Records of the Raj

The Indian papers of the 4th Earl of Minto
including his service on the North West Frontier during the Afghan War of 1879 and as Viceroy, 1905-1910

from the National Library of Scotland

a guide to the microfilm edition introduced by Dr. William Gould
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The Indian papers of the 4th Earl of Minto
an introduction to the microfilm edition

The papers of Gilbert John Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound (1845-1914), initially Viscount of Melgund to 1891, then 4th Earl of Minto, who served as Viceroy of India between 1905 and 1910, cover a period of dramatic and momentous change in the history of colonial India. Historians of institutional Indian nationalism have described this period as critical in the formation of radical anti-colonial nationalism – a shift from earlier methods of mendicancy and petition.1 Minto’s tenure followed that of the more famous Viceroy, George Nathaniel Curzon, whose rule was compared by the moderate Congress leader G.P. Gokhale (1866-1915) to that of the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb (1618-1707) and marked by ‘the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression, resulting in bitter exasperation all round’.2 It was during Minto’s time that Curzon’s legacy really began to take effect for both Indian political activity and British imperial policy. The beginning of Minto’s tenure in India was marked by unprecedented anti-colonial protests against the partition of Bengal, initiated by Minto’s predecessor. It was finished off with the crucial ‘Morley-Minto’ constitutional reforms of 1909. In this sense, this is a period of India’s history which illustrates the thrust and parry of late colonial Indian high politics to dramatic effect, providing researchers with extraordinary insights into the delicate strategies of anti-colonial ‘agitators’, and colonial governors at local, provincial, national and imperial levels.

The years 1905-10 covered in this collection of Minto’s papers represent a period in which British rulers in India were forced to come to terms with reconciling the liberalism of men like Morley (the Secretary of State for India for most of this period), with calls for autocracy by local administrators and governors. It was also a time when a parallel adjustment was taking place within the Indian National Congress, as a new generation of radicals struggled to wrest control from Congress moderates of an earlier age. The Minto collection also illustrates in a unique way, how adjustments were taking place in the imperial metropolis. The coincidence of the conservative Minto with the liberal reformist John Morley in ruling India makes for a highly readable and enthralling account of political disagreement around the fundamental principles of political and constitutional thought in Britain and the Empire. It was a disagreement and accommodation which was pitched across thousands of miles, between two very different yet inter-related political contexts: Morley was as answerable to the critiques of Westminster and domestic opinion as Minto was to his provincial governors. Perhaps the most significant contribution of this collection however, lies in its content for researchers of Islamic politics or early ‘Muslim separatism’ in India. Minto himself considered the 1906 Muslim deputation, which kick started the policy of separate electorates for India’s Muslim communities, the most important event of his period of office. That decision, manifested in the 1909 reforms, changed the complexion of electoral politics as it slowly unravelled in the late colonial period, and provided one of the key legacies for the policies of reservation that survived into post-independence India.

This rich, varied and complex collection of documents is part of a larger set covering the entire (although incomplete) Elliot family of Minto held at the National Library of Scotland, which has kindly granted permission for inclusion in the Records of the Raj series. The Minto’s great-grandfather, the 1st Earl of Minto, was the first family member to build an official connection with the Indian subcontinent, assuming the office of Governor-General of Bengal in 1807. Although not as territorially aggressive as the period of Wellesley that preceded it, the 1st Earl’s time in India was one of expansion in South and South East Asia, as Britain extended her interests in Java and the


Moluccas during the Napoleonic wars. A century later, the 4th Earl's political career coincided with what historians have traditionally described as a shift from the period of Victorian 'high imperialism' in British overseas policy to one of Edwardian pessimism. Like many young aristocrats of his generation, Minto, then Viscount of Melgund, cut his political teeth in overseas military and imperial service, and became part of a close-knit noblesse and gentry (often related by marriage) who ran British interests overseas. In his early 30s, Minto had experienced British imperial policy and eventually colonial administration 'on the spot', serving under Lord Roberts in the second Afghan War (1878-9) and as part of the British force of occupation in Egypt in 1882. A taste of this early experience can be seen in this collection (MS. 12536-40), in particular, the sense in which campaigns in both Afghanistan and Egypt were intimately connected to British perceptions of their Indian possessions. In this part of the collection, we have, for example, Minto's first views of the club in Bombay in January 1879, and his impressions of the viceroy of the time, Lord Lytton. Minto next served as military secretary to Lord Lansdowne, during his governor-generalship of Canada between 1883 and 1885. During this same period, he married Mary Caroline Grey, the daughter of Lt.-Gen. Hon. Charles Grey and sister to the 4th Earl Grey, who was to serve as Governor-General of Canada for the years 1904 to 1911, which coincided with Minto's eventual posting in India. After a brief political interlude back in Britain, in which Minto failed to be elected to parliament in 1886, he succeeded to his earldom (1891), and was called back to Canada to serve as Governor-General from 1898 up to his selection as Viceroy of India in 1905. (These related Canadian papers of the 4th Earl of Minto form the subject of a separate publication within the British records relating to America in microform series.)

Minto's experiences as Governor-General in Canada were characterised by a political atmosphere of growing Canadian nationalism, economic expansion and rapid population growth through immigration. His period as Viceroy was one which illustrated still more dramatically the rapid shift from Victorian optimism and jingoism to a new colonial mood which foreshadowed the less confident times to come after the Great War. Almost immediately after his arrival in India as Viceroy, Minto was faced with the most serious and widespread challenge to British power since the uprisings of 1857. Minto's predecessor as viceroy, Lord Curzon, had engineered (ostensibly and initially for administrative reasons, but eventually for political ones), the partition of Bengal into two separate provinces. Bengal, and in particular Calcutta, had for a long time been considered by Briton and Indian alike as the intellectual and cultural heartland of 'progressive' Indian political thought. Its 'bhadralok' (i.e. powerful, well-to-do) communities had been at the forefront of new print based initiatives of publicists promoting social and religious reform and Hindu revivalism, principally via the Bangabasi writers and the initiatives of men such as Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay (1838-1894). Calcutta, as one of the main Presidency capitals, was also home to some of the key leaders of the rapidly transforming Indian National Congress. A new generation of Congress leaders and publicists loosely connected to the INC via local political organisations, many of them based in Bengal, had by 1905 helped to spearhead a nationwide call for the boycott of British goods and the promotion of swadeshi – projects in national self-sufficiency, particularly in economic and educational spheres. This was a time then in which Indian elite politics

5 A detailed account of this official decision making can be found in Sarkar, pp9-30.
was shifting out of mendicancy and petition and into popular protest, with the growing prominence of the new set of 'radical' leaders, setting themselves off from the older 'moderates'. By the Congress session of December 1906, the former group had largely wrested control of the institution out of the hands of the moderates and appeared, for a time, to have pushed it as a whole into a very different political direction. It was certainly a radical turn that heralded the more turbulent period of Gandhian nationalism in the Congress from 1918. Of perhaps greater concern to men such as Minto, however, was that such radicalisation was clearly not just confined to the likes of B.G. Tilak (1856-1920), based in institutions like the Congress, which the Raj could easily monitor. The protests around the partition of Bengal also connected to more long-standing, local popular protests, many of them completely divorced from middle-class sensibilities or representational politics, and some concerned with what the state defined as 'revolutionary terrorism'.

On his arrival in India, Minto was confronted with this sensitive political situation and the attendant rise in the number and scale of radical anti-colonial protests in Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab. This collection contains extensive and detailed surveys of that crisis, both in official correspondence between the Viceroy, local governors, bureaucrats and army officers, and with the Secretary of State. It also contains press cuttings and items directly relating to Indian political activity (see for example, MS. 12723, containing material from nearly all of the major Indian papers in English for the period, on issues that range from the foundation of the Muslim League, relations with regional rulers, budget debates, the partition of Bengal and the swadeshi agitations). It covers the controversies surrounding Fuller’s repressive administration of East Bengal around the Spring of 1906, in which both Viceroy and Secretary of State had to balance a hard and confident line in the face of anti-colonialism, with British liberal objections to local repression (MS. 12632 (ii)). In addition it includes Minto’s observations on the build up to the crucial Congress meeting in December 1906, in which, as Viceroy, he found himself throwing his support behind Congress moderates led by Gokhale (see for example, MS. 12736).

Particularly interesting in this collection too, is the sense running through all the papers of the Viceroy’s attempts to uphold imperial authority through a careful cultivation of political moderation and official publicity. But beneath the public approaches to the Raj faithful, we also have ‘confidential’ insights into the machinations of the official mind, and the private differences between powerful men. Minto clearly considered the partition to have been a political mistake, comparing the situation (with typical British understatement) to the trouble that would be faced if the East Riding of Yorkshire were handled over to Lincolnshire (Minto to Morley, 13 and 20 Dec 1905, MS. 12735). However, like Curzon, he was tantalised by the possible political benefits when he suggested that ‘the crippling of Bengali power is… one of the strongest arguments in favour of partition. It is the growing power of a population, with great intellectual gifts and a talent for making itself heard.’ He was also willing to take on board some of the typical colonial stereotypes of Indians of the period, being generated through the new sciences of ethnography and social anthropology. For Minto (letter to Morley, 5 Feb 1906, MS. 12735), Bengalis, ‘very far from representing the more manly characteristics of the many races of India, [were] not unlikely to influence opinion at home most mischievously’.

Minto was appointed as Viceroy at a very critical moment in British domestic politics too – a situation which helped to create one of the most famous and revealing double acts in British imperial history. It is here, in its coverage of the correspondence between Minto and John Morley, that this collection contains some of its real gems. In 1905, the Conservative-Liberal Unionist coalition government of Balfour was tottering, to be replaced in December by a Liberal

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7 For a detailed account of how this affected western India, see Gordon Johnson, pp118-56.
8 See Peter Heehs, The bomb in Bengal: the rise of revolutionary terrorism in India, 1900-1910 (Delhi, 1993).
administration under Henry Campbell-Bannerman. This government appointed Morley as Secretary of State for India. Morley, a Gladstonian liberal, a literary maestro, who had distinguished himself with public critiques of Conservative British imperial policy in South Africa, contrasted starkly to the Viceroy. Minto, who 'disliked politics and the methods of politicians' believed that even representatives of moderate opinion in the Indian National Congress would 'never, I am convinced, possess the grit to play a leading part in the Government of India as a whole' (Minto to Morley, 3 April 1906). Morley, on the other hand, throughout the correspondence contained in this collection, makes repeated references to the Indian bureaucracy as 'Tchinovnik' – comparable to Tsarist autocrats, and only reconciled himself very uncomfortably to Raj policies of deportation, censorship and political repression. These differences were illustrated for most of the period from 1906-10, for example, in Morley's desire to have Fuller immediately removed from the governorship of East Bengal, compared to Minto's desire to show imperial strength, and his objection to interference from London.

However, the greatest points of difference and sensitivity between the two men, related to more fundamental issues of the exercise of imperial power, the use of control and censorship and 'liberal' colonial reform. In response to the greatly feared 'revolutionary' and secret societies, constantly compared to those of Italy, Ireland and Russia, Minto's government introduced a raft of controls (see for example, MS. 12609, 12631-2, as well as the detailed correspondence with Morley). This extended itself from the censorship of some of the key texts of anti-colonial radicalism, such as Veer Savarkar's *Indian War of Independence* (published 1909), presenting 1857 as a war for national liberation, and M.K. Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj*, which, while critiquing the revolutionary terrorism of the likes of Savarkar (1883-1996), compared the British parliament to 'a sterile woman and a prostitute'.

It also reached down to the everyday level, with the surveillance and interception of all postal articles sent to 'known' revolutionaries and all those addressed from abroad to members of the Indian army. Minto considered that 'the immense danger of anything going wrong in that direction, in my opinion, really justifies almost any action, however distasteful it may be' (Minto to Morley, 7 Aug 1907, MS. 12737). In contrast, Morley opposed these systematic interceptions, describing the process as 'searching for a needle in a haystack', and 'bungling'. Morley was even more concerned with the policy of deportation, and particularly with the impact that the removal of significant Indian leaders would have on opinion back in Britain. In April and May 1907, Minto succumbed to the calls of the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, Denzil Ibbetson, calling for the arrest and deportation of two radicals, Ajit Singh (1881-1947) and Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), both highly respected Indian leaders. Both men were sent to Mandalay, Burma in June 1907. Minto was keen to decide these cases quickly, and was probably aware that a failure to act would result in greater deliberation from London, and the raising of objections by the Secretary of State, who was later to be strongly opposed to the deportation of Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932). This action led to the Regulation of Meetings Ordinance, for Punjab and East Bengal and Assam, which prevented meetings around political subjects of any kind – again, pushed through quickly, before the objections of Morley could register.

Much of this kind of interplay (or lack of interplay) between Minto and the Secretary of State took place with the participation of local administrators and governors, many of whom were calling for greater powers to control Indian agitators. For example, Sir Harvey Adamson was in favour of quickly pushing through a Press Resolution in June 1907, before a large debate on Indian deportations and ordinances, so that it could be presented as a *fait accompli* (Harvey to Minto, 28 May 1907). Some of these interchanges provide the researcher with really invaluable insights into the official perspective on the activities of some of the key Indian leaders of the period, for

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10 For a survey of the context of this text and its critique of western modernity, see Anthony Parel, ed., *Hind Swaraj and other writings* (Cambridge, 1997), ppxi-lxxvi.
example, the correspondence between Arthur Lawley and Minto about the Bengali leader, Bipin Chandra Pal, in the early part of June 1907. At a more formal level, Minto's period of office has been viewed by historians as a time in which the repressive arm of the state was formally strengthened, with the institutionalisation of formal powers of control and surveillance. This included the Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908 and the Indian Press Act of 1910, both designed to put an end (although unsuccessfully) to 'inflammatory' writing. It also included the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of December 1908, containing the innovation that even the evidence of a witness who was subsequently murdered could be admissible (see for example, MS. 12673).

The papers, however, do not give the impression that Minto was consistently in favour of deportation, censorship and control or, indeed, that Morley was continually opposed to such policies. On the release of Lala Lajpat Rai in November 1907, Minto admitted that he had been wrong initially to agree to the deportation. The Viceroy was also opposed to the deportation of Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950) over the same period, arguing that his removal would alienate the very political groups that the Raj was aiming to befriend. In this latter case, Morley was more in favour of using a firm hand.11 As will be explored more below, although a reformist in relation to India, Morley was also quite happy to perpetuate the very conservative system of official majorities in the new legislative assemblies, set up through the Indian Councils Act 1909. Moreover, Minto was more enthusiastic than Morley in promoting the membership of an Indian on the Viceroy's Executive Council (for example, MS. 12610-11. In this sense, the collection provides invaluable material on the subtleties and inconsistencies of the British liberal tradition in the colonial context, and on the sense in which notions of individual liberty were culturally contingent.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution of this collection, in this case relating more directly to the political views of Minto himself, pertain to Islamic politics in India. As well as the correspondence of Minto himself on the subject, this includes letters, petitions and representations surrounding the formation of the Muslim League, the gradual establishment of a Muslim university at Aligarh, and the proposals for the setting up of what were seen as the foundations of Muslim separatism in India – separate electorates for Muslims. A large part of this material can be found in correspondence with persons in India, MS. 12764-73. Historians dealing with Minto's period have grappled with the question of British culpability surrounding the Muslim call for separate representation and electorates, as it first formally manifested itself in the Muslim deputation to the Viceroy on 1 Oct 1906. This so called Simla Deputation, headed by Mohsin-ul-Mulk (1837-1907), has been picked over as a possible example of the most profound form of British *divide et imperia*.12 One of the leading historians of Islam in India, however, has suggested that there was no deep Machiavellian plot here – simply a self-confident belief that the British would rule in India well beyond the foreseeable future, and would need conservative support to do so.13 Yet others see it as an early step in the gradual formulation of a sense of north Indian Muslim separatism made up of relatively autonomous political agencies, always aiming at the representation of the Muslim body politic as outside 'western' liberal political processes.14 Certainly, Minto was very keen to put his finger on how 'His Majesty's Muslim subjects' had been usefully loyal during the partition of Bengal agitations. But it is unclear how far the Viceroy thought of Muslim communities as essentially distinct and politically 'separate', and how far they were viewed simply as part of a larger strategy of building up 'classes who have a real stake in the country' (Minto to Viscount Midleton, 29 April 1908).

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12 For a sense of this debate, see Singh, ppxi-xii and 92-6.
The opinion that 'The Mohamedan deputation and the display of Mohamedan feeling generally has undoubtedly done much to minimise the importance of Bengalee vapourings' shows that at other times Minto had more instrumental reasons for backing Muslims (Minto to Morley, 11 Nov 1906, MS. 12736). It is clear that the deputation of October 1906 received the encouragement and blessing of Minto (an approach encouraged – some might argue, engineered – by Minto’s private secretary Dunlop Smith and Sir Theodore Morison), and that the foundation of the Muslim League followed in December. Morison, former principal of Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, had persuaded the Viceroy too that there was a good chance that north Indian Muslim sympathies could easily shift over to the Congress. Like Denzil Ibbetson, he had identified the 'dangers' of a coming generation of Muslims, who would surpass the likes of Tilak and Pal in their radicalism, but who would be nurtured in the same political stable of Aligarh (Denzil Ibbetson to Dunlop Smith, 10 Aug 1906). It is also clear, as suggested below, that Minto saw in the principle of separate electorates for Muslims, the key to managing what he saw as an 'Oriental' system of governance which privileged conservative representatives of each community.

The Minto papers therefore contain unique and fundamentally important material on this period, in which ambivalent and unstable expressions of Muslim loyalty helped to define both Raj policies towards 'minorities' and Muslim elite strategies. The whole episode of the Simla Deputation and its aftermath was also bound up with Morley’s announcement of a new reforms scheme – proposals which raised the fears of leaders like Mohsin-ul-Mulk about the possibility that the introduction of an 'elected element' to legislative councils would disadvantage Muslims. The background to this view linked both to the political thinking of Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) himself, but also to the strategies of political geography. The early Muslim League clearly had its political stronghold in the region of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (called Uttar Pradesh or UP in post-1947 India), where Muslims were in a minority of roughly 14% but politically very influential.15 The Minto collection provides fascinating and revealing material on the political ripples that UP Muslim politics created in Muslim majority areas of the Indian subcontinent too, such as Bengal and Punjab. In this sense, in a microcosm, and at a critical juncture in the formation of the Muslim League, it presents the political processes which drove the eventual 'two nation' theory.

Compared to the profound outcomes of the Simla Deputation and the eventual setting up of the principle of separate electorates for Muslims, other aspects of the Councils Act of 1909 appear relatively insignificant, especially considering the more far reaching reforms of 1919. Many accounts of the period cite 1909 as a footnote in the larger question of 'Muslim separatist' politics. The Councils Act was the means by which Minto, via Morley, aimed to realise his strategy of aristocratic and minority support for the Raj (see for example, MS. 12612-6, 12621). Official opinion was evenly divided over the question of whether a single Indian could be represented on the Executive Council (MS. 12610-11). The Arundel Committee, set up to investigate the shape of the reform process, suggested special representation for landed interests as well as Muslims on municipal and district boards, openly admitting that this representation would act as a counterpoise to the 'professional classes'. Its basic political assumption was still that 'European' forms of government were ill suited to 'Oriental' conditions. However, the Councils Act should also be seen as a stage in which the Raj was coming to terms with the rising challenge of newer political movements and leaderships. The Arundel Committee suggested that the previous 1892-3 reforms had not been enough to satisfy the demands of the 'educated classes', proposing not only the inclusion of an Indian on the Executive Council, but also the expansion of Legislative Councils. Certainly Minto, who fought strenuously alongside Morley for the inclusion of an Indian on his Executive, thought the reforms represented a great step forward. On 19 March 1909, he wrote to Morley that he saw this inclusion as 'a very great move – the acceptance of a new principle in our

15 Francis Robinson, Separatism among Indian Muslims: the politics of the United Provinces’ Muslims, 1860-1923 (Cambridge, 1975), sets out clearly the specific importance of UP in this political stance, especially pp10-32.
rule in India' (MS. 12739). In a more general sense, he believed that the reforms had set the stage for a very new phase in colonial governance, which heralded fresh partnerships with Indians on the one hand, but with an eye to incipient rebellion on the other: 'The bureaucratic windows have been opened' he wrote to Moberly Bell on 16 April 1906; 'they have been shut for too long, the air was getting very close inside, and outside the weather was becoming very stormy -- and if something had not been done, the storm would have broken the windows'. However, Minto's reign as Viceroy should not be seen in any sense as a first step towards anything resembling Indian independence, or even responsible self-government, envisaged by the discriminating British 'official mind' for the white dominions alone. Minto was not 'mad enough to imagine Colonial Government possible in India' (Minto to Morley, 13 May 1909, MS. 12739).

Once again, however, it was through the most thorny question of representation for Muslims, that differences between Secretary of State and Viceroy represented themselves most fiercely. And at a more profound level, the disagreement also reflected two broad approaches to Indian governance. On the one side was the faith of Morley that India could essentially be regarded as a proto-democratic system, moving gradually towards responsible self-government along the lines of a Westminster-style representation. Morley proposed a system of electoral colleges for Muslims, but within an overall system of joint electorates. This would, to Morley's mind, maintain the principle of proportional representation, avoid atomising the body politic unduly, but provide Muslims with reserved seats in elected bodies. On the other side, however, Minto probably viewed India as a Habsburg style collection of nationalities and communities, each with its own specific traditions of political representation and power. India, for Minto, being an 'Oriental' body politic, had to be governed using 'Oriental' methods and structures. He believed Morley's plans for electoral colleges to be 'unfair' to his petitioning Muslims. Only Muslim representation 'as a community', he argued 'would save us from trouble' (Minto to G.S. Clarke, Governor of Bombay 18 Jan 1909). Minto's insistence was driven by a desire to encourage more conservative elements of India's Muslim communities, but its outcome was to eventually push elements within the Muslim League into suggestions that the Muslims of India might be considered as a distinct nationality.

Significance of the collection for researchers
The period of 1905-1910 covering Minto's term as Viceroy was, even by the standards of late colonial India, a half decade of rapid political change – an eventful phase covering key transformations in institutional Indian nationalism (particularly with the rise of new radicalism in the Indian National Congress). It was also a significant time for non-elite, anti-colonial agitation, and for shifting colonial policies around surveillance, political control, censorship, deportation and imperial publicity. The latter themes have relevance far beyond the immediate interest of the historian of colonial India or of the British Empire. In recent years, histories and analyses of 'terrorism' and state control have accelerated interest in the ways in which states, in both democratic and authoritarian contexts, control and police their populations. The Minto collection offers some unique insights into the state in colonial contexts at a time of constitutional change. In particular, the correspondence contained here between Minto, as Viceroy, and Morley, the Secretary of State, on the one hand, and that between Minto and his provincial governors on the other, reveal detailed discussions about the pros and cons of the whole spectrum of state controls. This is also clearly a period in which the methods of violent resistance, characterised by officials as 'revolutionary terrorism', were becoming more powerful and threatening to official order. One of the most eminent Indian historians of this period has pointed out how few sources detailing the activities of 'revolutionary terrorists' have survived for the pre-1908 period. In this sense, the

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16 Cited in Singh, p126.
17 Sarkar, p465.
Minto collection offers particularly valuable colonial context for the rise of this under-researched extremism.

This is also a key period in the early history of distinctive 'constructive' Indian nationalism, with the widespread development for the first time of *swadeshi* as a political method for mass mobilisation; and the collection provides a central reference point for these movements. Historians of late colonial Gandhian nationalism would be ill advised to ignore this phase of Indian political development as background to the events leading up to independence. The core of the Minto collection consists of reports on the 'political situation', forming a good part of the Minto-Morley correspondence (MS. 12735-46) but also the correspondence with provincial governors and Indian petitioners (MS. 12754-63). We have in these papers some valuable reflections on leading figures in the anti-Bengal agitation, for example, and a range of official attitudes towards new forms of radical anti-colonial protest (for example, the anti-partition petition and correspondence, MS. 12632 (iii)). Over the last 40 years, historians have tended to neglect this transitional phase of the early 20th century, either to focus on the events of the post-1918 phase of anti-colonial nationalism, or to examine the 'roots' or 'origins' of India's political institutions in the late 19th century. Yet the roots of India's current anti-globalisation movement and contemporary *swadeshi*, manifesting themselves on the left and the right, are as much in the era of Tilak and Gokhale as they are in that of Gandhi.

There is also a great deal here for those interested in the changing nature of imperial power itself – the sense in which imperial attitudes or moods shifted in response to altered global and national developments. In this connection there is a wealth of material on India's overseas policies towards Afghanistan, 'pan-Islamism' in Egypt, affairs relating to Persia and the Persian Gulf (for example, in the 'Foreign Department' papers, MS. 12634-63, and MS. 12750-1, the correspondence with the Amir of Afghanistan). What is particularly striking about Minto's phase in India is that the older method of petitioning government, particularly the Viceroy, was giving way to a more anonymous and distanced direct action in colonial India. Whereas Minto's predecessors would have received numerous deputations and representations from particular Indian interest groups, the first decade of the 20th century was a phase in which such approaches were becoming fast unfashionable. We have here, therefore, a Viceroy whose position of confidence as a patriarchal benefactor was becoming increasingly unstable – a situation clearly reflected in the numerous instances of Minto's own pessimistic and cautious approach to political changes. The age of confident Victorian high imperialism was diminishing and in response, the whole basis of British imperial power in its most important possession was being adjusted and reformed in response to changing imperial priorities. A notable inclusion in these documents which provides the context for this change is a full survey of the turn of the century administration of Minto's predecessor, Lord Curzon (MS. 12588).

The collection traces these shifts in relation to India, but also, importantly in connection with political events back in Britain. Perhaps the most entertaining and unique quality of these papers, as detailed above, lies in the peculiar communication between a conservative Viceroy and a liberal reformist Secretary of State. This interaction allows the researcher to unpick the startlingly fragile and complex nature of British liberalism, and the contradictions it faced in colonial policy. For example, correspondence of March and April 1906 between Minto and Morley documents how the latter had interviewed a deputation of fifty textile workers who were calling for the introduction of health and medical inspectors into the Bombay factory system. Ostensibly the protest was against the 'callous inhumanity to children' working in India, but with one eye firmly on employer concerns about Indian competition (MS. 12735).

Last, but certainly not least, this is an indispensable research collection for any scholar of late colonial Indian Islamic politics. Minto's spate as Viceroy covered the formation of the Muslim League, the initial proposals for separate electorates for Muslims, and their implementation in the Councils Act 1909. Of particular interest here is the developing relationship between the *Raj* and
India’s significant religious minorities. It was from this period that the notion of north Indian Muslim loyalty began to solidify and be reflected in bureaucratic and military recruitment, and in the recognition of formal deputations. Running alongside these political developments, there is also material here for the researcher of Indian social and educational history – particularly documents containing detailed discussions, for example, on the Aligarh Muslim college and educational reform. But perhaps most significant was the fact that the years leading up to the 1909 reforms represented the first period in which the full constitutional implications of separate electorates on the basis of religious community were officially discussed. Separate electorates formed one of the most repeated political props for Muslim deputations, organisations and spokesmen developing strategies to represent the 'Muslim community', right up to the 1940s. The notion of separate political interests and their constitutional recognition was to live on in other forms for many years beyond independence, as each Indian government sought to define the special political interests of 'backward', 'depressed' or under-represented communities. It was the Indian state of the Minto years then which solidified what was to become the central Indian government's mechanism for dealing with 'community', 'religion' and 'nation' in the subcontinent.

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CONTENTS OF THE MICROFILMS

Selection from non-Indian papers

General correspondence

MS. 12380  (ii) Letters from Sir George Tindal Pretynman, 1879-1900 (206ff)  Reel 1
MS. 12411  List of correspondents, 1906-1912 (64ff)  Reel 1
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Diaries of the Countess of Minto

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MS. 12457  Engagement diary of the Countess of Minto as Vicereine of India, 1910 (105pp)  Reel 3

Diary of the 4th Earl of Minto

MS. 12505  Diary relating to the Afghan War, Apr-July 1879 (28ff)  Reel 3

Military papers

MS. 12536  Copies of letters written home from India during time on the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan, Jan-Feb 1879 (48ff)  Reel 3
MS. 12537  Copies of letters written home from India during time on the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan, Feb-Mar 1879 (39ff)  Reel 3
MS. 12538  Copies of letters written home from India during time on the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan, Mar-Apr 1879 (49ff)  Reel 3
MS. 12539  Copies of letters written home from India during time on the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan, Apr-May 1879 (48ff)  Reel 3
MS. 12540  Copies of letters written home from India during time on the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan, June 1879 (26ff)  Reel 3
MS. 12541  Military notebook relating to the North-West Frontier, 1879 (28ff)  Reel 3
MS. 12542  Military notebook relating to the North-West Frontier, 1879 (27ff)  Reel 3
MS. 12543  Military notebook relating to Egypt, 1882 (48ff)  Reel 3
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The Indian papers

Printed papers from Lord Curzon's administration (1899-1905)

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MS. 12589  Foreign Department: Native States (xlviii + 396pp)  Reel 4
MS. 12590  Foreign Department: Afghanistan (ii + 58 + 117pp)  Reel 5
MS. 12591  Foreign Department: The North-West Frontier and Baluchistan (53 + 130pp)  Reel 5
MS. 12592  Foreign Department: Aden and dependencies (29 + 44pp)  Reel 5
MS. 12593  Foreign Department: Persia and the Persian Gulf (80 + 145 + 118pp)  Reel 6
MS. 12594  Foreign Department: The Burmese border, Shan State, Chin-Lushai and Naga Hills, Manipur, Naga tribes, the Assam frontier, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan (55 + 44pp)  Reel 6
MS. 12595  Finance and Commerce Department (147 + viiipp)  Reel 6
MS. 12596  Department of Commerce and Industry, Mar-Nov 1905 (iv + 44pp)  Reel 7
MS. 12597  Railways (ii + 75 + vipp)  Reel 7
MS. 12598  Legislative Department (47pp)  Reel 7
MS. 12599  Military Department (original version) (xiii + 232 + 4pp)  Reel 7
MS. 12600  Military Department (revised version) (x + 184pp)  Reel 8
MS. 12601  Record of Lord Kitchener's administration of the Army in India, 1902-1909 (527 + 91 + xviiipp)  Reel 8
MS. 12602  Lord Kitchener, 'A Note on the Military Policy of India', 1906 (59pp)  Reel 9
MS. 12603  Proceedings of the Military Department concerning reorganisation, Oct 1904 (486pp)  Reel 9
MS. 12604  Papers relating to relations with North-West Frontier tribes and to military operations there, 1897 (175pp)  Reel 9
MS. 12605  Papers relating to relations with North-West Frontier tribes and to military operations there, 1898 (182pp)  Reel 9

Printed papers from the 4th Earl of Minto's administration

Home Department and related topics

MS. 12606  Summaries of events, 1905, 1910 (xiv + 350pp)  Reel 10
MS. 12607  Summaries of events, Nov 1905-Mar 1906 (66pp)  Reel 10
MS. 12608  Summaries of events, Apr 1906-Mar 1907 (106pp)  Reel 10
MS. 12609  Diary of events in India, Feb 1907-Nov 1910 (70ff)  Reel 10
| MS. 12610 | Indian Council reforms: report and notes of the committee established to consider the desirability of a council (ii + 140pp) | Reel 11 |
| MS. 12611 | Indian Council reforms: notes, including extracts of proceedings, on the workings of comparable federal systems (vi + 445pp) | Reel 11 |
| MS. 12612 | Reports of the Committee on Council Reforms, 1908 (608pp) | Reel 12 |
| MS. 12613 | Correspondence and enclosures relating to Indian Council reforms, 1908, Vol. I, part i (362ff) | Reel 13 |
| MS. 12614 | Correspondence and enclosures relating to Indian Council reforms, 1908, Vol. I, part ii (393ff) | Reel 14 |
| MS. 12615 | Correspondence and enclosures relating to Indian Council reforms, Nov 1908-Aug 1909 (263 + 109 + 46pp) | Reel 14 |
| MS. 12616 | Correspondence and enclosures relating to Indian Council reforms, July-Oct 1909 (613 + 9 + 712pp) | Reel 15 |
| MS. 12617 | Correspondence and papers relating to the creation of executive councils for Lieutenant-Governors, and the creation of an executive council for Bengal, 1909-1910 (127pp) | Reel 16 |
| MS. 12618 | Regulations for the enlarged imperial and provincial legislative councils, Oct-Nov 1909 (557pp) | Reel 16 |
| MS. 12619 | The Gazette of India, Extraordinary, 15 Nov 1909, announcing the implementation of the Councils Act, with its full text (459pp) | Reel 16 |
| MS. 12620 | Speech to the newly constituted Imperial Legislative Council, 25 Jan 1910, with subsequent Indian press reports (44pp) | Reel 16 |
| MS. 12621 | (i) Miscellaneous papers relating to councils reforms, mostly official (f1) (ii) Miscellaneous papers concerning the Council of Native Princes, 1906-7 (f117) (171ff) | Reel 17 |
| MS. 12622 | Memorandum on the origin and functions of the Indian Governments by W.S. Myer, compiled for the Royal Commission on Decentralization, 1907 (vii + 08pp) | Reel 17 |
| MS. 12623 | Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralization, 1909 (339pp) | Reel 17 |
| MS. 12624 | Memoranda on Native States in India, 1909-10 (380 + viiipp) | Reel 18 |
| MS. 12625 | Memoranda on Native States in India, 1909-10: maps (14 items) | Reel 18 |
| MS. 12626 | Report on the Administration of Marwar State, 1909-10 (49pp + 20ff) | Reel 18 |
| MS. 12627 | History of Mewar by A.F. Pinhey, 1910 (109 + xxxviipp) | Reel 18 |
| MS. 12628 | Correspondence concerning reforms in the Telegraph Department, 1908 (44pp) | Reel 19 |
| MS. 12629 | Manual of Instructions to officers of the Political Department of the Government of India, 1909 (vi + 47 + xvpp) | Reel 19 |
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MS. 12630 Letters received after the Ahmadabad outrage, 1909 (87pp) Reel 19

MS. 12631 Correspondence with ruling chiefs concerning measures to be taken to suppress sedition, 1909 (47pp) Reel 19

MS. 12632 (i) Miscellaneous correspondence and papers relating to sedition and to the control of the press, 1907-1911 (f1)
(ii) Papers relating to the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller as Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal and Assam, 1906 (f149)
(iii) Transcripts of letters and a petition against the partition of Bengal, 1906 (f190)
(212ff) Reel 19

MS. 12633 (i) Papers relating to the 4th Earl of Minto's refusal to sign the Punjab colonization bill, 1906-1907, with a memorandum for Lord Morley on legislation required for the Punjab Canal Colonies, 1910 (f1)
(ii) Memoranda concerning legal training for junior members of the Indian Civil Service, 1907, and universal primary education in India, 1910, and a report on the work of the Indian Students' Department in London, 1913 (f18)
(iii) Papers concerning relations between Indian dignitaries and local political officers, 1907, 1909 (f114)
(iv) Notes on Indian gentlemen granted interviews with the 4th Earl of Minto, 1905-10 (f118)
(v) Note on the administration of Bikaner, 1898-9 (f147)
(vi) Memoranda by the 4th Earl of Minto on his reasons for releasing political deportees, 1910 (f172)
(vii) Memorandum (n.d.) on the conferment of British protection on the Cis-Sutlej states (Patiala, Jind, and Kaithal) in 1809 (f189)
(viii) Memorandum (n.d.) on a proposed Industrial Institute for Women (f189)
(ix) List of principal officials in India, 1910 (f191)
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MS. 12634 Summaries relating to Afghanistan, the North-West Frontier, Sinkiang, and Gilgit (92ff) Reel 20

MS. 12635 Summaries relating to Persia and the Persian Gulf (iv + 168pp) Reel 20

MS. 12636 Summaries relating to Aden, Iraq, Baluchistan, Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan, Assam, Burma, and Thailand (v + 174pp) Reel 21

MS. 12637 Summaries relating to Native States and Departmental History (viii + 123 + 47pp) Reel 21

MS. 12638 (i) Summaries of the principal events and measures of the viceroyalty of the 4th Earl of Minto, 1905-Mar 1909 (f1) Reel 22
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(ii) Memorandum by St John Broderick, 1905, on Indian relations with Afghanistan from the Treaty of Gandamak in 1879 until 1905 (f32)
(iii) Memorandum by Lord Cromer on the situation in Egypt, 1906, mostly concerning the strength of the Pan-Islamic Movement (f40)
(iv) Reports on affairs in Afghanistan by the British agent in Kabul, 1907 (f56)
(v) Text of convention with Russia concerning Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet, 1907, with related papers, 1908 (f61)
(vi) Gazette of India concerning hours in the Foreign Department, 1909, and publishing correspondence with native rulers about sedition, 1910 (f84)
(vii) Memorandum of chief measures undertaken by the Foreign Department under the 4th Earl of Minto, and a memorandum concerning reorganisation of the Department, 1910 (f113)

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MS. 12639 Summaries of the principal events and measures of the 4th Earl of Minto's viceroyalty in the Internal Branch, 1905-09 (75ff) Reel 22
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MS. 12641 Memoranda of information received concerning the North East Frontier (Burma, Thailand, China, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, and Assam), 1906 (100ff) Reel 23
MS. 12642 Memoranda of information received concerning the North East Frontier (Burma, Thailand, China, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, and Assam), 1907 (126pp) Reel 23
MS. 12643 Memoranda of information received concerning the North East Frontier (Burma, Thailand, China, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, and Assam), 1908 (92pp) Reel 23
MS. 12644 Summary of principal events and measures of the viceroyalty of the 4th Earl of Minto in Afghanistan and the North West Frontier, 1905-09 (99ff) Reel 23
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MS. 12647 Memoranda of information received on affairs in and beyond the North-West Frontier, 1908 (138ff) Reel 24
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MS. 12649 Letters and memorandum concerning Afghan medals, 1892, 1901, acquired as curiosities by the British Agent in Kabul for the interest of the 4th Earl of Minto, 1908 (6ff + 3 medals) Reel 25
MS. 12650 Correspondence concerning the punitive expedition against the Zakka Khel, 1908 (65pp) Reel 25
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MS. 12653 Memoranda of information received relating to Persia and the Persian Gulf, 1906 (83ff) Reel 26

MS. 12654 Memoranda of information received relating to Persia and the Persian Gulf, 1907 (127ff) Reel 26

MS. 12655 Memoranda of information received relating to Persia and the Persian Gulf, 1908 (97ff) Reel 26

MS. 12656 Memoranda of information received relating to Persia and the Persian Gulf, 1909 (114ff) Reel 26

MS. 12657 Biographical notices of Persian statesmen and notables, 1905 (xx + 94pp) Reel 27

MS. 12658 Biographical notices of Persian statesmen and notables, 1909 (xvi + 120pp) Reel 27

MS. 12659 Summary of the principal events and measures during the viceroyalty of the 4th Earl of Minto in Saudi Arabia, with Aden, Yemen, Muscat, the west coast of the Persian Gulf, and Iraq, 1905-08 (79ff) Reel 27

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(ii) Letter and resolution concerning the revision of the rules for sanctioning expenditure from Indian revenue, 1908 (f52)

(iii) Papers relating to alterations in budget procedure, 1908 (f59)

(iv) Principal events affecting the Finance Department, 1906-09, mostly relating to the gold standard, currency, and excise (f76)

(v) Budget proposals, financial statement, and speech by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson on the introduction of the statement, 1910 (f90)

(vi) Memoranda on Indian currency difficulties, 1909-11 (f167)
(vii) Correspondence and papers concerning Indian exports of opium to China, 1910 (f237)
(viii) Memorandum on proposed excise duty on petrol, 1910 (f257)
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**MS. 12667**
(i) Annual summaries of the 4th Earl of Minto’s administration, 1905-Mar 1909 (f1)
(ii) Summary of principal measures, 1905-09 (f95)
(iii) Papers regarding the views of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce as to the move of the administrative capital of India to Delhi, 1912 (f100)
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**Railways Department**

**MS. 12668** Summary of the 4th Earl of Minto’s administration, 1905-1910 (ix + 91ff) Reel 30

**MS. 12669**
(i) Annual summaries of the 4th Earl of Minto’s administration, 1905-7, 1908-9 (f1)
(ii) Papers connected with the surveying and financing of the projected railways from Peshawar to Kabul by the Khyber, and from Kohat to Kabul by the Kurram Valley, 1906 (f70)
(iii) Papers relating to the Baghdad Railway, 1907-9 (f88)
(iv) Memorandum for the Secretary of State on funds for railway construction, 1909 (f136)
(v) Memorandum on the reconstruction of the South Indian Railway, 1910 (f142)
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**MS. 12670** Correspondence concerning a strike on the East India Railway, 1907 (17pp) Reel 30

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**MS. 12671** Summary of the work of the department under the 4th Earl of Minto, 1905-10 (29 + 4pp) Reel 30

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**MS. 12673** Correspondence concerning special legislation for the suppression of sedition, 1908 (22pp) Reel 31

**MS. 12674** Proceedings of the reformed Legislative Council: Calcutta, Jan-Mar 1910 (726pp (numbered 45-770)) Reel 31

**MS. 12675** Proceedings of the reformed Legislative Council: Simla, July-Aug 1910 (70pp) Reel 31
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**MS. 12676** Summary of the principal events and measures during the viceroyalty of the 4th Earl of Minto, 1905-10 (ii + 126pp)  
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**MS. 12677**  
(i) Annual summaries of the 4th Earl of Minto's administration, Department of Military Supply, 1905-June 1908 (f1)  
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(ii) Annual summaries of principal events and measures, June 1906-May 1909 (f24)  
(iii) *Imperial Gazetteer, India*, vol. iv, chap. xi, Army, 1905 (f51)  
(iv) Notes on establishments, 1907 (f86)  
(v) Progress report, no. 3, on the preparation of the army in India for war, and the redistribution scheme, 1908 (f98)  
(vi) Annual report on Imperial Service Troops, 1909-10 (f112)  
(vii) Explanatory note by the Chief of Staff on the formation of a General Staff in India, 1910 (f150)  
(viii) Memorandum on the Indian contribution to the cost of her naval defence, 1907 (f169)  
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**MS. 12678**  
(i) Correspondence and papers, including copies of earlier material, relating to the reorganisation of army administration, 1905 (f1)  
(ii) Memorandum by Lord Kitchener, 1906, concerning army reforms, an answer to the article by John and Richard Strachey, 'Playing with fire: Mr. Brodrick and Lord Curzon', *National Review*, vol. xlvi, 1905-6, pp593-620 (f151)  
(iii) Miscellaneous papers connected with the reform of army administration in India, 1906 (f169)  
(iv) Memoranda on the financial and personnel effects of the abolition of the Department of Military Supply, 1909-10 (f193)  
(v) Memorandum, possibly by Sir James Dunlop Smith, c1916, concerning the army reforms of 1906 (f239)  
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**MS. 12679**  
(i) Correspondence and papers concerning army commissions for Indians, 1909-12 (f1)  
(ii) Papers concerning rumours of a mutiny, 1900 (f62)  
(iii) Memorandum concerning a meeting of Lieutenant-Generals, 1905 (f68)  
(iv) Note of a redistribution scheme for garrisons, n.d. (f71)  
(v) Correspondence and papers on prostitution in the army cantonments, 1907 (f83)  
(vi) Report of the subcommittee of the Imperial Defence Committee, on the military requirements of the Empire for the defence of the North-West Frontier, 1907 (f102)  
(vii) Return of the strength of the army, European and Indian, 1908 (f114)  
(viii) Memorandum on the duties of a general staff, 1907 (f116)

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(ix) Papers and correspondence relating to Indian officers, and to relations between Indian and British troops, 1907 (f117)
(x) Memorandum on the capitation rate for the army in India, 1908 (f143)
(xi) Report on the volunteer force in India, 1909 (f146)
(xii) Miscellaneous papers on cavalry school, 1909, and on Indian Army law amendment, 1910; a map of the roads between Siliguri and Gyantse by Douglas Haig, n.d.; and a memorandum on the strength of local land forces in the British dominions overseas excluding India, 1905 (f167)

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MS. 12687 Proofs of speeches by the 4th Earl of Minto, Feb-Nov 1910, with the ms of a toast to Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, his successor (108ff) Reel 35
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MS. 12735 Printed copies of correspondence with the Secretary of State for India, Nov 1905-June 1906 (xx + 163 + 237pp) Reel 38
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| MS. 12751 | Printed copies of correspondence with the Amir of Afghanistan, 1908-10 (vi + 103 + 95pp) | Reel 45 |
| MS. 12752 | (i) Correspondence with the Amir of Afghanistan, 1910-12 (f1) (ii) Letter from the Dalai Lama, 1910 (f37) (iii) Letters from Indian princes and dignitaries, many in connection with the 4th Earl of Minto's departure, and with the Coronation of George V, 1910-May 1912 (f42) (286ff) | Reel 46 |
| MS. 12753 | (i) Letters from Indian princes and dignitaries, June 1912-1914 (f1) (ii) Memoranda concerning Indian rulers attending the Coronation of George V (f100) (iii) Printed speech by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., at the opening of the 25th Indian National Congress, 1910 (f154) (159ff) | Reel 46 |

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| MS. 12764 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, Nov 1905-June 1906 (xv + 285 + 91pp) | Reel 47 |
| MS. 12765 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, July-Dec 1906 (xviii + 194 + 82pp) | Reel 47 |
| MS. 12766 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, Jan-June 1907 (xvii + 291 + 115pp) | Reel 48 |
| MS. 12767 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, July-Dec 1907 (xxi + 250 + 143pp) | Reel 48 |
| MS. 12768 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, Jan-June 1908 (xvii + 287 + 149pp) | Reel 49 |
| MS. 12769 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, July-Dec 1908 (xvii + 237 + 113pp) | Reel 49 |
| MS. 12770 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, Jan-June 1909 (xvii + 257 + 109pp) | Reel 50 |
| MS. 12771 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, July-Dec 1909 (xviii + 196 + 90pp) | Reel 50 |
| MS. 12772 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, Jan-June 1910 (xx + 234 + 96pp) | Reel 51 |
| MS. 12773 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons in India, July-Dec 1910 (xiv + 160 + 80pp) | Reel 51 |

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| MS. 12776 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons outside India, 1905-June 1908 (xviii + 242 + 154pp) | Reel 52 |
| MS. 12777 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams to and from persons outside India, July 1908-Nov 1910 (xx + 297 + 282pp) | Reel 52 |
| MS. 12778 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams of congratulation on the 4th Earl of Minto's assumption of the viceroyalty, 1905 (27pp) | Reel 53 |

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| MS. 12780 | Printed volume of letters and telegrams of condolence on the death of Edward VII from persons in the Punjab, with reports of ceremonies held there to commemorate him, 1910 (221pp) | Reel 53 |
| MS. 12781 | Printed copies of letters and telegrams of farewell, with replies 1910 (28 + 15pp) | Reel 53 |

**Miscellaneous papers**

| MS. 12782 | The Countess of Minto’s engagement book, 1906 (105pp) | Reel 53 |
| MS. 12783 | The Countess of Minto’s engagement book, 1907 (105pp) | Reel 53 |
| MS. 12784 | The Countess of Minto’s engagement book, 1908 (106pp) | Reel 54 |
| MS. 12785 | The Countess of Minto’s engagement book, 1909 (105pp) | Reel 54 |
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| MS. 12787 | (i) Correspondence connected with the offer and acceptance of the vice-royalty, 1905 (f1) | Reel 55 |
| | (ii) Correspondence with Arthur Bigge, Baron Stamfordham, 1906-13 (f165) | Reel 55 |
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(iii) Correspondence with William St John Brodrick, 1st Earl of Midleton, 1906-9, 1913 (f261)
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(ii) Private opinions on General Sir Garrett O'Moore Creagh as a successor to Lord Kitchener as commander-in-chief in India, 1909 (f50)
(iii) Letters from Lady Hawkes and Lady Duff (with some anonymous letters) relating to the claims of their husbands (General Sir Henry Hawkes and General Sir Beauchamp Duff) to the post of commander-in-chief in India, 1909 (f57)
(iv) Correspondence concerning the proposed suppression of the post of Director-General of Archaeology in India, 1911 (f79)
(v) Correspondence relating to the case of Lieutenant Anketell M. Read, who lost his commission for assaulting an Indian medical officer, 1911-12 (f103)
(vi) Miscellaneous correspondence, 1900, 1905, 1907-12 (f136)
(326ff)

MS. 12789  Ts copies of correspondence mostly with Indian ruling chiefs and other notabilities concerning the erection of a memorial statue to the 4th Earl of Minto in Calcutta, 1910 (134ff)  Reel 57

MS. 12790  Scrap-book offered to the Countess of Minto containing signatures of ladies in India and watercolour scenes, 1910 (79ff)  Reel 57

MS. 12791 Letters and telegrams of condolence to the Countess of Minto on the 4th Earl of Minto's death, with copies of Indian newspaper reports, 1914 (349pp)  Reel 58

MS. 12792  List of plate sent to India, 1905 (ii + 15ff)  Reel 59

MS. 12793  (i) Correspondence and papers concerning the settlement of accounts with Lord Hardinge, 1910-11 (f1)  Reel 59
(ii) Correspondence and papers relating to stable accounts, 1911-12 (f63)
(iii) List of the contents of packing cases sent home, 1910 (f143)
(274ff)

MS. 12794  Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1905 (2ff)  Reel 59

MS. 12795  *Practice and Procedure of the Government of India*, Calcutta, with annotations, 1906 (234 + xiiipp)  Reel 60

MS. 12796  *Descriptive List of the Pictures at Government House, Calcutta*, Calcutta, 1897 (49 + ivpp)  Reel 60

MS. 12797 Printed statement of the 4th Earl and Countess of Minto's game bag during their stay in India, 1910 (39pp)  Reel 60

MS. 12798 Memorandum pad, c1910 (19ff)  Reel 60
### The Indian papers of the 4th Earl of Minto

| MS. 12799 | Printed papers, including speeches, account of processions and subscription lists, relating to the All India King Edward Memorial, Delhi, 1911 (64pp) | Reel 60 |
| MS. 12800 | Miscellaneous Indian speeches, dinner menus and seating plans, 1905-13 (186ff) | Reel 61 |
| MS. 12801 | Drafts of, and notes for speeches made (with ephemera), 1911-12 (161ff) | Reel 61 |
| MS. 12802 | Copies of magazine and newspaper articles written by and concerning the 4th Earl of Minto, 1880-1914 (14 items) | Reel 61 |
| MS. 12803 | Ts copies of appreciations, 1918-19 (31ff) | Reel 61 |