example, its cleanliness, facilities for exercise and recreation and also as an aide-memoire a list of the staff he had met at each.[22] He was able to keep a look-out for such details as the use of YMCA writing paper which might have caused trouble in India - the RAMC did not have the time to notice these matters.[23]

He describes his wide-ranging concerns in a letter on 8 January 1915:

> Everything is being hurled at my devoted head .... I have tried to explain to all concerned that I am acting as Lord Kitchener's Commissioner merely to visit the wounded and the Indian hospitals and to report to him direct, but this has changed into making me a kind of general administrator. I am only too delighted to do everything I can and any suggestions you may make ... will be promptly attended to.[24]

Photograph 10. Indian War Wounded in the Brighton Pavilion Hospital, 1914-15

As well as his visits and letters, Lawrence's other source of information was from the censors' reports on the Indian mails. Censorship was started in September 1914 and was originally confined to "inward" correspondence arriving for the troops in an attempt to detect seditious literature; by November it had been extended to include "outward" mails and by January 1915 these outward letters comprised the main part of the work of the Censor's office.[25] Of these, the letters from the wounded were seen as more significant than those from the Front - in hospital the men had more leisure time in which to write, they had access to unlimited paper, and were more likely to feel bitterness about the War.[26] No marks were made on the letters and they were processed very quickly so that the censorship would not be detected but remarks in the soldiers' letters indicated that they knew their words were being read.[27] Lawrence found that many men in hospital felt cut off from news of the War and from news of home, so an officer was appointed on his suggestion whose job was to speed the distribution of incoming post.[28]

Another method of countering this feeling of isolation, on Lawrence's advice, was the setting up of a vernacular newspaper, Akhbar-i-Jang in March

1915.[29] By July 1915 it was being produced in three scripts (Urdu, Hindi, and Gurmukhi) and Lawrence had persuaded Sir David Barr to undertake its editing on his retirement from the Council of India.[30] Lawrence had known Sir David Barr since 1892 when Barr had been the Resident in Kashmir. They had both been in Simla during Curzon's Viceroyalty and Barr had been Vice-President of the Council of India when Lawrence had been a Member. This publication was warmly welcomed by the troops, and was indeed such a success that Lawrence considered introducing a series of news-sheets for hospital bulletin boards in more languages. The news most sought after was that concerning crops, prices and public health in India.[31]

Lawrence wrote thirteen Reports altogether, the first on 28 November 1914 and the last on 27 December 1915; in addition on 8 March 1916 his printed summary report to Kitchener was published, entitled Arrangements Made For Indian Sick and Wounded in England and France.[32] These reports raise numerous matters of interest in considering the care of the Indian troops, for example the question of where to send the soldiers once they were fit and well again, problems over pay, and the provision of suitable burials and headstones.[33]

One difficulty that recurs during the period of the Indian Corps' service in France, was where to send the soldiers once they had recovered from their injuries and illnesses. Official policy on the destination of newly-recovered troops kept changing through 1915. Willcocks believed that the men should be sent back to India and should certainly not be at Marseilles where they did not provide a very cheerful welcome for men arriving in France from India.[34] In May 1915 it was decided that sepoys would not be sent back to the Front unless they volunteered to do so.[35] Later a new instruction stated that, once pronounced fit, all the soldiers would be ordered back to the Front.[36] Willcocks concluded that the best way to deal with this was to form a working battalion behind the lines, to utilise the men being sent back to him.[37] This scheme also relieved the focus of discontent at Marseilles.

Lawrence's role in the solution of this problem was to find out what the soldiers views were as he made his visits to the military hospitals, and to ensure that the regulations were being applied uniformly. Lawrence found in his conversations with the men that many felt that once they had been wounded they had a right to return to India.[38] The British were

concerned that a large number of injured men returning to India from France in hospital clothing would damage British prestige. Lawrence therefore recommended that soldiers should return in full uniform, fully armed and equipped, to demonstrate British satisfaction with the Indian troops.[39] As Lawrence made his tours of inspection he sought to ensure that all the hospitals were as consistent as possible in the application of the rules, so that no one establishment was seen as particularly 'harsh' or 'lenient' in its decisions about whether to return men to the Front.

A recurring complaint from the soldiers was that of pay. The pay structure for the Indian troops seems to have been rather loose and pay could vary quite widely simply between different recruiting offices. A hospital sweeper recruited in Poona was paid 24 Rs per month as compared with 12 Rs for sweepers from Peshawar. Bonus payments for working on hospital ships meant that sweepers were being paid more than Sub-Assistant Surgeons (III), while hospital orderlies could earn more than havildars.[40]

These anomalies caused widespread concern which Lawrence was able to recognise. He investigated further and discovered that in fact the pay of sepoys had been increased; it had been realised by

the military authorities and the Viceroy that it was ridiculous to provide an incentive for a soldier not to be at the Front, and consequently the sepoys had received a pay increase. In addition, each was to be granted a bonus payment of Rs 50 when he returned to India. However, many of the sepoys had not realised that they had been granted this additional pay and Lawrence's intervention led to wider publicity of the facts about pay which laid to rest some of the worries of the Corps.[41]

Another problem was that of burials, and providing headstones in France and England for the graves of the Indian dead. It fell to Lawrence to make suitable arrangements for the burial of the Muslim dead in England, after Woking Mosque had proved unable to deal with the burials in its poorly drained cemetery.[42] As for headstones, Lawrence was unhappy with the funding being provided by the Government. He pleaded with Kitchener to allow him to arrange for Indians to donate funds privately to ensure that their dead were adequately commemorated.[43] This proposal still had not been resolved by the end of 1915, by which time the Indians had already left France for the Mesopotamian campaign.

A large part of Lawrence's work was co-ordinating the activities of the hospitals in France and England - a task which was made doubly difficult by the fact that the officers in charge of each unit were not allowed to communicate with one another.[44] This was due partly to wartime secrecy and partly to military protocol. His numerous visits were therefore an important part of the communication between hospitals. His liaison provided an important way of monitoring a consistent approach, for example, to such questions as when to send men back to the fighting, or whether to keep them in a support role behind the lines or send them back to India. Lawrence was also aware of the problem of deciding the most suitable hospital for each patient. He asked Kitchener if the officers at Southampton dealing with the wounded arriving in England could be permitted to correspond with the medical centres at Boulogne and Marseilles, in order to work out a system for allocating men to the most appropriate hospital.[45]

Lawrence provided a link between the hospitals in England and France on other matters too. He was interested in the role of Physical Training in convalescence, and he co-ordinated a consistent

approach to exercise and the rehabilitation of the Indian troops.[46]

Lawrence corresponded with the War Office, the India Office, General Willcocks and the Aga Khan about the observation of Ramadan by the Muslim troops.[47] After extensive efforts he reached a solution which was welcomed by all and was implemented speedily. A special dispensation was granted to Muslim soldiers; this meant that they were not obliged to fast during Ramadan. However, if individual soldiers wished to do so, it was agreed that they would be moved back from the front lines to support positions during the Fast.[48]

The British were concerned about the possibility of agitators causing unrest among the troops, especially in the large camps at Marseilles.[49] It fell to Lawrence to liaise with the War Office and the French Secret Service in the appointment of a French Agent, whose job was to monitor the movements of suspects.[50]

Lawrence carried on a large correspondence with the Indian Soldiers' Fund, the Red Cross, and the YMCA about the provision of 'comforts' to the Indian troops.[51] These included blankets and clothing, writing paper, sweets and cigarettes.[52] Lawrence was

able to recommend areas where the help of these organisations would be useful in supplementing the Army's provision.[53]

Another aspect of Lawrence's co-ordinating role was the arranging of visits by various dignitaries to the Indian soldiers both in France and England. The King's visit to the Indian Corps on 1 December 1914 was his first visit to the Army in France.[54] The King was to travel to the hospital at Brighton to award decorations in January and August 1915,[55] and Lawrence also arranged for visits from Kitchener, Curzon, Austen Chamberlain among others.[56] He even arranged for "Kinema" reels of these visits to be sent to the Viceroy for showing in India.[57]

These trips were very valuable in raising the morale of the troops, which was extremely low, and that of their families at home in India. Lawrence concluded in his final Report that the Indian soldiers were not "suited for long campaigns at any great distance from India". The troops were "utterly bewildered" by the circumstances in which they found themselves in Flanders; and to make matters worse they never saw a wounded British soldier, only the dead and wounded Indians. They believed that their lives were being sacrificed by the British unfairly.[58] The very low morale of the Corps was one of the reasons

for its posting to Mesopotamia and East Africa late in 1915.[59]

The departure of the Indian Corps also marked the end of Lawrence's dealings with India and the Indian people. He spent the remainder of the war years at the Air Board (whose President was Lord Curzon) and the Department of War Pensions as Liaison Officer with the War Office.[60] Lawrence's association with Curzon continued throughout these years, and it was Curzon who arranged for Lawrence to represent Britain on a speaking tour of the United States in 1917.[61] This was intended to boost American support for the war effort. Lawrence travelled widely for six months speaking in towns and cities across the United States. He was accompanied for a good deal of the time by his elder son Roland, by now in the Coldstream Guards.

By the end of the War Lawrence was 61 years old and had been awarded the CB (Companion of the Order of the Bath) in January 1917 and GCVO (Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order) in June 1918.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7 - THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Abbreviations:

Willcocks *With the Indians*	General Sir James Willcocks *With the Indians in France* (London, 1920)
Merewether and Smith *The Indian Corps*	Lt.-Col. J.W.B. Merewether and Rt.Hon. Sir Frederick Smith *The Indian Corps in France* (London, 1917)

Notes:

1. 'Epitaphs of the War 1914-18' from *A Choice of Kipling's Verse* by T.S. Eliot (London,1941) pp.161-168
2. Lawrence *Arrangements for the Indian Sick and Wounded in England and France* 8 March 1916 p.1 IOL F143/65
   Burke's Peerage and Baronetage (London,1967) p.1459
3. Lawrence Reports 28 November 1914 - 27 December 1915 IOL F143/65
4. Lawrence Report 6 30 April 1915 IOL F143/65
   'Letters re: Indian Soldiers Fund' IOL F143/67
   Merewether and Smith *The Indian Corps* Appendix III pp.501-504
   Willcocks *With the Indians* p.101
5. For example, see *India's Contribution to the Great War* (Calcutta, 1923)
   D.C. Ellinwood and S.D. Pradhan (eds.) *India and World War I* (Delhi,1978) especially chapter 2 J.M. Brown 'War and the Colonial Relationship: Britain, India and the War of 1914-18' and chapter 8 K. Saini 'The Economic Aspects of India's Participation in the First World War'
   B.R.Tomlinson 'India and the British Empire, 1880-1935' *Indian Economic and Social History Review* vol. xii no. 4 (Oct.-Dec.1975) pp.337-80.
6. K. Saini 'The Economic Aspects of India's Participation in the First World War' in D.C. Ellinwood and S. Pradhan Op.cit. pp152-53
   See also *India's Contribution to the Great War* (Calcutta,1923) pp.295 and 155-63.
7. K. Saini in Ellinwood and Pradhan Op.cit. p.152
8. *India's Contribution to the Great War* (Calcutta, 1923) pp. 61, 75-80.
   The same work shows on p.295 that, apart from the British Isles, India provided by far the greatest contingent of men for war service (followed by Canada 641,000 and Australia 417,000)
9. K. Saini in Ellinwood and Pradhan Op.cit. pp152-53.
10. Willcocks *With the Indians* p.15

Merewether and Smith The Indian Corps Appendix I p.481
Although some Indian troops had been stationed temporarily in Malta in 1870.

11. Merewether and Smith The Indian Corps Preface
12. In other words, in less than a year the original Corps was entirely wiped out.
Merewether and Smith The Indian Corps pp.477-78
13. Total Casualties 20 October 1914 - 10 November 1915. Source: Merewether and Smith The Indian Corps p.459
14. Merewether and Smith The Indian Corps Appendix II pp.493-499
Willcocks With the Indians pp.99-100
15. Willcocks With the Indians p.27
16. Willcocks With the Indians p.298
Lawrence The India We Served (London,1928) pp.269-70
17. Willcocks With the Indians p.189
18. Lawrence Reports to Kitchener 27 November 1914 - 27 December 1915 IOL F143/65
Lawrence Arrangements Made for Indian Sick and Wounded in England and France (printed report to Kitchener) 8 March 1916 IOL F143/65
Lawrence to Hardinge IOL F143/73
19. Lawrence Arrangements Made for Indian Sick and Wounded in England and France 8 March 1916 p.1 IOL F143/65
Letter to the author from Mr John Roles, Keeper of Local History, Borough of Brighton 26 February 1987
20. Lawrence Collection IOL F143/65
21. Lawrence Reports IOL F143/65
22. Notebooks of Lawrence's work and travels:
1914 IOL F143/52 1915-16 IOL F143/53
23. Lawrence Fourth report 10 March 1915 IOL F143/65
24. Lawrence to Colonel Sir Bruce Seton, Officer Commanding the Kitchener Hospital, Brighton 8 January 1915 IOL L/MIL/7/17347
25. Weekly Report of the Mail Censor 23 January 1915 IOL L/MIL/5/825
Captain E.B. Howell Head Censor, Indian Mails Report on Twelve Months Working of the Indian Mail Censorship 7 November 1915 IOL L/MIL/7/17347
See also F143/83 'Extracts from Censored Indian Mails' for an edition of the Censor's Weekly Reports annotated by Lawrence. He used some of the censored material in his subsequent reports.
26. For example, Lawrence to Hardinge 24 August 1915 F143/73
Howell's Report on Indian Mail Censorship 7 November 1915 IOL L/MIL/7/17347

27. Howell from Indian Base Post Office Boulogne 9 December 1914 IOL L/MIL/7/17347
Weekly Report of the Mail Censor 29 May 1915 and 2 October 1915 IOL L/MIL/5/825
28. Lawrence to Holderness 15 December 1914 IOL L/MIL/7/17347
Willcocks With the Indians pp.318-19
29. Lawrence Fourth Report to Kitchener 10 March 1915
Lawrence Arrangements Made for Indian Sick and Wounded in England and France 8 March 1916 p.5 para.16 IOL F143/65
Lawrence 'Letters re: Akbar-i-Jang' IOL F143/75
30. Lawrence Ninth Report to Kitchener 21 July 1915 and Thirteenth Report 27 December 1915 IOL F143/65
Lawrence Arrangements Made for Indian Sick and Wounded in England and France 8 March 1916 p.5 IOL F143/65
31. Lawrence Arrangements Made for Indian Sick and Wounded in England and France 8 March 1916 p.5 IOL F143/65
32. Reports to Kitchener 28 November 1914 - 27 December 1915 and 8 March 1916 IOL F143/65
33. Lawrence's Reports to Kitchener passim. F143/65
34. Willcocks With the Indians p.311
35. 31 May 1915, according to Lawrence's Eighth Report to Kitchener 15 June 1915 IOL F143/65
36. Willcocks With the Indians p.311
37. Willcocks With the Indians p.311-12
38. Lawrence Fourth Report 10 March 1915 IOL F143/65
39. Lawrence Eighth Report 15 June 1915 IOL F143/65
40. Lawrence's Reports of 15 February, 10 March, 21 July, 5 August and 27 December 1915. IOL F143/65
41. Lawrence Ninth Report 21 July 1915 IOL F143/65
42. Lawrence Reports 15 February, 15 June, 5 August and 14 December 1915 IOL F143/65
43. Lawrence Eighth Report 15 June 1915 and Arrangements Made for Indian Sick and Wounded in England and France 8 March 1916 p.3 para.8 IOL F413/65
See also 'Correspondence re: burial of Muslim Soldiers in England' IOL F143/80
44. Lawrence to Lady Lawrence 18 December 1914 - Lawrence says that the authorities are becoming stricter about military information IOL F143/57
Lawrence Seventh Report 27 May 1915 IOL F143/65
Willcocks records in With the Indians p.190 that military secrecy hampered recruitment because he was not allowed to relay news of the corps to India, "It was looked on as criminal to name a corps in any of our communications; whilst the

Germans knew exactly to a man what we had in France."

45. Lawrence Seventh Report 27 May 1915 IOL F143/65
46. Lawrence's Reports 15 February, 10 March, 30 April, 21 July, 5 August and 2 October 1915 IOL F143/65
See also 'Correspondence with Sir Alfred Keogh, Director-General, Army Medical Services, re: rehabilitation of disabled Indian and British Soldiers' IOL F143/79
47. Lawrence's Ninth Report 21 July 1915 IOL F143/65
48. Lawrence's Ninth Report 21 July 1915 IOL F143/65
49. Captain E.B. Howell, Head Censor, Indian Mails in his weekly reports [IOL L/MIL/5/825] and his Report on Twelve Months Working of the Indian Mail Censorship 7 November 1915 IOL L/MIL/7/17347
Lawrence Reports 30 April and 27 December 1915 IOL F143/65
50. Lawrence Sixth Report 30 April 1915 IOL F143/65
51. Lawrence Sixth Report 30 April 1915 IOL F143/65
'Letters re: Indian Soldiers Fund' IOL F143/67
52. Willcocks With the Indians p.98
Merewether and Smith The Indian Corps Appendix III pp.500-04. The money raised did not only provide these small items - the Fund also provided a convoy of 50 motor ambulances.
53. Lawrence Sixth Report 30 April 1915 IOL F143/65
54. And indeed the first time a sovereign had appeared on the battlefield with his troops since George II.
Merewether and Smith The Indian Corps p.137
55. 'Newspaper reports re: Brighton Indian Hospitals' IOL F143/96
'Photographs of King George V and Queen Mary at the Brighton Indian Hospitals' IOL F143/99
56. Lawrence Arrangements Made for Indian Sick and Wounded in England and France 8 March 1916 p.1 para.4 IOL F143/65
'Newspaper reports re: Brighton Indian Hospitals' IOL F143/96
57. September 1915 Lawrence 'Correspondence with Hardinge' IOL F143/73
58. Lawrence Thirteenth Report 27 December 1915 IOL F143/65
59. Lawrence The India We Served (London,1928) pp.271-72
Byron Farwell Armies of the Raj From the Great Indian Mutiny to Independence (UK Viking edition,1990)
60. 'Work and travel with the Royal Flying Corps re: rehabilitation disabled soldiers' IOL F143/54
'Correspondence and memoranda re: Royal Flying Corps and Independent Air Force' IOL F143/103

61. 'Lecture Tour in USA' IOL F143/55 and 'Correspondence and papers re: Lecture Tour of USA' IOL F143/104

THE CLOSING YEARS - 1919-1940

At the commencement of the Meeting the Chairman announced with deep regret the death of Sir Walter Roper Lawrence Bt., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., C.B., who had been a Director of the Society since the 27th July 1910, and it was Resolved that the Directors of the Society convey their sincere sympathy to the Members of the Family of Sir Walter Roper Lawrence Bt., and place on record their deep appreciation of the services which he rendered to the Society during the 30 years he had been a Member of the Board, of the wise and mature judgment which he brought to their counsels and of the invariable courtesy and charm which endeared him to the Directors and the Staff alike.

Minute Book of the Board of Directors of the Clerical, Medical and General Life Assurance Society, 29 May 1940.[1]

In 1919 Lawrence was sent by Curzon, who was by then Foreign Secretary, on a mission to Palestine. In February 1919 Curzon wrote:

> You may have heard that at a F.O. Committee over which I preside we decided to sent out a financial advisor to Palestine, to superintend the financial admin. [sic] of the occupied Palestinian and Syrian areas, at Allenby's headquarters ... in the interval before peace is concluded and an accredited civil administration is set up. We thought it best to send a civilian ... Your name was mentioned and there was a general agreement that if you felt disposed to accept it you would be an ideal candidate for the post.
>
> Remembering your recent appeal to me to find you responsible work, and regarding this as a very important as well as attractive post, I do not hesitate to press you on behalf of HMG to accept it.[2]

Lawrence was made a Major-General for the posting, and by August his work was over, and Curzon thanked his for his "most useful labours".[3]

Curzon had arranged with Lawrence in 1899 that Lawrence would write the official biography of Curzon. However, in 1911 Lawrence asked to be released from this promise.[4] Curzon asked Lawrence once more in 1924. Lawrence replied:

> My association with you has been the great event of my life and for me this would have been complete if I could write the biography. But the more I think of it the more convinced I am that my hopes would be frustrated and however I drew the picture the world would say that it was distorted by blind devotion and admiration. If it were a life of an ordinary man it wd. [sic]

> not matter, but this is a matter of history, and the biographer must not be your old Private Secy.[5]

Although he did not write the biography of Curzon he wrote Curzon's obituary notice in The Times in 1925.[6]

Lawrence continued as a director of various companies during these years. On his death in 1940 he was Chairman of the Makum Assam Tea Company, and a director of the Assam Bengal Railway, the Clerical Medical and General Life Assurance Society, and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company.[7] As an indication of the level of remuneration he would have received during this period, his fees as a director of Clerical Medical and General Life Assurance Society were about £300 pa in 1915, rising to at least £525 pa free of tax in 1939.[8] He attended Board Meetings regularly, and his role seems to have included advice on the current affairs in India and how they affected British investments in India.[9]

Lawrence's other interests during his last years included many speaking engagements, often talking on subjects relating to his Indian experience. He spoke at Cheltenham College on more than one occasion,[10] and also visited the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to point out the attractions of an Indian career.[11]

In 1932 Lawrence delivered the 25th anniversary address at the Union Jack Club of which he was President, and later Vice-Patron.[12] The Club was founded in 1907 for soldiers, sailors and airmen below officer rank, as a memorial to those who fell in the Boer War.

Lawrence was Vice-President of the Council of the King Edward VII Sanatorium,[13] and remainded a Trustee of the Duke of Bedford's Estates until he reached the age of 65 in 1922.[14] He was a collector of literary memorabilia and in 1929 paid £1,500 for the manuscript of R.C.Sheriff's Journey's End and donated it to the nation.[15] On 18 December 1929 his wife Lilian died.[16] On the outbreak of war in 1939 Lawrence closed his London house and his house in the country, Bunce's Farm, Sussex. Lawrence went to live with his son Neville and family, at Hook Heath outside Woking, where he died on 25 May 1940, at the age of 83.[17]

Lawrence's memorial service was held at Holy Trinity, Brompton on 31st May, and was attended by representatives of all the organisations mentioned in this chapter, the Secretary of State for India, and the Queen's Private Secretary.[18] All paid tribute to this genial man who worked unobtrusively to achieve his objectives, a "noble-hearted gentleman and a

sincere friend of the Indians",[19] and one whose views reflected a "mellow wisdom and generous appreciation of India and its peoples".[20]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8 - THE CLOSING YEARS

Abbreviations:

Lawrence India	Walter Lawrence The India We Served (London,1928)
IOL	India Office Library and Records

Notes:

1. Extract from the Minute Book of the Board of Directors of the Clerical, Medical and General Life Assurance Society provided by Mr Nigel Wratten, Records Manager and Archivist.
2. Curzon to Lawrence 27 February 1919, IOL Lawrence Collection F143/33
3. Burke's Peerage and Baronetage (London,1967) p.1459
   Curzon to Lawrence 3 August 1919, IOL F143/33
4. Lawrence India pp.220-221 and 252
5. Lawrence to Curzon 27 June 1924 IOL F143/33
6. The Times 21 March 1925
7. The Times 27 May 1940 p.9 and Financial Times 27 May 1940
8. See footnote 40, chapter 6, p.231. Source: Mr Nigel Wratten, Records Manager and Archivist for the Clerical Medical Investment Group.
9. Lawrence to Arthur D. Besant, General Manager of the Society 6 November 1924. Copy provided by Mr Nigel Wratten.
10. Lawrence's Speeches IOL F143/134
    The Times 29 June 1912
11. Lawrence India p.275
12. Lawrence's Speeches IOL F143/134
    Whitaker's Almanack 1940 (London,1939) p.579
13. The Times 27 May 1940 p.9
14. Bedford Estates Offices, Montague Street, London. The Duke's Box.
15. The Times 27 May 1940 p.9
16. Burke's Peerage and Baronetage (London,1967) p.1459
17. Woking Herald 31 May 1940, Woking News 31 May 1940 and New York Times 30 May 1940
    Obituary notices also appeared in the Sussex Daily News (Brighton) 29 May 1940, Cheltenham Chronicle 1 June 1940, Great Britain and the East 30 May 1940, the Glasgow Herald 28 May 1940, Gloucestershire Echo 27 May 1940, New York Herald Tribune 30 May 1940. Copies of these notices are preserved in IOL Lawrence F143/133
18. The Times 1 June 1940
19. A tribute from Moti Lal Ghose, Amrita Bazar Patrika 21 March 1906
20. Dictionary of National Biography 1931-1940 (Oxford,1949) pp.531-532

POSTSCRIPT

This survey has drawn on the episodic career of Sir Walter Roper Lawrence to provide insights into British rule in late 19th century India. The educational influences on Lawrence, and his early Indian Civil Service in the Punjab, Rajputana and Kashmir [chapters 1 and 2] shed light on the actions and attitudes of individual British officers in India at a period when British power was at its peak. Lawrence's Indian Civil Service career is interesting in providing a clear case-study of the progress of a typical, able officer. His Settlement in Kashmir still stands as a remarkable administrative achievement.

Lord Curzon could be said to epitomise British imperial power; Lawrence's comments from 1898 until 1903 throw fresh light upon Curzon's personal style of administration [chapter 4]. His remarks also clearly demonstrate how Curzon never fully appreciated the concerns of his British subordinates, let alone those of the millions of Indian people he governed. Lawrence's role as an 'enabler' and facilitator is amply portrayed during his Private Secretaryship.

During the Tour of India by the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1905-06, Lawrence once more acted as advisor and co-ordinator for the generally impressive

royal Progress through the sub-continent. An examination of contemporary British sources shows that to the British, both in England and India, the Tour was regarded as a resounding success. Much credit was given to Lawrence for his part in this success.

After a short period on the Council of India [chapter 6] Lawrence was to serve as the Commissioner for Indian War Wounded in 1914-15 [chapter 7]. This part of the thesis illuminates not only certain features of India's involvement in the First World War, but also once more reveals the benevolent and paternalistic feeling Lawrence had for the Indian people expressed through his concern for the well-being of the troops.

Lawrence's career was unusually fragmented, but all the more interesting because of its varied nature. He was a man who set off for India in 1879 with attitudes and theories typical of those of many men of his generation. His memoirs, published in 1928, and his reflections in his letters and diaries show the development of his views on India during the intervening years. His thoughts on a wide range of issues cast light upon many facets of British India. Although never himself in the forefront of public life, he was for many years an important influence in

advising such powerful men as Lord Curzon, the Prince of Wales (later King George V) and John Morley the Secretary of State for India. His kindly and sympathetic outlook demonstrate the positive side of the paternalistic approach to Indian administration, and even Indian advocates of a radical reform of government in India recognised his genuine appreciation of the people of India.

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Lee-Warner Collection	MSS.Eur.F92
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Sir David Lawrence (3rd Bart.) and Murray Lawrence were most helpful with information about their grandfather.

I also corresponded with or visited the following:

J.F.L. Bowles, the Cheltonian Society

Ms.R. Crill, India and South East Asian Section, the Victoria and Albert Museum

Ms. K. Crowe, of the Library and Records Division of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office who arranged a tour of the refurbished Foreign Office buildings including the former India Office

Miss K. McQuillan, Assistant Librarian, United Grand Lodge of England (Freemasons)

I.G. Murray, Archivist, Inner Temple, London

J.Roles, Keeper of Local History, The Royal Pavilion, Brighton

Some company archives were also consulted with the assistance of the archivists:

Makum Assam Tea Company (I.Burridge)
Clerical, Medical and General Life Assurance Society (N. Wratten)
P & O (S. Rabson)