SPEECHES

BY

LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

VOL. II.

1900—1902.

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SPEECHES

BY

THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

1900-1902.

STATEMENT ON FAMINE.

[A meeting of the Legislative Council of the Governor General of India took place at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the 19th October, 1900. Before proceeding with the business of the Council, His Excellency the President made the following statement regarding the administration of the recent famine in India :—] 19th Oct. 1900.

Exactly a year ago to-day I made a speech in this Council upon the then impending famine. Throughout the twelve months that have intervened, this famine, which, within the range of its incidence, has been the severest that India has ever known, has been the main preoccupation of Government. It has engrossed our whole attention, has placed a terrible strain both upon our resources and our officials, has disorganised our finances, and has addressed a perpetual and irresistible appeal to our individual humanity. Now that it is drawing to a close, it may not be inappropriate that I should attempt to sum up the results of the past year's experience; so that the public may realise within a short compass what the Great Famine of 1899-1900 has meant, how we have endeavoured to meet it, what a mark it has left, or will leave, upon the history of the country, and what is the teaching that may be derived from a study of its features.

We cannot, I think, be accused of having failed to anticipate or to provide for this great drought. Our anxiety as to the prospects dated from as far back as July, 1899. In the early autumn the Local Governments and ourselves were

busily occupied in making preparations for the possible failure of the monsoon. When I spoke in October, relief operations had already commenced, and half a million persons were on relief. The numbers rapidly rose, month by month, till, in July last, they touched the unprecedented total of considerably more than six millions of persons. Even now, over two millions are still in receipt of relief; though we hope that, in the course of next month, the necessity may disappear, and that the whole of this number may before long go away to their homes.

The main statistical features of the famine are already sufficiently well known and may be briefly dismissed. It has affected an area of over 400,000 square miles, and a population of about 60 millions, of whom 25 millions belong to British India and the remainder to Native States. Within this area the famine conditions have, during the greater part of the year, been intense. Outside it they have extended, with a gradually dwindling radius, over wide districts which have suffered much from loss of crops and cattle, if not from actual scarcity. In a greater or less degree nearly one-fourth of the entire population of the Indian continent have come within the range of relief operations. It is difficult to express in figures with any close degree of accuracy the loss occasioned by so widespread and severe a visitation. But it may be roughly put in this way. The annual agricultural production of India and Burma averages in value between 300 and 400 crores of rupees. On a very cautious estimate, the production in 1899-1900 must have been at least one-quarter, if not one-third, below the average. At normal prices the loss was, at least, 75 crores, or fifty millions sterling. In this estimate India is treated as a whole. But in reality the loss fell on a portion only of the continent, and ranged from almost total failure of crop in Guzerat, Berar, Chhattisgarh, and Hissar, and in many of the Rajputana States, to 20 and 30 per cent. in districts of the North-Western Provinces and Madras, which

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were not reckoned as falling within the famine tract. If to this be added the value of some millions of cattle, some conception may be formed of the destruction of property which a great drought occasions. There have been many great droughts in India, but there has been no other of which such figures could be predicated as these.

It must further be remembered that, unlike previous famines, that of 1900 was separated by the short space of only two years from a drought not greatly inferior to it in extent and scarcity. Some tracts which suffered in 1896-7 have been fortunate enough to escape in 1899-1900. But the most calamitous feature of the recent famine has been that there were others which not only suffered again, but suffered in a worse degree. This was the case in the Central Provinces, and in portions of Rajputana, Central India, the South-East Punjab, and the Bombay Deccan. Apart from this area of two-fold distress, the centre of gravity tended, on the present occasion, to shift towards the west. The cluster of Native States lying between the Nerbudda, the Jumna, and the Sutlej, were swept into the area of scarcity. Finally, the fertile provinces of Guzerat and Kathiawar, whose rainfall is generally so abundant and so steady that they have been styled the Garden of India, were attacked; and there, in proportion as the immunity hitherto enjoyed has been the longest, so was the suffering the most widespread and enduring.

This was the situation with which we were confronted a year ago, and which has gradually developed since. It was not merely a crop failure, but a fodder famine on an enormous scale, followed in many parts by a positive devastation of cattle—both plough cattle, buffaloes, and milch kine. In other words, it affected, and may almost be said to have annihilated, the working capital of the agricultural classes. It struck some of them when they were still down from the effects of the recent shock. It struck others, who had never before known what calamity was, and who were

crushed and shattered by the suddenness and directness of the blow. It attacked Native States, to whose Durbars had never previously been brought home the obligation of famine relief on an extended scale, and whose dearth of administrative staff was enhanced by the poverty of their financial resources. It laid its hand upon primitive hillmen, unused to discipline or restraint, impulsive, improvident, lazy, living in an almost barbarous state in wild and inaccessible jungles. It sharpened the lurking nomadic instinct of wandering tribes, and sent them aimlessly drifting about the country, a terror to the famine officer, and an incubus to the camps. For a year it never left hold of its victims; and one-half of the year had not elapsed before famine had brought its familiar attendant Furies in its train; and cholera, dysentery, and fever had fallen upon an already exhausted and enfeebled population. This is the picture of suffering that India has presented during the past year. Let us now examine the steps that have been taken to ameliorate it.

In such diverse circumstances the methods of relief, the difficulties encountered, and the degree of success attained have varied greatly. The preceding famine had bequeathed experiences and lessons of the utmost value, which were carefully gathered up by the Commission of 1898, and which have profoundly affected the policy of the present famine. The stress laid by the Commission on the necessity for starting relief before the people have run down; their advocacy of more extensive gratuitous relief, especially in the form of kitchen relief; their recommendations concerning the special treatment of aboriginal and forest tribes; their approval of small or village relief works in special circumstances in preference to large works: these and other injunctions will be found to have influenced our measures and shaped our course throughout the famine. The Commission's recommendations were generally in the direction of greater flexibility in relief methods, and greater

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liberality of relief. The dangers of ill-regulated profusion are obvious; and, apart from all considerations of cost, it would be a national misfortune if relief were ever made so facile or so pleasant as to destroy the self-respect and self-reliance of the people. But the Commission were not unmindful of this danger; and their findings amounted to this, that they recognised that, in the last famine, we had not succeeded in preventing great mortality and suffering, and that they thought better results might be attainable by a larger expenditure of money and a somewhat greater regard to the circumstances of special localities and classes. They said in effect that, if it was good policy to combat a famine, it was good policy to combat it effectively. It is possible that, in certain directions, their recommendations erred on the side of over-liberality. Their wage-scale is an instance. It was tried in all provinces at the commencement of the present famine, but was speedily reduced by the independent consent of all Local Governments. Again, their advocacy of gratuitous relief may be said by some to have led, in the present famine, to a scale of alms-giving unprecedented in magnitude, and likely to embarrass future famine administration. This question I will discuss in a moment. I merely mention the matter now to show that, in the present famine, we have broken new ground, and, acting upon the lessons of its predecessor, have accepted a higher standard of moral and financial obligation than has ever before been recognised or acted upon in this or any country.

If, indeed, a special characteristic should be attributed to our campaign of famine relief in the first year, it has been its unprecedented liberality. There is no parallel in the history of India, or in that of any country in the world, to the total of over six million persons who, in British India and the Native States, have for weeks on end been dependent upon the charity of Government. Let me compare these figures with those of the preceding famine.

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In 1897 the high-water mark of relief was reached in the second fortnight of May, when there were nearly four million persons on relief in British India. Taking the affected population at 40 millions, the ratio of relief was 10 per cent. In one district of Madras, and in two districts of the North-Western Provinces, the ratio for some months was about 30 per cent.; but these were exceptional cases. In the most distressed districts of the Central Provinces, 15 or 16 per cent. was regarded in 1896-7 as a very high standard of relief. Now take the figures of the present year. For some weeks in June and July, upwards of 4½ million persons were on relief in British India. Reckoned on a population of, say, 25 millions, the ratio of relief was 18 per cent. as compared with 10 per cent. in 1897. In many districts the proportion exceeded 20 per cent. In several it exceeded 30 per cent. In two districts it exceeded 40 per cent. In the small district of Merwara, where famine has been present for two years, 75 per cent. of the population has been on relief. Nothing that I might say can intensify the simple eloquence of these figures.

The next test that I apply is that of the number of officers whom we have lent both to British districts and to Native States to reinforce the overworked, and in many cases undermanned, local establishments. From the Army 84 Staff Corps Officers, 17 Native Officers, 10 British Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates, and 228 Native Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates, have been deputed for periods of various length to famine duty in British India and Native States. They have done excellent work. Including the above, the total number of public officials deputed from civil and military employ to famine duty has amounted to 637. Among these were 35 Assistant Surgeons, and 141 Hospital Assistants, 44 Civil Engineers, 10 Royal Engineers, and 24 Public Works subordinates. Large as these numbers were, we would gladly have sent more, had the men been forthcoming. Since

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the famine began, I cannot recall ever having refused an application, if it was possible to grant it. We literally scoured the remaining provinces of India for the loan of men, and with great generosity, wherever practicable, their Governments responded to the appeal. After my return from Guzerat, we collected and sent down a large number of additional Hospital Assistants, of whom I had noted a regrettable paucity, to Bombay. Similarly, in the Native States, as the Chiefs and Durbars have repeatedly acknowledged, it has only been owing to the administrative knowledge, the unflagging energy, and the devotion of the British Officers whom we have lent to them, that they have escaped a disastrous breakdown.

My third test is that of financial outlay. The direct expenditure on famine relief in British India, and in Berar, from the commencement of relief operations up to the end of August, has been 854 lakhs of rupees. We estimate a further expenditure of about 150 lakhs up to the 31st March next, making in all, in round numbers, about 10 crores of rupees. In loans and advances to landholders and cultivators, we have expended Rs. 238 lakhs. We have made advances for plough cattle and for agricultural operations this autumn free of interest, and on very easy terms as to eventual repayment; and our expectation is that not more than one-half will be recovered. In the matter of land revenue, our latest estimate is that, of a demand of Rs. 392 lakhs in the Central Provinces and Bombay, Rs. 164 lakhs will be uncollected during the year. In the distressed districts of the Punjab, suspensions aggregating Rs. 41 lakhs are anticipated. With these figures I compare those for the famine of 1896-7, calling attention, however, to the fact that, in 1896-7, the area and population in British India affected by famine were considerably larger than in the present year. The total direct expenditure on famine relief was 727 lakhs of rupees; 130 lakhs were advanced as *takavi*: and land revenue to the amount of about two crores was

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suspended. In this comparison, our further outlay in connection with relief in Native States has been omitted, for the reason that, in 1896-7, the calls upon us in that respect were insignificant. In the present famine, our loans to Native States in Rajputana have amounted to 69 lakhs of rupees: to Native States in the Bombay Presidency we have lent 78 lakhs of rupees, besides guaranteeing the repayment of loans to the amount of 105 lakhs of rupees borrowed by other States in the market. We have also come to the assistance of the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose extensive dominions have suffered from severe drought. In all, our actual loans to Native rulers in connection with the present famine amount, in the aggregate, to over 3½ crores. This is exclusive of the guaranteed loans. Without this assistance it may be safely said that the States would have been wholly unequal to the task of relieving their subjects, and even, in some cases, of carrying on the ordinary administration of their territories.

I now pass to an examination of the methods of famine relief which we have adopted. In one respect they have differed materially from those of the preceding famine. Profiting by its lessons, we have learned to apply a much more flexible system. Thus, in 1897, the effective relief of the aboriginal races in the Central Provinces was regarded as an insoluble problem. They suffered and perished in their jungles. This year, congenial work and extensive gratuitous relief were provided for them in the forests, and the Gonds and Baigas have survived with no exceptional mortality. Again, whereas in 1897 there was a terrible mortality in the Central Provinces when the rains set in, owing to the abrupt closing of relief works without a simultaneous expansion of home or village relief, in the present year we have scattered broadcast over the country an extensive system of kitchen relief, upon which, while no one disputes its general necessity or its success, the only criticism that has been passed is that it has erred on the side of liberality, and has been abused by able-bodied persons who preferred to be fed for

nothing in the kitchens to earning their own livelihood in the fields. In 1897, the complaint was one of parsimony and lack of preparation. If we have now, in some cases, gone too far in the opposite direction, some allowance must be made for the natural recoil from earlier mistakes.

Guzerat supplies another instance of the degree in which we have accentuated and added to the flexibility of the Famine Code. When the great outbreak of cholera had disorganized the large relief works and had driven the terrified workers away to their homes, and when extraordinarily high death-rates revealed the existence of very widespread destitution and suffering, the Government of India did not hesitate to advise the Bombay Government to meet the situation by enlarging the customary bounds of gratuitous relief, and by opening petty village works to take the place of the deserted Public Works relief camps. The effect of this policy was that, whereas in the middle of May the number of persons on gratuitous relief in the five districts of Guzerat was little more than 50,000, at the end of June it had risen to 150,000, at the end of July to 308,000, and by the middle of August to 385,000, the last figure representing more than 12 per cent. of the entire population of those districts. Before the present famine, such a percentage would have been regarded as a flagrant abuse of famine relief. We were, however, satisfied that a strict adherence to the labour-test principle would, in June and July last, have failed to meet the very special set of circumstances created by the cholera outbreak in Guzerat, and I have no doubt that the satisfactory decline in the death-rate was largely due to the policy adopted.

In drawing attention, however, to the greater liberality of relief that has been practised, the question may be asked whether it was, after all, only due to the superior intensity of this year's famine, or whether it has denoted greater efficiency and perfection of method, or has perhaps only been the result of promiscuous and thoughtless charity.

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Some part of it must, no doubt, be attributed to the greater severity of the recent distress which I have already demonstrated. Upon the second head we may safely claim to have profited by experience in the improvement of our relief arrangements, and in their more accurate adaptation to the special circumstances of different districts, the special requirements of different classes, and the different seasons of the year. No critic would dispute this proposition. As regards the third point, it is not without a smile that, while I now read in some quarters that the conditions of relief, notably in respect of kitchen relief in the Central Provinces, have been relaxed to a dangerous and demoralising degree, I remember that, nine months ago, the Government of India were being assailed for the alleged stringency and harshness of the warnings that they had given in the Circular of December, 1899. Looking back upon our entire experience, I have now no hesitation in saying that our warning note was well-timed and was wisely issued. Our enquiry was followed by a very salutary re-organization of relief works in the Central Provinces and elsewhere, by large additions in all provinces to the superior famine staff, and by considerable improvements in the supervision and conduct of relief measures. One of its results was the exposure of the inadequacy of the superior staff, and of the dangers which were certain to ensue if this were not rectified. It was in consequence of this discovery that we offered the substantial help, in respect of Staff Corps Officers, Medical Officers, officers drafted from the Postal, Salt, and Police Departments, and Engineers, of which I have already spoken.

I should like to add that, in my opinion, there was no inconsistency between the position taken up by the Government of India in the first months of the famine, and their subsequent attitude in permitting a vast expansion of gratuitous relief during the rains in the Central Provinces, and in counselling the Government of Bombay to relax the conditions

of relief in Guzerat, when cholera had disorganized the large works. Conditions are radically different at the beginning and at the height of a famine: and a degree of firmness at the outset is essential, which would, at a later stage, be altogether out of place. If this be borne in mind, our policy will on examination prove to have been consistent throughout. On the one hand, we have set our face against indiscriminate and pauperising charity, and have endeavoured to insist on relief being administered with the care and method which we owe to the taxpayer and to the exchequer. On the other hand, we have been prepared to accept any expenditure of which it could be shown that it was required to save life, or to mitigate genuine distress. The only intelligent, and the only possible, policy is based on these two principles. There is no contradiction between them. No famine has ever been, or ever will be, successfully administered, that does not exhibit, according to the point from which it is scrutinised, the opposite characteristics of strictness and leniency, or that is not open to the charge —if charges are to be brought—of being at different moments profuse and grudging.

Nevertheless, we may still be asked whether we are quite satisfied that the abnormal mortality in Guzerat, the widespread misery described by competent observers, and the temporary breakdown of the relief machinery in that part, were not due to any fault in our initial instructions. That the mortality was very great cannot be denied. In Broach the monthly death-rate rose from 2·96 *per mille* in October, 1899, to 24·83 in May, 1900. In the Panch Mahals, the death-rate for the same month of May was 46·60 *per mille*; in Kaira 21·07; in Ahmedabad 24. These rates include deaths from cholera, a most virulent wave of which swept over Guzerat in April; although it is impossible to distinguish accurately between the mortality for which cholera was directly responsible, and that which was due to other diseases, to debility, to privations, and to the temporary

disorganization of the camps. I have seen the report of a special enquiry which has just been conducted into the Guzerat mortality by the Sanitary Commissioner to the Bombay Government. He specifies no fewer than eight causes for the excessive death-rate in that district. They were—insufficient and unwholesome food; resort to Rangoon rice and other unaccustomed grains; bad cooking and bad water; the physical softness of a people who had never previously experienced famine; the unwillingness of certain classes, such as the Bhils and herdsmen, to apply for relief; and the vagabond instincts of large sections of the population. Some of these causes were preventible or reducible; the majority were not. If a perfect relief system is anywhere attainable, it is obvious that it is more likely to be realised in a district where the people are already acquainted with the principles of relief, and where they feel no natural reluctance to avail themselves of it. Neither of those conditions was present in Guzerat. The rapidity and completeness of the calamity took the people by surprise; the weakness and incapacity for resistance of the people took the Local Government by surprise. Had there been greater previous experience in either respect, the results might have been modified. The failure was certainly not due to any antecedent orders on the part of Government, or to any parsimony in the scheme of relief. On the contrary, the actual cost of relief per head in Bombay exceeded the cost-rate in other parts of India. While, therefore, I feel that the excessive mortality in Guzerat is a phenomenon, of which it is difficult to give a full explanation, and which may still call for further enquiry, I think that a good deal of weight should be attached, in a comparison, for instance, between Guzerat and the Central Provinces, to the different temperaments of the afflicted populations, and to their relative familiarity or unfamiliarity with relief methods.

If we examine the death-rate elsewhere, we shall find that, in the Central Provinces, it remained satisfactorily low

until the concluding months of the famine. Excluding epidemic disease, the provincial rate for April was only 3·25 *per mille*, and for May 3·42 *per mille*. These were the worst months in Guzerat. In June, the rate (excluding cholera and small-pox, which carried off 23,000 persons) rose to 4 *per mille*, and in some parts was higher. In July it rose to 5·35 *per mille*, while some districts showed a local rate of from 7 to 10 *per mille*. In August, the death-rate in one district rose to no less than 15·21 *per mille*. It is a curious fact, however, that this high mortality was not accompanied by any exterior evidence of starvation or even of emaciation. The people in fact did not die of want of food, but from the sudden change in climatic conditions, which occurs during and after the rains.

In the Punjab the mortality statistics exhibit much the same features as in the Central Provinces, though in a slightly less degree. In Hissar, where the death-rate has been highest, it has never exceeded 8 *per mille*, excluding cholera. The result of my examination has been to show that relief has been fully and sufficiently given in the Punjab, and that there has been no mortality from starvation, or even from direct privation, save in the case of wanderers from Native States, who arrived in too debilitated a condition to be saved.

In Berar the death-rate has been generally moderate, except in two districts adjoining the Nizam's Dominions, where there was much pauper emigration across the border. In the last weeks of the hot weather, the mortality rose everywhere, especially in those two districts; but no one has been found to suggest that it was due to any deficiency of relief.

I do not speak of the mortality in the Native States, which has, in many cases, been shocking, because the Government of India cannot be held responsible for a system which it does not control, and because my sole desire has been, while stating the best, and admitting the worst, that

can be said about our own methods, to ascertain how far the latter have justified themselves, or are capable of amendment. Broadly speaking, it may be said that no endeavours which it is in the power of the most philanthropic or generous of Governments to put forward will avail to prevent an increase of mortality during a severe famine. No relief system in the world will counteract the effects of reduced food supply, cessation of wages, high prices, and break up of homes, among millions of people, or will prevent famine from being attended by its twin sister, pestilence.

When, however, I read the records of earlier famines, and compare their results with this, I do feel some cause for satisfaction. We are sometimes told of the wonderful things that happened in India before the days of British rule, and are invited, in most unhistorical fashion, to regard it as a Saturnian age. I have looked up the statistics of the last great famine that occurred in Bengal, while that province was still under Native administration. This was in the year 1770. I speak of local administration, because, although the Diwani of Bengal had been assumed by the Company a few years before, the latter had not yet taken over the civil administration, which remained in the hands of the former Native officers of the Delhi Government. Throughout the summer of that year it is on record that the husbandmen sold their cattle; they sold their implements of agriculture; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found; they ate the leaves of trees, and the grass of the field; and, when the height of the summer was reached, the living were feeding on the dead. The streets of the cities were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dead and dying: even the dogs and jackals could not accomplish their revolting work. Disease attacked the starving and shelterless survivors, and swept them off by hundreds of thousands. Before the end of May, 1770, one-third of the population was officially

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calculated to have disappeared; in June the deaths were returned as 6 is to 16 of the whole inhabitants: and it was estimated that one-half of the cultivators must perish. Two years later Warren Hastings, who had assumed the Government of Bengal on behalf of the British Power, stated the entire loss as at least one-third of the inhabitants, and subsequent calculations revealed that the failure of this single crop, in the single province of Bengal, had carried off, within nine months, no fewer than ten, out of less than thirty, millions of human beings.

After this appalling record of what famine meant in India a century ago, it was almost with a sense of relief that I read the other day, in a manifesto issued by an English M. P. to his constituents, whom I may observe in passing that he no longer represents, that "Lord George Hamilton and Lord Curzon have looked helplessly on, while two millions of human beings have perished of starvation and disease in India." Had this statement been true, however damaging to the Secretary of State or to myself, it would yet have pointed an extraordinary contrast between the methods and results of 1900, and those of the eighteenth century. But that it is not true is known to every intelligent person in England and in this country. Every man, woman, and child, who has perished in India in the present famine has been a burden upon my heart, and upon that of Government. Their sufferings have never been absent from our thoughts. It cannot truthfully be said, even by the most envenomed of opponents, that we have looked helplessly on. On the contrary, I fearlessly claim, and I challenge contradiction, that there has never been a famine when the general mortality has been less, when the distress has been more amply or swiftly relieved, or when Government and its officers have given themselves with a more whole-hearted devotion to the saving of life and the service of people.

What the actual mortality may have been it is impossible to tell with complete accuracy. At a later date the

forthcoming census will throw useful light upon the problem. At the same time, from a comparison of the normal death-rate of the famine-stricken districts in British India, with which alone, of course, I am competent to deal, with the death-rate throughout the twelve months' duration of the drought, we can ascertain that there has been an excess mortality of 750,000, or three-quarters of a million persons. But, out of this total, we also know that cholera and small-pox have accounted for a recorded mortality of 230,000, figures which are admitted to be below the mark. Making this deduction, therefore, we arrive at an excess mortality of half a million in British India, more or less attributable to the famine conditions of the year. To say that the greater part of these have died of starvation, or even of destitution, would be an unjustifiable exaggeration; since we know that many other contributary causes have been at work, while the figures include the deaths of immigrants from Native States, for which our administration cannot be held responsible. When, further, it is remembered that this total is not more than 2 per cent. of the entire population in the tracts to which it applies, it will be obvious that no very remarkable depopulation has occurred, and it will be recognized that it is with ample justification that I give the assurance that, in the entire history of Indian famines, while none has been more intense, in none have the deaths been so few.

So far my remarks have been confined almost exclusively to what has been done in the recent famine in British India. I must add a few words about the Native States, many of which have been affected in a scarcely inferior degree to our own territories. As I indicated a year ago, while we have sedulously refrained from assuming the direct responsibility for famine relief in those areas, and have shrunk from any unsolicited interference with Native administration, we have yet, in the discharge of our duty as the paramount Power, and in the interests of the States

themselves, tendered them constant advice, have lent them competent officers, have made them liberal loans, and have supplied co-ordination and system to their methods of relief. On the whole, we may congratulate ourselves upon the success that has attended these efforts. In a few States the duty of succouring their subjects has been so neglected by the Durbars as to need strong interference; and in others the good intentions of rulers have been frustrated by the dishonesty and peculation of subordinate officials, who could not resist turning even the starvation of their fellow-creatures to their own profit. But, in the majority of cases, the Chiefs have shown a most laudable disposition to accept our methods of relief, in so far as their resources and the agency at their command permitted. In some of the Rajputana States, especially in Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikanir, and Kishengarh, the arrangements have been admirably planned and carried out by the rulers themselves, and have aroused the admiration of persons familiar with the famine system of British provinces. Surveying the Native States as a whole, we may say that there has been an awakening to the call of philanthropic duty, which has been most gratifying.

Nevertheless, the difference of the standards in vogue may be judged from a comparison of the figures on relief in the two areas. In Bikanir and Jodhpur, for instance, the numbers relieved in any month never exceeded 6 per cent. of the nominal population, while in the British districts of Ajmer-Merwara, 25 per cent. of the population were for months on relief. Even in the States under the Bombay Government, in which, for various reasons, the initiative and supervision of the Political Officers were more in evidence than in Central India and Rajputana, the scale of relief was very different from that in Guzerat. In Kathiawar, the numbers on relief never exceeded 13 per cent. of the population. In Palanpur they reached, but did not exceed, 15 per cent. in one month alone. In the same

month (July 1900), one-third of the aggregate population of the four distressed districts of Guzerat was on relief. The two great States of Baroda and Hyderabad flank the Bombay territory on the north and east. In Hyderabad and Baroda the numbers on relief never rose to 5 per cent. of the nominal population; and yet both States were visited by drought and famine not less severely than the adjoining districts of the Bombay Presidency. Meanwhile, the difference in the standards of relief was further testified by the eagerness with which thousands of fugitives streamed across the border from Native States into British territory, where they passed themselves off as British subjects, in the hope of enjoying the superior wages and comforts of our relief works, our poor-houses, and our hospitals.

I do not dwell on this point in order to disparage the efforts, in many cases most praiseworthy, made by Native States to relieve their people; but simply because the difference between the standard of relief, at which we have by degrees arrived, and the standard of relief recognised as liberal in the best managed Native State, is one of the elementary facts of famine experience. We may gladly admit that more has been done for their people by the Chiefs and rulers of Rajputana on this occasion than in any other historic famine. There are many bright examples of benevolence and humanity. The Maharaja of Jaipur has extended his princely munificence not only to his own people, but to India at large. There is the instance of the late Maharaja of Kishengarh, who, though suffering from a mortal illness, took the keenest interest in the relief arrangements of his State, and never once alluded to his own ill-health. There is also the case of the wife of Maharaja Pertab Singh of Jodhpur, who, not content with opening an orphanage, resided there herself in order to superintend it. These instances, and their number might easily be increased, show the spirit with which the famine

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has been faced in Rajputana by some, at least, of its rulers. As for the people, they have borne their trials, as the Indian people always do, with exemplary fortitude and resignation.

I now pass to the subject of the charitable help which has been rendered to us in our long struggle, from so many quarters, in so many parts of the world. An impression appears to prevail that, on the present occasion, this assistance has been scant and disappointing. I do not share these views. Looking to the circumstances under which our appeal has been made, and even accepting the test of comparison with the famine of 1896-7, I still hold that the amount contributed has been munificent, while its utility can scarcely be overrated. In 1896-7 the total collections amounted to 170 lakhs, of which 10 lakhs remained over at the beginning of the recent famine. In the present year, the Central Relief Committee has received a sum of close upon 140 lakhs, or not far short of one million sterling.

Analysing the subscriptions, I find that India has contributed about the same amount to the Fund as in 1896-7; that is to say, about 32 lakhs. If the contributions from the European community are deducted, India may be considered to have contributed at the outside less than one-fifth of the total collections of 140 lakhs. More might have been expected from the Native community as a whole, notwithstanding individual examples of remarkable generosity. The little Colony of the Straits Settlements, for instance, which has no connection with India beyond that of sentiment, has given more than the whole of the Punjab. A careful observation of the figures and proceedings in each province compels me to say that, in my opinion, Native India has not yet reached as high a standard of practical philanthropy or charity as might reasonably be expected. Though private wealth in India is not widely distributed, its total volume is considerable. If Englishmen in all parts of the world can be found, as they have been found, twice in three years, willing to contribute enormous sums for the

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relief of India, on the sole ground that its people are the suffering fellow-subjects of the same Queen, it surely behoves the more affluent of the Native community not to lag behind in the succour of those who are of their own race and creed.

The collections from abroad have amounted to 108 lakhs, as against 137 lakhs in 1896-7. The United Kingdom's contribution of 88½ lakhs compares indifferently with its contribution of 123 lakhs in 1896-7, but, in the circumstances of the year, it is a noble gift. The City of Glasgow has been especially generous, with a donation of 8¼ lakhs, and Liverpool with 4½, in addition to nearly 16 lakhs from the rest of Lancashire. Australasia has given nearly 8 lakhs in place of the 2 lakhs sent in 1896-7. The Straits Settlements, Ceylon, and Hong Kong, have also been extremely generous. Even Chinese Native Officials have collected handsome sums on behalf of the Fund. The liberal donation of Germany, at the instigation of the Emperor, has already been publicly acknowledged. Finally, the United States of America, both through direct contributions to the Fund, and by means of privately distributed gifts of money and grain, have once more shown their vivid sympathy with England's mission, and with India's need.

I pass to the mode in which the Famine Fund has been distributed. The formation of the Fund was accompanied by two announcements; the one, that in the distribution of the money the four objects of relief recognised in 1896-7 would be adhered to: the other, that the claims of Native States would be fully considered. These principles have been faithfully adhered to by the Central Committee. Until the detailed expenditure accounts of the Local Committees are received, we cannot accurately state the distribution under the several headings. But we know approximately that, of 137 lakhs allotted by the Central Committee, 111 lakhs have been for cattle, and seed, and subsistence to cultivators. The allotments to Native States aggregate nearly

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50 lakhs of rupees. The allotments to Rajputana alone amount to 22 lakhs. Measured by the population of the distressed areas, Rajputana has thus been not less generously treated than the Central Provinces. In the case of wealthy States like Gwalior, Hyderabad, and Baroda, the Central Committee have restricted their grants to such amounts as the Political Officers have thought it expedient to ask for. Speaking generally, the grants made in Native territory have far exceeded the expectations of the rulers, or their subjects. The gratitude of the latter has been expressed in homely and touching phrase. "If the English had not sent us this money, the thread of our lives would have been broken." "These are not rupees which have come over the sea, they are the water of life." "We have *heard* of the generosity of Hatim Bai, but we have *tasted* that of the Great Queen." How timely was the arrival of this charity, and how much it meant, is seen in scores of affecting incidents. "Now I have got through to the other side," said a poor cultivator, with tears in his eyes, to the English officer who had given him a few rupees to buy fodder for his famished bullocks. There is ample evidence that this gratitude is of an enduring nature. Some of the happiest memories of famine officers are those of unexpected visits from men who had been helped back to their old life by grants of seed and bullocks, and who returned, after many days, to again acknowledge the value of the gift. Nor should the self-respect, which in not a few cases stood between a needy person and the proffered gift, or the scrupulous regard which led to its return because it might be misapplied, be overlooked. From Rajputana comes an old-world tale of a Rajput Chief, dwelling in his bare house among his destitute tenants, who distributed among the latter the grant allotted to his village, but refused any gift for himself—"I am a Rahtor; I could not take charity,"—and who with difficulty was induced to take a small loan. From Rajputana also comes the story of the man who was given a little money to convey his family

and himself to a relief work because he said that he had no means of feeding them on the way, but who came back and returned the gift because, as he said, he had not spoken the truth, since he had five goats which he could kill, one each day, eating part of the flesh, and selling the remainder. It is these incidents which lead one to hope that this great national charity has not been misplaced, but has been received in the spirit in which it has been offered.

In a famine campaign, which has lasted for so long, and has provided so many opportunities for chivalry and self-sacrifice, it would not be difficult, but it might be invidious, to select any names for special mention. Numerous cases of devotion, amounting to the loftiest heroism, have been brought under my notice. I have heard of Englishmen dying at their posts without a murmur. I have seen cases where the entire organisation of a vast area, and the lives of thousands of beings, rested upon the shoulders of a single individual labouring on in silence and solitude, while his bodily strength was fast ebbing away. I have known of Natives, who, inspired by his example, have thrown themselves with equal ardour into the struggle, and have uncomplainingly laid down their lives for their countrymen. Particularly must I mention the noble efforts of the Missionary Agencies of various Christian denominations. If ever there was an occasion in which their local knowledge and influence were likely to be of value, and in which it was open to them to vindicate the highest standards of their beneficent calling, it was here; and strenuously and faithfully have they performed the task.

From this record of the past I will now turn for a few moments to the future. After the sombre picture that I have been compelled to draw, it is with no small relief that we may contemplate the existing situation and outlook. The monsoon was late in coming, but it has lingered long; and, except in the Eastern parts of the Bombay Deccan, where I hear of crops withering from the premature

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cessation of the rains, of a poor *kharif*, and of anxious prospects, the outlook is everywhere promising. The early autumn crops are already being harvested, and prices are steadily falling back to their accustomed level. A good cotton crop is on the ground, and as the cotton crop of India is worth thirteen millions sterling in an average year, its importance to the agriculturist will be readily understood. Preparations for the winter crops are being actively made, and there is every expectation that the sowings in many parts will be unusually large, and will be made in the most favourable circumstances. A good winter harvest means cash to the farmer, as a good autumn harvest means cheap and abundant food to the poorest classes. If we have the good fortune to see our anticipations realised, next year should witness the export trade in agricultural produce again revive, and the import trade expand with the improvement in the purchasing power of the people.

That the famine-smitten tracts will at once, or speedily, lose the marks of the ordeal through which they have passed, is not to be expected. The rapidity of the recovery will depend upon many circumstances—upon the vitality and stout-heartedness of the tillers of the soil, upon the degree of their indebtedness, upon the goodness or badness of the next few seasons, upon the extent to which their cattle have perished, and, not least, upon the liberality, in respect of revenue remission, of the Government. As regards the loss of stock, our latest reports are more encouraging than at one time we could have foreseen, and justify us in the belief that, if the seasons be propitious, recuperation will be more rapid than might at first sight be deemed likely. In olden times, after a famine such as we have experienced, the districts would have been depopulated, and the land would have lain waste for a generation, for lack of hands to till it. There may be isolated tracts in the jungles and mountain fastnesses of Central India and Rajputana, where the approaching Census will

reveal a melancholy decrease of population. But, treating India as a whole, neither in Native States, nor in British territory, is the wholesale and lasting desolation which followed the footsteps of a famine a hundred years ago any longer within the bounds of possibility. The standard of humanity has risen with the means of combating the peril; and in proportion as the struggle has been arduous, so are its after-effects mitigated.

I have alluded to the attitude of Government. In so far as generosity in respect of advances, of loans, of suspensions, and, most of all, of remissions, is concerned, the figures that I have previously given will have shown that, on our part, there has been no hanging back. Our first object has hitherto been to pull the sufferers through. Our first object now is to start them again with reasonable chances in the world. Behind these two objects lies the further and binding duty of profiting by the lessons that the famine has taught. It will not do for us to sit still until the next famine comes, and then bewail the mysteries of Providence. A famine is a natural visitation in its origin; but it is, or should be, a very business-like proceeding when once it has started. There are many subjects into which we shall require to make careful enquiry, and an investigation into which we have already suggested to the Secretary of State. We shall want to compare the various relief systems and their results as practised in the different Provinces; to see in what respects our codes are faulty, where they are too rigid, and where they are too lax; to still further investigate the vexed question of large works as against small works, and of relief concentration as against relief dispersion. We shall have to examine the rival merits of relief establishments, and of unconditional gratuitous relief when the rains break. We must consider how far sudden and excessive mortality is to be explained or prevented. We must ascertain the best means of bringing home relief, in the form of revenue remissions and

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suspensions, with the greatest promptitude and directness to the people. We must investigate and report upon the various public works that have been undertaken in the course of the recent famine, and must provide for the execution of a continuous programme of preventive works in the future.

In this connection I would remind my hearers that the last Famine Commission in their report devoted much attention to the matter. Unfortunately the recent famine came upon us before their recommendations had had time to bear fruit; and in the rush and hurry of the overwhelming calamity of the past year, works had often to be improvised, so to speak, in a moment, to meet the demands of a particular area, whether the work was or was not likely to be of permanent value. Against this danger we shall require to guard by insisting upon the methodical preparation of district programmes, and upon the formation of provincial branches, to be charged with this special duty. Railway earthwork has been pretty well exhausted for the present. More roads exist than can be properly kept up. But there are few parts of the country where works for the storage of water are not practicable. They may not, probably will not, be directly remunerative. But if such a work will conduce to greater security of the crops, and if it can be maintained at a moderate cost, it is just the sort of work which should be taken up, or kept in hand, for an emergency. No direct programme of relief should be considered complete until every possible irrigation or water storage scheme in the district has been examined, until a definite opinion has been come to as to its practicability and utility, and until detailed plans and estimates have been prepared for every accepted scheme. Such works will not fall within the category of the vast productive irrigation projects such as have been executed in many parts of India. These are only possible amid certain physical surroundings, in the alluvial plains of the Punjab and the North-Western

Provinces, in the deltaic tracts of Madras and Sind, and within the dry zone of Burma. All the possible schemes of this character are well known, and are gradually being undertaken. Tank storage, again, is not everywhere practicable. It is often found impossible to construct new tanks without injuring those already in existence ; there is risk of water-logging the soil, and the water-supply is apt to fail altogether, and to run dry at the very moment when it is most wanted, namely, in time of famine. Nor are the average results of works of this description that have already been carried out very favourable. It is possible to reclaim land for cultivation at a cost that is too heavy. On the other hand, it would seem that the underground storage of water might be more widely and systematically undertaken, and that a more generous policy might be adopted towards the construction of wells. All these are matters which we should investigate and set on foot before the next famine comes. The annual rainfall of India we can neither regulate nor forecast. The social habits of the people we cannot alter in a decade, or in a generation. But if we can neither prevent nor cure, at least we can do a good deal by way of precaution.

There is one recommendation that was made by the last Famine Commission which should, I think, be of value to us in our policy of preparation, inasmuch as it has since received the sanction of the Secretary of State. This was the proposal that the cost of investigating and preparing new projects falling into the class of protective works should form a charge against the annual Famine Grant. Hitherto such preliminary outlay has been chargeable to the ordinary Public Works head of the provincial budget, and this has no doubt deterred the provincial Governments in the past from expending money in investigating projects for canals and irrigation reservoirs, which might prove, on examination, to be impracticable, and which, even if practicable, would have to stand over indefinitely until required

for purposes of famine relief. There are other respects in which I think that the Famine Grant might be turned to better account in carrying out its original object than is at present the case ; but I have not time to deal with them now.

I must apologise to Council for having detained them so long. But a famine such as we have lately experienced is not an every day or an every year occurrence. It cannot be met with a sigh, or dismissed with a shudder. It is a terrible incident, an abiding landmark, in the history of the Indian people. As such, its management and its study impose a heavy responsibility upon those of us who are charged with the government of this great dependency. It is with the object of demonstrating to the Indian public that, in the administration of the recent famine, we have not been unworthy of our trust, and that this year of strain and suffering will not have passed by without our profiting by its lessons, that I have made this speech.

PUNJAB LAND ALIENATION BILL.

[At a meeting of the Legislative Council of the Governor General of India at Simla, on the 19th October, 1900, a lengthened debate took place on the Punjab Land Alienation Bill on the motion that the Reports of the Select Committee on the Bill be taken into consideration. Four amendments, brought forward by the Hon'ble Kunwar Sir Harnam Singh, were subsequently discussed, and negatived. On the motion that the Bill be passed, which was agreed to by the Council, His Excellency the President spoke as follows :—] 19th Oct. 1900

When the Government of India utilises its legislative power to pass what is certainly a drastic, and has been described in the course of these debates as a revolutionary, measure, affecting any subject, but more particularly affecting the land, there are two questions as to which it should, in my opinion, satisfy itself. The first is—has the

existence of an evil, calling for legislative interference, been established? The second is—is the particular legislation proposed the right remedy?

The first of these questions we had answered to our own satisfaction a year ago. A careful study of the reports and returns, extending over a period of more than 30 years, had convinced the Government of India that the alienation of land in the Punjab, practically initiated by the British power after annexation, is progressing with increased and alarming rapidity; that, in consequence of this progress, land is passing away from the hands of the agricultural classes whom it is our policy to maintain upon it, and into the hands of classes or persons who, whatever the part that they may play in the economy of agrarian life, are not, in our judgment, either necessary or desirable as landholders; and that consequently a grave political as well as economic danger threatens the Province, which it is the bounden duty of Government to avert. Nothing that has occurred in the interim has tended to shake our confidence in the substantial justice of this conviction. On the contrary, I think that it has been strengthened by the evidence that has since poured in. We have been told, it is true, that there can be no political danger in leaving things as they are, because the discontent of the Punjab peasantry is never likely to take the form of active rebellion. I should be sorry to think that our political objections to a continuance of the *status quo* were supposed to be based upon such fears as these. It is not a disloyal peasantry that we apprehend. It is a despondent, debt-ridden, expropriated, and impoverished land-owning class, particularly a class recruited from the stable and conservative elements so forcibly described by the Hon'ble Mr. Tupper, which would be both a source of weakness to the Province, and of alarm to the State. Again, it has been said to-day that the *sowkar* is a very useful and even indispensable factor in rural life, who is quite content if he secures his reasonable profits, and has no *a priori* appetite for land.

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So far as I can see, the model money-lender whom I have described, and whose utility I do not dispute, will not be at all injured by this Bill. The *zemindar* will still require money, and the *buniya* will continue to provide it. But it is the Shylock, who insists upon his pound of flesh, and who, under the existing system, is in the habit of taking it in land, because it is the one security which his debtor can furnish, at whom we aim. A money-lending class I fully believe to be essential to the existing organisation of agrarian life in India; but we do not desire to see them converted into land-grabbers, either voluntary or involuntary, at the expense of the hereditary occupants of the soil.

I do not, therefore, feel any doubt as to the seriousness of the malady which we have been called upon to diagnose, and for which, if we value our responsibility, it is our duty to prescribe. But there arises the second question, whether we have, or have not, adopted the right prescription.

Now, there is one objection that has been raised to our Bill, which would equally apply to any Bill. It has been said that social customs and institutions cannot be changed by arbitrary dispositions, either of law or executive authority; that they should be allowed to work out their own salvation; and that, in the process of what is described as evolution, but is in reality only blind and irresponsible abnegation of control, the desired reform will some day come. With me this argument carries no weight; for it is the argument, both of the optimist, in so far as it cheerily but thoughtlessly assumes that things, if left to themselves, will come right in the end, which I may observe in nine cases out of ten is not the case; and of the pessimist, in so far as it contends that Governments ought not to attempt to solve problems, because their solution is hard; while it is also in direct violation of historical facts. If successive British Governments had contentedly accepted the proposition that social and agrarian evils are not to be rectified by legislation, where, I wonder, would the boasted advance of the

nineteenth century have been? How would the men in our coal mines, the women and children in our factories, ever have secured the full protection which they now enjoy? Would Labour have emancipated itself from the all-powerful control of Capital? Had they not been guaranteed by Legislative enactments, where would the valued privileges of compensation for improvements, compensation for accidents, compensation for disturbance, have been? Even in India itself, how should we have built up the fabric of social and agrarian rights without the instrumentality of the law? Finally, as regards this particular case of land in the Punjab, I do not see how there can be anything immoral or revolutionary in taking away or modifying a privilege which it is proved beyond possibility of doubt was for the most part one of our own arbitrary creation. If it is an improper thing to diminish or destroy proprietary rights in land because it involves an interference with the course of nature, equally was it an improper thing to create them as we did 50 years ago, when they did not already exist. You cannot apply the argument at one end of the scale, without admitting it at the other. This is the answer to the plea of inviolable promises and inviolable rights that was put forward to-day by Sir Harnam Singh. The objections in principle to legislation of this description may, therefore, I think, be disregarded.

There remains the question whether this particular Bill and the methods to which it proposes to give the sanctity of law, are the best remedy that could have been devised. I have been a good deal struck in the discussion, both in Council and in print, by the absence of any alternative prescription. Inaction, I may point out, is not an alternative. It is only an evasion of responsibility. It does not, of course, follow, because no other suitable or likely remedy has been pointed out, that ours is the sole or the right one. Such a contention would be both illogical and foolish. But, given an evil which all admit, if the

method of cure, or rather of prevention, which is suggested by the responsible physician is questioned, either by the patient or by the public, the onus, I think, lies upon the latter of indicating a better plan. The fact that, in the present case, no such rival panacea has been forthcoming leads me to claim that the Government proposal, whether it be sound or unsound, at any rate holds the field.

I now turn for a few moments to the Bill itself. It will not be denied that we have proceeded with the various stages of its growth and enactment, with singular care and deliberation. The Bill in its original shape was the outcome of years of patient study. In the form which it has now finally assumed, it also bears the impress of repeated reference, of diligent reconsideration, and of an anxious desire to meet, in no dogmatic frame of mind, the criticisms whether of expert authority or of public opinion. We should, I think, have been very obstinate and unwise had we adhered to every clause, or even to every leading feature of the Bill, as introduced last year. It was emphatically a case in which a reasonable spirit was called for, and in which some concession was required to the arguments of opponents, not for the mere sake of compromise, but in order to bring the measure into closer harmony both with the feelings of the community, and with the needs of the case. It is in such a spirit that the Bill has been conducted through Committee by the Hon'ble Mr. Rivaz, on whose behalf it will, I am sure, be admitted by all of his colleagues that, if he has been clear as to where to stand firm, he has also known exactly how to conciliate and where to yield. As a result of the labours of the Select Committee, for which I must, on behalf of the Government of India, thank all its Members, the Bill now emerges a more efficient, a more elastic, and, therefore, a more workable measure. In the old Bill, for instance, the Revenue Officer's authority for every permanent alienation of land was made obligatory, even in cases of merely formal sanction to alienation

between non-agriculturists. Now this sanction has been wisely dispensed with. Next, we have extended the maximum period of mortgage, when made by a member of an agricultural tribe outside his tribe or group of tribes, from 15 to 20 years; we have added another form of mortgage which is likely to prove both serviceable and popular; and we have given power to the Local Government to prescribe, in case of necessity, yet other variations. These are only a few among the many changes, and, as I think, improvements, which have been introduced into the Bill. I do not say that they have converted it into a perfect measure. I have seen enough of agrarian legislation in the British Parliament to know that it never attains perfection, that it often fails in what are thought in advance to be its most certain effects, and that strange and unforeseen consequences ensue. No doubt our Bill will not differ from English or Irish Land Bills in this respect. Some of its provisions will not do what is expected of them. Others will meet with a surprising and unexpected vogue. That is the fate of all experimental legislation; and that we are making a great experiment I for one have never denied. Given the desirability of making it, which I have already argued, the utmost that we can do is, as far as possible, to anticipate every likely consequence, and to graft upon it the wisdom of the most expert intelligence.

There are some features in the Bill upon which I admit that the arguments are very evenly balanced. It has been said, for instance, that we have drawn the restrictions too tight, that the phrase "agriculturist" is too narrow and inelastic a term, and that there should be no restriction upon dealings between members of that class. I am not insensible of the danger of unduly narrowing the market for the compulsory vendor, or again of excluding as a purchaser the *bonâ fide* cultivator who may not happen to fall within the agriculturist definition. But, on the whole, I think that, in these respects, we have gone as far

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as prudence and the main principles of our legislation allow. The embarrassed land-owner should find a sufficiently wide market within the limits of his tribal group; while the category of agriculturists is, as has been shown, neither so rigid nor so exclusive as has sometimes been assumed. Money-lenders are inside as well as outside it; nor need the credit of the debtor be permanently impaired for lack of a partner to the desired transaction.

As regards the future of this legislation, I will not be so rash as to prophesy. I should be treading upon too uncertain ground. One thing only I will predict, namely, that the gloomy forebodings of its opponents will not be realised. The case for the Opposition, as I may call it, has been stated upon a previous occasion in this Council, and again to-day, as well as in a printed Minute of Dissent, by the Hon'ble Sir Harnam Singh. If we are to believe the opinions which he has expressed or recorded at different stages, and I quote his actual words, the majority of the peasant proprietors of the Punjab are to be reduced by this Bill to a state of serfdom worse than that of the Middle Ages; it is to be followed by the impoverishment of millions of men living upon the soil; it is to doom the people to perpetual misery, and to destroy their happiness and contentment; British prestige will be rudely shaken; agricultural credit will be destroyed; and the progress of the province will be retarded for at least 50 years. Every age and every epoch has had its Cassandra; and I do not complain of my Hon'ble friend for donning the familiar garb. I venture, however, to think that, if his superlatives had been fewer, his invective would have been more convincing, and that his vaticinations will be found to have been a good deal exaggerated. If this be so, I am confident that no one will be better pleased than the Hon'ble Member himself. I will not rush to the opposite extreme. I have no intention of claiming that universal peace, or prosperity, or affluence, will settle down upon the land in

consequence of this Bill. Far from it. There are many questions as to the future to which I should hesitate to give a confident reply. Will this measure really secure to the agricultural tribes of the Province the full possession of their ancestral lands? Will it restrain them from reckless borrowing? Will it save them from the mesh of the usurer? Or, while protecting them from usurers of other castes, will it hand over the feebler and less thrifty units in the class to the richer and more powerful members of the tribe? Or, again, will it effectually divorce the money bags of the province from the one form of investment which has always been dear to successful speculation? It would require a keener insight than mine to answer such questions with any certainty. It may be permissible, however, to anticipate that, while all of these consequences will to some extent ensue, no one will follow to the exclusion of the others. The moneyed classes, the *nouveaux riches*, will still have their opportunity of obtaining land, but not on such easy terms as in the past. The agricultural tribesmen will not all in a moment be converted to frugal or provident habits; but the opportunities and the temptations of borrowing will, it is hoped, be less. The weakling and the spendthrift will still go under, and his possessions will pass to his stronger brethren. But the transfer will be more frequently to men of his own tribe or tribal group, and less frequently to outsiders who are not connected either with the traditions or with the traditional occupation of the Province. The transition will not be abrupt or sensational. It will be enough if, though gradual, it is sure. I shall myself watch the venture with the warmest sympathy and interest, not merely because I have been head of the Government of India at the time when this Bill has passed into law, not because I know it to have been framed with the most conscientious regard for the public interest, but because it is the first serious step in a movement which is designed to free the agricultural classes in this country—the bone

and sinew of our strength—from an incubus which is slowly, but steadily, wearing them down.

ADDRESS FROM THE KARACHI MUNICIPALITY.

[The Viceroy left Simla on his Autumn Tour on Thursday morning, 27th Oct. 1900.
the 25th October, 1900. He was accompanied by Her Excellency Lady Curzon, the members of His Excellency's Staff, and Sir William Cuningham, Foreign Secretary. Karachi was reached on the morning of the 27th, and, at 11 A.M., His Excellency received, at Government House, addresses of welcome from the Municipality, the Chamber of Commerce, and the National Mahomedan Association. The Municipal address, after cordial expressions of welcome to Their Excellencies, referred to the serious outbreaks of plague and cholera from which Karachi had suffered in recent years. These epidemics had caused a serious deficit in the Municipal revenues, and it had been found necessary to increase the house tax 100 per cent. and the water tax 50 per cent. in order to meet the loans from Government and the public which were necessary. These taxes bore hardly upon the people, and the value of landed property had seriously depreciated. His Excellency's attention had been drawn to the question of terminal charges which, with the sanction of the Chamber of Commerce, the Local Government had imposed. They had been in force two years, and, it was admitted, caused no detriment to trade. Nevertheless their abolition was ordered by the Government of India. The Municipality was, therefore, compelled to propose the re-imposition of the octroi duty on piece-goods, which was abolished in 1885. This was regarded as likely to prejudice the trade of the port in favour of Calcutta and Bombay, and His Excellency was requested to treat Karachi as a special case, and allow the Municipality to continue to levy terminal charges. A complaint was made that the military authorities, though using a greatly increased amount of water, paid no enhanced rate, the cost falling heavily on all other bodies. Karachi had two particular needs—increased railway communication, and a direct mail service to Aden, and they trusted that the Viceroy would use his influence to secure these.

The Viceroy replied as follows: –]

Mr. President and Members of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi,—I accept with much gratification

the welcome which, on behalf of the people of this place, you have offered to Lady Curzon and myself upon the occasion of our first official visit to the capital of Sind. It is not the first visit that I have paid to Karachi, since I have been here twice before in the days of my earlier wanderings. Indeed, anyone who travels in the north-western parts of India, or upon the Afghan frontier, or who undertakes an excursion to the Persian Gulf, must sooner or later find himself in Karachi, so well placed is its port in relation to all those interesting regions. I therefore feel that I am not quite a stranger here. I am familiar with the buildings and the beauties of your town and port. Seeing that as much as thirteen years have elapsed since my first visit, I may almost claim to trace the stages of its recent expansion. The history of India does not, I think, record an instance of more sustained and sturdy growth from a modest and unprepossessing origin. During the nearly sixty years that have elapsed since annexation, a petty fishing village, protected by a tumbledown mud fort, has developed into the third largest maritime outlet of India. The population has risen from 10,000 to more than ten times that number. A harbour which, half a century ago, was little more than a shallow creek, has, at a total cost of nearly 1¼ millions sterling, been converted into a magnificent port which accommodates the finest ocean steamers. Your sea-borne trade has swollen from an infinitesimal figure to a total in the last recorded year of over 11½ millions sterling. Finally, your Municipal revenues have, in the last forty years, risen from three-fourths of a lakh to six lakhs of rupees. These figures and facts will sufficiently explain with how keen an interest the fortunes of this place must always be regarded by the Government of India, and how large a place it must occupy in the attention of the head of that administration. Most places in India that are at a distance from the head-quarters of Government are apt at times to think themselves

slighted or aggrieved. But every Viceroy desires to see Karachi, which I may remark in passing has also a voice of its own that can be heard at a considerable distance; so that the plea of indifference or neglect is not likely to be raised here.

I observe that, in your own address, as in those to which I am about to reply from other bodies, you proceed with becoming rapidity to the point, and utilise your opportunity to lay before me the various troubles and grievances from which you are suffering. I will, to the best of my ability, comment upon each, claiming precisely the same liberty in reply as you have employed in exposition.

There can be no doubt that owing to abnormal visitations of plague and cholera, Karachi has suffered much during the last few years. The figures that you have placed before me demonstrate both the severity of the trial through which you have passed, as measured by the actual loss of life which it has entailed, and also the temporary paralysis that it has inflicted upon your resources. Your revenues have dwindled, your debt has increased; you have had to increase taxation, to curtail useful but not indispensable heads of expenditure, and generally to adapt your finances to the exigencies of the time. In this plight you not unnaturally turn to the Government of India who, if she is often denounced as a grandmother who needlessly interferes, is still more often appealed to as the mother whose parental instincts should bring her to the rescue of her offspring; and you plead for exceptional treatment in your distress.

Now, Gentlemen, you will pardon me for pointing to the obvious fact that Government is the parent of a large family, and that just at present a good many of our progeny are in a bad way. Wherever I go I find that Municipalities, or District Boards, or Communities, or Societies, who have been hard hit by the calamities of the past few years, are each firmly convinced that they can

present an unanswerable case for exceptional relief: while their voices are but a feeble echo of the louder and more insistent claims that reach us from the Local Governments. No one of these supplicants can, I think, accuse the Government of India, in its present mood, of having a hard heart. We have been doing, during the past year, on a large scale, exactly what the Municipality of Karachi has had to do on a smaller, that is, we have had to cut down, or to refuse innumerable calls upon, our own purse, in deference to more urgent needs. In a year which would otherwise have been one of prosperity, we have stinted everything and have sacrificed many things, in order to grapple with the most serious famine of the century. Among our critics there is not one who has accused us of parsimony or meanness. If you come to us, therefore, *in formâ pauperis*, you approach a parent who herself knows what straitened means are; but who, in proportion to her superior resources, has shown that she can deal handsomely with her destitute children. The appeal that you make to me is that the Government of India should come to the help of the Karachi Municipality by relieving it of the liability for all plague expenditure, past and future. This is an obligation that no Government ought or would consent to assume. If we do it for one city, we must do it for all. If we do it on one occasion, we cannot refuse to do it on others. Should the principle be accepted that all local visitations of a certain character, or upon a certain scale, are to constitute Imperial charges, I do not see how we could ever frame a forecast or draw up a budget. What we do is out of our means, when we possess them, to proceed with ungrudging generosity to the relief of the suffering members of the family. We did it last year in the case of Bombay. We shall doubtless be asked in the future to do it again. In the case of Karachi we have assisted you with two lakhs; we have assumed the payment of the English doctors and nurses who were summoned here for the plague; and I understand that the

Address from the Karachi Municipality.

Commissioner has forwarded further proposals to the Government of Bombay, of which we shall perhaps in due course hear more from them.

And now I pass to the difficult question of the terminal charges, which is also one of the items that figures in the address from the Chamber of Commerce, but upon which I will ask leave to take the present opportunity of giving my reply. When you point out that, in 1898, the Municipality, with the concurrence of the Chamber of Commerce, and the sanction of the Local Government, imposed these charges, you omit to notice that this step was taken not only without the authority of the Government of India, but also in direct opposition to its orders, and to those of the Secretary of State, who have over and over again laid down the inadmissibility of transit dues. That these terminal charges are transit dues no one denies. That they are indefensible in principle, the Chamber of Commerce in their address to me to-day concede. That they ought to be abolished has been publicly admitted by the Commissioner himself. If there is this general concurrence as to the viciousness of this form of taxation, it might seem superfluous to labour the point any further. I will only say that the main reasons which inspire my own opposition to it are two-fold: firstly, that it constitutes a tax upon an important branch of the general export trade of the country in the interests of a single locality, and thereby weights that trade in its competition with foreign rivals; secondly, that, if allowed in one case, it sets a most alluring but pernicious example to others. It was the action of Cawnpore—although it would be easy to show that there was no parallel between the circumstances and conditions of the two cases—that first suggested the expedient to Karachi. If we had permitted it in the case of Karachi, I am confident that we should forthwith have seen it pressed for in many other places. Wherever Municipal burdens were heavy and the means for relieving them sparse, there the Municipal

conscience would have been unequal to resisting the temptation; and from the lack of courage to interfere with a false step at the beginning we should have been committed to a course of unsound and mischievous finance.

I hardly think that anyone will be found to dispute these general considerations. Your reply, however, takes the form of a submission that yours is an exceptionally exceptional case, and of an appeal to be allowed to go on doing the wrong thing for a little while longer. I entirely sympathise with your trouble, and I understand your objection to exchanging a method of raising money which is reasonably prompt and simple, even if economically at fault, for one which is locally unpopular, besides being fraught with some opportunities for fraud and for delay. The question is whether an erroneous departure from a correct principle should be admitted, because of the hardship of the individual case; or whether the necessity of observing the principle on the widest grounds should overrule the drawbacks of the particular illustration. I will not prejudice the reply of the Government of India to the proposals for alternative taxes which will, I suppose, before long be submitted to it. But I cannot say anything to-day that would encourage you to think that my financial advisers will change their minds.

I have made inquiries into the subject of the annual payments made by the Military Department for the water-supply to the troops at Karachi. There are a good many points to be considered upon either side. While the Municipality rests its case for a revision of the contract upon the statement that a much larger amount of water is now consumed than was originally estimated for, without any corresponding increase in payment, it is unfortunate that the resolution in which it accepted the offer of Government fifteen years ago, admitted the obligation to provide an *unrestricted* supply of water, the only condition under which a revision of the bargain might be called for on

Address from the Karachi Municipality.

either side being an increase above 2,000, or a diminution below 2,000 of the troops in the station. This arrangement, looked at from the point of view of the Municipality, does not seem to me to have been composed by a very wise draughtsman, and unquestionably you have been hampered by it since. I should point out, however, that the Military Department is now paying you considerably more than Rs. 8,000 for its water; since, having accepted its share of the enhanced rate, recently imposed for local purposes, of three annas per thousand gallons, it is now paying you an annual contribution which will, I believe, amount in the current financial year to more than Rs. 12,000. When this arrangement, which is to last for three years, terminates, I hope that means may be found of bringing the difficulty to a satisfactory solution.

In your address you have pressed two other subjects upon my attention, namely, increased railway communication, and the institution of a direct mail service to Aden. I propose to deal with the former topic in my reply to the Chamber of Commerce. Concerning the latter, I would remark that the *primâ facie* desirability of such a connection is one which no one would be found to dispute. Karachi is the port of much more than Sind. It is the mercantile outlet of a considerable portion of the Punjab. Inasmuch as every person, every letter or parcel, and every consignment of goods that passes between Karachi and Europe must proceed by Aden, a direct service from that port is on the face of it preferable to the round-about voyage and the break of shipment at Bombay. But, Gentlemen, have you any idea what it would cost, and when you know, will you kindly inform me who is to pay the bill? When we made the last mail contracts, the Companies were invited to tender for this particular service. The British India Company declined to tender at all, because they said that it could only be done at a prohibitive rate. The Peninsular and Oriental Company stated that the addition

to their service would cost another £100,000 a year, which, you must remember, would not be shared with the Home Government, as in the case of the Australian and China service, but would have to be found by India alone. No other Company was willing to tender for the line by itself. There are other and smaller objections into which I need not enter; since I have said enough to show that, for the present at any rate, the cost would be prohibitive. No doubt when the present contract expires in four years' time the question will be again considered, and I can only hope that it may fall to the lot of some future Viceroy to inaugurate a change, which, however desirable, would at this stage be premature.

I will now say no more except to thank you for the opportunity that has been offered to me of meeting the representatives of this important city, and of exchanging friendly observations with them upon the various subjects that affect most closely its present and future welfare.

ADDRESS FROM THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, KARACHI.

27th Oct. 1900. [At the conclusion of his reply to the address from the Municipality of Karachi, His Excellency received the address from the Chamber of Commerce. This address touched on the principal subjects taken up by the Municipality. His Excellency's attention was drawn to the necessity for the early construction of a connecting link from Bara to Marwar *viâ* Kotah, a distance of 192 miles. With regard to the Shadipalli-Hyderabad line, it was urged that there should be no change from the standard to the metre-gauge as the cost would be eight lakhs. As to the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, it was stated that the Southern Punjab line opened a new and fertile country and secured additional facilities for the trade of Karachi. It failed only to tap certain districts served by the Rajputana-Malwa and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways, but which,

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since the construction of the line between Samasata and Bhatinda by the Southern Punjab Railway, should find a natural outlet for their produce at Karachi. The reasons of the failure were found in the fact that the working of a great inland system of metre-gauge railways was placed in the hands of a powerful Company like the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, which, by imposing prohibitive rates on its short lead towards Bhatinda, was able to force the traffic over a long lead to Bombay. The Chamber were apprehensive of the danger that might accrue should the working of these inland lines be again placed in the hands of a Company which was primarily interested in fostering the trade of Bombay alone. They were of opinion that the Rajputana-Malwa Railway could no longer be looked upon as a feeder for Bombay only, and that the management of the system should be placed in a position to consider impartially the claims of Bombay and Karachi.

His Excellency was asked to take into consideration the financial strain on the city caused by plague and cholera. The terminal charge was advocated because, though not defensible on principle, it would cause a minimum of inconvenience to trade, and, therefore, should be allowed as a matter of expediency. Serious loss and inconvenience had been caused owing to the great delays which characterized the procedure of the Punjab Courts. In the matter of the Indian Arbitration Act, the Chamber strongly urged its extension to certain large mercantile centres, and concluded by asking that the Collector of Karachi might be exempted from tour, as he was *ex-officio* Chairman of the Port Trust, and his absence during four months of the year was inconvenient.

His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—In a great mercantile city like Karachi, a Chamber of Commerce is the natural and authoritative exponent of the interests of that section of the community which it represents, and its views are deserving of serious attention. In my political life at home, I was brought a great deal into contact with Chambers of Commerce, and I found them to be composed of men enjoying unrivalled information, possessing definite opinions, and capable of doing full justice to any case in which their interests were concerned. It is, I think, a very valuable thing that such independent organisations should exist, both as the accredited mouthpieces of their own clients, and also to acquaint the

Address from the Chamber of Commerce, Karachi.

Government with the non-official aspect of affairs. I, at any rate, will never disparage or under-rate the value of their advice.

There are two subjects in your address upon which I have already commented at some length in my reply to the Municipality. These are the sources and character of Municipal taxation in Karachi, and the institution of a direct mail service to Aden. I will not repeat myself here, but will pass to the other topics which you have brought under my notice. Foremost among these is the question of railway policy and railway construction. A perusal of the addresses that have been presented at Karachi to previous Viceroys leads me to think that there never has been a time at which Karachi was not pleading for some fresh advantages in this respect. In the old days it was railway communication with the north that was urged; now it is connection with the east; next it will be on the south; and when all these schemes have been successfully carried into execution, I have little doubt but that your Chamber of Commerce will be ready with some fresh project for the delectation of future Viceroys, for the promotion of the trade of the port, and for the enhancement of the general welfare of Sind. If I add that the majority of the proposals which have been urged in bygone days appear to have been carried out in the end, I shall at the same time be paying a compliment to the intrinsic reasonableness of those requests, and shall be suggesting to you a hopeful augury for your present demands. Your observations upon the railway on the eastern side raise two questions—the one of principle, the other of detail. Karachi holds strongly to the view that the object to be aimed at is a standard-gauge connection with Calcutta, although it is prepared to admit that connection by metre-gauge will be better than no connection at all. This is, I think, a sensible attitude, since I sometimes wonder if the practical nature of the obstacles to a through broad-gauge connection at this stage has been

Address from the Chamber of Commerce, Karachi.

thoroughly realised in this place. The existing line, as you know, has been commenced, and has been pushed far across the desert on the metre-gauge. The Jodhpur Durbar are not, I should think, in the least likely to wish it to be pulled up or converted. The Native States who are concerned in the Bara-Marwar section, to which you have called my attention, would similarly have to make their part of the railway on the broad-gauge, which they do not in the least want to do, and for which we should not be able to provide the funds for many a long year to come. Finally, I do not suppose that anyone would suggest an independent broad-gauge line across that great, unpeopled, and unremunerative tract. When, therefore, a cry is raised, "Calcutta to Karachi on the broad-gauge," I venture to think that, however desirable such a consummation might be, it must be regarded as being, for the present, outside the range of practical politics, and that it is more serviceable, as you have done, to turn our attention to the best possible adaptation of existing or feasible plans. This brings me to the smaller issue, namely, that of the suggested conversion of the existing worn-out broad-gauge line that runs from Hyderabad in the direction of the Nara Valley, and the lands irrigated by the Jamrao Canal on the east. Is the break of gauge to be at Hyderabad, or at Shadipalli, or at some third spot? This is one of those points upon which I consider it desirable to provide every possible opportunity for local opinion to have its say, and I, therefore, propose to send here, in the forthcoming winter, the Railway Commission which I instituted last year, and which will take evidence on the matter. I should add, however, that the Secretary of State, who is strongly in favour of the break of gauge being at Hyderabad, will require very powerful reasons to convince him of the necessity of a modification of plan. As regards the Bara-Marwar line, a good deal of labour has already been expended upon the earthwork in the Rajput States through which it will pass, in the course of the recent

famine. The line is one which, in their interests, not less than in those of the through connection of which I have been speaking, the Government of India is most anxious to prosecute without delay. The only difficulty is the usual difficulty, that of finding the money for one scheme where so many are pressing. I am not, however, without hopes that we may, before long, be able to make a start with the undertaking. Your views about the management of the Rajputana-Malwa line will be borne in mind when the question of its future working comes up for decision. In the meantime, the inequality of which you complain appears to have been rectified by the agreement of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Company to institute equal rates of fares for all goods between stations on the Company's system north of Nana (which is nearly equidistant from the two ports), and Karachi and Bombay.

I now pass from the subject of railways to the other matters concerning which you have addressed me. First among these is your complaint of the long delays that ensue in the hearing of suits in the Punjab Courts, arising, as you allege, partly from the over-crowding of the Courts, partly from the frequent transfer of officers, partly from the tendency of litigants to call crowds of witnesses, the failure to serve summonses upon whom is declared to be a further excuse for postponement. I cannot, of course, from first-hand knowledge, say anything of the justice of these complaints, although I may remark, in passing, that delays in judicial procedure appear to me not to be confined to India, but to be evenly and liberally distributed wherever men are found unwise enough to go in for that most unremunerative and vexatious of all human exertions. I will, however, forward your remarks to the Punjab Government for its consideration; and it will doubtless require detailed evidence, which you will equally be prepared to provide in support of the somewhat sweeping assertions that have been made.

I am pleased to note the favourable estimate that you have

Address from the Chamber of Commerce, Karachi.

formed of our Arbitration Act of last year. It was one of the first legislative measures that was placed upon the Statute Book after my assumption of office, and I have watched keenly for every sign of its successful operation. As you know, the Bill was framed on the principles of the English statute law, for the treatment of mercantile cases in the Presidency towns, Rangoon, and Karachi. I cannot be certain, therefore, how far its procedure may be found suited to cases of dispute between natives, which are likely to be regulated by the customs and traditions of the community to which they belong. The Punjab Government has, however, been asked for its opinion as to an extension of the Act to certain of the large cities in that Province; while we also are in communication with Local Governments in general as to the feasibility of a wider adaptation of the principles of the measure. The question is not yet ripe for decision, but it is maturing.

Finally, you call my attention to the inconvenience that is said to result from the multiplication of offices in the person of the Collector of Karachi, and from his absence during a portion of the cold weather on tour. I may note, in passing, that the Collector is not, so far as I know, bound by law to be Chairman of the Port Trust, and that his control of the Municipality, under the provisions of the Municipal Act, can hardly be so engrossing as to be seriously interfered with by his temporary absence in camp. I am informed, too, that there is likely to be a reduction of the area of his jurisdiction by a rearrangement of some of the northern *talukas* of the district. The question, however, is one which concerns the Local, rather than the Supreme Government, and could perhaps be more appropriately raised in an address to the new Governor, whom you will shortly welcome in your midst.

I have now dealt, to the best of my ability, with all the subjects that you have brought before me; and I may add that I do not at all grudge the time that is required

for the study of these and similar cases, since it tends to familiarise me with the inner history, and the local wants, of the various parts of this vast Empire, over which it is my good fortune to have been called upon for a few years to rule.

ADDRESS FROM THE NATIONAL MAHOMEDAN ASSOCIATION, KARACHI.

27th Oct. 1900. [An address from the National Mahomedan Association of Karachi was next presented to His Excellency and dealt with a large variety of subjects. These will be apparent from His Excellency's reply, which was as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—You have presented me with an address which certainly does not err on the side of brevity, and cannot be accused of rendering insufficient justice to your views. If I do not deprecate its unusual length, it is because I am not anxious to deprive any section of the community that may properly claim to address the head of the Government, of the opportunity of presenting their case in their own way, and because I know the Mahomedans of this province to be a loyal, and law-abiding, and worthy body of men, who no longer enjoy the advantages which they once possessed, and are, perhaps, entitled to feel some disappointment, though not, I think, any despondency, when they contrast their present with their former position. I am so entirely with them in the strenuous exertions that they are now making to recover their old prestige and influence, that I willingly listen even to so detailed a narrative of their efforts and their aspirations as that which has just been laid before me. Into the historical part of your address you will not expect me, Gentlemen, to go. When Sind was conquered, there was, I know, a prolonged discussion as to the best method of settlement to apply to the new province. It was ultimately

Address from the National Mahomedan Association, Karachi.

decided to adopt the Bombay system. Whether this was, or was not, the right decision, I am not required to say. But, when I remember that it was proposed by Sir Bartle Frere, the greatest of your Commissioners, and accepted by Sir John Lawrence, by no means the least of Governors General, I feel that it would need no small presumption to dispute such a formidable consensus of authority. You imply that the waste lands upon which assessments were levied under that settlement were originally the property of the *zemindars*. I hardly think that this was the case. Under the Mirs of Sind, as under the British Government, waste lands have always been regarded as the property of the Crown, subject to a preferential right on the part of the adjoining proprietors.

Leaving the past, your principal contention now is that settlements in Sind should be for thirty years, as in other parts of the Bombay Presidency, instead of ten. When you make this request, do you not, to some extent, lose sight of the peculiar conditions of land tenure and cultivation in this province? There is no part of India where these conditions are in a more transitional state. You have to deal here, both with the benefits, and with the caprices, of that most unstable of factors—water. On the one hand irrigation, where successful, may convert a wilderness into a garden; on the other hand, the vagaries of the Indus may reduce a garden to a wilderness. In the one case continuance of a low assessment becomes obsolete; in the other case continuance of a high assessment is unfair. If a property suddenly increases enormously in value owing to the digging of a canal, you cannot readjust its contribution to the public burdens by irrigation cesses, because I understand that these expedients do not find favour in Sind. The only solution, therefore, in the present state of affairs seems to me to be a short period of settlement. Later on, as conditions become further crystallised, a longer period will probably come. From such information as I have

acquired it does not appear to me to be true that frequent revision means steady enhancement.

You next make a series of requests which I feel disposed to divide into two classes—the reasonable and unreasonable. In the first class I include those petitions which, even if they cannot always be granted, can, at any rate, be defended. In the second class I place those which can neither be defended not granted.

When, for instance, you propose that the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act should be extended to Sind, in order to prevent the extinction of the small occupier and cultivator, you are making a demand as to which I do not know enough of the local conditions to say whether it ought to be conceded, but which at any rate is not inconsistent with the general principles of our agrarian policy, as testified both by the legislation which you desire to adopt, and by the Bill which we passed at Simla last week to restrict the alienation of agricultural land in the Punjab. Again, when you ask that Government should advance money for the liquidation of the liabilities of *zemindars* under the Encumbered Estates Act, whilst you are asking for what it is, in all probability, quite impossible to give you, because we have not got the money, and what does not seem to be altogether necessary, since I am unaware of any complaint on the part of creditors of inability to recover their debts, yet you are asking for what is, in principle, only an extension of the existing relief which we give in the shape of *takavi* advances to the managers of encumbered estates. When, however, you proceed to ask that Mussulmans should, because they are Mussulmans, be relieved of the payment of fines under the law for the unauthorised occupation of land ; and of the occupancy prices for new land, such an acquisition being a valuable asset which there would be nothing to prevent the ndividual who had acquired it for nothing from selling again to his own profit, but to the loss of Government ; and

Address from the National Mahomedan Association, Karachi.

again of the compulsory assessment in the fifth year on fallow lands—when, I say, you put forward these requests, you are asking for preferential advantages which are unreasonable, and which no Government would dream of giving you. Into the vexed question of *lapo* I cannot go. The right is, I believe, almost exclusively confined to the Rohri Division of the Shikarpur District; and when an agrarian problem of this description has successfully baffled a series of provincial administrators for half a century, you cannot expect a Governor General to come along and solve it in a sentence. The matter is one upon which you should address the Local Government. Again, when you ask for a fixed proportion of appointments in the public service, and of promotion regulated, not by merit, but by a fixed numerical standard, you must see that you are advancing an untenable claim. I believe that there has never been wanting amongst the administrators of this province the most earnest desire to give you every possible encouragement, and you have yourselves recognised in your address that you have never had a better friend than the present Commissioner, Mr. James. With your energetic and praiseworthy efforts by the opening of *madrassahs*, and otherwise, to raise the educational level of your fellow-religionists, the Government, whether it be the Local Government or the Supreme Government, entertains the sincerest sympathy. It is a cheering spectacle to see a community, once so great and prosperous, and so richly endowed with stability of intellect, and force of character, lifting itself again in the world by patient and conscientious endeavour; but the pleasure of the spectacle is diminished, and the chances of success are reduced, if those who are pluckily engaged in climbing the ladder cry out for artificial ropes and pulleys to haul them up. The Mahomedans of Sind have a glorious and memorable past, and they have it still in their power to carve out for themselves, without any such adventitious aids, a dignified and meritorious future.

Civil Hospital, Karachi.

Gentlemen, it has given me great pleasure to receive your friendly welcome and your loyal assurances; and not the least of my grounds of satisfaction in visiting Karachi at the present time has been that I have come here before the present Commissioner, Mr. James, has terminated his long and honourable career. That career has been marked by conspicuous and untiring service in the public weal. It has been surpassed in beneficent activity by those of none of his predecessors; and, when Mr. James retires, as he will shortly do, he will carry away with him, to his home in the mother country, the affectionate esteem of a grateful province.

CIVIL HOSPITAL, KARACHI.

27th Oct. 1900. [At 5 P.M., on Saturday, the 27th October, the Viceroy, who was accompanied by Lady Curzon, and Mr. James, the Commissioner, proceeded to the Civil Hospital at Karachi, and laid the foundation stone of a new wing of the building. The proceedings took place in a large *shamiana* erected for the occasion, and in the presence of a large assembly of Europeans and Natives. The Hon'ble Mr. McIver, in inviting His Excellency to lay the stone, gave a brief history of the general scheme of the extension of the Hospital, of which the new wing formed the principal part. His Excellency then proceeded to lay the stone, after which he addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Mr. James, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty is to declare this stone well and truly laid. I should next like to congratulate those who have been responsible for arranging this meeting this afternoon in the extremely beautiful and tasteful *shamiana* in which we are assembled here. The arrangement I think reflects very great credit on those who are responsible for it. Next let me say what pleasure it has given to me to take part in this function, and to be entrusted with the honourable duty of laying the foundation stone of a building destined to be of so much utility and importance

Civil Hospital, Karachi.

to this place. It will not do for me to expatiate too loudly upon the necessity for an extension of the Civil Hospital here; since, if I were to do so, I might be suspected of casting a slur upon the climate of Karachi, which every local patriot would warmly resent. (*Laughter.*) I will therefore commence with the assumption that Karachi is the most salubrious spot on the face of the globe (*laughter*), but will add the philosophic reflection that, just as the serpent lurked in Paradise, so even here do physical ailments and disorders sometimes occur, which, in the interests of the civil population, it is desirable to combat with all the latest resources of science and comfort. I am told further that these ailments are really the result of your admirable water-supply. (*Laughter.*) You bring in an abundance of water; the superfluity water-logs the soil; the water-logged soil breeds fever; fever fills the hospital; the hospital is not large enough; and, therefore, I am laying this foundation stone. (*Laughter.*) This sequence I believe to be both logically and historically correct. Now I understand that you are hammering at every door for the balance of the sum that is required, and that you are knocking hardest and loudest at the portals of the Bombay Government. (*Laughter.*) Perhaps I shall stimulate their generosity if I do something to anticipate it; and, therefore, I venture to offer a personal donation of Rs. 500 to your funds. (*Cheers.*)

I hope that this building, of which I have now laid the stone, will rise a thing of beauty—which I may say in passing that few modern structures in India are (*laughter*), but which an inspection of this drawing below me leads me to think that this particular fabric has every prospect of being; but whether it be beautiful or ugly outside, I hope that it may, by the medical skill and care which it will provide within, accelerate the healing processes which the Karachi climate will already have started on its own account. (*Cheers.*)

BANQUET AT BHUJ, CUTCH.

31st Oct. 1900. [The Viceregal party embarked on the R.I.M.S. *Clive*, at Karachi, on Tuesday morning, the 30th October, and arrived off Mandvi on the following morning. Here His Excellency landed and was received by Kumar Sri Kalubha, C.I.E., brother of the Rao of Cutch, the acting Political Agent, Lieutenant-Colonel Snell, and other Cutch officials. The party proceeded at once by carriages, 36 miles, to Bhuj, where His Excellency was officially received by the Rao of Cutch. In the evening His Highness entertained His Excellency and Staff and other guests at dinner in the Palace, the route to which from the Residency was brilliantly illuminated. After dinner the Rao appeared and took a seat near the Viceroy. His Highness, who spoke English perfectly, having proposed the toast of the Queen-Empress in a happily worded speech, then proposed the Viceroy's health as follows :—

"*Ladies and Gentlemen*,—It now affords me the highest satisfaction to propose the health of His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, the distinguished representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty. The toast is one to which I find it no easy matter to do justice. Naturally there is one sentiment uppermost in my mind at present, namely, to be able to do all possible honour to our august guests, and I need not say how great a satisfaction it has been to me to have had the opportunity and the honour of welcoming His Excellency on the occasion of his present visit, a visit which my subjects and I have looked forward to with genuine pleasure.

I and my predecessors have had the honour and pleasure of welcoming to this ancient principality several successive Governors of the Bombay Presidency, and Cutch has also had the good fortune of offering a hearty reception to the Duke of Connaught and his consort. But this is the first time that Cutch has had the signal honour of receiving a visit from a Viceroy, and I assure you that we prize the honour very highly. It is difficult for me to express in adequate words the importance attached to this unique event, which will find its place in the annals of Cutch as a day of distinction not only to my State but to myself personally. A visit such as this is especially to be welcomed as affording an opportunity of making personal acquaintance and of strengthening the ties of friendship and loyal attachment which have long subsisted between this State and the British Government.

Before resuming my seat I beg to add a few words, and I cannot resist the temptation of doing so, because I am afraid I should be

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losing a golden opportunity of paying by no means a conventional but a heart-felt compliment to His Excellency. The compliment is no other than that of congratulating the people and the princes of this country on their having at the head of the Supreme Government a Viceroy who has not only been endowed with brilliant and versatile talents, but with broad sympathies. (*Cheers.*) We have already seen the results of this in the high-minded policy which His Excellency has pursued since he assumed the Government of this country, and which has earned the gratitude of the people. (*Cheers.*) As a single instance of His Excellency's solicitude for the welfare and wants of the people, I might allude to the famine policy of His Excellency's Government during the recent severe calamity through which the country has passed. Only a bare mention is sufficient, as every one knows what care, attention, and interest have been devoted by His Excellency, occasionally at serious risk of personal convenience, to the matter of extending relief to the hundreds of thousands of the Indian subjects in their time of trial. (*Cheers.*)

Before concluding I may be allowed to express my belief that in Lady Curzon Your Excellency has a consort who, by her sympathy for the women of India, will powerfully second Your Excellency's efforts, for I know that we have in her a true friend of every work of charity and social advancement for women. (*Cheers.*) I much regret that Her Excellency has been unable to be present here, but I hope to have the pleasure—a pleasure which I am looking forward to—of paying my respects to Her Ladyship at Mandvi to-morrow evening.

Once more I beg to reiterate my grateful acknowledgments for His Excellency's kind visit, and I request all present to join with me in drinking the toast I have proposed with all loyalty and good wishes for the long life and prosperity of His Excellency the Viceroy. (*Cheers.*)"

Responding to the toast the Viceroy said :—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In the two speeches to which we have just listened, and to the second of which I am now called upon to reply, His Highness the Rao has shown that to his other accomplishments he adds that of being a talented and graceful speaker. His Highness, in bidding me welcome, has alluded to the fact that I am the first Viceroy of India to visit his State. It has given me pleasure to set an example for which no justification seems to be required. Any ruler of India might be glad to visit a State with which the British Government has so long

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enjoyed treaty relations, and a capital in which has been maintained for as many as 80 years a regiment of the Indian army. I must add to these sources of interest the pleasure of making the acquaintance of a young Chief, well educated, well gifted, and devoted to the interests of his people. The name of Cutch has been carried far and wide in the Eastern world by the enterprise of its merchants and the excellence of its products and manufactures. The Cutch trader is an equally well known figure in the markets, and on the wharves, of Zanzibar, Aden, and Bombay. I saw some evidences of the commercial prosperity of the State in the port of Mandvi, at which I landed this morning, and which I was told contained quite a considerable number of wealthy men. As I advanced further into the interior I could not fail to be struck by the thriving and healthy appearance of the people. I did not see a single emaciated form, I observed no shrunken features, and when I remembered that this country had been sorely afflicted by drought during the past year, and that, only two years ago, the plague was so bad that it is said to have carried off 10,000 persons, I thought that what I saw spoke well for the natural vigour and the recuperative power of the people; but I thought that it spoke even better for the generosity and patriotism of the Chief, who spent, from his own resources, over 20 lakhs of rupees upon relief works for the employment of his subjects, and who thereby showed himself what it is the highest ambition of any ruler to be, namely, the saviour of his people. (*Cheers.*) I remember once reading in a book that there was a famine in Cutch in the year 1812, which carried off one-half of its inhabitants. In the present year there has been poverty and inanition, but I believe no starvation. Think of what a difference this means. When, therefore, His Highness pays me the compliment, as he has done, of a flattering reference to the famine administration of the Government of India during the past year, I feel at liberty to return him the compliment, and to say that we could desire no better tribute to the success

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of our own system than that it has found so worthy a disciple. (*Cheers.*) His Highness is still young, and has, I trust, before him a life of service, and utility, and distinction. There is no standing still in the development of peoples, and there will be plenty to occupy his energies for many a long year to come; for instance, if he were to lay a light railway along the road from Mandvi to Bhuj, would it not greatly facilitate the export trade from Cutch, and might His Highness not even persuade some future Viceroy to emulate my example (*laughter*), and to travel by an even easier road than I have done to the capital of the State?

It only remains for me to thank the Rao for his bountiful hospitality, and to express a hope that, long after I have left India and am forgotten, he may continue to devote his talents and capacities to the welfare of his people. When we think of all the hundreds and thousands of princes who have ruled in this world of ours, and when we ponder over the infinitesimal number whose names are remembered even in their own states or kingdoms, we shall soon see that it is virtue alone that has given to this small minority its immortality of fame. May it fall to the lot of the Rao of Cutch to be loved by his people now, and to be long remembered by them hereafter.

Before resuming my seat, I must thank His Highness for his courtly allusions to Lady Curzon, whose absence from this visit, due to the fatigue of our long journeyings, she and I, equally with our host, deplore. It is a great disappointment to her, when so many preparations had been made for her reception, to have been compelled to stay behind on the ship.

I now give you, Ladies and Gentlemen, the health of our generous host, His Highness the Rao of Cutch.

[The toast was very heartily received. His Highness again rose and briefly expressed his sense of obligation for the kind terms in which His Excellency had alluded to himself and his State.]

BAHA-UD-DIN ARTS COLLEGE, JUNAGADH.

3rd Nov. 1900. [The Viceregal party arrived at Junagadh at 12-30 P.M., on Saturday, the 3rd November, having landed from the *Clive* at Verawal and proceeded by special train. Their Excellencies were received by the Nawab of Junagadh, and the principal officials of the State, and by Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter, the Political Agent, and his chief political officers. After luncheon His Excellency drove in state to open the Baha-ud-Din Arts College and Technical School. A large *shamiana* had been erected in the grounds of the College, and here was assembled an immense gathering representative of every section of the higher native life of Kathiawar. On arrival at the *shamiana* the Viceroy was met by the Nawab, the Political Agent, and other officials, and conducted to a seat on the daïs. In inviting His Excellency on behalf of the Nawab to declare the College open, Sher Juma Khan, the Nawabzada, read an address giving an account of the origin and object of the institution. A translation of this having been read in the vernacular, the Viceroy addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Your Highness, Colonel Hunter, and Gentlemen,—His Highness in his opening remarks, which have been read to us so clearly by His Highness' son and heir, the Nawabzada, thereby testifying to the excellent education which he has received at the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, has alluded to the fact that I am the first Viceroy of India to visit Kathiawar. We have a proverb in England which says that it never rains but it pours; and, on the same principle, it would seem that, while I am about it, I also am giving you a good dose; since this is the second year in succession in which I have spent the opening days of the month of November in this province.

Last year I was unable to come to Junagadh. But my desire to see as much of Kathiawar as possible was heightened by the knowledge that if I came to this State, I should have an opportunity of visiting the far-famed and sacred hill of Girnar with its sculptured shrines, the ancient temple of Somnath, and the granite rock that has preserved till modern times the precious edicts of the Emperor Asoka. His Highness in his speech has alluded to these relics of

Baha-ud-Din Arts College, Junagadh.

bygone ages, the possession of which alone would distinguish his State from its neighbours: while the fact of a Mahomedan dynasty and people surviving among the Hindu principalities by which they are surrounded is itself an interesting connecting link with the warlike and tempestuous days that have now faded into the past.

A more convincing proof of the changes through which Junagadh has passed, and of the milder times in which we now live, could not be found than the fact that, under the shadow of the historic fort which has so often been besieged and stormed, and in a State which was for centuries the prey of warring armies, and which, even after active warfare had ceased, was, until a recent date, the last refuge of lawless and inveterate dacoits, we are met together to-day to inaugurate the opening of a College for the study of the arts and sciences, and of a school for the revival of the handicrafts for which the artificers of India were once so renowned. (*Applause.*) These buildings are being erected in honour of the worthy Wazir, who is present here to-day, and who, for nearly half a century, has served the State. Two centuries ago, had a Wazir of Junagadh been commemorated in public fashion, we may conjecture that there would have been built over his remains a magnificent tomb, which would promptly have been allowed to tumble to pieces by his successors. Now, as we know, the arts and sciences can never die, even though they are sometimes for a while submerged; and, therefore, we may hope that, in this State, not merely when he dies, will the Wazir's mausoleum perpetuate his name, but the Baha-ud-Din College also may never lack pupils, may never cease to turn out scholars, and may hand down to a more lasting fame the memory of the Minister in whose honour it was founded. I trust that the College when opened may attract to its classes, and may send on to the Bombay University, a number of young students who, when they have taken their degrees, will return to the land of their birth, and will

Baha-ud-Din Arts College, Junagadh.

supply this and other Native States with the good material for which there is always an opening in the ranks of the public service. (*Applause.*)

His Highness has further requested me to allow my name to be connected with the irrigation works of the Sharni Canal, which were started during the recent famine, and which I understand are not yet completed. I hardly think that I deserve this compliment; but, as the Nawab wishes it, I have pleasure in acceding to his request. (*Applause.*) I understand the famine administration of Junagadh, both in its financial and in its relief aspects, to have been ably and creditably conducted. It has also been accompanied, owing to the capable exertions of Colonel Sealy, by an alienation settlement, which has composed in an amicable fashion, and with general acceptance, a very complex question of internal politics that has long been a thorn in the side of the State.

Junagadh has henceforward, I believe, an era of assured peace and prosperity before it: and, standing as I do upon the threshold of this hopeful future, I have great pleasure in indicating my own sympathy and good wishes for its success, by declaring this College and School open. (*Applause.*)

If my words are not understood by all of those whom I have been addressing now—though I think from the recognition which at times they have been accorded that they have been followed by a considerable number of those present—I trust that they may be translated and communicated to them afterwards. (*Applause.*)

[His Excellency then proceeded to the College and performed the ceremony of opening the principal door with a key, which was presented to him.]

RAJKUMAR COLLEGE, RAJKOT.

[On Monday afternoon, the 5th November, 1900, the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Curzon, and His Excellency's Staff, distributed the prizes to the students of the Rajkumar College. A large gathering assembled for the occasion, including the Ruling Chiefs of Kathiawar, while the young students, or Kumars, numbering 48, were dressed in the costumes of the different States and families to which they belonged. 5th Nov. 1900.

In opening the proceedings, Mr. Waddington, the Principal, gave an interesting account of the history of the college, in the course of which he said that, originally established for the sons of Kathiawar Chiefs, it had extended its influence beyond the limits of the province, and nearly one-third of those on the rolls were recruited from Guzerat. Lately they had had additions from the Deccan and Dharwar. He thought His Excellency's intimate knowledge of the life of the great public schools and universities of England would give added weight, if such were needed, to his counsel, for His Excellency would be able to appreciate the difficulty of the endeavour to transplant and foster what was best in the traditions of the English public schools and colleges among young India, without impairing that affection for their home and country which must always be the spring of useful citizenship.

At the conclusion of the address the Kumars went through an excellent programme of songs and recitations, after which His Excellency distributed the prizes, and then addressed the assembly as follows:—]

Your Highnesses, Chiefs, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Between two and three years ago, before I came out to India as Viceroy, there was placed in my hands a book containing the addresses that had been delivered by an English Principal to his pupils in an Indian College. The College was the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, in which I am now speaking; the author of the addresses was the late Mr. Chester Macnaghten. I had not till that time been aware either of the existence of the College, or of the name of the Principal. But, from what I read, I formed the opinion that here was an institution which, in spite of some discouragement at the start, and amid many drawbacks and obstacles, was doing a noble work for the rising generation of the

Rajkumar College, Rajkot.

princely and aristocratic families of Kathiawar and Guzerat; and that it had in its first Principal a man of high character, of lofty ideals, and with a peculiar gift for exciting enthusiasm. Mr. Macnaghten has since died, after a service of 26 years as the head of this College, with which his name will always be associated, where now before the entrance his statue stands, and which his ideals may I hope for long continue to inspire. But he has found a worthy successor in Mr. Waddington, to whose interesting address we have just listened, and who carries on the work of the College upon the same liberal and progressive lines. In such hands its future should be as secure as its past has already been fruitful.

Gentlemen, a year ago when I was at Rajkot I visited this place and was shown over the buildings by Mr. Waddington. Unfortunately the College was then in vacation, and only a few of the Kumars were in residence. Still I was enabled to understand the internal economy of the College, and to grasp the principles which regulate both the physical and the mental tuition of the boys. You may judge what a pleasure it is to me, who am an old public school boy and college man myself, to see you all here to-day, upon the occasion of your annual Prize Distribution or Commemoration Day, to have listened to your recitations, which seemed to me to be most excellently done, to be invited to hand the prizes to the successful competitors of the past year, and to say a few words to the assembled Kumars. One feature of these functions I will, however, spare you. I do not propose to tell the boys who have not won prizes on the present occasion that they are just as clever and as good as the boys who have, though this is the customary form of encouragement to administer, because it is obviously not the case. Neither will I tell you that your education, when you leave this college, is not ended, but is only just beginning, because I assume that you are sufficiently intelligent to know that already. Nor will I say

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that you should henceforward act in a manner worthy of the traditions of the College, because if this institution has existed for 30 years without producing in its students the *esprit de corps* of which I speak, nothing that I can say would now inculcate it, while it would be doubtful whether, in such a case, the place itself was worthy to exist at all. I prefer to make a few observations to you connected both with the present position of the College, and with the future that lies before those who have passed through its courses.

To me it is quite clear that the Rajkumar College demands, just as I think that it also deserves, the continued support and confidence of the Chiefs. It was by their contributions and princely endowments that this institution was started. By their donations were built the lecture rooms, and living quarters, and halls. They have given the prizes and medals which it has been my good fortune to distribute to-day. No assistance was rendered by Government either in the construction or in the maintenance of these buildings. The Political Agent in Kathiawar is, I believe, the Chairman of the Governing Council; and undoubtedly the advice which an experienced officer like Colonel Hunter is in a position to give you must be invaluable. Indeed, but for the exertions of one of his predecessors, Colonel Keatinge, in all probability the College would never have sprung into being; while later incumbents of the post, such as that capable and sympathetic administrator, Sir James Peile, have sedulously watched and encouraged its growth. On the other hand, while you cannot dispense with this form of aid and guidance, it is upon the continuous interest and liberality of the Chiefs themselves that the future of the College must, in the main, depend. If they continue to give their support it will flourish. If they are apathetic, or indifferent, or hostile, it will dwindle and pine. From this point of view I was very pleased to hear of the wise step by which a number of the Ruling Chiefs, most

of whom have themselves been educated in the College, have lately been associated with its government, by being placed upon the Council. They are bound to its interests by the double tie of old fellowship and of responsibility as members of the ruling order; and in their hands, if they do their duty, its future should be safe.

At the present moment I believe that no fewer than 12 out of the 32 Ruling Chiefs of Kathiawar have been educated at the Rajkumar College; and I am not paying either them or the College any undue compliment when I add that they are among the most enlightened and capable of their class. (*Applause.*) Of course we cannot compel every Chief or Thakor to send his sons or the cadets of his family here. There were a large number who resented the apparent wrench to social habits and Native traditions at the beginning. Some have never yet quite relinquished this suspicion. There will also always be a certain number of parents who will prefer private tuition for their sons, or education at the hand of Native teachers, or a course of study abroad. I would not interfere with their discretion: each parent has his own ideas about the bringing up of his boys; and I can conceive nothing worse than to force all fathers or all sons into the same mould. You would get a very dismal and flattened-out type of character as the result. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, I would appeal to the ruling families of Guzerat and Kathiawar, and indeed of the Bombay Presidency as a whole, to continue their support to this institution, and to send their sons and grandsons here; both because I think that the system itself is sufficiently elastic to escape the dangers of stereotyping a particular form or cast of character of which I have spoken, and because I do not entertain a doubt that the general influence of the College has been and is of inestimable value in its influence upon the well-being and good government of the province.

And now a few words to the young men and boys whom I see before me. Mr. Waddington used what seemed to

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me to be wise words when he spoke of the difficulty of transplanting the best in Western thought and tradition without impairing the Indian's love for his home and his country. That is, and has been, and will continue to be, the difficulty all along. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that because in this, and the other Chiefs' Colleges in Northern and Central India, the boys are given the nearest equivalent of which India admits to an English public school education, the aim is, therefore, to turn them outright into English boys. If this College were to emancipate its students from old-fashioned prejudices or superstitions at the cost of denationalisation, I for one should think the price too heavy. The Anglicised Indian is not a more attractive spectacle in my eyes than the Indianised Englishman. Both are hybrids of an unnatural type. No, we want the young Chiefs who are educated here to learn the English language, and to become sufficiently familiar with English customs, literature, science, modes of thought, standards of truth and honour, and I may add with manly English sports and games, to be able to hold their own in the world in which their lot will be cast, without appearing to be dullards or clowns, and to give to their people, if they subsequently become rulers, the benefit of enlightened and pure administration. Beyond that we do not press them to go. After all, those Kumars who become Chiefs are called upon to rule, not an English but an Indian people; and as a prince who is to have any influence and to justify his own existence, must be one with his own subjects, it is clear that it is not by English models alone, but by an adaptation of Eastern prescriptions to the Western standard that he can hope to succeed. Chiefs are not, as is sometimes imagined, a privileged body of persons. God Almighty has not presented them with a *sunnud* to do nothing in perpetuity. The State is not their private property; its revenues are not their privy purse. They are intended by Providence to be the working bees and not the drones of

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the hive. They exist for the benefit of their people; their people do not exist for them. They are intended to be types, and leaders, and examples. A Chief at whom any one of his subjects can point the finger of scorn is not fit to be a Chief. If these views are correct, it is clear that this College has a great and responsible work devolved upon it, since it ought to be not merely a school of men, but a nursery of statesmen; and that the worst way of discharging its trust would be to rob its pupils of their surest claim to the confidence of their countrymen—which is this, that, though educated in a Western curriculum, they should still remain Indians, true to their own beliefs, their own traditions, and their own people.

Therefore, Chiefs and pupils of the Rajkumar College, I say this to you—and it is my parting word—be loyal to this College: spread its name abroad, and see to it that, in your own persons, it is justified before men. While you are proud to acquire the accomplishments of English gentlemen, do not forget that you are Indian nobles or Indian princes. Let the land of your birth have a superior claim upon you to the language of your adoption, and recollect that you will be remembered in history, if you earn remembrance, not because you copied the habits of an alien country, but because you benefited the inhabitants of your own. If I could feel that my poor words were likely to waken in any of the young men whom I am addressing, and who may be destined to high responsibility in the future, a keener and fresher sense of duty than has perhaps hitherto occurred to his mind, the pleasure which I have experienced in coming here to-day, which is already great, would be tenfold, nay a hundredfold, greater. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

DURBAR AT RAJKOT.

[At 10 A.M. on Tuesday, the 6th November, 1900, His Excellency the Viceroy held a public Durbar in the Connaught Hall at Rajkot for the reception of the Ruling Chiefs and Sardars of Kathiawar. A large number of British officers, Civil and Military, and many ladies, were present, including Her Excellency Lady Curzon, and Mrs. Hunter. The Kumars of the Rajkumar College, with their Principal, were also present and occupied seats on the daïs. The Viceroy having been received with the usual ceremonies at the Durbar Hall, and having taken his seat on the daïs, the formal presentation of the Chiefs to His Excellency was proceeded with. When the introductions were completed, His Excellency rose and addressed the Durbar as follows :—] 6th Nov. 1900.

Chiefs and Durbaris of Kathiawar,—Since I have been in India nothing has surprised me more than that none of my predecessors has ever found the time or the interest to visit Kathiawar. When I came here last year for the first time to show my sympathy with the Chiefs and people in their misfortunes, and to acquire some personal knowledge of the manner in which they were combating the great famine, I was much struck with the peculiar characteristics of this province. It seemed to me to present in an unusual and attractive combination the features of an old territorial nobility, standing midway between the paramount power and their own subjects, and bound by solemn obligations to both, with abundant evidences of modern enlightenment and civilization. It is a country that possesses sites of ancient and historic sanctity which are yearly visited by thousands of pilgrims. It contains a number of small but flourishing cities and ports. It is intersected by a network of railways, having indeed nearly as many miles of railroad as it has of first-class roads. It is well endowed with hospitals, schools, dispensaries, and the latest symptoms of progress; and it can boast of some of the most cultivated Chiefs on the Western side of India. My visit last year was a short one; but I resolved that I would take the first opportunity of returning, in order to

improve my acquaintance with Kathiawar at a more favourable moment in its fortunes.

That is the object, Chiefs and Durbaris, with which I have invited you here to-day. I desire to convince you that, though you live in a somewhat unfrequented corner of the Indian continent, which is away from the principal lines of movement and of travel, your welfare and your concerns are very dear to the Government of India (*applause*), and that the head of that Government takes a personal interest in your well-being. (*Applause.*) It is an object of ambition to me to meet, and to make the acquaintance of, as many of the Chiefs and nobles of India as may be possible during my time. I like to know them, in order to realize their position, its advantages, and its difficulties—for it is attended by both—and to appreciate their work. For this reason I make longer tours and wider diversions from the beaten track than some of my predecessors have done. I have spoken of the benefits that result to myself, in the shape of increased knowledge, of greater sympathy, and of a more intelligent discrimination. I trust it is not vain to hope that they may be, in some measure, reciprocal.

To many of the Chiefs and Thakors residing in out-of-the-way parts, and only brought into contact with the agents of the Local Government, the Government of India, in all likelihood, appears a dim and mysterious force, that is seldom materialised into positive existence. To all such I should like to invest it with greater nearness and actuality. I wish them all to realize that the Viceroy is not merely the figure-head of Imperial authority, but is also their counsellor and friend. (*Applause.*) If he comes and sees them, and speaks to them in their own homes, they may realize that they are not overlooked or forgotten; but that they play their part—and it is no mean part—in the collective administration of the empire.

Chiefs, the feature in Kathiawar that struck me most last year was the recognition among you—in spite of minute

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subdivisions of territory and jurisdiction, and of many possible causes of disunion—of common interests and a corporate life. The Chiefs of this Province reminded me in fact of a sort of mediæval Guild constituted for purposes of co-operation in matters where the interests of all coincide, or can best be advanced by common action. You have your annual meeting of Karbharis, a species of Local Diet or Parliament, to discuss the administration of the corporate funds. You have the fund known as the States' General Fund contributed in fixed proportions by all. You have a system of railways owned by the different States and managed by a body upon which the various proprietors are represented. Recently a convention has been concluded to facilitate the administration of justice between the several States, each enjoying a separate jurisdiction of its own. At Rajkot this corporate existence is typified by the existence of a number of admirable buildings or institutions, designed for the welfare, not of one State only but of all. There is the Rajkumar College where I spoke yesterday; there is a Training College for school teachers; there is a Hospital for women; and a Chemical Laboratory. These institutions have been founded by the liberality of individual Chiefs or donors, and they are administered out of the joint funds. I had the advantage of visiting the majority of them last November.

During the past year you have had presented to you an opportunity of displaying both collective energy and individual zeal in your encounter with the most serious famine that has afflicted Kathiawar since the famous visitation of 1812-13. Two days ago, I was inspecting the celebrated inscriptions of the Emperor Asoka on the great rock that lies at the foot of the holy hill of Girnar. In those edicts were enjoined upon the people of the Emperor's vast dominions the lessons of charity, and piety, and the sparing of animal life. It is gratifying to me to think that these precepts were not forgotten in the recent distress by the

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Chieftains of Kathiawar. They have, with rare exceptions, risen to and fulfilled their obligations. Under the able leadership, and subject to the constant advice of Colonel Hunter (*applause*), in whom the Kathiawar States are about to lose a firm friend, and the Government of India a most valued officer, all the machinery of famine works, and famine relief, with which we are now so sorrowfully familiar, has been forthcoming in this Province. Works, and poor-houses, and hospitals, have everywhere been open throughout the past twelve months; the infirm and destitute have been cared for; and a means of livelihood has been offered to every man, woman, and child, who had the hands with which to work. Advances have been made to help the ruined cultivators to start again in the world; and, in the generous interpretation of their obligations, several of the Durbars have not shrunk from incurring heavy debt.

Here, as elsewhere, the famine has taught us lessons which should be valuable for the future. It is sometimes disputed whether railways or irrigation are of greater service in the prevention of drought. This is a very barren and senseless controversy, since it may fairly be said that neither is a preventive at all. On the present occasion the famine struck a great many areas in India where there were excellent railway communications and abundance of tanks. But the water dried up in the tanks just when it was most wanted; while the railways, though they could bring grain to the famished peasant, could not make it germinate in the parched and moistureless soil. But I venture to say that if there is a part of India where both railways and tanks efficiently demonstrated their value in time of famine, it was here. The railways poured in grain from the distant markets with a regularity that kept prices at a point consistently lower than in the dearth of 1897; and if there was any Chief in Kathiawar who was diffident about a forward railway policy, I think that his doubts must have been removed during the past summer. He has only to look

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up the records of the great famine of 1813, when Kathiawar parents sold their children, and men killed and devoured each other, to realize the full meaning and value of a constant and cheap supply of grain. As regards irrigation, the experience of the past year should also have taught you the necessity of storing rain water in irrigation tanks wherever the contours of the land are favourable. Such works will not obviate famine, but they will greatly mitigate its intensity.

There is another lesson which I hope that the famine has taught you, and that is the positive necessity of laying by a portion of your incomes in every year as an emergency fund to meet these sudden and terrible strains. The fascination of living up to one's income is well known in all classes and countries; that of living in excess of it is also not without its votaries among the Native Chiefs. But, when famine ensues, a rude awakening comes, for the exhausted treasury is powerless to meet the demands that fall thick and fast upon it, and the State is thereupon burdened with a debt that may hamper its development for years to come. On the present occasion there has necessarily been a considerable recourse to loans. The finances of some of the States, greatly to their credit, were able to weather the storm without any recourse to outside assistance. But they were in the minority. In these circumstances the Government of India has rendered you every possible assistance in its power. I have myself kept a most careful watch upon the requisitions of the Native States in all parts of India where there has been famine; and I think it will be conceded without demur that, whilst avoiding prodigality or slackness, we have neither grudged nor stinted our help. (*Applause.*) Apart from the loans made by local funds in the Kathiawar Agency, which amounted to nearly 11 lakhs, and from the private loans guaranteed by the Agency, which amounted to 40½ lakhs more, the Imperial Exchequer has lent to the Kathiawar Chiefs sums of money which, excluding

such loans as have already been repaid, represent a still outstanding debt of nearly 50 lakhs of rupees. I think, therefore, it may truly be said that we have all pulled heartily together—Imperial Government, Local Government, Chiefs, and people—in order to tide the Province over its dark hour of misfortune; and, in this loyal co-operation in the cause of suffering humanity, I find solace in contemplating the trials of the past year, as well as a hopeful augury for the future.

Chiefs of Kathiawar, I should not come here as Viceroy of India were I not confident that my message to you was one of sympathy and encouragement. (*Applause.*) You are the representatives in this part of India of a system of which no one is a more convinced supporter than myself. (*Applause.*) I am a firm believer in the policy which has guaranteed the integrity, has ensured the succession, and has built up the fortunes of the Native States. (*Applause.*) I regard the advantage accruing from the secure existence of those States as mutual. In the case of the Chiefs and the States it is obvious, since old families and traditions are thereby preserved, a link is maintained with the past that is greatly cherished by the people, and an opening is given for the employment of native talent which the British system does not always or equally provide. But to us also the gain is indubitable; since the strain of Government is thereby lessened, full scope is provided for the exercise of energies that might otherwise be lost to Government, the perils of excessive uniformity and undue centralization are avoided, and greater administrative flexibility ensues. So long as these views are held—and I doubt if any of my successors will ever repudiate them—the Native States should find in the consciousness of their security a stimulus to energy and to well doing. They should fortify the sympathies of Government by deserving them. To weaken this support would be to commit a suicidal crime.

If the Native States, however, are to accept this standard

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it is obvious that they must keep pace with the age. They cannot dawdle behind, and act as a drag upon an inevitable progress. They are links in the chain of Imperial administration. It would never do for the British links to be strong and the native links weak, or *vice versâ*. As the chain goes on lengthening, and the strain put upon every part of it increases, so is uniformity of quality and fibre essential. Otherwise the unsound links will snap. I, therefore, think, and I lose no opportunity of impressing upon the Indian Chiefs, that a very clear and positive duty devolves upon them. It is not limited to the perpetuation of their dynasties or the maintenance of their *raj*. They must not rest content with keeping things going in their time. Their duty is one, not of passive acceptance of an established place in the Imperial system, but of active and vigorous co-operation in the discharge of its onerous responsibilities. When wrong things go on in British India, the light of public criticism beats fiercely upon the offending person or spot. Native States have no right to claim any immunity from the same process. It is no defence to say that the standards there are lower, and that, as censors, we must be less exacting. That would be an admission of the inferiority of the part played by the States in the Imperial scheme, whereas the whole of my contention rests upon its equality, and the whole of my desire is to make it endure. In Kathiawar it is gratifying to me to think that these propositions, which I regard as the fundamental principles of Indian statecraft, are generally accepted, and that the majority of the Chiefs and Thakors whom I am addressing, are already engaged in putting them into operation.

Holding the views that I do, I welcome nothing more than the opportunity of giving such encouragement as lies in my power, as the head of the Government, to those who have it in their power so greatly to help and encourage me. I hope that I have not been remiss in this direction. There has never been a year in Indian history when the loyalty of

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the Indian princes and people has been more triumphantly vindicated. Aroused by the stirring events that were passing in foreign lands, and thrilled by the sense of partnership in the British Empire, they have freely offered their troops, their resources, and their own swords, for the service of the Queen both in Africa and in Asia. It has not been possible to accept all these offers, and indeed in South Africa it was not possible to accept any. But the war in China has presented me with an opportunity of showing how greatly Her Majesty, and Her Majesty's Government, have valued these demonstrations of loyalty, which I was not slow to seize. It will always remain a source of pride to me to have been instrumental in persuading them for the first time to send the Imperial Service Troops outside of these shores. I frankly admit that it is not the purpose for which those contingents were originally raised. They were offered by the Chiefs, and accepted by the Government, to take part in the defence of India. But the opportunities that we can furnish for their employment in India, or upon the Indian frontiers, are few and far between; and when the Chiefs came forward and begged to be allowed to share the larger responsibilities of Empire, and to vindicate their loyalty upon a wider field (*applause*), he would, I think, have been a cold and narrow-minded pedant who, on such an occasion, would have damped their enthusiasm or waved aside the offer. It was, therefore, with peculiar pleasure that I urged Her Majesty's Government to accept the offers, so spontaneously and generously made, and that I have since superintended the despatch to China of picked contingents from the Imperial Service Forces. Kathiawar did not take part in this particular contribution. But, in the South African war, her Chiefs had already shown the spirit by which they were animated. From the relatively small forces of Imperial Service Cavalry that are maintained by the Chiefs of this Province, Junagadh gave 15 horses for South Africa, Bhavnagar contributed 100 horses, as well as 50 to

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Lumsden's Horse, and the Indian Government borrowed 35 horses from Jamnagar. You have, therefore, not been left outside of the great movement that has, throughout the past year, swept, like a mighty tide, from one end of the British Empire to the other. You have contributed your share to its volume and its strength. I am now arranging for the despatch to Australia of a selected contingent of 100 officers and non-commissioned officers of the Native Army, and the Imperial Service Troops, who have been invited by the Colonial Authorities as the guests of the new Federal Government of Australia to assist on the 1st January at the inauguration of the new Commonwealth. It will be a fitting thing that on a day when a new off-shoot of the British Empire is to start into official being, the festival should be graced by the presence of those who will symbolise the part that has been played in the consolidation of the parent fabric by Indian swords and by India's sons. (*Applause.*) It is, therefore, in a memorable year, Chiefs and Nobles of Kathiawar, that I have come hither to address you; a year that has been one of anxiety and suffering; but that has also been one of noble devotion, and the recognition of a higher aim. If it has been a sorrow to me to observe the pain and the anguish, it has also been a comfort to note the spirit which they have engendered, and to have touched the instrument whose chords have thrilled to so sublime a tune. I take this opportunity, therefore, through you, of thanking the Chiefs of India for the part that they have played in a year that fitly marks the passing away of an old century and the opening of a new. A hundred years hence, may it be in the power of some successor of mine to speak to the Indian princes and people in language of similar good cheer and congratulation. (*Loud applause.*)

UNVEILING THE QUEEN'S STATUE, RAJKOT.

6th Nov. 1900. [At the conclusion of the Viceroy's address to the Chiefs and Durbaris (reported in the previous pages), His Excellency proceeded to unveil the statue of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, which occupied a position in the apse of the Connaught Hall to the rear of the daïs on which His Excellency was seated. His Excellency, again addressing the assembled Chiefs, spoke as follows :—]

Chiefs and Nobles,—Before we separate I have been invited to perform one further and most agreeable task. It is that of unveiling the statue of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress (*applause*), which stands in the apse of this hall that already takes its name from one of Her Majesty's sons. The statue is the work of Mr. Alfred Gilbert, one of the most gifted of British sculptors, and is a replica of the original effigy which I have seen in England, and which is now, I think, at Winchester. It is a noble work of art, and is, I venture to assert, the finest sculptured representation of Her Majesty outside the shores of Great Britain.

I have spoken in the address that I have just delivered of the loyalty that pervades the Chiefs of this province, and of the spontaneous shape that those feelings have taken during the past year. But already, in the Diamond Jubilee year of 1897, the Chiefs of Kathiawar had decided to testify their reverence for the Queen by some special commemoration; and the order for this statue was the result. It is, I venture to think, a remarkable and gratifying thing that, in remote Kathiawar, the ruler of the vast dominions of the British Empire should be honoured by her feudatories in so conspicuous and enduring a fashion.

Chiefs and Nobles, there has been no sovereign of the British or any other Empire who has so won the affections of her subjects as Queen Victoria. (*Applause.*) No Great Mogul at the height of his power commanded one-half of the personal devotion from the Indian people that is aroused

by their English Queen. Every one of the Indian princes, when he goes to England, is inspired by the desire to pay his homage to Her Majesty, to receive her wise counsels, and to profit by her gracious advice. To all of them, whether they have seen her or not, she is not merely Queen but mother (*applause*) : and they are bound to her by ties not only of political allegiance, but of filial respect. It is, therefore, a right and befitting thing that in this hall, where you meet on ceremonial occasions, and where to-day, as Her Majesty's representative, I have been privileged to address you, there should always be present to the eyes of the Chiefs of Kathiawar the image of the first ruler of the British Empire who has appealed to the imagination as well as to the loyalty of her worldwide Empire. (*Applause.*) May her pure and benign and gracious example long continue to inspire us. May the memory of the Sovereign who cared more deeply for her Indian subjects than any of her predecessors, and who was one with her people in their sorrows not less than in their joys, remain bright through the long vista of future years, binding the Indian Chiefs and races with indissoluble ties to the British throne.

Chiefs and Nobles, I now declare unveiled this statue of Her Majesty the Queen.

[His Excellency then unveiled the statue amid loud and prolonged applause.]

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF SURAT.

7th Nov. 1900.

[Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon arrived at Surat on Wednesday morning, the 7th November, 1900, and were received by the principal Civil and Military officials. After seeing the various places of interest in the city, and breakfasting with Mr. and Mrs. Weir (the Collector), His Excellency proceeded to the Town Hall, where he was presented with an address by the Municipal Commissioners. In welcoming Their Excellencies the address remarked

Address from the Municipality of Surat.

that this was the second occasion on which a Viceroy had visited Surat; the city, it said, was formerly one of the greatest trade emporiums in the world, and had been aptly called the cradle of the British Empire in India; but owing to adverse circumstances Surat had declined in wealth and importance, and was now but a shadow of her former self. Reference was then made to the measures taken to supply the city with good water and to protect it from floods. The Municipality acknowledged the timely help of Government in the shape of advances and contributions to meet unexpected expenditure in consequence of Plague, and a falling off in revenue, and they hoped that His Excellency would extend to them a further helping hand. In this connection they expressed gratitude for the new Plague measures recently promulgated by His Excellency's Government, which had given great satisfaction. The construction of suitable drainage works was still pressing and important; but the Municipal finances would not at present permit of the necessary expenditure without some substantial help from Government.

The Viceroy, replying said :—]

Members of the Municipality of Surat,—Though, as you have pointed out to me, I am only the second Viceroy to visit Surat, I have broken my journey at this place, not, as my predecessor Lord Elgin did, in order to inaugurate some great public work, but with the simple object of seeing a locality so famous in the records of the past. One of the commonest instincts of humanity is the desire to inspect the birthplaces of great men. It is interesting to see from what humble origins they often sprang, and what were the surroundings that shaped their early lives. But in coming to Surat I am gratifying this instinct in a different and higher form; for I am visiting the birthplace, not of an individual or even of a nation, but of the British Empire in India. Surat was the first spot where British traders commenced that astonishing venture that was not destined to stop until it had resulted in a dominion to which history affords no parallel, and which will always remain a marvel, and I would fain hope also a blessing, to mankind.

In your address, Gentlemen, you have drawn a somewhat pathetic contrast between the circumstances of the

Address from the Municipality of Surat.

past and the present. The time was when yours was the first maritime city in India, when your population numbered nearly a million souls, and when from your crowded harbour and teeming wharves you could look down with conscious superiority upon the puny struggles of Bombay. Now the pendulum has swung back. Your population has diminished, trade and commerce have flown elsewhere, the river has partially silted up; and, as you graphically express it, Surat is but a shadow of its former self.

Simultaneously with this contraction your city has suffered from a cumulative series of misfortunes in recent times, which have been enough to damp your spirit. Surat has always, as you mention, been peculiarly liable to the opposite visitations of fire and floods, the former due, I believe, to the very combustible material of which too many of your poorer dwellings were built, the latter to the ravages of the river in the lower parts of the city. During the last three years Plague has been added to these afflictions, and even now lingers in the district.

All these calamities demanded a policy on the part of the local Municipality of courage and self-help. I am pleased to think that, instead of bowing to the storm, you have boldly confronted it, and I congratulate you upon the success of your efforts. You have taken steps to mitigate the conflagrations to which I just now alluded. You have constructed protective works against abnormal floods; and you have, at a considerable cost, provided the city with a good water-supply. In combating the Plague, I am pleased to think that the Plague Regulations, which have recently been issued by the Government of India, meet with the approval of a body so qualified from experience to pronounce upon them as your Municipality. This approval is, I believe, endorsed by public opinion in general. Experience has, in fact, guided us to the happy mean between a drastic and unpalatable interference with social habits, and the unchecked diffusion of disease. Like many other places in

India, Surat finds that its water-works now require drainage works as a supplement. From the lessons of many Municipal addresses I am led to think that the necessity of their combination is not always fully realised in this country. A Municipality constructs water-works at a great cost, perhaps exhausting its credit in so doing. Then, when it finds that the drainage works must follow, it turns round to Government and says—"See what my virtue has brought me to; will you not replenish my empty purse?"

Now the advice that I would give to the Surat Municipality at the present juncture is this. Follow an excellent example, namely, your own. Do what you did with the inundations and with the water-works. Make up your minds in advance what it is that you want and propose to execute; and then bend all your energies and efforts in that direction. Do not let your Municipal ambitions or revenues be distracted in the pursuit of fancy experiments or ideal schemes for which the city and its finances are not yet prepared. Do not act like the conjurer who tries to keep up three or four balls in the air at the same time. One is quite enough for a Municipal Committee in straitened circumstances.

Gentlemen, I have been informed that there are some respects in which Surat might itself lend greater support to the patriotic efforts of its Municipality. I do not know why it is that this place should consume more toddy than any other town of similar size in India, or why its inhabitants should be reputed more extravagant at one end of the scale, and less laborious at the other, than the people of neighbouring localities. I am bound, however, to say that a consumption by a city population of less than 110,000 persons of 12½ lakhs of gallons of liquor in the year seems to me to be exorbitant and to require explanation.

I hope, therefore, Gentlemen, that in prosecuting your efforts on behalf of this city, you may also succeed in impressing upon your fellow citizens the desirablity of accelerating

the revival of their native town by a practice of the virtues of industry and self-discipline, and that the community at large may be encouraged to emulate the excellent example set by their Municipal representatives.

ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

[The Viceroy arrived in Bombay on the 7th November, and on the following day, His Excellency, accompanied by Lady Curzon, Lord Northcote, and their respective Staffs, drove in state from Malabar Hill to the Town Hall, to receive an address of welcome from the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The Hall, which was beautifully decorated, was thronged with an enthusiastic audience, who rose as Their Excellencies entered, and greeted them with loud and prolonged cheering. 8th Nov. 1900.

The Corporation in their address said that seldom had the heart of the country been so stirred on the advent of any Viceroy as it had been on that of Lord Curzon. The kindling words in which His Excellency announced the noble and statesmanlike policy he had determined to pursue, the moral earnestness which seemed to pervade his lofty determination, his uncommon intellectual equipments, matured by varied experience, and informed by personal acquaintance with, and knowledge of, the country, as well as many other countries of the East; above all, the generous and cultured love which seemed to animate his breast, loving "India, its people, its history, its government, the absorbing mysteries of its civilisation and life," all combined to give the people assurance that it was their good fortune to secure in His Lordship a statesman and an administrator to whom the destinies of the Indian Empire could confidently be entrusted at a time when it was passing through many and great troubles. The address went on to refer to the severity of the visitations of famine and plague which had afflicted the Presidency, and the splendid way in which His Excellency had redeemed the pledges he had given when first he took upon himself the duties of Viceroy. No acts of His Lordship's administration had, however, been more appreciated than those directed to secure an impartial administration of justice. The sum of the impressions created by His Excellency in the short period of

two years might be expressed by saying that he had won their hearts, captured their imaginations, and extorted the respect and admiration of the whole country. Referring to matters of local import, they begged His Lordship to consider whether it would not be right and expedient, considering the financial difficulties of the city, to make plague expenditure a charge on the financial resources of the country as a whole. The imperial character of this expenditure could scarcely be denied, and it would be only just that the whole country should help in providing against an emergency of so special a character. Reference was made to the effort made for the re-sanitation of the city, and confidence was expressed that advice and help would be given by the Government of India in securing the completion of the scheme. The Corporation eulogised Lord Northcote for the interest he had shown in the work. The address concluded by offering a sincere welcome to the Viceroy and Her Excellency Lady Curzon.

The Viceroy, on rising to reply, was received with a fresh outburst of cheering. When it had subsided, His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

Your Excellency, Members of the Municipal Corporation, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I landed at the Apollo Bunder, in December, 1898, I little thought that, within less than two years' time, I should twice again visit this great city. Still less could I have anticipated that, within so short a period of my assuming office, I should be deemed worthy of the honour of such a ceremony as that of this morning. It is, as you know, the trials and the sufferings through which Bombay has been passing that have brought me back into this Presidency upon the two occasions to which I have referred. It is your gracious recognition of the motive that actuated these visits—a recognition very characteristic of the warm-hearted Indian people (*cheers*)—that has brought me to this Town Hall to-day, and has made me the recipient of the exquisite and sumptuous gift in which the address that has just been read from the Bombay Corporation will henceforward be enclosed.

You have said with truth in this address that the troubles by which India in general, and this Presidency, perhaps, more particularly, have been afflicted, have gone on increasing and

multiplying during the past two years. Lord Elgin thought that he had coped with the worst famine of the century: we have now gone through a worse. It was hoped that plague would soon be extirpated from your midst; but it has grown into an annual visitor, whom, in spite of all our efforts, we can neither altogether elude nor defeat. True, there is one calamity which we have been fortunate enough to escape during our time of trial, and that is warfare in our own territory or upon our frontiers. Indeed, the most striking incident in recent Indian History, the most conclusive testimony to the loyalty of her princes and people, and the most absolute demonstration of the reality of the peace that we have enjoyed, is the fact that we have spared between 20,000 and 30,000 soldiers from the Indian Army for the wars being waged elsewhere by the forces of the Queen, and have thus not unhandsomely borne our share in that great outburst of Imperial sentiment that has marked the disappearance of the old century and the opening of the new. (*Cheers.*)

You have been good enough to speak in terms of praise of the manner in which we have met our misfortunes. I do not take this praise to myself. For instance, in our struggle with Plague and Famine, the Captain can do little but frame his orders, see closely to their execution, keep an eye upon every part of the field, and encourage his men. When, therefore, I see or hear the head of the Government praised for the efficiency or liberality of the measures that have been taken, or given the credit for their success, I feel almost a sense of shame. For I think of all the accumulated advice and experience that have been freely placed at his disposal by those who know so much more than he; and I remember the brave men who, with no reward to hope for, and no public applause to urge them on, have, for month after month, whether in the scorching heat, or through the soaking rains, spent of their energy and life-blood and strength in fighting the real battle, wherever the enemy threatened, or the worst danger lay. Theirs is the true

credit; and it is only on their behalf, and as their official head, that I can accept with contentment what I could not, without injustice, appropriate to myself. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, before I pass on to the larger aspects of British policy and rule, upon which you have touched, I will refer to the local questions which you have submitted to my notice. They have taken the customary form of an appeal to the Government of India for more funds. (*Laughter.*) Indeed, I sometimes wonder if a Viceroy, as he goes round on tour, were, at each place at which he halts and is addressed by an impoverished and importunate Municipality (*laughter*), to accede to only one-half of the petitions for financial assistance that he receives, what sort of welcome he could meet with from his colleagues in the Government when he got back to Calcutta. (*Laughter.*) The first event, I take it, would be the arrival of a letter from his Finance Minister handing in his resignation. (*Laughter.*) The second would be the receipt of a telegram from the Secretary of State to say that a Royal Commission was about to sail from England to investigate the straits to which the Government of India had been reduced by a too blind philanthropy on the part of its Chief. (*Laughter.*) Inasmuch as I desire to escape both these forms of rebuke, and as you, Gentlemen, having expressed your interest in the continuance of my administration, cannot possibly wish that I should incur them, you will understand how it is that even the most tender-hearted of Viceroys on tour is perhaps more often compelled to refuse petitions than he is able to grant them.

The first of the particular requests that you have placed before me on the present occasion is that the whole of the plague expenditure, direct and indirect, of the City of Bombay—and I presume that the same argument would apply to Poona, Belgaum, Dharwar, and any other spot that is similarly afflicted—shall be taken over by the Imperial Government. I think that this proposition has only to be frankly stated for it to be seen that, under no system

Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

of finance, and with no succession of surpluses that it is possible to conceive, could such an obligation be accepted in advance by the Supreme Government. When a terrible calamity, such as plague, befalls, drying up resources and arresting progress all round, it is emphatically a case for generous and openhanded treatment, but it is not necessarily a case for wholesale exemption. Such generosity, I venture to assert, the Bombay Government received from the Government of India, when we made up our last budget, to a greater extent than has ever before been shown by the Government of India to a Local Government. We took over the whole of the direct plague expenditure of the Bombay Presidency for the past financial year, and we framed our estimates for taking over the whole again in this, the charge in the two years amounting to over 25 lakhs of rupees. In addition, we assumed the whole charge for the research laboratory at Parel, amounting to 2½ lakhs in the two years. More than this, we made up to the Bombay Government the entire excess of all provincial expenditure over the provincial balance. Why, when we had our debate at Calcutta, the Bombay representatives (and my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, was one of them) were almost clamorous in our praises. (*Laughter.*) We were the most liberal Government of the century. (*Laughter.*) But now I come here and I find that the grateful children of the Government of India are already beginning to ask for more: and that they are not above squeezing the parent who has shown such overwhelming proofs of her affection. (*Laughter.*) Gentlemen, your request is one with which I most cordially sympathise, but which it is out of my power to concede.

The next respect in which you hint, not obscurely, at assistance from the Government of India is the contemplated purchase of the tramways of Bombay by the Municipality. This is a subject with which I do not feel competent to deal adequately. But it occurs to me that, before the point

is reached at which it may be necessary to discuss the question of borrowing powers or the methods of a loan, there are a number of questions to which it is desirable that a reply should first be given. They are, firstly, whether the purchase is desirable in the interests of the City and its inhabitants; secondly, if so, what would be the probable cost; thirdly, whether the borrowing powers enjoyed by the Corporation would be best exercised for such an object; fourthly, whether the citizens of Bombay would be prepared to submit to additional taxation for the pleasure of owning their tramways; and fifthly, whether the administration of these lines would be most efficiently and economically conducted by the Corporation. (*Cheers.*) When an answer has been given to these questions, we shall all be in a better position to discuss the financial expedients that may be required.

There is a third matter of local interest for which you bespeak my attention without, as I understand, at the present juncture formulating any request. This is the carrying out of your great scheme for the improvement of the city, in which I take the deepest interest, both from what I heard of it from Lord Sandhurst, when I was here a year ago, and from the part that I was permitted to play in the inaugural function at Agripada last year. I was not myself aware, until I received your address, that the Act was taken in hand at a time of panic, or was passed into law in a hurry. On the contrary, I thought that few measures had been longer on the anvil, or had been more anxiously considered both by the Local Government and by the Government of India. I do not, of course, know in what direction amendment may be required. But it will be the natural inclination of the Local Government to minimise all chances of friction between the Municipality and the Trust; while Municipal interests are already so largely represented upon the latter that they should not fail to secure becoming attention. In any case, the solution of such matters may

safely be left in the hands of your present Governor (*cheers*), to whom you have paid so high and deserved a tribute in your address (*cheers*), and who, in a marvellously short time, has established an enduring hold upon the esteem and affection of all classes in the Presidency. (*Loud cheers.*)

This, Gentlemen, exhausts the list of local topics to which you have called my attention. I now pass to the wider field of thought that has been opened by the terms of your address. You have spoken of the impartial administration of justice, not so much in the Law Courts, since they are independent of official control, as in the exercise of executive and administrative authority, as having been the guiding principle which I have borne in view. It is true that I have tried never to lose sight of the motto, which I set before myself when I landed here, namely, to hold the scales even. (*Cheers.*) Experience has shown me that it is not always an easy task; but experience has also convinced me that it is always the right one. (*Cheers.*) If a man is to succeed in carrying it out, he must expect sometimes to be abused, and frequently to be misunderstood. By one party he will be suspected of disloyalty to the rights of his countrymen; by the other of imperfect sympathy with its aspirations or its aims. Everyone appreciates the advantages of an umpire. But there are always some players of the game who think that the main duty of that functionary is to give their own side in. I sometimes note symptoms of this tendency in India. One side interprets an act of justice as a concession to clamour; the other laments that it does not straight away secure all the articles of an impossible charter. These little drawbacks may sometimes worry and sometimes impede; but they do not for one moment affect the conviction with which I started two years ago, and which I now hold, if possible, more strongly still (*cheers*), that it is by native confidence in British justice that the loyalty of the Indian peoples is assured. (*Cheers.*) Any man who, either by force or by fraud, shakes that confidence, is

dealing a blow at the British dominion in India. (*Loud cheers.*) If to justice we can add that form of mercy which is best expressed by the word consideration, and which is capable of showing itself in almost every act and incident of life, we have, I think, a key that will open most Indian hearts. A century ago there was a very intelligent and observant French priest, the Abbé Dubois, who spent thirty years of his life in India, and who wrote a most admirable book upon the manners and customs and feelings of the people. I quote him because, as a foreigner and a Catholic missionary, he could not be suspected of any undue partiality to the British Government, and because as a Frenchman, with the memory of the French dominion in India, of which the British arms had only recently robbed his countrymen, fresh in his mind, he could hardly be expected to bless the conquerors. This was what he wrote:—"The justice and prudence which the present rulers display in endeavouring to make these people less unhappy than they have hitherto been, the anxiety which they manifest in increasing their material comfort; above all, the inviolable respect which they constantly show for the customs and religious beliefs of the country; and, lastly, the protection which they afford to the weak as well as to the strong—all these have contributed more to the consolidation of their power than even their victories and conquests." (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, the era of victories and conquests is now over, but the other and more abiding source of strength remains; and an English Viceroy may safely repeat at the dawn of the twentieth century what the French Abbé said at the opening of the nineteenth as to the character and motives of British rule in this country.

I was asked the other day whether, after two years' Indian experience, I had at all changed the views to which I have often given expression regarding the importance of the part that is played by India in the structure of the British Empire. My answer was that they have not been changed, but

confirmed. In the writings of a political philosopher I recently came across the astounding utterance that "there is more true greatness within a two miles' radius of the British Museum than in the whole of Asia." In my judgment, this was a very arrogant and a very foolish remark. It is a proposition to which history is every day giving the lie. It is the Eastern and not the Western problems that continue to agitate the world, and Asia has still to be disposed of before the intellect of the West can exclusively concentrate itself upon Western concerns. The past year has, moreover, been one which has conspicuously demonstrated the part that is played by India in the Imperial system. It was the prompt despatch of a contingent of the Indian Army a year ago that saved the Colony of Natal. (*Cheers.*) They were Indian regiments who accomplished the rescue of the Legations at Pekin. (*Cheers.*) We have rendered this service to the Empire in a year when we have been distracted by famine and plague, and weighed down by our own troubles. (*Cheers.*) If our arm reaches as far as China in the East, and South Africa in the West, who can doubt the range of our influence, or the share of India in Imperial destinies? (*Cheers.*)

I have also been asked, since I came to India, whether I was at all disillusioned with my work, and whether my love for the country had at all diminished. Again my answer has been in the negative. The work to be done seems to me just as important; the opportunities for doing it to be even more numerous. More than a century ago the orator Burke remarked that the British Empire in India was an awful thing. He had not seen it; he had only studied it from a distance of 10,000 miles; and the Empire of which he spoke was but a fraction of that which now acknowledges the sway of the British Crown. If it was awful a hundred years ago, what is it now? Is not the custody of the lives and fortunes of 300 millions of human beings—between one-fourth and one-fifth of the entire human race—a responsibility

that might daunt the boldest energy, and sober the flightiest imagination? Moreover, they are not members of one race, or even of a few races, but of a swarm of races. As I go about on tour and see the people in the streets, the difference to the outward eye is enormous. A street crowd in Lahore does not present the smallest resemblance to one in Bombay. Bombay is utterly unlike Calcutta. And what is this external difference compared with that within, the difference of feature compared with that of character and creed? And again, what are any of these differences compared with those that separate the huge Indian majority from the microscopic British minority to whom their rule has been committed? These are the common-place, every-day, reflections that are borne in upon me every hour that I spend in this country. How can a man be anything but absorbed, anything but enthusiastic about such a work? Every day some fresh thing seems to require doing, some new subject demands to be taken up. There is, I know, a school who say, "Leave well alone. You are in the unchanging East. Don't worry yourself unduly about reform. No one ever wanted to be reformed in Asia." Gentlemen, do you remember the answer of the economist Turgot, in the reign of Louis XVI of France? He was always pushing fresh reforms. Perhaps if he had pushed even more, there would have been no French Revolution. When his friends came to him and said that he was going ahead too quickly, he replied—"You forget that in my family we do not live beyond fifty." If this was the defence of the French statesman, may not a Viceroy of India reply to a similar charge, "You forget that I only have five years (*cheers and laughter*)—five years within which to affect the movement, or to influence the outturn, of this mighty machine?" For such a task every year seems a minute, every minute a second,—one might almost say that there is hardly time to begin.

There is one respect in which it has been my constant endeavour to infuse an element of the modern spirit into

Indian administration. I can see no reason why, in India as elsewhere, the official hierarchy should not benefit by public opinion. (*Cheers.*) Official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to this form of stimulus and guidance. (*Cheers.*) Indeed, my inclination where Government is attacked is not to assume that the critic must inevitably be wrong, but that it is quite conceivable that he may be right. In any case, I enquire. Of course, it is easy to disparage public opinion in a continent like India; to say that it is either the opinion of the merchants, or the Civil Service, or the Army, or of amateurs in general; or, if it be native public opinion, that it only represents the views of the infinitesimal fraction who are educated. No doubt this is true. But all these are the various sections upon whose intelligent co-operation the Government depends. (*Cheers.*) To the masses we can give little more than security and material comfort in their humble lives. They have not reached a pitch of development at which they can lend us anything more than a passive support. But the opinion of the educated classes is one that it is not statesmanship to ignore or to despise. (*Cheers.*) I do not say that one should always defer to it. If a ruler of India were to adopt all the wild suggestions that are made to him by the various organs of public opinion, he would bring the fabric of Indian Government toppling down in a month. (*Laughter.*) Neither must he carry deference to the pitch of subordination; for I can conceive nothing more unfortunate, or more calamitous, than that Government should abrogate one jot or tittle of its own responsibility. A benevolent despotism that yielded to agitation would find that, in sacrificing its despotism, it had also lost its benevolence. All these are truisms which no one will dispute. But there remain a multitude of ways in which Government may endeavour, and in my opinion should endeavour, to enlist public opinion upon its side. It can hearken to both sides of a case; it can take the public into its confidence by explaining what to the official mind

seems simple enough, but to the outside public may appear quite obscure; in framing its legislation it can profit by external advice, instead of relying solely upon the arcana of official wisdom. It can look sympathetically into grievances instead of arbitrarily snuffing them out. These, at any rate, are the principles upon which I have tried, during the past two years, to conduct the administration of India, and they seem to have been so far successful as to win approval at your hands. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, let me add, in conclusion, that it is in the power of public opinion in this country to repay the compliment. It can very materially strengthen the hands, and lighten the task, of the head of the Government. If he is so fortunate as to possess its support, there are many things which he can undertake, which otherwise he would be tempted to leave on one side. A Prime Minister in England is strong in proportion to the Parliamentary strength of his party. A Member of Parliament is strong in his constituency in proportion to the size of his majority. In this country, if the analogy may be pursued, all India are the constituents of the Viceroy, and his strength is proportionate to their allegiance. (*Cheers.*) I gladly welcome this opportunity of conveying my thanks to those who have so ungrudgingly given me their confidence during the short time that I have held my present post; and I hope that it may be continued to me, easing my burden and invigorating my spirits, until the end. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE BIJAPUR MUNICIPALITY.

[The Viceroy, with a portion of his Staff (Her Excellency having proceeded by sea *en route* to Goa with the other members of it) arrived at Bijapur on the forenoon of the 10th November, 1900, and shortly afterwards proceeded to the Hall of Audience, where the members of the Municipality presented him with an address. After welcoming His Excellency, the address proceeded :— 10th Nov. 1900.

"Our town, though not occupying a position of much commercial or political importance, has always possessed, in its magnificent ruins, a charm for students of history, like Your Excellency, whose minds have been imbued with a spirit of reverence for the past, and who love to linger over the vestiges of a vanished glory which departed dynasties have left behind them. India abounds in such relics of a bygone greatness, and it was, therefore, not want of interest but the difficulty of determining what to see, where so much was to be seen, that prevented Your Excellency's distinguished predecessors from paying a visit to this town. Your Lordship is thus the first Viceroy that Bijapur has ever had the honour of welcoming, and the citizens would have marked their sense of the great favour that Your Excellency has conferred upon them, by according a reception, grander and more befitting such a unique occasion, but that their resources have been crippled by famine, the shadow of which still hangs over them."

The remaining points in the address will be apparent from His Excellency's reply, which was as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—In your interesting and well composed address you correctly surmise that it is the desire to see the remains of the bygone glories of Bijapur that has brought me to this place; and you suggest with much tact that it can only have been the difficulty of determining what to see where so much was worthy to be seen that deterred my predecessors without exception from coming to see anything at all. I know of nothing in the wonderful history of India more astonishing or more sad than the written and the standing records of the Mahomedan dynasty of Bijapur. Founded by a Turk who was born in Europe, it enjoyed a short-lived but brilliant existence of less than 200 years, and then fell before that prince of devastators—Aurungzeb. While it still lasted, the buildings were raised, in one of

which I am now speaking, which are unrivalled even in India, and which make Bijapur to the Deccan what Delhi and Agra are to the northern provinces. Each king spent his lifetime in erecting his own tomb, feeling, I suppose, an insufficient confidence in the respect that might be entertained for him by his successors; and the united dynasty, having perished out of existence, left this extraordinary collection of remains, to serve as a monument to all time of its own brief grandeur and of the fleeting character of human fortunes. I wish that I could extract any sort of philosophy from the manner in which, since Bijapur passed into British hands, we have discharged our responsibility as heirs of the Adil Shahs. A laudable anxiety was entertained for the preservation of so remarkable a body of ruins; but this appears to have been accompanied by a lack of taste as monumental as the ruins themselves, by a utilitarianism that makes one shudder, and by feats of desecration from which even a Goth would have shrunk. This was some time ago. Fortunately we now live in a rather less Vandalistic era. Some reparation has been made for the errors of the past; and one of my objects in coming here to-day has been to see whether the amendment can be carried any further.

Your address, however, relates to the practical needs and circumstances of the present, rather than to the sentimental or æsthetic considerations suggested by the past. Bijapur appears to be rising again with a praiseworthy vitality from the ashes of its former self, and its Municipality, during the nearly 50 years of its existence, has already witnessed and fostered an encouraging advance. I hope that you will persevere in your good work, and not be tempted to try too much. If you can never revive the glories of the past, when this city is said to have contained 2,000,000 people, you can in all probability make the lot of the 20,000, of whom your population now consists, happier and more secure than was the case in the days of the Great Shahs.

Address from the Bijapur Municipality.

External splendour often meant internal misery, and the modern peasant or artisan, with an active Municipality, and a sympathetic Local Government to look after him, is probably better off than his forerunner in the more gorgeous but also more precarious days of the past.

You have made the suggestion that a model Farm and an Agricultural Class might be attached to your High School. This is a proposal that concerns the Local, rather than the Supreme, Government, and that might properly be placed before them. A locality which, as you point out, has suffered from no less than three droughts in 10 years, and is even now rather apprehensive of a fourth, may well be anxious to profit by the latest teachings of scientific agriculture, which I am inclined to think has hitherto received a somewhat inadequate attention at the hands of Indian Governments.

You have made a further request with which the Local Government might feel less inclination to comply, and the object of which you have stated with refreshing candour to be that you may be placed in possession of a larger and growing income. This is the proposal that the Government should make over to you the unoccupied spaces in the town, in return for your willingness to pay the cost of the city survey. But you seem to me to be rather late with this proposal, since I understand that Government has already borne the entire cost of the survey, which was Rs. 35,000, in addition to spending Rs. 53,000 in clearing and laying out roads in the new Bazaar. Not only this, but the recovered lands, over 30 acres in extent, were handed over to the Municipality at a purely nominal rent; and you have since made a very good thing out of them, partly by sales, and partly by rents. It seems to me, therefore, that you have not much to complain of; and that, with a rising income, and a good balance, you may be complimented, rather than commiserated, on your position.

It gives me much pleasure to think that the Plague and

Famine policy of the Government of India have been followed with approval in this distant spot; and I accept with equal gratification your hearty assurances of loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and of friendly welcome to myself.

BANQUET AT GOA.

13th Nov. 1900. [Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon and Staff arrived at Goa (the Viceroy by train from Bijapur and Humpi, and Lady Curzon by the R. I. M. S. *Clive*) on the morning of the 12th November, where they were received and entertained with much honour and hospitality during a stay of two days by His Excellency Colonel Edwardo Galhardo, Governor General of Portuguese India, and his principal officials. On the evening of the 13th November the Governor and Senora Galhardo gave a State dinner at the Palace, at Panjim, in honour of Their Excellencies, at which a large number of Portuguese officials and ladies were present. At the conclusion of dinner Colonel Galhardo rose and delivered the speech in Portuguese, of which the following is a translation:—

"*Ladies and Gentlemen,*—It is with heartfelt satisfaction that I rise to perform the most grateful duty in my name, and that of the Portuguese nation in India, represented here by the high functionaries and gentlemen of distinction, in presenting our respects to the noble guests who have honoured us with their visit.

It is not, however, only as a noble guest that we should appreciate the visit of His Excellency Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor General of British India. His Excellency, an eminent member of the ancient and conspicuous nobility of Great Britain, is also the supreme chief of the greatest British Colony with which this small but old State of Portuguese India has always maintained the best relations, and, above all, he is the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England and Empress of India, with whom our august Sovereigns are proud of maintaining an unalterable friendship, preserving thus the most ancient traditions of the old alliance between the two countries.

England and Portugal are certainly the two European nations which have greatly contributed to the moral and material development of the peoples of India, who had formerly no knowledge

Banquet at Goa.

whatever of the Western civilization: Portugal contributing by her legitimate and patriotic wishes of aggrandisement and expansion of the faith of her old monarchs, seconded by the enterprising and intrepid genius of her ancient navigators; England, on the other hand, by the wise and vigorous impulse which the august Sovereigns of that country always knew how to impress on the prodigious and intelligent activity of her subjects. And it is thus that the two nations, each under its religious or political creed, have prosecuted since centuries ago, and are prosecuting even now, always in cordial friendship and united in their civilizing work, being at present accompanied by all the enlightened nations of ancient Europe and of the new American continent.

Portugal, in her limited sphere of action, is unable to accompany her powerful ally in all her enterprises, but does not fail to concur whenever it is possible in the legitimate and lawful desires of noble England. In her turn, this great nation does not lose any opportunity to evince her support and generous friendship, as she has done last year by sending to the Tagus, simply out of courtesy, a magnificent fleet, and as she has lately done through her brave army in operations in South Africa, the display of which, as a token of respectful sympathy towards the Sovereigns of Portugal, communicated to Their Majesties by a telegram from its Commanding Officer the renowned General, Lord Roberts, was justly accepted by the Portuguese nation as one of the most efficacious demonstrations of that friendship.

The visit of His Excellency the Viceroy of British India, for which I am deeply grateful as a personal honour to me, is one of the most obliging and sympathetic demonstration on his part, for which all of us should be also grateful.

To Her Excellency Lady Curzon, noble daughter of the young but powerful and great American nation, virtuous Consort and devoted partner of His Excellency the Viceroy, all our most respectful homages shall not be enough to show Her Ladyship how deeply grateful we have felt for her having been pleased to honour us with the visit.

Thanking, therefore, the illustrious guests for the honour bestowed upon us and upon this country, and presenting them our cordial and respectful compliments, I believe that by no other means I can be more agreeable to the patriotic feelings of Their Excellencies, and of the distinguished functionaries of Their Excellencies' suite, who are present, than wishing for the prosperity of England, and allowing me the honour of drinking with the greatest veneration and respect to the precious health of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Victoria.

'To the health of Her Majesty the Queen of England and Empress of India.'"

Banquet at Goa.

The toast was received with much applause and cordiality. His Excellency the Viceroy, who on rising to respond to it was very warmly received, spoke as follows :—]

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am distressed not to be able to address you in the Portuguese tongue; but the acquisition of that language is, I regret to say, a part of my education that was neglected.

I desire on my own behalf, on behalf of Lady Curzon, and still more on behalf of the gracious Sovereign whom I am privileged to represent, to acknowledge the complimentary terms in which His Excellency the Governor General has just spoken. He has proposed the toast of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress; and that toast has been received with enthusiasm by all.

But, in the course of his remarks, His Excellency has touched upon the old and historic friendship between Portugal and Great Britain, of which my visit to Goa, as the Queen's representative in India, and the honourable reception that has been given to me by the Governor General, as representative of his august Sovereign, is a fresh proof. It is true, as he has said, that these two nations have severally, and successively, been the pioneers of Western civilisation in the East. It was Portugal who opened the way: and when we read of the famous names that adorned her annals three and four centuries ago, of Vasco da Gama, of Alfonso d'Albuquerque, of Prince Henry the Navigator, and of that holy and intrepid missionary, St. Francis Xavier, whose body is preserved in this spot, we feel that great must have been the people that could produce such men, and lofty and inspiring the mission that sent them forth to their fields of labour. Since those days, amid many vicissitudes of fate and fortune, the friendship of the two pioneer nations, the Portuguese and the British, has remained steadfast. They have felt the link of common traditions and the incentive of a glorious history ; and although the international sky has sometimes been obscured by passing clouds, it is scarcely

Banquet at Goa.

possible that, with such antecedents in the past, and such community of present aims, it should ever break into serious storm.

In this great continent, where the Portuguese dominions are still scattered in different parts, it is a pleasure to think that there has always been presented a perfect reflection of the relations that animate the central Governments in Europe. I believe that none of my predecessors has visited Goa; but, 25 years ago, the Portuguese Government entertained here His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. I have greatly enjoyed my visit, which the courtesy of the Governor General and the welcome extended to us by the people, have combined to render very agreeable to Lady Curzon and myself. Descending the Ghats by the beautiful line of the West of India Portuguese Railway, I was enabled to observe the harbour of Mormugao, which seems to possess many advantages, and before which I hope that there may lie a future of increasing prosperity and development. At Old Goa I have inspected the venerable and historic remains of the past; and here at New Goa, or Panjim, I have seen a picturesque and cleanly town, where we have received a truly Portuguese welcome.

Finally, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have to congratulate this Colony and the Portuguese possessions in India in general, upon possessing a Governor who bears so well known a name as Colonel Galhardo. His Excellency has the double reputation of a brave and talented soldier, who has led the arms of his country to victory, and of a capable administrator who has served his Sovereign in many parts of the world. It adds to my pleasure in visiting Goa that I should have been the guest of so gallant and distinguished an officer.

With renewed thanks for the generous entertainment that we have met with at his hands, and at those of his high officials, I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join with me in drinking the toast of the Sovereign whom he serves, and who has always been so firm a friend of Great Britain—His

Majesty the King of Portugal: *Bebo a saude de Sua Majestade El Rei de Portugal.*

[His Excellency's remarks were received with loud and enthusiastic applause.]

COCHIN MUNICIPALITY AND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

19th Nov. 1900. [The Viceregal party arrived, in the R. I. M. S. *Clive*, off Cochin on Sunday afternoon, the 18th November, and, accompanied by the Resident of Travancore and Cochin, Mr. Mackenzie, disembarked at once and proceeded to the Residency at Bolghatty in boats. A large number of native craft escorted the Viceregal party across the lagoon, while crowds of Europeans and Natives lined the Cochin and Vypeen foreshores cheering heartily as Their Excellencies passed. In the evening the foreshores of the lagoon, extending away for miles on both sides, were brilliantly illuminated. Early on the morning of the 19th November, His Excellency crossed the lagoon to British Cochin and, landing at the Victoria Jubilee Pier, was received by the Chairman and Councillors of the Cochin Municipality, and by the Members of the Cochin Chamber of Commerce, both of which bodies presented addresses of welcome. The Municipality pointed out the "great prevalence of two dire diseases—leprosy and elephantiasis—which most of the medical officers ascribe to the brackishness of the drinking water;" and described the various attempts made to obtain a better supply. They also referred to the need of improved drainage, and said that nothing could be done in this matter without liberal aid from Government, which the Madras authorities had declared to be impossible at present. As to education, the Municipality remarked that the difficulties were accentuated by each class requiring a school for itself, which frittered away the teaching power. In conclusion, the Municipality expressed keen sympathy with the desire of the Chamber of Commerce for the improvement of the harbour. The Chamber of Commerce invited the Viceroy's attention to a scheme "which the Chamber has been canvassing for the past 30 years to render the harbour of Cochin capable of fulfilling its natural destiny as a first class harbour." The estimated cost was 81 lakhs. The Chamber pointed out that the improved trade of Cochin was now better able to bear the burden than when the question was mooted

Cochin Municipality and Chamber of Commerce.

in 1881, and they placed before the Viceroy a detailed scheme of harbour finance for which they begged His Excellency's favourable consideration.

The Viceroy, replying jointly to both addresses, spoke as follows:—]

Gentlemen of the Cochin Municipality and of the Cochin Chamber of Commerce,—In my journey down the western coast of India, as I visit the sites of early European enterprise, and tread in the footsteps of Portuguese and Dutch and British pioneers, I gain a synopsis of the history and the causes that have led to the final predominance of the English race in this continent, which is full both of instruction and of warning. Here in British Cochin we are presented with an object-lesson that embraces in the compass of a single locality the three-fold experience to which I have referred: for the town in which I am now speaking was ruled for 160 years by the Portuguese, for 130 years by the Dutch, and has now enjoyed the benefits of British rule for more than 100 years. A student might well, therefore, pause in such a place to philosophise upon the rise and fall of empires, and the vicissitudes of temporal institutions.

However, in my various journeyings in India I am always being brought sharply back from such musings to the stern realities and the prosaic needs of the present by the addresses offered to me by representative bodies, who do not let slip the opportunity of acquainting me with the latest ambitions or requirements of the city or district, and with the seamy side, if such there be, of their local fortunes. Cochin is no exception to the general rule. The address of the Municipality mingles with the generous welcome that it has extended to Lady Curzon and myself a strain of lamentation over all the things that it would like to do, but that, for lack of the wherewithal, remain undone. I can quite understand, in a town so peculiarly situated as this is, that you have great trouble with your water-supply: and that the expense of bringing down drinking water in casks from the interior must be considerable. But when you include

in your lament the complaint of high caste Hindus that the water so brought is undrinkable by them because it has been handled by Christians, it would seem to me that a very simple way to obviate this drawback would be for the Hindus to employ other caste Hindus to bring it. The drainage of the place is another source of difficulty; and here, as you say, you have a joint interest with the neighbouring Native city of Matancheri. I have heard of that place as setting a not very high standard of cleanliness: but I believe that His Highness the Raja, among the other useful projects that he has in view, contemplates the cleansing of the town, and I hope that he may be able at an early date to take it in hand. In the meantime, it is good news to me to learn that, with improved administration, your death-rate is already on the downward grade.

I do not see that you have anything to complain of as regards education, since I am informed that there is an excellent school in the town maintained by the Jesuit Fathers; while to any who do not care to profit by it there is open the Raja's College at Ernakulam. In fact, the variety, the cheapness, and the excellence of the education obtainable in this neighbourhood are well known in this part of India.

The Municipality, in their concluding paragraph, have joined in endorsing the petition which forms the staple of the address from the Chamber of Commerce, namely, that I will interest myself in the project to convert Cochin into a first-class harbour. This project appears to have slumbered during the past 20 years—at least so far as official action is concerned. I have studied the papers and reports which the Chamber of Commerce has been good enough to forward to me, and which relate to the observations made and the views recorded at that distance of time ago. There are few subjects which appear to admit of sharper differences of opinion than those in which engineers are engaged: and he would be a rash man who rushed in where even the expert is not quite sure how to tread. There is one point,

however, outside the technical aspect of the case, which would seem to require elucidation. I have been told that, during the monsoon, it is so difficult to ship cargoes from the Malabar Coast, that the local merchants prefer to send their produce right across India for shipment at Madras. Possibly the changes that you advocate would obviate this difficulty. If not, it might be used as an argument against the conversion of Cochin into a first-class harbour, at a great outlay, for which you plead.

A new light is, however, likely to be thrown upon the entire question by the impending connection of Ernakulam by railway with Shoranur on the Madras line, a project to which the Cochin Durbar has, with much prudence and public spirit, decided to devote its reserves. When this line is complete, Cochin should become a more important place, and the demand for harbour improvement may appear in a different perspective. In the meantime I must congratulate you upon the figures of expanding trade which you have placed before me, and which show that Cochin itself is much better able to meet any considerable liabilities than was the case 20 years ago. When I get to Madras, I will enquire of the Local Government, with whom I have not yet had the opportunity of communicating on the subject, as to the views that are now entertained by them with regard to the scheme, and will represent to them the great local interest that is taken in it.

Gentlemen, I will only, in conclusion, reiterate the pleasure that it has given me to meet you here this morning, and express the sincerest hopes for the continued prosperity of your historic and interesting town. (*Applause.*)

ERNAKULAM COLLEGE, COCHIN.

19th Nov. 1900. [After receiving and replying to the addresses from the Municipality and Chamber of Commerce of Cochin, and visiting the old Portuguese Church of St. Francis of Assisi, and the Jewish Synagogue, His Excellency, who was accompanied by the Raja and the Resident, crossed the lagoon to Ernakulam to see the College. Here he met with an enthusiastic reception from the students, numbering over 600, who presented an address of welcome. The College, it said, sprang from a small English school established by the Durbar in 1845, and was now affiliated to the Madras University, and able to hold its own with any of the other second grade Colleges of the Presidency. The Raja had always taken a keen interest in its welfare and progress.

The Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad that, in my short stay in Cochin, time has been found for me to visit this College. I had no idea till I came here that I should see so fine a hall, or meet so large an audience, or that I should hear an address so admirably rendered in English as the address which was read just now by the boy who is standing at my right hand.

Education, both State aided, and voluntary, is in so forward a condition in this State, that it would have been a pity had I been unable to inspect any of its educational institutions.

In the few words which you have addressed to me you have summarised the history and the character of this College. I learn with pleasure that your successes in the First Arts Examinations at Madras have been remarkable—in fact, that last year your figures were the best in the entire Presidency; and I think I shall not be far wrong in attributing these gratifying results in large measure to the influence and teaching of your Principal, Mr. Cruikshank, for whom I understand that the Durbar went all the way to Aberdeen. There is not much exterior resemblance between this land of perpetual summer, of the feathery palm and the landlocked lagoon, and the granite city of the

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Scottish coast. But character and grit appear to be as capable of producing good results in the one as in the other.

You have pointed out to me that the Ernakulam College is open to all without distinction of caste or creed—a remark that led me to enquire how far this catholicity of aim is taken advantage of by the people. The Roman Catholic Christians have, I understand, an excellent school of their own; and the majority of the pupils in this College are, therefore, naturally Hindus. But I learned upon enquiry that there are here only 10 Mahomedans and 7 Jews—figures which lead me to think that among these communities the advantages of an English education have not yet secured the full appreciation to which they are entitled.

Gentlemen, it is the recognised prerogative of those who are invited to assist and to speak at functions, such as this, to offer a few words of advice to their audience. I am not sure that the advice is always acted upon; but that is perhaps no reason why it should not be given. You must, therefore, pardon me if I take the customary advantage of my position. One of my questions with regard to this College was as to the professional occupations for which it trains its students. Here, as elsewhere in India, I learned that the prevailing ambition of the young man who goes through its courses is to be converted, at as early a date as possible, either into the occupant of a Government post, or into a pleader in the local courts. Both of these are very honourable employments; but I think that it argues some poverty of imagination to suppose that they are either the only, or necessarily the best, openings for the youth of Cochin. This is a State which, under an enlightened administration such as it enjoys, should open wide and varied fields of labour and of distinction to its citizens. Botany, Forestry (in which so much is already being done, and so much more remains to be done), Agricultural Chemistry, are all of them waiting to be taken up. They are waiting for the young man of initiative and ability, who will find

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therein an almost unexplored field for his own ambition while his services are likely to have the further value that they will greatly add to the produce and the revenues of the Cochin State. Trade too should possess its fascinations for an enterprising mind. Every day boats laden with cargoes from the interior pass in front of this College on their way to the wharves of the seaport. They are a reminder to you of the main source of wealth of Cochin, and an indication of a possible source of emolument to yourselves. But none of the students of the Ernakulam College, I am informed, will turn a thought to trade. The contrary tendency has been too firmly rooted; and a steady, and, as I think, too rigid, tradition urges them on to the humble destiny of a Government clerk, or of an Advocate at the Cochin Bar. In following this tradition with so little variety, you do not appear to me, young men and boys, to be doing the best thing either for yourselves, or for the State. I think you would do well to strike out more novel and independent lines; and to realise that life is full of opportunities for usefulness, and that the most useful thing that a man can do in the world is not merely to provide himself with a means of subsistence, but so to direct his energies as to employ them to the best advantage of the community to which he belongs. These are the solitary words of advice that I would venture to offer to the pupils of the College on this occasion; and I conclude by wishing to it in the future a success even greater than that which it has already attained.

[The Viceroy's remarks were very warmly received, and the proceedings closed with "three cheers for His Excellency Lord Curzon," proposed and led by one of the students in excellent style.]

STATE LUNCHEON AT COCHIN.

[On Monday, the 19th November, His Highness the Raja of Cochin gave a State luncheon in a pavilion adjoining the Residency, in honour of Their Excellencies' visit, to which a large number of guests, including many ladies, were invited. The Raja sat with His Excellency at table during luncheon, and, at its conclusion, His Highness, having proposed the health of the Queen-Empress, proposed Their Excellencies' health in the following terms :— 19th Nov. 1900.

"*Ladies and Gentlemen*,—It is now my pleasing duty to ask you to drink to the health of my distinguished and honoured guests, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon. For the first time in history, a British Viceroy has honoured Cochin with a visit. I have no doubt that elsewhere Their Excellencies have seen a splendour of pomp and pageantry which the resources of my State do not permit me to display. But I claim for Cochin and my House, that in attachment to the British Throne, and loyalty to the paramount Power, we yield the palm to no other State or Ruling House in India. (*Applause.*) Cochin has been in friendly relations with European Powers for a longer period than any other Native State. Four centuries have rolled by since Vasco da Gama established his factory at what now is British Cochin, and whether with the Portuguese, or with the Dutch, or with the British Power, the Rajas of Cochin have ever maintained the most cordial and friendly relations. Ladies and Gentlemen, I call upon you to drink to the health of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon."

The toast was very cordially received. In responding to it His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—His Highness, in proposing the health of Lady Curzon and myself, for your reception of which I am most grateful, has contrived in a very few words to say a number of most apposite things. This no doubt is the secret of dinner-table or luncheon-table oratory: but it is a secret to which few attain. Permit me to assure His Highness that he need not deprecate the character of the welcome that he has accorded to us. (*Applause.*) Like everything else that he superintends himself—and I am glad to think that he superintends most things in Cochin—it has been exceedingly well done (*applause*); and I may profit by this opportunity to say how immensely Lady Curzon and I have enjoyed our

State Luncheon at Cochin.

short visit here, and how grateful we are for the steps that have been taken to entertain us. His Highness has remarked that I am the first British Viceroy to visit Cochin. Though my visit, apart from its pleasure to myself, is certainly intended as a compliment to the State and to its Chief, yet the fact that it is the first may in a sense be regarded as a tribute to the tranquillity which Cochin has so long enjoyed and the loyalty which it has shown for a hundred years to the British Crown. (*Applause.*) It has not been deemed necessary to cast even a passing eye upon a principality that could so well manage to look after itself. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, since I have been in India I have kept a careful watch upon the circumstances and development of the various Native States: and nowhere have I seen signs of a more intelligent or progressive administration than in Cochin. (*Applause.*) His Highness, during the five years that he has been upon the *gadi*, has shown that he is a hard-working and conscientious ruler, who is devoted to the interests of his people. (*Applause.*) Already, assisted by the capable officials with whom he has surrounded himself, he has made many gratifying improvements in administration (*applause*); and there still remain sufficient fields—it is unnecessary for me to point them out—to occupy his energies for many years to come. I wish him long life, and health and strength to carry out the beneficent task which lies before him, and which will permanently endear him to his people, and I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join with me in drinking to the health of our princely host, His Highness the Raja of Cochin. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

BANQUET AT TREVANDRUM.

[The Viceregal party left Cochin on the afternoon of the 19th November, and, after spending the next day at Quilon, travelled all the following night in house boats by a canal, which connects the lagoons along the coast, to Trevandrum, which was reached on Wednesday morning, the 21st November. Here Their Excellencies met with a very cordial reception from the Maharaja of Travancore, and from the people of Trevandrum, the streets of which for several miles to the Residency were densely thronged and brilliantly decorated. In the evening the Maharaja gave a banquet at the Durbar Hall in honour of Their Excellencies, to which over 60 guests were invited. At the conclusion of dinner His Highness proposed the health of the Queen-Empress, after which he proposed the health of Their Excellencies in the following terms:— 21st Nov. 1900.

"*Ladies and Gentlemen,*—It is now my most pleasing duty to propose the health of my noble and illustrious guests, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon.

Travancore has never before had the proud distinction of welcoming the highest representative of our august Sovereign. I feel most deeply the privilege and the honour which His Excellency has accorded to me and my loyal people, by his very kind acceptance of my invitation to this remote corner of India, at so much personal inconvenience and discomfort; and my gratification is immeasurably enhanced by the gracious presence of Her Excellency. I offer Their Excellencies, with every feeling of respect, my warmest and heartiest welcome.

In His Excellency, we have not only the most trusted councillor of the great Queen-Empress, but also a distinguished member of one of the historic families of England, an intrepid explorer, a profound scholar, an accomplished author, a brilliant orator, and an acute and large-hearted statesman.

His Excellency came out to India equipped with considerable knowledge of the country and inspired by a genuine love for 'its people, its history, its Government; the absorbing mystery of its civilisation and life.' With what conspicuous ability, courage and success he has grappled with the complex problems that confronted him at the outset of his Viceroyalty; what genuine sympathy he has displayed by his own munificence and evoked by his personal influence for the sufferers from the dire visitations which have afflicted several parts of India; how cheerfully and bravely he has borne the burden and heat of the day, in his anxiety to safeguard human

Banquet at Trevandrum.

life and alleviate human suffering; what striking proof he has given of firmness and justice, and of regard for the aspirations, feelings and even the scruples of the people—are matters of contemporary history, and could not have failed to impress the countless millions under His Excellency's rule with the conviction that their welfare is his supreme end and aim.

His Excellency is still in the full flower of manhood, and we may confidently hope that the past, which is an unbroken record of brilliant achievements, is but an earnest of the future, and that the Viceroyalty, which itself is considered 'the crowning reward of a life's ambition,' would prove but a stepping-stone to a still brighter and more glorious career.

I regard the honour of this visit as a practical proof of His Excellency's great personal kindness and of his gracious recognition of the unswerving loyalty and attachment of this ancient State to the British Crown. Many are the marks of kindness and consideration which my State, my House, and myself have received from the paramount Power. While gratefully referring to two of the recent acts of such kindness, the sanction accorded for the extension of the South Indian Railway to Quilon and the increase of my personal salute, I beg to tender my special thanks to His Excellency for the ready recognition of the step taken to perpetuate my House.

I count myself especially fortunate that I have the opportunity of coupling with the toast of His Excellency the name of a lady whose gracefulness, amiability, and boundless hospitality, have won for her universal esteem and admiration.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to pledge, with enthusiasm and all honours, a bumper to the health of Lord and Lady Curzon."

The toast was very heartily received. In responding to it the Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Since I have been in India I have had a great desire to visit the State of Travancore. I have for many years heard so much of its exuberant natural beauties, its old-world simplicity, and its Arcadian charm. Who would not be fascinated by such a spectacle? Here Nature has spent upon the land her richest bounties; the sun fails not by day, the rain falls in due season, drought is practically unknown, and an eternal summer gilds the scene. Where the land is capable of culture, there is no denser population : where it is occupied

by jungle, or backwater, or lagoon, there is no more fairy landscape. Planted amid these idyllic scenes is a community that has retained longer than any other equally civilised part of the Indian continent its archaic mould; that embraces a larger Christian population than any other Native State; and that is ruled by a line of indigenous princes who are one in origin and sentiment with the people whom they govern. Well may a Viceroy of India find pleasure in turning hither his wandering footsteps; good reason has he for complimenting such a ruler and such a State. (*Applause.*)

His Highness the Maharaja has proposed my health in a speech that contained so much of personal eulogy that it is difficult if not impossible for me to reply. Perhaps, however, as he is so familiar with my good points, such as they are, he will allow me to say that I am not less aware of his. (*Laughter and applause.*) I know His Highness by repute as a kindly, and sympathetic, and diligent ruler, whose merits have been tested, and for whom the affection of his people has been continuously enhanced, by fifteen years of prosperous administration. I know him to combine the most conservative instincts with the most enlightened views. Has not the Government of India itself signified in the most conspicuous manner its recognition of his statesmanship and his services by the addition to his salute to which His Highness just now alluded? (*Applause.*)

There are two matters of domestic concern which I should not like to pass by without mention on the present occasion. If one of them brings a note of sadness into my speech, the effect may, I trust, be compensated by the satisfaction which the other may reasonably evoke. The sorrowful incident is the recent death of the First Prince of Travancore, an amiable and accomplished prince, a man of culture, of travel, and of learning, the first graduate I believe among all the Indian Princes, who seemed destined to cast a fresh lustre upon the name of the famous ancestor

which he bore. I deeply sympathise with His Highness and with his people upon the premature death of this gifted member of the Royal House. On the other hand, I must be allowed to congratulate him upon the steps that have recently been taken, by renewed adoption, for the perpetuation of the ruling line. In due time I trust that the expectations which have been aroused by this interesting event may meet with fulfilment, and that there may never be wanting in the Travancore State a succession of princes, royally born, well nurtured, and qualified by instinct and training to carry on its ancient and honourable traditions. (*Applause.*)

His Highness has alluded in his speech to the contemplated extension of the South Indian Railway to Quilon. I am glad to think that he has encouraged this most important step, which I believe will be fraught with great advantage to his dominions, by an advance of 17 lakhs from the State funds; and also to congratulate him upon the possession of a large and carefully accumulated balance in the Treasury, which his enlightened zeal will doubtless suggest to him fresh opportunities of utilising for the material development of the country. I am a believer, not in the talent that is laid up in a napkin, but in the talent that is turned to productive employment, and that brings other and more and more talents after it. (*Applause.*)

In one respect His Highness enjoys a position of peculiar responsibility; for he is the ruler of a community that is stamped by wide racial differences, and represents a curious motley of religions. In such a case a prince can have no higher ambition than to show consideration to the low, and equity and tolerance to all. In the history of States no rulers are more esteemed by posterity than those who have risen superior to the trammels of bigotry or exclusiveness, and have dealt equal mercy and equal justice to all classes, including the humblest, of their people.

In this category of princes His Highness, who has given

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so many proofs of liberality of sentiment, may attain a conspicuous place, and may leave a name that will long be cherished by later generations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have only, in conclusion, to thank His Highness for the very graceful allusion that he has made to Lady Curzon, who is just as enchanted with all that she has seen in Travancore as I am; and to ask you all to signify our gratitude for the lavish hospitality extended to us, our interest in this fascinating spot, and our regard and admiration for its illustrious ruler, by pledging a full toast to the health and happiness of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

[The toast was very cordially received.]

THE MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, TREVANDRUM.

[On Friday morning, the 23rd November, the Viceroy and Lady Curzon drove to the Jubilee Hall, Trevandrum, where were assembled the students of the Maharaja's College, who presented His Excellency with an address of welcome. Their Excellencies were received by the Maharaja and the College authorities, and, amid the hearty cheers of the students, were conducted to seats on the daïs. The address, which was read by one of the students, opened with expressions of welcome and loyalty, gave some details of the history and working of the College, and concluded with the remark that when it might please Her Majesty to call the Viceroy to a still higher position, it would be an abiding memory with them that they once stood face to face with a Statesman whose name would live in history. The Dewan of the State then announced that, to commemorate Lord Curzon's visit to Trevandrum, the Maharaja had decided to endow an annual prize of Rs. 500 for an original essay on a scientific subject to be called "The Maharaja of Travancore's Curzon Prize." The announcement was received with much applause. 23rd Nov. 1900.

The Viceroy then addressed the assembly as follows:—]

Your Highness and Students, past and present, of this College,—I am sure that we have all heard with the

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utmost pleasure the announcement that has just been made by the Dewan of the gracious and liberal manner in which His Highness desires to commemorate my visit to this place. (*Cheers.*) It is very characteristic of the enlightenment and generosity of His Highness (*cheers*), and the opening which will thus be afforded to the accomplishments and abilities of the young men who have studied in this College, even though it does not serve to remind them in the future of the occasion of the foundation of the prize, will at any rate be a valuable incentive to their own studies.

Nothing gives me greater pleasure in my tours through India than to visit those institutions where the young men are being educated who, in the next generation, will have the fortunes of the country to so large an extent in their hands. Whether the College be one that is training up young Chiefs and Nobles who will one day be called upon to manage estates or to govern peoples, or whether it is qualifying young men who, although not of such exalted birth, will yet supply the officials, and administrators, and public servants of the future, the spectacle is equally interesting and equally inspiring. When we are at school or college ourselves, we hardly appreciate what a work is going on among us. We are absorbed in the friendly rivalry of passing examinations, or winning prizes, or excelling in games. Our horizon seems somewhat limited because it is so full. But all the while every minute of the time that we spend in the school or the college is leaving its mark on our character. We are being influenced from day to day by the boys we associate with, by the masters who teach us, by the books that we read, by the half unconscious effect of our surroundings; and almost before we have realised it, we are turned out into the world with a stamp fixed upon us which remains with us for life, and models all our conduct and actions, much as the face of a monarch is minted for all time upon the surface of a coin. I think it is a good thing therefore, now and then, for boys

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and young men while at school to pause, and to question themselves as to the die that is being stamped upon them, and as to the sort of currency, whether of gold or silver or copper, or some less pure alloy, of which they are going to be turned out.

Pupils of this College, if there is one word of advice that I might offer to you, it would be this :—Do not all fall into the same mould. Do not passively accept the same metal. Take as a stimulus to your imaginations the singular variety and interest of the State to which you belong. I do not suppose that in the whole of India there is a State with greater fertility of resources, with more picturesque surroundings, with ampler opportunities for work, with richer prospects of development. (*Cheers.*) It is also a very patriotic State (*Cheers.*) Every good Travancorean thinks that there is no place like Travancore, no college like the Trevandrum College, no prince like His Highness the Maharaja. (*Loud cheers.*) Well, with this fund of patriotism to start with, which should supply you with the initial impetus, I say :—Look about you while you are still young, test your own aptitudes, and make up your mind as to the manner in which, when your academic education is over, you are going to serve the State. Do not follow each other like a flock of sheep, who always go through the same hole in a hedge. The hedge of public duty is capable of being pierced in a great many places, and the man who wants to get to the other side will waste a lot of precious time if he waits for his turn in the crowd that is trying to scramble through a single aperture.

Think therefore of the number of openings that lie before you in this interesting country. I believe that there is scarcely a single branch of scientific or technical education which is not capable of practical and remunerative pursuit in Travancore. There are minerals to be unearthed; there is an abundant water-supply capable of being converted into different forms of energy and productiveness; there is an

The Maharaja's College, Trevandrum.

infinite richness of plants and timbers and trees; there are manifold varieties of animals and birds and insects; there are all sorts of experiments that might be made in agriculture; there are numerous openings for public works; there is ample scope both for the student who prefers the laboratory, and for the out-of-door explorer or engineer.

In all these pursuits I am sure that you will meet with the warmest encouragement from the European professors of this College, and not less from His Highness the Maharaja himself. (*Cheers.*) The Maharajas of Travancore have always been distinguished for their patronage of learning. His Highness takes the keenest interest in the welfare of this College; and I have heard with pleasure, with reference to one of the fields of study that I mentioned just now, *viz.*, that of Scientific Forestry, that he is sending four pupils to study in the Forest School of the Government of India at Dehra Dun. (*Cheers.*)

Let me urge you, therefore, students of this College, to remember that your patriotism, which is an excellent thing, should not stop at thinking or saying that there is no such place as Travancore—otherwise it would be a rather cheap and tawdry sentiment—but should proceed to the discovery of independent channels by which you may each of you render service to the State. You have a great many advantages offered to you in this institution. You have admirable tuition. You have, I believe, the second best library in the whole of the South of India. You have a generous and paternal Government. You are in fact a very highly favoured and rather a spoiled body of young men. (*Laughter.*) For all this you owe some return. Take, therefore, a line for yourselves; get out of the rut; the whole of life is not summed up in the office or in the law-courts; remember that while the opportunities for a career can be, and are, here provided for you by others, the career itself will be what the individual makes it; and let the ambition of each one of you be to say when his time is nearing its end

that, whether in a small way or in a great, he has rendered an appreciable service to his native country. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

ADDRESSES AT TINNEVELLY.

[The Viceregal party arrived at Tinnevelly on the forenoon of Monday, the 26th November, having driven from Trevandrum, 102 miles, and halted at Maddatura and Courtallam *en route*. In the afternoon, at 3-30, His Excellency received in a *pandal* adjoining the Collector, Mr. Shipley's house, deputations from the Tinnevelly and Palamcottah Municipal Councils, and from the inhabitants of the district of Tinnevelly, who, in turn, presented him with addresses of welcome. The addresses dealt with such a large variety of subjects that it would not be possible to summarise them in a brief space, but the principal points touched upon will be apparent from the Viceroy's speech. His Excellency replied jointly to the addresses, dealing with that from the Tinnevelly District first. He said :—] 26th Nov. 1900.

Gentlemen of the District of Tinnevelly,—I am afraid that I shall be unable within the time at my disposal to do full justice to your address. There are no fewer than 27 topics, ranging from subjects of the widest imperial interest to subjects of exclusively local concern, upon which you have either solicited my opinion, or been so good as to favour me with your own; and it is clear that if I were only to devote two minutes to a consideration of each of these subjects, I should be speaking for nearly an hour in reply. When I acceded to the strongly expressed desire of this district to present me with an address upon my arrival at Tinnevelly, in addition to that from the town, I scarcely realised that I might be invited in return to discuss such questions as the scope of the Famine Commission, the treatment meted out to Indian settlers by the Colonies of the Cape and Natal, or the relations of Magistrates to the Executive, the High Court, and the Police. I am afraid

that if all addresses were framed on this generous model, and if a Viceroy were expected to answer on the same scale, and to make, as I am having to do, an average of one such speech on every other day of a tour lasting for two months, he would soon be compelled to drop his tours altogether from sheer exhaustion. While thanking you, therefore, for the expression of your opinions upon the wide range of topics to which you have referred, I will confine my reply to such matters as appear to relate more particularly to the Tinnevelly District; while if upon certain of these I do not enter into small detail, it is because the specific suggestions that you make are matters that primarily concern the Local rather than the Supreme Government. I observe that in India the latter is occasionally exposed to the criticism that it interferes too much with the Local Governments and does not concede a sufficient latitude to their independence of thought and action. Nevertheless, when the Viceroy appears upon the scene, he is sometimes approached as though he were a Collector or a Deputy Collector who was responsible for the minutest springs of the local administration.

Gentlemen, the matter of most urgent local moment to which you have called my attention is that of the robberies and dacoities for which this district has gained an unenviable notoriety during the past twelve months. I have read an immense amount of literature, official and unofficial, on the subject; and I do not doubt that this disturbance represents what, if the metaphor is permissible, may be described as a strong ground-swell after the heavy storm of last year. You have had in this neighbourhood a local caste, which contains among its members some restless spirits who are inured to robbery and thieving, who in the passage of time have acquired a considerable ascendency over the lower orders of the population, and whose tempers have been exasperated and embittered by the extensive arrests and prosecutions that followed upon the

lawless riots of last autumn. Hence the outburst of highway robbery and dacoity from which this district has suffered. In such circumstances there is only one thing to be done, *viz.*, to recognise the gravity of the evil and to stamp it out. Disorder, if trifled with, tends to become contagious. So far as I can gather, the local authorities, by drafting additional inspectors and constables into the district, by increasing the road-patrols, and by other measures of police activity, have shown that they are fully alive to the needs of the situation; and there has already been a noticeable fall in the number of dacoities, with a corresponding increase in the number of arrests. If these measures be energetically pursued, as I doubt not that they will be, I hope that the time may not be far distant when this neighbourhood will recover both its security and its good reputation.

How far it is true that police inspectors in this part of India are deterred from performing their district duties by the strain of official writing, I have not the experience to enable me to say. That this is, however, a prolific source of disorganisation and a certain element of weakness in our system of provincial administration at large, I do not hesitate to affirm. The matter has for some time been under the attention of the Government of India; and we hope, before long, to issue orders on the subject that may tend to a marked amelioration. The success of our efforts for amendment will, however, depend far less upon the precise rules issued by the Supreme Government than upon the manner and the spirit in which they are worked by the Local Governments. I believe that the latter have it in their power, and I am confident that it will be their desire, to assist the Supreme Government in carrying out a reform which I regard as of incalculable moment to the whole future of British administration in this country. The remaining suggestions concerning the police that figure in your address are matters appertaining to the Local Government.

Addresses at Tinnevelly.

The same remark really applies to the four schemes of public works development, two of railway construction, and two of irrigation works, which you have brought under my notice. Before I could pronounce upon the railway schemes, I should have to know more than I do about the character of the country to be traversed, the nature and extent of the expected traffic, the choice of the constructing authority, and the linking or break of gauges. Before I could say anything about the irrigation projects, I should require a similar topographical knowledge, and I should demand a much closer investigation of the scientific aspect of the undertakings, and of the probable outlay, than I have been able so far to acquire. Both are matters that must obtain the favour of the Local Government before they reach the stage of being submitted to the Government of India.

Concerning the rules for the extraction of sweet toddy from the Palmyra palm, to which you have taken objection, I understand it to be admitted that they have not been successful, and that they are already in course of being withdrawn.

I am well aware that Tinnevelly is the centre of perhaps the most extensive and vigorous missionary effort in the whole of India; and that the energies of the various societies who work in this district have been wisely directed, among other objects, to the gift of primary education to the lower orders. Among the classes who are a little higher in the social scale there seems to me to be scope for the encouragement by the missionaries of technical instruction, of which they might profitably take advantage. The grievances of Native Christians are a subject upon which I may perhaps find another opportunity of speaking.

With regard to the proposal to institute Mahomedan boarding-houses in educational centres, I welcome every indication of a desire on the part of the Mussulman community to keep abreast of the higher standards that now prevail.

Addresses at Tinnevelly.

Gentlemen of the Municipalities of Tinnevelly and Palamcottah,—Your address, which has been confined within more modest proportions, has drawn my attention more especially to the requirements of the two towns in respect of a drainage system and a water-supply. These belong to a class of demands which modern notions of hygiene are everywhere rendering imperative, and the result of which is undoubtedly, wherever introduced, to mitigate sickness and to prolong life. I suspect that the Sanitary Engineer has a good many such schemes in his office: and when your turn comes, I am glad to think that the increased area and population which the recent extension of your municipal limits has brought under your control, will put you in a better position to meet the charges that will be entailed.

It is a pleasure to me to learn that the advantages of the Indian Legislative Councils, as expanded by Lord Cross's Act of 1892, which I had the privilege of conducting through the House of Commons, are appreciated in this part of the country. So far as I have had the opportunity of testing the work of these Councils, whether it be the Supreme Legislative Council over which I have the honour to preside, or the Provincial Councils, I have formed a very favourable estimate of the earnestness and ability with which they examine the various subjects that come under their notice, and of the great assistance that they render to Government in the task of Indian administration.

Gentlemen, allow me to thank you all in conclusion for your amiable words of welcome, which reflect the reception accorded to us in the streets of the two towns this morning, and to express the pleasure that I have derived from meeting you here to day.

ADDRESS FROM THE MADURA MUNICIPALITY.

27th Nov. 1900. [Leaving Tinnevelly on the night of the 26th November, Their Excellencies and party arrived early the following morning at Madura, where they were received by Mr. Cumming, the Collector, and the leading members of the community, European and Native. After visiting the Temple and the Palace, the party drove to the Tepakulam Bungalow, where, at noon, the Viceroy was presented with an address of welcome by the Municipal Councillors of the City. After a brief account of the early history, and of the ancient buildings of Madura—" for many centuries the political and religious capital of this part of India "—reference was made to the work of education as carried on by the American Christians and Hindus, to the necessity for a suitable drainage system and of pecuniary help from Government to carry it out. An increase of the water-supply from the Periyar project was suggested, as also the extension of the railway to Pamban.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Municipal Councillors of Madura,—After spending a most agreeable morning in reviving my former recollections —now thirteen years old—of the architectural and religious sights of Madura, I receive with much pleasure the formal welcome that you have just offered me to your celebrated town. The short *résumé* that has been included in your address of the early history and of the archæology of Madura, has reminded me of the most notable incidents in your annals, while it also suggests that the city is fortunate in possessing a Municipality who are alive to its historic importance, as well as to its present needs.

Your allusion to the various sections of which your population is composed possesses a double interest; for it shows that in a place given up in the main to one form of worship, the votaries of other creeds continue to prosper and thrive; and it introduces to my notice a very important element in your community, namely, the Sourashtras from Guzerat, whose settlement here 200 years or more ago has been responsible for the propagation of a new industry in this part of India, which in process of time has converted Madura into one of the greatest weaving-centres in the

Address from the Madura Municipality.

Madras Presidency. I am glad to learn that this community, which has suffered somewhat from trade depression in recent years, has founded a Sabha or association to promote the social, moral, and intellectual advancement of its members; and I wish every success to it in its endeavours.

Among the Christian elements in the population you have alluded to the large part that is played by the American Mission, of whose hospitals, colleges, and schools I have received most favourable reports. It is a great disappointment to both of us that Lady Curzon has not been able to stay long enough to-day to share with me in your welcome and to see the good work that is being done in this Indian town by her countrymen.

As regards Native institutions, the Hindu community appears resolved from what you tell me, and from all that I have heard, that its supremacy in Madura shall not be limited to merely numerical, or even to religious, ascendency, but that it shall also be found in the van of educational progress; and the Native College and High School, to which you have particularly called my attention, and one of which I have passed on my drive from the station, are, I am told, deserving of the praise which you have claimed for them.

Gentlemen, wherever I go I seem fated to talk about drains. The subject does not sound a very savoury one; but I always console myself for the obligatory reference to it by the reflection that after all the first duty of a Municipality is to provide for the health of its citizens, and that the first condition of such health is the existence of a sound system of drainage. At present I believe that in Madura such a one does not exist; and your desires and anxieties have, therefore, a very real foundation. I hope that you may be able to devise a scheme that may pass the ordeal of the Local Government: and that your own financial position may so far improve as to encourage an attitude of practical sympathy on their part.

As regards the utilisation of some of the Periyar water to

assist your own inadequate supply at the dry season of the year, I am informed that that is the very period when the lake itself is lowest, and when the channel is in consequence kept closed. Moreover, it is a long way—more than a hundred miles—from the Periyar Lake to Madura: and I think you would find, on the one hand, that the loss of water by absorption and evaporation while in transit would be very great; and, on the other, that, even if the water were sent down with the sole intention of reaching you, a large proportion of it would be drained off into other and rival channels on the way. The matter, however, is one that will doubtless receive the attention of your Sanitary Engineer.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for your complimentary recognition of the efforts that have been made by my Government to discharge its manifold duties towards the people of India; and I gratefully accept your expression of loyal devotion to the gracious Sovereign whom it is my privilege to serve.

ADDRESS FROM THE TRICHINOPOLY MUNICIPALITY.

28th Nov. 1900. [The Viceregal party arrived at Trichinopoly on the evening of the 27th November, and, on the following morning the Viceroy, accompanied by the Collector, Mr. Shipley, and His Excellency's Staff, drove to the Town Hall, where an address of welcome was presented to him by the Chairman and Councillors of the Municipality of Trichinopoly. In the absence from illness of the Chairman, the address was read by the Revd. Father Sewell, Manager of St. Joseph's College, and a member of the Corporation. The address was brief, and referred to His Excellency's sympathy for and interest in the welfare of the people, to the successful measures he had taken to cope with the recent famine, and concluded with an expression of regret at the absence of Lady Curzon.

His Excellency replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen of the Municipality of Trichinopoly,—I am very sorry to hear of the circumstances, as explained by

Address from the Trichinopoly Municipality.

Father Sewell, which have been responsible for the absence to-day of the Chairman of your Council; but this misfortune, like many others, has had its compensation, inasmuch as it has placed the task of reading the address in the hands of one whom I may claim as an old friend, namely, Father Sewell, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making when I came here thirteen years ago.

I could not, while in this neighbourhood, deny myself the pleasure of renewing my acquaintance with your ancient and famous city—a city as remarkable for the historic scenes or combats, of which it has in bygone days been the centre, as it is now conspicuous for its flourishing and populous state. In such a place, where memories of former struggles, from which the British power eventually emerged victorious, crowd upon the recollection, and still appeal, by their visible relics, to the eye, it seems a very befitting thing that a representative of the august Sovereign of the British Empire should halt to receive the loyal and friendly welcome of its present inhabitants. Your assurances have been conveyed to me in language as agreeable as it is evidently sincere; and I desire warmly to acknowledge the compliment.

It is a source of gratification to me to learn that, in these southerly parts of the Indian continent, from which the Supreme Government is necessarily very remote, and which never see the head of that Government more than once in five years, if as often, you should keep a sufficiently watchful eye upon our proceedings to be aware of the motives by which we are actuated whether in administration or in legislation. We may not always succeed in commanding popularity for all our measures. It is not the primary duty of Governments to court popularity. But, in spite of a good deal of petty criticism, there is, I think, a general willingness in this country to recognise the spirit by which British rule is animated, and the earnest desire of those who are invested with the conduct of affairs to do justice

to their splendid but responsible charge. It is very cheering from time to time to learn, as you have assured me this morning, that these efforts are appreciated by representative classes among the people.

The only cloud upon my visit to Trichinopoly is the absence of Lady Curzon, for whom the exertions of our prolonged tour, which is now at the end of its fifth week, have proved somewhat excessive, and who has been compelled to rest while I visit these interesting South Indian towns. I will convey to her your kindly expression of regret at her absence.

ADDRESS FROM THE SRIRANGAM MUNICIPALITY.

8th Nov. 1900. [After receiving and replying to the address from the Municipal Corporation of Trichinopoly, the Viceroy and party visited the Rock of Trichinopoly, and then proceeded to Srirangam, where, within one of the temples, His Excellency was received by the Chairman and Members of the Municipal Corporation of that place and presented with an address of welcome, the points in which will be apparent from His Excellency's reply, which was as follows :—]

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Municipal Corporation,—You are quite right in saying that it gives me especial pleasure to visit old and celebrated shrines; and I well remember, when in the course of a former tour in Southern India I came to this place, being greatly impressed by the magnitude of the temple, and by the singular and picturesque beauty of its situation. In reviving these memories I am fortunate in being the recipient of the compliment just conferred upon me by the presentation of your address.

Gentlemen, you seem from the terms of this address to be so familiar with some at least of the earlier episodes of my life, that I think if I ever require a well-informed and

Address from the Srirangam Municipality.

sympathetic biographer, I shall have to come for him to Srirangam. (*Laughter.*) Upon one point you are strictly within the mark. This is when you say that it is a great disappointment to me, at the commencement of my administration, to have had my attention, so to speak, switched off from projects of internal and industrial development, by the overmastering calls of plague, and still more, of famine. No programme of domestic amelioration is capable of being carried out unless the means are forthcoming with which to put it into execution; and, as you know, we have been obliged, during the past two years, to earmark almost every rupee for the special visitations that have fallen upon us. I am not without hopes that in the cycle of fortune, we may now have the good turn to which it seems to me that India is entitled both by her patience and her misfortunes. But I do not like to be over-sanguine or to make any promises; since our prosperity in India is dependent upon conditions which none of us can accurately forecast and which sometimes defeat the most scientific calculations. Our position, indeed, on a large scale, is not unlike that of your town on a small. You have spoken in your address of the two beautiful branches of the Cauvery; and they are certainly a noble and striking feature in your landscape. But I am told that from time to time these rivers belie their favourable reputation, and suddenly spill upon you a good deal more water than you require. Our experience is similar though opposite. For all our prospects of a good year, of a large balance, and of a reduction of the burdens of the people, are liable to be shattered in a few months by the failure of the rains.

Gentlemen, you have referred with gratitude to the act of Lord Ripon's Government that conferred upon you the privilege of Local Self-Government. In the course of my tours I always make careful enquiries as to the working of municipal institutions in India; and amid occasional tales of apathy or failure, the general impression left upon my

mind is undoubtedly favourable. It is pleasing to me to think that the Local Government has seen reason to characterise your last year's administration as "on the whole efficient." But these words, which you have yourselves brought to my notice, suggest that there are still superior heights to be scaled, and that your ambition should be, in the next or in future reports, to see that the qualifying term "on the whole" should not reappear. (*Laughter.*)

It will give me sincere pleasure to convey to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress your expressions of loyalty and devotion. Though she has never herself been able to see her Indian Empire, three of her sons, and one of her grandsons, have, as you know, visited India; and Her Majesty has never failed, by a hundred acts of consideration and sympathy, to testify her intense regard for her Indian subjects.

Gentlemen, I thank you cordially for your address and for your good wishes. (*Applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE TANJORE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

29th Nov. 1900. [Leaving Trichinopoly early on Thursday morning, the 29th November, the Viceregal party arrived an hour afterwards at the Tanjore Railway Station, where His Excellency was received by Mr. Andrew, the Collector, and the municipal officials of the district, and by the members of the Tanjore Reception Committee, who, on behalf of the Tanjore Municipal Council, the District Board, and the people of the district in general, presented His Excellency with an address of welcome. The address, which opened with an expression of grateful appreciation of Lord Curzon's generous sympathy with the people of India, was one of considerable length, and the points discussed in it were dealt with by His Excellency in his reply, which was as follows:—]

Gentlemen of the Reception Committee,—I cannot be insensible of the encouragement contained in the

Address from the Tanjore Reception Committee.

opening paragraphs of your address, for which I beg leave to tender to you my hearty thanks. I have received in addresses already presented elsewhere during the past few days so many generous references to the recent actions and administration of the Government of India, and I have already so frequently and gratefully acknowledged them on behalf of my Colleagues as well as myself, that I will, on the present occasion, say no more than that the value of the tribute has been materially enhanced by the subscription to it of so important and progressive a centre as Tanjore. I will pass directly from this subject to the topics affecting your own interests and desires, which you have placed before me with much clearness and which constitute the major part of your address.

The first of these relates to the maladministration of temple endowments and funds in Southern India, which you declare to be scandalous, and concerning which legislation was recently proposed by the Madras Government, but was not accepted by the Government of India. I have not been able to refresh my memory by reference to the official documents; but I carry very clearly in my mind the general line of reasoning which led us to this decision. The British Government in India has always, and on principle, adopted an attitude of intense reluctance to interfere with the religious customs or institutions of the people. Indeed this may almost be described as a solemn pledge that has been given before the world. It takes a great deal to induce us to modify this attitude; for it must be remembered that while the effect of such a departure may be locally both popular and excellent, yet the departure from an established principle in one case suggests the possibility of similar though not necessarily analogous departures in other cases; and the likelihood of these may produce a wider distrust or commotion than the justifiable deviation in a particular case may do good. The matter cannot be looked at solely from the point of view of a particular set

of temples or of a particular religion. The circumstances of other religious buildings, and the feelings of other creeds, must also be taken into account; and in order to relieve Madras of an admitted scandal, we must run no risk of shaking the public confidence in our engagements. I remember, too, feeling some doubt as to whether the machinery of committees that it was proposed to set up by the Madras Bill was not open to serious objection, and might not provoke fresh risks. Nor was it established to our satisfaction that full advantage is taken of the existing machinery of the law to check a corruption which I believe that the educated classes unite in deploring, but which is probably regarded with greater indifference by large sections of the population. These were the main reasons that induced the Government of India to withhold its assent from the proposed legislation.

The next subject to which you have called my attention is the recent Revenue Settlement, by which, exclusive of local cesses, an increase of 12 lakhs has been made in the revenue collected from the district. I do not know that I am called upon to say much upon the subject on the present occasion, seeing that you promise me a full statement of your grievances at an early date. But I may note, in passing, certain considerations which should, I think, not be left out of sight. In the first place, it was, I believe, a matter of common assent that the district was under-assessed before the recent settlement. Secondly, I am informed that abundant opportunities were offered by the Local Government to the landholders and to all those interested for stating their objections before the introduction of the new scheme. Thirdly, the enhanced revenue, of which you complain as excessive, has, I gather, during the years that it has been in operation, been collected without friction and without oppression. These considerations, however, even if they be beyond dispute, will not prevent me from paying respectful attention to any memorial that may reach the Government of India.

Address from the Tanjore Reception Committee.

Thirdly, Gentlemen, you have expatiated upon the drawbacks arising from a defective drainage system, and an imperfect distribution of water. A good deal of evidence has been placed before me in connection with this subject; and I believe it to be true that the district stands in need of engineering works which, as regards drainage, will widen the channels in their lower reaches, and provide new drainage channels to relieve congestion; and, as regards distribution, will reduce the number of minor branch channels, and regulate the water-supply in the remainder. Several of these works are, I understand, being taken in hand: others are in course of preparation, the most important of which is the scheme mentioned by you for bringing under cultivation parts of the Pudukotta Taluk. As soon as the engineers are agreed as to the *modus operandi*, I hope that progress may be made. It seems to me, from all I have heard, that there is in this neighbourhood a suitable field for extensive and remunerative irrigation works in the future.

Before I leave the subject of water, I must be allowed to congratulate you upon the good results that have ensued from the waterworks that have been constructed for this town and which have sensibly diminished the deaths from choleraic attacks; and to join in your aspiration that the Local Government may be able, by timely help, to assist other municipalities in procuring the same blessings.

Finally, as regards Light Railways, I should have been disappointed had you not furnished me with an opportunity of congratulating you upon the great success that has already attended the enterprising venture of the District Board, and upon the interesting development that is about to be taken in hand. I have always regarded the successful construction and remunerative working of the 54 miles of existing line by the Board as one of the most important displays of municipal enterprise which recent years have witnessed in India; and I have held it up to public imita-

tion as far away as in the remote parts of Assam. You possess a country in this neighbourhood which is peculiarly adapted to the extension of light or narrow-gauge railways; partly because the land is so flat and construction is therefore cheap, partly because the maintenance of metalled roads is so very difficult and expensive, and still more because there are such encouraging prospects of traffic. I wish you all success in the loan that you are about to raise for the extension of your present line, and I congratulate you upon the arrangements by which, with the consent and help both of the Local Government and of the Government of India, you have come into sole possession of a property which you should find a most valuable asset in the future. I cannot give better advice to other local bodies who are similarly placed than to follow your example.

Gentlemen, I shall take away with me a very pleasant recollection of your assurances of profound loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and of friendly feeling towards Lady Curzon and myself.

ADDRESS FROM THE MYSORE MUNICIPALITY.

1st Dec. 1900. [At 2 P.M. on Friday, the 30th November, the Viceregal party arrived at Mysore. Their Excellencies were received by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore (a boy of 16), his younger brother, and the principal State officials; and by the Hon'ble Colonel Robertson, the Resident in Mysore, and his Staff. The party drove to Government House, where they were the guests of the Maharaja. At 12 noon on Saturday, the 1st December, a deputation from the Mysore Municipality waited on and presented an address to the Viceroy. After expressions of welcome, the address referred to the extremes of joy and sorrow through which the city had lately passed—the festivities consequent on the marriage of the Maharaja, and the desolation caused by the

Address from the Mysore Municipality.

recrudescence of plague—and it remarked on the sympathy with the people in their distress shown by His Excellency's presence among them, the progress made in the improvement of the city, and the prospect of further improvement in the future.

His Excellency replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I accept with much pleasure the first address that has yet been presented to me by a Municipality in a Native State. The incident is interesting both in its reminiscence and in its suggestion. For it is a reminder of the time, now nearly 20 years gone by, when the Mysore State was still under British control, before being handed back to the guidance of its native dynasty; and it also indicates the extent to which that dynasty, upon recovering its sway, wisely assimilated some of the best features of British administration.

You truly remark to me that you have lately been called upon, with a rapidity of succession that would be dramatic were it not so sad, to pass almost straight from the marriage festivities of your future ruler to a renewed struggle with the terrible and remorseless scourge of plague. For weeks past I have followed the figures of Mysore city in the returns that are placed before me with a melancholy interest, and have watched the ebb and flow of your fortunes. How serious a calamity plague has proved to the Mysore State may be shown by the fact that, since its first appearance in August, 1898, it has already carried off not less than 25,000 victims. The renewed attack has been a very sharp one, and has not yet fully spent, though it is happily abating, its force. While it is still upon you, it should, I think,—and you will doubtless agree,—turn your attention to the probable or preventible causes of recrudescence. Among these you will probably find, here as elsewhere, that the overcrowding of houses, and the unsanitary and malodorous condition of parts of the city, are a fertile source of propagation. A Viceroy in his visits to Native towns only sees as a rule the main thoroughfares, where all is spacious and clean. But I suspect that, if your

Address from the Mysore Municipality.

Chairman were to take me for a stroll into the more densely populated and lower quarters of the city, we should see sights that would remove any surprise at the ravages of plague. With such funds as are placed at your disposal—and I hope that they may be sufficient—you will, I am sure, devote your energies to the mitigation of evils which, even if they do not create the disease, at any rate spread and foster it.

Though I have never before visited your capital, I am aware, from the reports that have been made to me concerning it, of the number and excellence of the public buildings and institutions to which you refer ; and so much of them as I have seen in the course of my drives through the streets has convinced me that you are justified in pointing with pride to the great strides that have been made in the improvement of the city. With the sympathy and support of the enlightened Government under which you reside, the younger among you may hope in their lifetime to witness as many further improvements as the older have already done during the past twenty years.

I know it to be in no perfunctory sense, but with a deep and genuine feeling of devotion, that you have expressed your attachment, and that of the Mysore people in general, to the British Crown ; and I never fail to remember that it is only as the passing representative of the gracious Sovereign by whom it is at present worn that I meet with so flattering a reception as was accorded to me upon my arrival yesterday, and has been repeated by yourselves to-day.

Gentlemen, allow me to thank you most cordially for your address, and for the handsome casket of silver ware in which you have presented it.

ADDRESS FROM THE RESIDENTS OF COORG.

[His Excellency the Viceroy received an address of welcome from a deputation representing the residents of Coorg, on Saturday morning, the 1st December, at Government House, Mysore. After expressions of loyalty the deputation remarked that the people had grievances with which they would not now trouble His Excellency, but which they proposed to submit officially. They thanked the Viceroy for the proposed Railway communication between Mysore and Tellicherry on the Western Coast *viâ* Coorg, and prayed that orders might be issued for the early completion of the line, which would be attended with many advantages. 1st Dec. 1900.

The Viceroy replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—It has been a source of much regret to me, who am so keen about seeing out-of-the-way corners of the Indian continent, not to have been able to include in my tour the picturesque country, with its strongly marked characteristics and its great natural beauty, from which you hail. I believe that I share this misfortune with the whole of my predecessors without exception. It has been due, in my case as in theirs, to the difficulty of reconciling one's personal inclinations with the limitations, both of time and distance, to which a Viceroy's tour is necessarily subject.

In one respect your address differs from any that I have hitherto received. For while you confess to the possession of grievances—a not uncommon property—alone of all the bodies who have hitherto approached me you have refrained from specifying their number or character, and have, therefore, deprived me of the opportunity of signifying in reply anything more than a general interest in your welfare. I gather, however, from the terms of your address, that your reticence is not intended to be of a permanent nature; and that, sooner or later, I shall learn through official channels what your troubles are. They will of course receive at the hands of the Government of India the full and careful consideration to which they may be entitled.

I concur in your estimate of the probable advantage of the

line from Mysore to Tellicherry on the West Coast, which has been talked about for so long, and is now advancing to a more practical stage. The traffic prospects are at present under examination, and a detailed survey is to be made in the forthcoming year. When Coorg is finally brought into more direct contact with the outer world, I trust that, while profiting materially and commercially by the development that should ensue, your small province may still retain the interesting individuality for which it has so long been known.

Most gladly will I convey to Her Majesty your assurances of loyal attachment to her person and throne; and most gratefully do I acknowledge your kindly wishes on behalf of Lady Curzon and myself.

UNVEILING THE STATUE OF THE LATE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

1st Dec. 1900. [On Saturday afternoon, the 1st December, the Viceroy unveiled the statue of the late Maharaja of Mysore, in the presence of His Highness the Maharaja, the principal State officials, and a large number of ladies and gentlemen of Mysore, who were seated in a pavilion erected for the occasion. Mr. Thamboo Chetty, Acting Dewan of Mysore, in asking His Excellency to perform the ceremony, expressed on behalf of Her Highness the Maharani her appreciation of the honour the Viceroy had done her in consenting to unveil the statue of her late husband; he dwelt on the virtues of the Maharaja and his great loss to the State, thanked Lady Curzon, on behalf of the Maharani, for having graced the occasion with her presence, and concluded by stating that to commemorate the Viceroy's visit to Mysore and the inauguration of the statue by His Excellency, the Maharani proposed to set apart the ground around it for a park to be called after Lord Curzon's name.

His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have heard with great pleasure of Her Highness the Maharani's

Unveiling the statue of the late Maharaja of Mysore.

intention, as just announced by the Dewan, to call the park that it is proposed to create around the pavilion in which we are now assembled by my name. It is an act that is characteristic of the courtly consideration of Her Highness; and although I feel that I do not at all deserve the compliment, yet it will be a very agreeable thing to me to think that our visit is likely to be commemorated in so pleasant a fashion in Mysore.

It is, I think, unnecessary for me to make anything in the nature of a speech on the present occasion. It is always an invidious thing to speak of a man, however distinguished, who was unknown to oneself, in the presence of those by whom he was widely revered and known. I have, however, studied the contents of the address delivered by Sir Sheshadri Aiyar in 1895; and I am familiar from other sources with the career and personality of the late Maharaja whose statue I am about to unveil. Previous Viceroys in their visits to Mysore have borne testimony to his simplicity of character, his kindliness of heart, and his love for his State. It was a grievous thing when a life so full not merely of promise but of performance was suddenly cut short six years ago. I can quite understand the desire of Her Highness the Maharani Regent to perpetuate the memory of so excellent and lamented a consort: and she is to be congratulated upon having secured the services of one of the most eminent English sculptors for the undertaking. The statue has already been shown at the Royal Academy Exhibition in London, and attracted great attention and admiration there. I venture to say that for long years to come it will be one of the sights of Mysore, reminding both the Royal House and the people of the virtuous prince who ruled so successfully at such an auspicious moment in the fortunes of his country. I will now proceed to unveil the statue. (*Applause.*)

BANQUET AT MYSORE.

1st Dec. 1900. [On the evening of the 1st December, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore gave a State dinner at Government House, Mysore, in honour of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon, to which a large number of guests were invited. After dinner the Maharaja, with his principal officials, entered and took his seat near the Viceroy. The toast of the Queen having been proposed by the Maharaja, His Highness again rose and proposed the health of Lord and Lady Curzon as follows :—

"*Ladies and Gentlemen,*—It is my pleasing duty to propose the toast of the health of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon. This is the first time that it has fallen to me to make a speech of this kind and I only wish I could do the subject proper justice; but Your Excellencies will believe me that it is a sincere pleasure to me to express, however briefly, on behalf of my mother and myself, the delight that we have felt at Your Excellencies' visit to Mysore. It is unnecessary for me to speak of the peculiarly warm feelings of loyalty which the people of this Province have always felt, and which my family feel, for Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. (*Applause.*) And I am certain Lord and Lady Curzon hardly need to be assured that in coming to Mysore they meet with a welcome second to none in India for its warmth and sincerity. (*Applause.*) I only hope that our honoured guests will enjoy their visit as much as we enjoy the privilege of receiving them. It is a particular source of satisfaction to my mother that Your Excellencies should have been able to take part in this afternoon's ceremony of unveiling the statue of my honoured father, and, on my mother's behalf and my own, I beg to thank you for your kindness. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you now to drink the health of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon." (*Loud and continued applause.*)

His Excellency the Viceroy replied to the toast as follows :—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must tender my grateful thanks, both to His Highness the Maharaja for the few but well chosen words in which he has proposed the health of Lady Curzon and myself, and to this company for the manner in which they have received it. I believe His Highness to have spoken no more than the bare truth when he alluded to the warm feelings of loyalty that are felt by his family and his State towards Her Majesty the Queen-

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Empress. The peculiar circumstances of Mysore history, and the confidence that has been reposed by the British Government in the ruling family—a confidence which they have singularly justified (*hear, hear*)—explain the very close relations of friendship and esteem that prevail between the two parties, and have lent an additional emphasis to the devotion that is entertained in this place towards our beloved and venerable Sovereign. (*Applause.*) On the other hand, I can assure His Highness that it gave me the sincerest pleasure this afternoon to testify the reciprocal cordiality of British sentiments towards his family and his people by performing the ceremony of unveiling the statue of his much regretted father.

That ceremony must have suggested to His Highness' mind with especial force the reflection that, at no distant date, if all goes well, he will himself be called upon to take the place of that revered parent at the head of his State. When I first had the pleasure of making His Highness' acquaintance at Calcutta a little less than a year ago, I ventured to impress upon him the nature not merely of the great responsibilities but of the splendid opportunities that will lie before him. He will rule over a tractable and contented people. He will be charged with the destinies of a picturesque and historic principality. He will inherit the traditions of an administration that, after half a century of British supervision, has been firmly established upon progressive and constitutional lines, and that, during the past six years, has been most ably conducted by Her Highness the Maharani Regent and that remarkable man Sir Sheshadri Iyar, the present Dewan. He will find the treasury solvent and its credit high. The State has no outstanding obligations, its financial position is secure, and it has even been able to lend money to others. The majority of the departments of Government are worked upon sound business principles, and give gratifying results. Mysore has been so fortunate as to escape famine, even though it has been

grievously afflicted with plague. Its educational system is in an advanced state, and is even said by some to err on the side of cheapness and liberality. Large projects of irrigation, of railways, of mining, of public works, are being planned or executed in every direction; and in particular the scheme for generating electric power from the Cauvery Falls is one that, if successfully carried out, should lead to a great expansion of industry, and should open a broad avenue of prosperity before the State.

But I should be very sorry if His Highness were to carry away from this catalogue of the bright features of the Mysore State and its administration the impression that everything is therefore quite perfect, and that, when he succeeds, he will have nothing to do but to sit still and see the well-oiled wheels of the machine spin round. On the contrary, there is plenty of room for improvement here, as in every administrative system in the world of which I have ever seen anything; and he will have enough to occupy his energies for the full span of a long life. The Land Revenue System, and the System of Land Records, will not be the worse for some overhauling. Forest Conservancy has been kept in an undeserved background. A vigilant watch must be maintained over the development of the interesting experiment of Agricultural Banks. Above all, His Highness will soon learn that it never does to be blindly satisfied with the outward appearance of things. One must probe below the surface: for a raiment of gold and silver is as capable of being wrapped round the shoulders of an invalid as it is of a man in perfect health.

There is one respect in which His Highness will have a most interesting task before him, namely, in training up his own subjects to the standard which will qualify them to fill high and responsible posts in the State. One can quite understand the desire of a people for a full share in the service of their own country; and their reluctance, to use the words of Kipling, to be drudges in their father's house.

Banquet at Mysore.

But of course, in order to attain this position, they must merit it: since it would never do to sacrifice efficiency of administration to merely patriotic sentiment, or to put in a mediocrity over the head of a good man simply because he had been born in Mysore. I gather, however, that, by the scheme of Civil Service Examinations, which was introduced by Her Highness the Maharani Regent in 1897, and by the rules which have been framed in supplement thereto, increased scope has been given for the employment of the citizens of the State. It now rests with the latter to take advantage of these openings. If they do so, I cannot doubt that a time will arrive before very long, though the change must be gradual, when the State will be less dependent upon outside assistance than it has hitherto been. This is a consummation which it should be both an interest and a pride to His Highness, when he has succeeded to the *gadi*, to forward.

There remains for me the pleasant task of thanking Her Highness the Maharani Regent for the charming hospitality of which we have already been the recipients some weeks ago at the wonderful falls of Gersoppa—as I think one of the great sights of the world—which we are enjoying now in Mysore, and by which we are again to profit in the camp next week. I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join with me in drinking to the health of Her Highness the Maharani Regent, who, assisted by the wise advice of the present capable and popular Resident, Colonel Robertson, whenever she desired it, has proved herself so conscientious and efficient a ruler during the minority of her son, and of His Highness the Maharaja, who already shows such excellent promise, and before whom so brilliant a future ought to lie. (*Applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY STATION OF BANGALORE.

8th Dec. 1900. [The Viceregal party arrived at Bangalore on the evening of the 7th December, and at noon on the following day His Excellency received, at Government House, three local deputations who presented addresses. The first deputation was that from the Municipality of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, who pointed out at some length the respects in which the Municipality invoked financial aid from Government. It was explained that a high standard of sanitation, on European principles, had to be maintained at a cost which the finances of the Municipality could ill afford to meet, crippled as they were by the demands of plague prevention charges, and the loss of the Excise Revenue which the Government had resumed; and it was urged that the re-grant of this revenue would afford considerable relief to the rate-payers and enable necessary public works to be proceeded with.

The Viceroy replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I am much obliged both for the friendly welcome that you have extended to Lady Curzon and myself, and also for the directness and absence of periphrasis with which you have gone straight to the point and have pleaded your special needs. I do not dispute your description of the local situation, and of the somewhat unusual characteristics of Bangalore. The place has undoubtedly acquired a high reputation for its hygienic virtues. This is not a reputation which it can afford to imperil or to lose; and I think you are justified in saying that it imposes upon you a high standard of efficiency in sanitation.

All the while, however, that you were descanting upon the abnormal circumstances of Bangalore, and later on, when you described the financial straits to which you had been reduced, I felt confident of the conclusion to which your argument would ultimately lead; and presently, sure enough, came to me the familiar plea that, "in view of the very peculiar circumstances of Bangalore Civil and Military Station, you might be treated as an exceptional case." Gentlemen, you would be astonished at the number of places which I visit on tour, the circumstances of which appear to their inhabitants

Municipality of Civil and Military Station, Bangalore.

to be very peculiar, and which I am accordingly asked to treat as exceptional cases. I sometimes wonder if, by some mysterious fatalism, I am impelled to alight exclusively upon these unhappy spots; or whether there are any normal places, municipalities, and conditions in India at all.

At the same time, Gentlemen, I realise that your case for liberal treatment is a strong one, and that there are features in it which entitle you to some measure of special consideration. Up till the end of 1898 you were in prosperous and even affluent circumstances. Plague has since then played havoc with your finances. You have been obliged to raise a loan from the Government of India. Expenditure upon desirable public works has either been stopped or curtailed; and I am informed that, since the beginning of 1899, the net average increase in your annual outlay has amounted to Rs. 75,000. To meet these charges you have addressed yourselves with commendable ingenuity to the discovery of new sources of taxation, and you are to be congratulated upon the results, which will place you in possession of a net average increase in your annual receipts of Rs. 60,000. Meanwhile, the situation has, from your point of view, undoubtedly been aggravated by the decision of the Government of India that the Excise taxes, which you had for some time been permitted to levy, could not, on grounds of correct administration, be permitted to continue, inasmuch as you were raising under a Municipal law imposts which should only be levied under the Excise Act, and were committing an encroachment upon the preserves of Imperial Finance. This decision should, I think, be upheld. But the embarrassed position in which it has left you may well predispose the Government of India to softness of heart; and such is the spirit in which we are anxious to deal with the situation. You have already, since the withdrawal of the license fees, been relieved of an annual charge of Rs. 38,000 in respect of the upkeep of the Bowring Civil Hospital; and we have just decided to make to you, during your period of acute trouble,

an annual subvention of Rs. 25,000. I hope that you may find in this announcement a recognition of the desire of the Supreme Government to treat with sympathy a locality that has such claims upon its consideration as the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore.

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF BANGALORE CITY.

8th Dec. 1900. [The second deputation who waited on the Viceroy at Government House, Bangalore, at noon on the 8th December, was that from the Municipal Commissioners of the City of Bangalore. Their address was brief, simply offering a cordial welcome to Their Excellencies, and expressing satisfaction at the continued prosperity which they enjoyed under the administration of the Maharani Regent, and appreciation of the Viceroy's visit to Mysore which they regarded as a proof of his interest in the welfare of the people.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—Your address has expressed in concise but generous terms the feelings which have inspired the friendly welcome that, equally with the sister city of Mysore, you have extended to Lady Curzon and myself. Everyone knows by repute the charms of Bangalore. They penetrate to the uttermost parts of Northern India, where we are constantly assured by enthusiastic patriots from the South that there is no city or station to compare with it. I am not going to say whether I agree with them; lest a compliment to you might be held to imply disloyalty to some other similarly deserving spot. But at least it is open to me to say that Bangalore, so far as I have been able to see, in no way belies its far-spread reputation, and to congratulate Lady Curzon and myself upon the good fortune that has brought us to so charming a place. Indeed, I persuaded her to come here a week ago as a sort of ideal sanitarium between the

fatigues of the early part of our tour and its concluding stages.

You are quite correct in saying that all that passes in Mysore is of intense interest to the Government of India and its head. It is a most gratifying thing to observe, in its gradual and I hope continuous development, the justification of the momentous step that was taken by the British Government in 1881; and I certainly yield to none of my predecessors in the pleasure with which I regard the building up of the political stability, the financial prosperity, and the moral welfare of the Mysore State.

Permit me, therefore, Gentlemen, to reciprocate, in all sincerity, the good wishes with which you have concluded your remarks.

ADDRESS FROM THE EURASIAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF MYSORE AND COORG.

[A deputation representing the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of Mysore and Coorg waited on the Viceroy at Government House, Bangalore, at noon, on Saturday, the 8th December (being the third of the deputations received by His Excellency on that day), and presented him with an address. This, after offering a cordial welcome to Their Excellencies, dealt generally with the position, claims, and prospects of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian community, and concluded by stating that they were deeply thankful to Lord Curzon for what he had already done for them, and were content to leave their interests in his hands. 8th Dec. 1900.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am sincerely glad, while here, to meet the representatives of a community with whose fortunes you are right in saying that I feel a great sympathy. In doing justice however to me, I am afraid that you have done an injustice to my predecessors in the Viceroyalty, in crediting me with an "unprecedented" interest in your welfare.

Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, Mysore and Coorg.

No one Governor General can fall far short of another in the feelings of anxious consideration, which the spectacle of a community originating as yours has done and placed as it is, cannot fail to arouse. While, however, the opportunities of helping you by advice have been frequent, the chances of undertaking any practical measures for the amelioration of your condition more rarely occur.

The first step towards either securing the favour of Government or benefiting yourselves, is undoubtedly a candid recognition of the weakness as well as the strength of your own position, and of the faults as well as the virtues of the Eurasian character. I have, therefore, been pleased to listen to the second paragraph of your address, in which you have, with much honesty and discrimination, defined your own status, and admitted the conditions that tend sometimes to isolation, sometimes to despondency, frequently to internal discord. But I do not suppose that you will have so correctly diagnosed your state of health without being prepared to apply the necessary remedies: and of these you are right in pointing to greater unanimity, both of opinion and action, as the most important. It is a distressing thing to see a community whose strongest point is certainly not its strength, frittering away what little it may possess in petty bickerings about microscopic things. If all the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Associations throughout India were united together, if their members were even united among themselves, they might create a single standard of aspiration, and agree upon a common programme which would materially advance the collective cause. As it is, in too many cases their energies are dissipated in fighting for different aims, or in resenting the friendly criticisms of those who wish them well.

In this neighbourhood the Eurasian question may be said to possess a special interest, owing to the experiments in agricultural colonisation that have been initiated by the late Mr. White, and by your present respected and worthy

Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, Mysore and Coorg.

Chairman, Dr. Sausman, within a short distance of Bangalore. I have followed with much attention the histories of Whitefield and Sausmond. It will, I think, be generally admitted that the halcyon dreams of a self-contained and self-supporting community, existing by manual labour, possessing its own artificers and workmen, and excluding all competition, were over-sanguine in character, and were incapable of realisation. The original Whitefield was to be the model and pioneer of thousands of similar settlements in other parts of India. Instead it is a single community of not more than 150 souls. In the petty handicrafts, and in agricultural labour, it is almost impossible for the Eurasian community to compete with the Natives. The latter can work for less, and live for less, and they learn trades more easily. On the other hand, you have succeeded in providing a happy and comfortable home in the pure air and amid healthy surroundings for a limited number of Eurasian and Anglo-Indian families, and for retired pensioners of that race, where they have been able to maintain a higher standard of ease and self-respect than might elsewhere have been found possible. The weak point of the venture seems to me to consist in its restricted application. On the other hand, I see very clearly the danger that, if you expand your numbers too rapidly, you will become not a village, but a suburb, and the native bazar is certain sooner or later to creep in. Perhaps the solution may be found to lie in the repetition of small experiments, rather than in the magnifying of any single colony.

In your concluding paragraph you have expressed your willingness to leave your interests in their entirety in my hands. In so far as I can reasonably and legitimately help you, I will do so. But there are certain things that I cannot do. I cannot create special opportunities or special exemptions in your favour. I have recently seen in the papers what purports to be a reproduction of certain new rules which I am alleged to have issued for your admission

Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, Mysore and Coorg.

to the Government of India Secretariat as well as of certain secret instructions for excluding natives of India from particular posts for your special benefit. The Press in India knows a good many things that do exist; but it also knows or affects to know a great many that do not. All I can say is that these rules or these instructions are unknown to me. I am also reported by the newspapers to have created a new class of Extra Assistant Commissioners in Assam, to be exclusively reserved for Eurasians. This again is news to me. Some of these posts have been left open to, and may, I hope, be filled by duly qualified members of your community. But the Government of India cannot here or anywhere else constitute a special preserve, into which none but Eurasians may intrude. I have thought it advisable to make these remarks, both to remove from your minds, if it there exists, the impression that Government, in its desire to be fair to you, can anywhere consent to be unfair to others, and also to indicate to you the vehemence of public feeling that would be aroused by any partisanship in favour of one section of the population to the exclusion of another. On the other hand, opportunities have presented themselves to me, and doubtless will again, of forwarding your interests in a legitimate manner, and these, Gentlemen, you may confidently rely upon me to take.

OPENING THE VICTORIA HOSPITAL, BANGALORE.

[At 4-30 P.M. on Saturday, the 8th December, the Viceroy opened the new Victoria Hospital at Bangalore, the foundation stone of which was laid on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen-Empress in 1897 by the Maharani Regent of Mysore, who erected the building at the cost of the State, and desired that it should be maintained as a charitable institution, available to all classes without distinction. Their Excellencies were received at the hospital, where a large assembly awaited them, by the Dewan of Mysore and other officials. Lieutenant-Colonel Benson, Civil Surgeon, read an address giving the history of the building and expressing the gratification of Her Highness the Maharani that the ceremony of declaring it open should be performed by His Excellency as the representative of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. 8th Dec. 1900.

The Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The address which has just been read by Colonel Benson dispenses me from the duty of making any observation as to the circumstances under which this hospital has been erected. Its name indicates that it has been raised as a memorial to the reign of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Its architectural features, and the excellence and completeness of its contemplated arrangements, show that Her Highness the Maharani Regent has resolved that no expense should be spared to give to the chief city of the State a hospital accommodation and equipment which should make it the envy of its neighbours. This is in entire keeping with the enlightened policy, as regards public institutions and buildings, which has been consistently followed by the Mysore Durbar. (*Applause.*)

Among the many functions which, as representative of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, I am called upon to perform in India, there are none that give me greater delight than those connected with institutions that will tend to the relief of human suffering. For I know that I am performing an act which, though trivial and ephemeral in itself, is a step, perhaps as to-day the first step, in a course of procedure the beneficent consequences of which will go on

multiplying from year to year; and I feel that there is nothing I could do that would better typify the humane and tender-hearted sympathies of the Sovereign by whom I am accredited, and whose name this building is henceforward to bear. Along with her name it will also keep alive the memory of the generous and philanthropic ruler, Her Highness the Maharani Regent, by whom it has been raised. (*Applause.*) I have, therefore, great pleasure in accepting the key that has been presented to me in this pretty casket of local manufacture, and in declaring this hospital open. (*Applause.*)

[His Excellency then proceeded to one of the main wards which he opened with the silver key, declaring the hospital to be open, after which he was conducted through the building.]

ADDRESS FROM THE KOLAR GOLD FIELDS MINING BOARD.

10th Dec. 1900. [On Monday, the 10th December, 1900, the Viceroy, accompanied by his Staff, and Colonel Robertson, Resident in Mysore, visited the Kolar Gold Fields. Arriving at the Bowringpet Railway Station at 12·45 P.M., His Excellency was driven to the limits of the Fields where he was met by the principal officials of the Mining Board; and thence to Major Hancock's bungalow, where he was received and entertained at luncheon by the President and Members of the Board, and afterwards presented with an address of welcome. The Board were fully conscious, they said, that they could offer nothing in the domain of nature or art to attract a visitor, nor could they boast of magnificent scenery or ancient fanes, but they could claim to show a veritable portion of the West, planted—a rare sight—in the heart of the East. They recognised that His Excellency's visit was but one more practical manifestation of his keen and sympathetic interest in all questions connected with industry and commerce. They thanked him for the practical proof of the concern felt by his Government in the successful working of the Fields shown by the loan to the Mysore Government of experienced British officials to increase the efficiency

Address from the Kolar Gold Fields Mining Board.

of the Police. His Excellency's attention was drawn to the difficulties that had arisen regarding the purchase of gold by the Indian Mints, and a hope was expressed that he would look into the matter with a view to securing that transactions in gold between the Mints and the public should be conducted under the ordinary conditions of business.

The address was enclosed in a handsome silver casket, the design being in the form of an air receiver. The casket was accompanied by a gold watch-guard weighing four ounces and a half, the gold of which had been contributed by the nine producing Companies on the Fields.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—It would certainly have been a great disappointment to me, had I, in visiting this part of India, been unable to include within my tour an inspection of one of the most remarkable fields of British enterprise that can be seen in any part of Asia. When one reflects that, only 16 years ago, this venture, after a series of disappointments, was on the verge of being abandoned, but that at that historic moment a reef was struck from which over ten millions sterling of gold have since been extracted; when one hears that every day over 20,000 people are employed upon your mines, and that the total population of the mining camps is between 30,000 and 40,000; when one reads that the output of gold from the mines has already reached a sum not far short of £2,000,000 in the year, and in the present year will probably exceed it; above all, when one sees the extraordinary sights which have passed before my eyes this morning—what was once a barren rocky tract converted into a busy centre of industry and population, with its forest of chimneys, its great mounds of quartz sand, its workshops, and engine-rooms, and assay houses and mills, all throbbing with the measured pulse of machinery, and aglow with the red hot energy of industrial life; when, I say, one hears and sees all these things, one cannot but feel a sense of proud satisfaction at the British enterprise and capital that have created this great concern.

Address from the Kolar Gold Fields Mining Board.

You have, I think, given a practical refutation to the saying of the old Roman poet that gold was best when undiscovered—*aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm.* The shareholders, to whom five of the mines are now paying dividends, will not agree with him. The Mysore Government, which draws nearly £100,000 a year in royalties from your enterprise, will not agree with him (*laughter and applause*); and I certainly cannot do so; for if I did I should not have been made the recipient of the singularly handsome chain and pendant, fabricated as I understand from the gold of the various productive mines, which you have just presented to me, and for which I beg leave to return my most cordial thanks. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

Gentlemen, in your address you have been good enough to express your gratitude to the Government of India and to myself for the loan by us to the Mysore Government of a number of experienced officials from the British service to assist in the reorganisation of the police and detective forces in the Gold Fields. I personally took a great interest in the matter, as Sir John Lambert may have informed you; and I am glad to hear that you are satisfied with the arrangements that have been made. I gather, however, from what I have heard, that though by these measures you may be able to impose a salutary and efficient check upon the theft of gold, it will be much more difficult to keep a watch upon the amalgam. Perhaps in this respect you may find it desirable to take such steps yourselves as will supplement the efforts of the Mysore Durbar.

I then come to a paragraph in your address in which you use somewhat strong language. You speak of the conditions under which the Government of India now purchases your gold as being "so inconsistent with modern commercial methods that they cannot be taken advantage of;" and again as being incompatible with "the ordinary conditions of business;" and you ask me personally to look into the matter. There is no need for me, Gentlemen, to give

Address from the Kolar Gold Fields Mining Board.

you any such undertaking, seeing that I have already done what you asked many months ago. The circumstance to which you refer was the substitution in the summer of the present year of payment at 60 days, for immediate payment, for the gold bullion received at our Mints. Well, Gentlemen, these orders emanated, not, as you seem to imagine, from any lack of sympathy with your own industry, or from any desire to hamper it. They were the compulsory outcome of the financial situation at the period of issue. We were confronted at the time with so large an accumulation of gold in our currency reserve, and with such heavy demands for famine and other purposes upon our cash balances, all of which had to be met in rupees, that we were obliged simultaneously to take steps to reduce the redundancy of gold and to augment our stores of silver. This action was one of various measures adopted with the consent of the Secretary of State for that object; and Indian gold could not be excluded from the application of an order which applied equally to all gold. From a careful study of the correspondence I do not think that the Mining Companies had anything to complain of. The fact is that in all the discussions and arrangements about the purchase by the Government of India of your gold, your agents were trying to do the best for you, and to refrain as far as possible from committing themselves to anything too definite. At one moment they actually threatened to do, in your own interests, what is now apparently represented as a hardship, namely, to remit your gold bullion for sale to England. If you, therefore, were so busily occupied in safeguarding your interests, I do not think that there is any ground of complaint that the Government of India should pay similar attention to theirs, which I take leave to say are of an even wider importance. I shall, however, be very glad if a time comes when we shall be able to revert to the system of a more speedy payment. But, Gentlemen, we cannot convert gold bullion into gold sovereigns until our gold Mint is

Address from the Kolar Gold Fields Mining Board.

established at Bombay; and for that we have been waiting for months, and are waiting still, for certain preliminary steps that have to be taken in England, and about which there has been very considerable delay.

In your concluding paragraph you have expressed yourselves, Gentlemen, in terms so warm-hearted and complimentary in their reference to myself, that I cannot sufficiently thank you. It is gratifying to receive the sympathy and encouragement of a body of one's own countrymen who, though they are not concerned, as so many of us are in India, in the work of Government, are engaged in the characteristic British task of industrial exploitation. For myself I can truthfully say, when you so kindly wish me preferment and success after I have returned to England later on, that I am too much absorbed in my work out here to bother myself with thoughts or ambitions about the future. (*Applause.*) I am quite happy where I am; and if during my time I can do some good in this country, and help forward, to any appreciable extent, the noble cause in which, in our various capacities, we are all engaged, the cup of my contentment will be full. (*Applause.*)

Before I sit down, I should like to express my thanks for the warm welcome that has been extended to me by the population of the entire Settlement to-day, and particularly to notice the charming decorations upon the route. I was also glad to see the local volunteer force, which I understand to be a powerful and efficient body, one of whose representatives I observe at this table, and it has been especially pleasing to hear of the good relations that prevail between the different nationalities and classes who are engaged in so many various capacities upon the mines. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE MADRAS MUNICIPALITY.

[Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon and Staff arrived at Madras on Tuesday, the 11th December, at 8-30 A.M. Sir Arthur and Lady Havelock and the principal officials of Madras were at the Railway Station to receive them. At 11 o'clock the Viceroy, who was accompanied by Sir A. Havelock and Their Excellencies' respective Staffs, received six deputations in the Banqueting Hall of Government House who presented addresses of welcome on behalf of the Madras Municipality; the Madras Chamber of Commerce; the Mahajana Sabha of Madras; the Anjuman-i-Mufid-i-Ahla-i-Islam representing the Moslem Community of Madras; the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India; and the Native Christian Community of Southern India. The subjects discussed in the various addresses are dealt with in His Excellency's replies. 11th Dec. 1900.

Replying to the address from the Madras Municipality, the Viceroy said :—]

Mr. President and Municipal Commissioners of Madras,

—In the earlier part of my present tour I halted at the spot where British trade—that frequent though unthinking forerunner of empire—first acquired a foothold on the Indian continent. It is perhaps not inappropriate that I should spend its concluding stages at the place where Englishmen first became the actual proprietors of Indian soil. Could those adventurous pioneers come to life again, and see to what a noble tree, both here and elsewhere, their precarious seed has grown, they would probably not merely be much astonished at the issue of their labours, but I expect that they would greatly prefer the conditions of modern existence at Fort St. George to the scanty amenities which they then enjoyed, and would soon settle down into excellent members of the Municipal Commission of Madras.

Just as this place is the oldest British possession in India, so also, in a sense, are you the oldest Municipality. For I learn from the records that a Mayor and Corporation were established here as long as 213 years ago. It would perhaps require a slight exercise of historical license to describe you as their lineal descendants, since, for some reason or

other, the original Corporation disappeared in the middle portion of its career. But I observe striking and presumably hereditary features of resemblance between you and them in the fact that almost the first act of the Corporation when constituted in 1687 was to approach the Governor with a request to be allowed to raise various taxes, in consequence of its financial embarrassments—a faculty which, judging from the contents of your address to-day, would not appear to have grown rusty in the passage of two centuries. Here, however, I am afraid the parallelism breaks down. For whereas Governor Yale granted all the demands of the infant Corporation without the least demur—there was no Government of India and no orthodox finance in those days—I fear that it has not been possible either for Sir Arthur Havelock or myself to adopt so complacent an attitude.

Gentlemen, after taking what I believe to be perfectly legitimate and well-deserved credit to yourselves for the manner in which, with straitened means, you have conducted your Municipal duties, you proceed to lay before me the difficulties, both practical and fiscal, connected with the carrying out of your great drainage scheme. It is perhaps scarcely incumbent upon me to follow the prolonged discussion that has been going on between the Local Government and yourselves as to the best and most appropriate sources of local taxation. The ball has been sent backwards and forwards across the net by both parties with a vigour and skill which, having studied the correspondence, I have greatly admired. But I would fain hope that the rally is now in a fair way to come to an end. As I understand, the issue has been considerably narrowed down. The cost of the drainage scheme has been somewhat reduced; and it now only remains for you, in addition to the Rs. 1,07,000 which are already produced by the new taxes, to raise a further sum of Rs. 1,21,000 a year. Should the proposal of the Local Government to provide this sum by an increase of 2½ per cent. in the water-tax be carried into execution, the

Address from the Madras Municipality.

maximum local rates exacted in Madras would amount to 17¾ per cent. as compared with the 15¼ per cent. which you have mentioned in your address. The corresponding figures in Calcutta are 23 per cent., in Bombay 19¾ per cent., and in Rangoon 21 per cent. I know very well, and you know much better than I do, that your circumstances differ in many ways from those of the other Presidency towns. These differences I need not enumerate; they may be summed up in the admission that Madras is, in nearly every respect, poorer than its sister cities. Nevertheless I am not sure that, considerable as they are, they are not somewhat unduly reflected in the existing disparity in the percentages of local taxation.

A second subject of discussion between the Madras Government and yourselves is your request for an increase in the Government Abkari contribution. I think that the Governor and his Colleagues are right in drawing a clear distinction between license fees which are all that a Municipality may properly levy, and Excise duties, which are the property of Imperial Finance. The loss of revenue which would be entailed by any surrender of the latter would therefore fall in the main, not upon Madras, but upon the Imperial Exchequer; and I cannot see what would be the point of laying down orders prohibiting Municipalities from levying Excise duties, as the Government of India did long ago, if we were then to wink at their being infringed.

I feel hardly qualified to enter into the vexed question of a contribution to you from Provincial Revenues in respect of the Coum. As far as I can see, it resolves itself into this. The Municipality contends that its beneficent activity in respect of drainage will cleanse the Coum. The Local Government contends that it will only prevent the Coum from becoming dirtier than it already is. I could not solve this vexed problem without uttering disparaging remarks about the Coum, from which I desire to refrain. I observe that you describe it in your address as "an unpleasant and

unhealthy cess-pool." This language, which is permissible to those who live upon its banks, would I am afraid be regarded as insulting from an outsider. From my recollection of it when I was here 13 years ago, I should prefer to speak of it as a not too salubrious stream.

There is, however, one suggested source of taxation upon which, as it directly concerns the Imperial Government, you are, I think, entitled to my opinion. I observe that you still hanker after a terminal tax upon grain. I will not repeat here what I said upon the point at Karachi in the opening days of my present tour, although your request to-day entirely confirms my anticipations then, namely, that though Karachi claimed that its circumstances and needs were absolutely exceptional, it was tolerably certain that before long I should come across some other Municipality that entertained precisely the same views as regards itself. You know very well that the ground upon which we object to this taxation is that it tends, and must tend, to become a transit duty. In Madras this would almost certainly happen; for the refund on grain exports, which is mostly in small quantities and in the hands of petty traders, would, I believe, in practice be found so difficult to carry out that it would probably become quite inoperative. Even, however, if this were not the case, I invite you to consider the great trouble and even cost in collection, and the friction and annoyance that would ensue from the distinction—necessary for rebate purposes—between imports of grain for consumption and imports for export. I think, therefore, that you will do well not to persevere with this suggestion.

Gentlemen, your last request is that I will subscribe a practical sympathy to the view that prevention of plague is an Imperial and not a purely Municipal responsibility; in other words that, as the Local Government finds difficulty in helping you from Provincial Revenues, the Government of India will step in and relieve you of a portion of the charge. In Karachi I was asked for the whole. But I

gather from the terms of your address—though I do not feel quite confident on this point—that you are more diffident and plead only for a part. However that may be, it is perhaps desirable, in view of the reiteration of these requests, that I should endeavour to state what seem to me to be the correct principles that should regulate our action. Sanitary and other measures for the prevention of plague in a Municipality are due and proper Municipal charges; and each Municipality should be required to undertake them to the full extent of its ability. Plague has imposed heavy charges, not only on Municipal Revenues (with special aid from the Government in many cases), but also on Provincial Revenues, and still more, of course, on Imperial Revenues. Each must bear its share. It cannot be admitted that Imperial Revenues should entirely or to a great extent relieve either Provincial or Local Revenues of their proportion of the cost. On the contrary the responsibility rests first on Local, next on Provincial, and only finally on Imperial Revenues. We do what we can; but we cannot accept an obligation the assumption of which would be unfair both to the localities affected, and to the Indian taxpayer in general—unfair because it would only spare the smaller and more responsible units in order to mulct the larger.

With these remarks, and with cordial thanks to you, Gentlemen, for your graceful reference to the presence of Lady Curzon here to-day with myself, I will pass on to the next address.

ADDRESS FROM THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MADRAS.

11th Dec. 1900. [To the address from the Chamber of Commerce, Madras, His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—We meet upon an interesting occasion. For it is within a few days of the three hundredth anniversary of the grant of the first Charter by Queen Elizabeth to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, that is, the first East India Company, who may I suppose be held in a certain sense to have been the progenitors of the Indian Chambers of Commerce, one of whom I am now addressing. In those days Viceroys and Chambers of Commerce were equally unknown. I daresay that the world got on very well without them. But inasmuch as we have severally been called into existence by the political and the commercial exigencies of later times, it seems to me to be a good thing that from time to time we should take advantage of such opportunities as the present to exchange views as to our respective shares in the evolution of the body politic and mercantile in India.

With much precision you have, Gentlemen, in your address tabulated the various subjects upon which you desire to appeal to me. I will follow them in the same order. First comes your protest against the existing application to this Presidency of the system of Provincial Contracts, and, as I gather from one sentence in your address, against the system itself. I cannot on the present occasion undertake either the exposition or the defence of the latter. If I did, we might still be engaged in conclave till a late hour of the afternoon. It is sufficient for me to recognise that you represent what I believe to be a widespread feeling in Madras to the effect that the system, as at present worked, takes from Madras an excessive share of its Provincial Revenues, and does not provide a sufficient stimulus to local thrift or self-interest. This view has on several

Address from the Chamber of Commerce, Madras.

occasions been stated with great ability by the Madras Government, and has found no more vigorous or incisive advocate than your present Governor, who has more than once addressed me on the subject. To the further argument, which appears in a subsequent address from the Mahajana Sabha, that Madras is not interested in contributing to other provinces, I am less willing to subscribe: since this is a purely separationist line of reasoning, and ignores the existence of the Imperial system. The various partners in the Empire must pay something for their share both in its glories and in its benefits. They cannot be shut off, so to speak, in water-tight compartments, each unit leading a self-centred and independent existence, and evading the responsibilities attached to the corporate life of the whole. I, therefore, am not much impressed by the argument, employed by the Mahajana Sabha, that the Madras raiyat ought not to be taxed for the construction of roads in Burma or Beluchistan. This is an extreme and rhetorical method of presenting the case. The Bombay raiyat might equally say that he does not see why he should be taxed to convert the Madras Harbour from a bad one into a good one. Putting aside this reasoning as specious, I would much prefer to discuss the question whether, as a factor in the Imperial system, Madras does or does not contribute more than her fair quota. This is a subject which we are now occupied in examining with the Secretary of State, and which the Government of India has no desire to approach in any but a generous spirit. But I think you should remember that Madras does not stand alone in its complaint, other provinces being similarly convinced of the hardship of the existing contracts; and that the capacity of Imperial Revenues to meet the demands made for increased expenditure in the several provinces, and on objects which have not been provincialised, such as the Army, is limited.

Gentlemen, your next heading was that of Railways. I quite agree with you as to the desirability of providing

facilities for the introduction of the East Coast Railway into the city. I am informed that the total cost of the various measures that are considered necessary for this end amounts to 13½ lakhs. It is all a question of finding the money. But I hope that a beginning may be made with the more important of these works before long. I hardly think it necessary to discuss at present the agency by which the Vizagapatam-Raipur Railway should be constructed. It is unlikely that the line itself can be taken in hand for some years: and the decision may be affected by the termination of the contract of the Madras Railway. Similarly as regards the Baliapatam-Mangalore Railway, I have seen reports which speak in glowing terms of the port and the country. But while the line might be a very excellent, it would also be a very expensive one, the estimated cost of construction amounting to nearly 78 lakhs. I can see no prospect of the funds being found for this undertaking for a long time to come.

I now come to that hoary and baffling enigma, the Madras Harbour. You have expressed a hope that some comprehensive scheme may soon be decided upon. I doubt, Gentlemen, if there has been any period during the past 30 years in which what were believed to be comprehensive schemes have not been in existence. Indeed I suspect that there have been too many, rather than too few. However, I understand that the Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department is now engaged upon elaborating such a scheme as you desire, and I wish for it a better fate than its predecessors. As regards your request that your obligations to the Government of India may be diminished by a reduction in the amount of annual payments in liquidation of the loan, and also—though it is not quite clear whether you ask for one or for both favours—in the rate of interest that is now charged, I could not give a reply until I had heard the question thoroughly argued, and had been placed in possession of the opinions both of the Local Government and of

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my Financial advisers. I believe that the former is likely to address us on the matter. I may remark that four years ago the Government of India did make proposals that were intended to operate for your relief, since we agreed to accept repayment of the balance of the loan, and sanctioned the raising by the Harbour Trust Board of a fresh loan of 30 lakhs, bearing interest at 3½ or 3¾ per cent., repayable in 30 years, for the purpose. But this project fell through, owing to the inability of the Board to raise the money. As regards the substitution of a Port Trust for the Harbour Board, fifteen years ago this proposal was favoured by the Government of India, but was not persevered with, owing to the hostility of the Local Government, who on administrative grounds were strongly opposed to it. Circumstances have somewhat changed since then. For I gather that under Local and Imperial Acts the Harbour Trust Board does now exercise all the more important powers of a Port Trust, with one exception, *viz.*, the collection and expenditure of the Port Fund. These are under the control of the Local Government. But I understand that the revenues are spent entirely for the benefit of the Port, and that any surplus is credited to the Board.

Gentlemen, I am glad to receive your congratulations as to the legislation imposing countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugar, which the Government of India undertook, amid considerable criticism, last year; and to learn that in this Presidency, so widely interested in the industry as you have shown it to be, encouragement has been given to refiners, and the prospects are undeniably brighter. I do not know how far we may claim any credit for the remarkable change of opinion which is reported to be coming over the minds of the principal bounty-giving countries in Europe. But if these reports are correct, and if the revulsion of policy that is foreshadowed turns out to be true, perhaps our measure of last year may not have been altogether without its effect in conducing to so gratifying a result.

Address from the Mahajana Sabha, Madras.

In conclusion, I share the satisfaction which you have expressed at the favourable rains which nearly everywhere, except in certain portions of the Bombay Deccan, where the outlook is gloomy, have relieved the terrible anxieties by which the Government of India was oppressed a few months ago. One famine is enough and too much for one Viceroyalty: and I earnestly pray that I may be spared the recurrence of any such awful visitation.

ADDRESS FROM THE MAHAJANA SABHA, MADRAS.

11th Dec. 1900. [In replying to the address from the Mahajana Sabha, the Viceroy spoke as follows:—]

Members of the Mahajana Sabha,—I thank you for your address and for the agreeable words of welcome and encouragement that were contained in its opening sentences. I ought to thank you also for being so good as to curtail the reading of your address, because it is evident that if the whole of these addresses were read without any restriction at all, we should be kept here for a very long time. I share your hope that an abatement of the calamities from which India has recently suffered may enable the Government to address itself with uninterrupted energy to the many and complicated problems of internal administration that lie before us: though I am not so vain, and I hope that you are not so sanguine, as to imagine that, by any stroke of an enchanter's wand, the present Government or any Government of India can effect a revolution in the economic, social, or industrial conditions of this vast continent. It occurs to me, Gentlemen, after studying your address, that no complaint can be made, at any rate here, of undue restriction upon the absolute freedom with which you have been permitted to express your views upon an immense

Address from the Mahajana Sabha, Madras.

range of topics of the most controversial character. You seem to have profited by that liberty to use some decidedly emphatic language, which I am far from deprecating, but upon which I shall presently comment.

But first, Gentlemen, I should like to be quite certain for whom you speak. In your opening sentence you tell me that it is on behalf of the members of the Mahajana Sabha of Madras. But a little later on your representative character would appear to have acquired a wider scope, since when you come to the subject of famine prevention you "crave my permission to give expression to the views of the Indian public;" while, when you come to an expression of your views on the subject of Judicial and Executive functions, you again present me with what you describe as "the unanimous voice of the Indian public." Now, Gentlemen, the Indian public is rather a big concern. It consists, exclusive of Mahomedans, of nearly 250,000,000, inclusive of Mahomedans, of some 300,000,000 persons. I am a little sceptical as to the possibility of this huge constituency being adequately represented by an association whose membership does not, I believe, extend beyond 200, and which, I gather from your rules, does not require for its general meetings a quorum of more than 15; and I prefer, therefore, to accept your opinions as representative of certain, and I doubt not most important, elements in Hindu society in the Madras Presidency, rather than as a pronouncement from the entire Indian continent.

Gentlemen, you tell me that you have no hesitation in saying that the policy of Land Revenue settlements has not contributed to the prosperity of the agricultural classes, who are growing poorer from year to year, and will ultimately be faced by ruin. I, on the other hand, feel a good deal of hesitation in pronouncing with complacency upon so contested a topic. I think that circumstances differ in different parts. I am not at all convinced that, as a general proposition, it is true that the agricultural classes are going

downhill. In some districts which have been severely or repeatedly hit by drought or other visitations, there has been a positive, but not necessarily a permanent, decline in the material well-being of the people. But if we could raise from the dead some experienced district officer of the early years of the present century, and could send him round the scene of his former labours, I am not certain that he would discover the symptoms either of increasing penury or of impending ruin. Even if the peasant classes are growing poorer, as you contend, is it not a little rash and dogmatic to attribute it exclusively to land revenue settlements? I think I could suggest, even from my slight knowledge, a good many other reasons, of which I will only name two that appear to have escaped your notice. If the *sowkar* were a little less exacting in the rate of interest that he demands, and if the agriculturist could be persuaded not to have such frequent recourse to the law-courts, and if you would devote your influence to giving to both this prudent advice, I think that the raiyat would be a good deal better off than he now is. (*Applause.*)

Again, Gentlemen, you have pronounced with similar confidence that the revenue demands of Government "are excessive, increasing, and uncertain." There may be cases in which all these propositions are correct: but I should require a good deal of evidence to convince me that they are of universal application. If they be so, I fail to see how we are to account for the general rise in the market value of land. I think also that it is sometimes forgotten that an assessment which appears to be unduly excessive in a bad year, is often generous to a fault in a good one. If we are to be fair, the good must be taken with the bad, and an equation struck between the two. Instead, therefore, of indulging in broad and dubious generalisations, it seems to me that the case of each province and each assessment—and one might almost descend to smaller units—demands independent investigation. Such an examination I am now

engaged in conducting; and I will prefer to form my opinion after I have studied the evidence that may be forthcoming, to making up my mind in advance. You express a hope that I may be able to initiate such reforms in our land revenue policy as will gradually redeem the agricultural classes from poverty and distress. I wish you had told me, Gentlemen, what they are to be. I will not now ask you; but I will put another question. Supposing that we did reduce the assessment throughout India by 25 per cent., is there a man among you who honestly believes that there would be no more famine, no more poverty, no more distress; or who would guarantee me that, before 25 years had elapsed, the Mahajana Sabha of Madras would not be repeating to some future Viceroy a verbatim reproduction of your present address? (*Applause.*)

You next refer to the Madras Irrigation Cess Act, which you say involves a violation of the rights of private property and is incapable of being worked in practice without serious injustice. I have not an idea what the former phrase may mean. Surely you do not contend that if a man grows a wet crop on land by the unquestioned use of water which has reached it by percolation from Government sources or channels, he should be at liberty to escape the water cess altogether, on the plea that he did not apply for the water which has enriched him, and that his rights of property would be violated by its exaction. If that is your contention, I must frankly say that it seems to me to be an untenable one. There is such a thing also as the rights of the public, and it appears to me that they are the rights that would be violated, and it is upon them that serious injustice would be inflicted, if the public revenue were allowed to be defrauded by any such exemption. As to the attitude of the Government of India, it was directed to securing that the injustice which you fear to individuals should not in any circumstances take place: for we attached as a condition to our acceptance of the Bill the proviso that the water

Address from the Mahajana Sabha, Madras.

rate should only be levied when a full and constant supply of water is assured. I think, therefore, that we have sufficiently safeguarded the agriculturist against the perils which you anticipate.

Your next paragraph relates to the provision of industrial and technical instruction. So many platitudes are uttered upon this subject, both by those who present addresses and by those whose duty it is to reply to them, that I will not on the present occasion add to their number. Government is bestowing its serious attention upon the matter; and we are endeavouring to the best of our lights to create the opportunities for which you plead. But I suggest that at the other end of the scale a corresponding impetus is required. Are you quite certain that those agencies and institutions which exercise so powerful a control upon the mind of the Indian youth, are using their influence, as they might do, to encourage the particular form of education which in theory they applaud ?

Your next request is that the number of seats on the Local Legislative Council that are filled by nomination from District Boards and Municipalities may be increased from five to seven. I should require a greater knowledge of the circumstances of the Presidency than I possess to be able to state exactly how the fairest representation of its many and diverse interests can be secured. But I confess that in the present stage of development the fair representation of interests and classes seems to me to be more important than the increased representation of localities : and I should be reluctant to sanction any changes that might sacrifice the former object to the latter.

As regards the Salt Tax, I am not sure that it is anything like so harsh and injurious in its incidence as you contend. But its reduction would be such a boon to the lower classes that it would be a great source of pleasure to my Colleagues and myself if we could confer it upon India during the time that I am here.

Address from the Mahajana Sabha, Madras.

Concerning the Forest Laws your are again rather emphatic when you speak of them as having deprived the village communities of their old communal rights. Why, Gentlemen, owing to the scandalous neglect of forestry and to widespread disafforestment, these rights had in many cases ceased to possess the smallest value. That scientific forestry under the control of Government implies some curtailment of rights that have grown up in a period of license is true, but it does not necessarily involve their extinction. The great thing is that the Forest Laws should not be worked in an oppressive manner, and that the poor people should not be harassed by an unfeeling application of the penal clauses. In this connection I have seen a formal statement, enunciating the forest policy of the Madras Government, that was issued by the latter three years ago, and that seems to me to lay down the correct principles of administration with both justice and mercy. I happen to know that the subject is one which has forcibly appealed to the interest of your retiring Governor, and I hope that it may similarly receive the sympathy of his successor.

Gentlemen, I have now dealt with all the subjects mentioned in your address except those which I have found it more convenient to handle in reply to other addresses, either here or elsewhere; and it only remains for me to endorse the concluding sentences in which you have spoken with just pride of the loyal and law-abiding instincts of the population in this part of India, of their progressive tendencies, and of the enterprising spirit that has taken them as emigrants to foreign lands. (*Applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE ANJUMAN-I-MUFID-I-AHLA-I-ISLAM.

11th Dec. 1900. [In replying to the address from the Anjuman-i-Mufid-i-Ahla-i-Islam, representing the Moslem Community of Madras, the Viceroy said :—]

Members of the Anjuman,—It is only befitting that among the bodies from whom I have consented to receive addresses in Madras should be included a representative association of that community which in the past has played so considerable a part in the political fortunes of Southern India. The welcome that you have extended to Lady Curzon and myself on our visit to this Presidency is, I am sure, the outcome of a very deep-seated loyalty towards the Sovereign whom I have the honour to represent, as well as of a sincere interest in the task of administration with which the Government of India is charged. I gladly, therefore, accept the assurance of these sentiments which has been contained in your address.

In one respect the information that you have laid before me is indicative of the altered conditions under which the Mussulmans of Southern India now live, and of the different ideals which it is incumbent upon them to set before their eyes ; for I gather that your Anjuman exists rather to promote social and educational advancement than to further political ends. In this respect you have taken a wise initiative, which may safely be commended to your co-religionists in other parts of the country. While other communities or bodies are still occupied in talking about technical education, a phrase which seems to have an extraordinary fascination for the tongue in India, I gather that in your industrial school you are putting it into practice. I wish you success in your praiseworthy endeavour ; and I understand that the assistance which you solicit from the Madras Government towards the acquisition of a permanent habitation has long ago been promised by them, and is only dependent for fulfilment upon

the possession by them of the funds with which to purchase the selected site.

Next I come to a feature in your address which I have learned from experience to regard as the inevitable concomitant of representations from Mahomedan bodies in this country. This is a complaint of your relatively backward position and a request to Government to redress the balance by establishing a larger number of Mussulman scholarships in the various branches of higher education, and by giving you more posts in the higher ranks of the service. Gentlemen, if you will allow me to say so, there always seems to me to be some inconsistency between the frank admission of social or intellectual backwardness, and the claim for a larger share of the prizes that fall to social or intellectual distinction. Still I always enquire sympathetically into any proposals that may reasonably be entertained for helping you to improve your position. Figures have been placed before me showing that you are not dealt with illiberally in the matter of scholarships. As regards employment in the public service, I will not give the stereotyped answer that the statistics show you already to possess a share of offices in excess of the ratio in which you stand to the entire population of the Presidency, because I am aware that you make the reply that this result is only arrived at by including a number of purely subordinate posts, such as Police Constables and the like. Even, however, if I exclude all appointments carrying an annual salary of less than Rs. 250, and if I limit my observation to the appointments with a salary of from Rs. 250 to Rs. 10,000, I find that in the Presidency Mahomedans hold 438 of these posts out of total of 8,782. This is exactly 5 per cent.; whereas your percentage to the total population is 6·3. The disparity, therefore, even in this restricted sphere of application, does not appear to be very great. It is one, however, which I am sure that the Local Government would be only too pleased to assist you to redress, provided that candidates of the requisite capacity

Address from the Moslem Community, Madras.

and training are forthcoming. For the last 30 years it has been the consistent instruction of successive Secretaries of State and Governments of India to extend fair and even generous treatment to the Mahomedans; and the execution of this policy has already produced a vast change in your position. With the superior educational advantages now open to you, it rests to a large extent with yourselves to justify still further progress.

There are two other respects in which you have petitioned for special encouragement. They are subjects upon which I must speak with diffidence in this company, because they are matters that concern the Local rather than the Supreme Government. The first is your request that Hindustani may be recognised as an official language in the Presidency. I do not know what you mean by speaking of its non-recognition as the result of a change of policy; since I am informed that there has been no change in this respect at all. It is for a change, in fact, that you plead. Personally I think that, while there would be a positive gain to yourselves, there might also be some advantage to the public service in such a recognition: but I should require to know more than I do of the exact proportion of Hindustani-speaking persons in different districts of the Presidency to render my opinion of any value. Your second request is that the Persian and Hindustani translatorship may be conferred upon a Mahomedan. Gentlemen, the answer is that it must be conferred upon the best man, whoever he be. There is no racial disqualification in the matter; and the Governor of Madras, within whose patronage the appointment lies, cannot have his discretion fettered by the introduction of any other criterion than that of efficiency.

I have now dealt, Gentlemen, with all the subjects mentioned in your address, and will conclude by again thanking you for its courteous terms.

ADDRESS FROM THE EURASIAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

[Replying to the address from the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India, His Excellency spoke as follows :—] 11th Dec. 1900.

Members of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India,—Only a few days ago I was replying to an address presented to me by the members of a sister Association to your own in the city of Bangalore. Some of the observations which I ventured to make to them would be equally pertinent in a reply to you ; but inasmuch as they may possibly have come under your notice, I will not repeat them on the present occasion, but will turn to the independent topics suggested by your remarks.

And, first, let me say that it is with no small gratification that I meet the representatives of a society which, founded as it was by an enthusiast, and impeded by many difficulties and by some ridicule in its earlier years, has persevered to the point of attaining within the last few months its majority. This is a creditable and should be an encouraging landmark in your history. A second reason for my interest in meeting you here to-day is that I believe your parent society, with its various provincial circles and committees, to represent a larger constituency than is to be found in any other part of India ; though if I am right in this supposition it seems to me a little surprising that you should not have more than 1,877 members on your rolls. It occurs to me that there must still be some reluctance on the part of those whose interests you exist to promote, to come forward and co-operate in your laudable undertaking : and if this be so, those who stand aloof cannot fairly complain if help does not come from others to those who do not grasp the opportunity to help themselves.

A third cause of satisfaction to me in meeting you, and in receiving your address, is that you appear to me to entertain more prudent and sensible views of your position and

work than are everywhere shown. Your address seems to me to be marked by an equal absence of false pride and of self-consciousness, and to express with admirable succinctness what I concur with you in thinking should be your aims. I am one with you when you say that you desire to keep the name Eurasian, firstly because you believe that your retention of it is the most effective method of meeting the reproach that is sometimes unworthily and undeservedly implied in its use, and secondly because there are many capable and respectable persons in that class of whom any community might justly be proud, and the credit brought by whom to the name cannot but help to shield their poorer and weaker brethren from the stigma of an unmerited reproach. I also agree with you when you lay down the indisputable proposition that your object, which is the advancement of the Eurasian community, is to be attained rather by the combined efforts of your own members than by any special privilege or concession from Government, which would give you an advantage over other races in this country. These are sound and sagacious views, and they must command the assent of every reasoning man.

Gentlemen, when in the earlier part of the present year I received a deputation from the Calcutta Society and placed my views before them at some length, I concluded by inviting them to formulate a programme, and to address to me any representations that they might choose in reply to certain friendly remarks which I had ventured to make upon their case. This invitation was accepted at the time; but, for what reason I know not, it has hitherto failed to produce any response.

On the other hand it appears to me that your Association has entered the field with what may be a modest but is an eminently practical programme. I understand that you possess a Central Habitation,—of which I observed a picture on the casket which you have just presented to me—with a room which may equally be used for a reading room and

Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, Southern India.

library, or as a hall for public meeting or the transaction of business. I have heard with interest of the institution by you of Provident and Insurance Funds, which have already dispensed to the families of subscribers no less than £20,000. Your Employment Register, by which you are enabled to secure openings in professional or domestic service for men and women of good character, is also an excellent thing. It is further gratifying to learn that on the Railways in this Presidency you are satisfied with the share of employment that you obtain for your clients.

There is one respect, however, in which I am not sure that you have not unconsciously infringed your own canon; for after assuring me that you desire no special privilege, you proceed to ask that you should be directly, and I suppose permanently, represented upon the Legislative Councils of the various Provinces. I am afraid that the reasons which you advance for this concession will not stand close examination. The first is that your community is small, which is the very inverse of the plea for a similar privilege that is usually addressed to me by other bodies, who are in the habit of appealing for representation on the ground that they are so large. The second is that in legislation for the country at large, your interests are liable to be overlooked. But, Gentlemen, do you not forget that you are constantly claiming that you have no class interests apart from those of Europeans, with whom your feelings and fortunes are identified? Without weightier reasons, therefore, in its defence, your petition is not likely to meet with the acceptance of Government. As a matter of fact, I believe that there has been no reluctance in this Presidency, and for all I know elsewhere, to place capable members of your community upon the Local Legislative Council when such have been forthcoming. This is as it should be: and I doubt not that future Governors will be as liberal-minded in this respect as their predecessors have been in the past. But what may properly be conceded as a privilege in

meritorious cases cannot in existing circumstances be converted into a right.

Gentlemen, I will only say in conclusion that the passage in your address with which I am in heartiest sympathy is that which you devote to education. I learn from it that scholarships and prizes have been instituted for boys and girls, and that special classes exist for teaching practical acquirements to both sexes. It is in the development of this idea, which as yet appears to be in its infancy, in the provision for your young men of a business or commercial or technical training—more than in any other specific—that the future regeneration of the Eurasian community lies; and I would urge you accordingly to devote your energies and your funds in this direction. In the task with which you have charged yourselves and which you appear to be pursuing with honesty and vigilance, permit me, Gentlemen, to wish you from the bottom of my heart every success.

ADDRESS FROM THE NATIVE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

11th Dec. 1900. [In replying to the address from the Native Christian Community of Southern India, the Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—The list of addresses that have been presented to me this morning would have been incomplete had it not included some representation from a community so numerous, and, to one who belongs to the same faith, so necessarily interesting, as the Native Christian Community of Southern India. There has been devoted to the creation, and there is even now expended upon the development, of this striking factor in Indian life, an immense amount of pious effort, of practical philanthropy, and of unassuming work. What impression is thereby made

upon the ethnological formation into which, like a wedge, this stratum of rival thought and belief has pushed its way, it is not for me to determine. It is sufficient for me to recognise its existence, to admit its claims to consideration, and to admire the practical work that it has already done.

Like the bodies whose addresses have preceded yours, you profit by the opportunity to acquaint me with what you conceive to be your reasonable grounds of grievance. The first of these is the familiar complaint that your community is inadequately represented in the higher ranks of the public service; and while protesting that you do not ask for special treatment, you pray me to issue such instructions to the Heads of Departments as will ensure a redress of your grievance in this respect. I am not sure that there is not some inconsistency between your protest and your prayer. But you will have observed that pretty much the same complaint has been made to me here or elsewhere by the Mahomedans and the Eurasians; and I put it to you whether it is possible to satisfy all these three communities, each of whom repudiates special privileges, by taking steps that could scarcely admit of any other interpretation. From the enquiries that I have made I gather that you are not badly off in respect of your share of Government employment. Out of the 7,240 graduates in the Presidency, 590 or 8 per cent. are Native Christians; and I suspect that if you were to look closely into the matter, you would not find your share of posts in the public service to be in an inferior proportion.

Your next grievance arises from the existing inequality in the incidence and administration of the succession duties, which operate harshly upon Native Christians as compared with Hindus, Mahomedans, or the disciples of other religions. I think that there are force and reason in this complaint; and I hope that we may be able to dispose of it in a manner that will be satisfactory to the Madras

Government, which has ably championed your cause, and to yourselves.

Thirdly, you complain of the delay that takes place in the dissolution of marriage between a Christian convert and a Hindu spouse, and more particularly of the compulsory adjournment for a year after the case has reached the Courts. If you are correct in saying that in the majority of instances recourse is not had to a judicial tribunal until years have been spent in fruitless negotiation with the party who remains a Hindu, then I think that there is much cogency in your plea that you should be saved from the further delay that is now imposed by the law; and I hope that means may be devised for relieving you from it.

Fourthly, Gentlemen, the Roman Catholics among you have asked for a recognition of the Canonical process for the grant of the Pauline dispensation in cases where a Christian convert seeks to be freed from his Hindu wife. This means that a Roman Catholic convert should be permitted to dissolve his marriage by a simpler and easier process than a Protestant, who is called upon to adopt a certain procedure in the Civil Courts under the law. It is held both by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State that there is no sufficient ground for this special treatment.

Fifthly, you take up the question of the alleged civil disabilities of the Christian population in the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, and you ask me to advise the rulers of those States to concede to such of their subjects as have apostatised from Hinduism and become converted to Christianity, the civil rights of inheritance, succession, and partition, as well as what you designate the primordial natural rights of the custody of children. Now, Gentlemen, this sounds very well on paper. But it requires a little further examination; and that examination I took special pains to devote to it when I was recently a visitor in the three States which you have named. It must be

remembered that these States, or at any rate two of them, Travancore and Cochin, have a system of family life, a law of succession, and views of property, different from those that prevail for instance in British India. Under this system family property is indivisible, and members of the family are only entitled to a share in it or to maintenance from it so long as they discharge certain religious duties in which the convert to another faith cannot join. What you ask is that this corporate family system, which is the basis of the social structure on the Malabar Coast, should be broken down for the sake of the infinitesimal number of persons, nearly all of humble station and possessed of but little property—for I believe it to be quite impossible for you to sustain the opposite allegation—who secede from it to the Christian fold. I can only tell you that in the present state of development in those countries, such a change would produce infinite heart-burning and discord, and would greatly disturb both the princes and the people. Moreover, though you all join to-day in making this representation, I found when I was in the States that neither the Roman Catholics nor the Syrian Christians, who constitute the enormous majority of the Christian population, bother themselves very seriously about it, and that the demand is practically limited to the small number of European Protestants. You ask me to advise the Chiefs to alter the law and custom of their States in the interests of this minority. The Government of India might, I suppose, in the last resort insist upon their doing so; but when it is remembered that all three rulers have earnestly protested against it, I doubt whether mere advice would go very far. A Hindu ruler may be excused for some reluctance to adopt measures that would in practice furnish a premium to proselytism from his own faith to another; and I do not feel quite clear that our intervention would be in scrupulous accordance with the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. After all, you have not very much to complain of in Travancore or Cochin. When it is

remembered that in the Madras Presidency not more than 2½ per cent. of the entire population are Christians, there can be neither any great discouragement to Christianity nor any grave disabilities to Christians, when it is found that in one of those two States they constitute 20½ per cent. and in the other 24 per cent. of the population. I doubt not that in the passage of time even such inequalities as you now complain of will disappear. But the change is more likely to come voluntarily than in response to pressure. There is probably no sphere in which it is more unwise to go too fast, than in religious propagandism.

Finally, Gentlemen, in thanking you for your friendly words, and for the elegant and artistic casket which you have presented to me, permit me also to congratulate you upon the evidence of harmonious relations, as existing between the various branches of the great Christian Community in Southern India, that has been furnished by the joining together of Protestants and Roman Catholics in the presentation of this address.

[His Excellency in concluding his replies to the various addresses presented to him said :—]

Gentlemen of the various bodies who have addressed me,—I have now to the best of my ability replied to all the subjects contained in your addresses. I am afraid that I cannot have given satisfaction to all parties, but at least I have done a great deal of good to myself; since the necessarily minute and laborious study of local topics to which I have been impelled by your representations, has given me a familiarity with them which I might not otherwise have acquired, and has deepened the sympathetic interest which I feel in the fortunes of this peaceful and loyal Presidency. In a few days time, Gentlemen, you will be saying good-bye to a Governor, who, coming here with great experience in the art of administration, has devoted his entire energies to the study of your needs, and has, as my

predecessor and I could both testify, proved a most vigilant and patriotic champion of your interests. (*Applause.*) His place will be taken by one, of whom I may be permitted to say, since I know him, that Madras will find in him a wise head upon young shoulders, and who will devote to the service of this Presidency abilities already trained in no mean school, and a lofty and conscientious purpose. Under his régime I wish to Madras a continuance of prosperity and success. (*Applause.*)

LUMSDEN'S HORSE.

[At the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Wednesday evening, the 2nd January, in the presence of a large assembly, the Viceroy, who was accompanied by Her Excellency Lady Curzon, addressed the men of Lumsden's Horse, numbering about 100, on their return from service in South Africa. Their Excellencies arrived at the Hall about 10 P.M., and were received by the Executive Members of the Lumsden's Horse Reception Committee. 2nd Jan. 1901.

The Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

Colonel Lumsden, Officers and Men of Lumsden's Horse,— It is not yet a year since I was bidding you farewell at Kidderpore Docks. You had appointed me the Honorary Colonel of a Corps of Volunteers that had never seen warfare, but that was starting out at the call of duty, and in many cases at great personal sacrifice, to fight for the Queen and the Empire. Now you have come back, the war-stained and laurel-crowned veterans of a long and arduous campaign; and we are all here this evening to welcome you home and to do you honour. (*Cheers.*) I, your Honorary Colonel, am as proud of you as if I had been through the campaign at your side, which, being a

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man of peace, I am very glad to think that I was not called upon to do (*laughter*); and all of us here, the citizens of Calcutta, who subscribed to your outgoing, and have kept a watch upon you ever since, feel a sort of parental glow at receiving back again our one Corps of Indian Volunteers to South Africa, who have shown that the Englishman in India is not one whit behind his countrymen at home or his cousins in the Colonies in daring and risking and suffering for the flag that waves above us all. (*Cheers.*) For we know well through what hardships and experiences you have passed since you steamed away down the Hugli in February last. The one characteristic that has struck me most in this South African Campaign has been the physical strain and suffering which it has imposed. We have robbed travel and sport and adventure now-a-days of most of their roughness; but war, even when your enemy is out of sight, and you scarcely ever set eyes upon him, though it has lost in romance, has not lost, nay I think it has gained, in peril and privation. We have followed you in your breathless marches across the dismal veldt, in your assaults upon those deadly kopjes, in your days of endurance and fighting, in your grim nights under the cold stars. We have commiserated you when some of your number were taken prisoners, but we were consoled when we heard that you were more frequently the pursuers than the pursued, and that you captured far more of the enemy than the enemy did of you. We felt a thrill of pleasure when you were praised by the Generals, and above all by the brave old Field Marshal, who knew what our men from India could do: and when you were publicly thanked in Despatches, we all of us felt as if our own names had appeared in the Birthday Gazette. (*Cheers.*) 1,500 miles of marching, 29 actions of one kind or another, and all this in the space of ten months, this is not a bad record for our pioneer body of Indian Volunteers. (*Cheers.*)

I was delighted, Colonel Lumsden, that, in one respect,

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you most strictly obeyed the final instructions which as your Commanding Officer, in mufti, I ventured to address to you in February of last year. I urged you and your men to be there or thereabouts when the British Force entered Pretoria. Knowing your keen sense of discipline, it was with no surprise that I learned that, on June 5th, Lumsden's Horse marched into that place in the van of Lord Roberts' occupying force. (*Cheers.*) I only regret that I did not issue a few more timely injunctions to you, such, for instance, as the capture of General de Wet, since I have little doubt that you would have carried them out to the letter. (*Laughter and cheers.*)

There was one other remark that I made a year ago to which I must allude. I said that there were some among those whom I was addressing who might have to face the supreme peril without which war cannot be waged. You all of you carried your lives in your hands, and a few of your number have handed in your cheques at the great audit. But we rejoice that it was only a few—a brave and heroic fraction, but still only a fraction. You lost your Second-in-Command, the gallant Major Showers, whom nature had intended for a soldier, and whom destiny in his first encounter claimed as a hero. But besides him only five others were killed, while two only died of disease in the entire campaign. Indeed the total casualties were less than 24, which in a force of over 250 men is, I think, a very remarkable result. I doubt not that all the rest of you have often faced death, and that many have triumphed over disease. So much the more cause is there for satisfaction at coming back on your part, and for rejoicing on ours.

Colonel Lumsden, I am only addressing less than one half of the force that mustered before me a year ago. Some have stayed behind in Africa to continue, in the regular army, in the police, or in civil appointments, the good service which they have rendered during the past ten months.

Lumsden's Horse.

Though they are far away and have cut the painter from India, we include them in our gratitude and well wishes to-night. (*Cheers.*) Others have already gone back to their Indian homes, and have been unable to attend here to-day. We honour them in honouring you. In their distant plantations, or in their employments wherever they be, possibly they will read of this gathering, and will know that they equally have their place in our reception. As for the rest of those here present, you, Colonel Lumsden, will always have the pride of recollecting that it was to your initiative and liberality that this Corps owed its being (*cheers*), and that in the history of the war it bore your name with credit and without a stain; while you, officers and men, as you revert to your several avocations in civil life, and as the past year fades into a hazy dream, will never forget that at a critical moment in the fortunes of your country, you came forward, and staked much, endured much, and wrought much, for the honour of the greatest thing on earth, namely, the British name. (*Loud cheers.*)

Officers and men, it was a pride to me to bid you God speed nearly a year ago. It is an inexpressible pleasure to me to welcome you back this evening, and to thank you, in the name of India, for what you have done in the service of the Empire. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

UNVEILING OF LORD LANSDOWNE'S STATUE.

[The ceremony of unveiling the equestrian statue of Lord Lansdowne, which faces that of Lord Roberts on the Red Road, took place on Monday, the 7th January, at 4-30 P.M., in the presence of a large gathering of the leading officials and the principal European and Native residents of Calcutta. The Royal Irish Rifles furnished a Guard-of-Honour in the rear of the statue, while strong detachments from that regiment and the 2nd Madras and 20th Bombay Infantry were drawn up in three sides of a square with the 45th Field Battery. The Viceroy, who was accompanied by Her Excellency Lady Curzon, arrived under the escort of the Bodyguard, and was received by Sir Patrick Playfair (Chairman) and the members of the Executive Committee and conducted to a daïs facing the statue. Sir Patrick Playfair, speaking on behalf of the Executive Committee, and inviting the Viceroy to unveil the statue, said there was a general desire at the conclusion of Lord Lansdowne's term of office to commemorate the eminent services he had rendered to the Empire. A subscription was opened, and nearly R91,000 collected. The cost of the statue and pedestal was £4,650, and about R10,000 were still available which would be utilised in placing a portrait of Lady Lansdowne in the Town Hall. Much assistance had been given by the Government who had presented eleven old bronze guns from which the statue had been cast. The speaker concluded by saying that Lord Lansdowne had not ceased to maintain a deep interest in India and its people since leaving it.

His Excellency addressed the assembly as follows:—] 7th Jan. 1901.

Your Honour, Your Excellency, Sir Patrick Playfair, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Among the most agreeable but also the most delicate duties which a Viceroy can be called upon to perform in Calcutta is that of unveiling the statue of a predecessor in the same office, who has attained the distinction—in my opinion one of the highest that can be conferred upon a servant of the Crown in India – of perpetual commemoration upon this historic Maidan. The duty is agreeable, since to any of us it must be a function both of compliment and of pleasure to speak of the achievements of an eminent fellow-countryman, and all the more so if we happen to be honoured by his personal acquaintance and

friendship. But it is also delicate; inasmuch as an appreciation which is neither over-strained nor uncritical in the case of the dead, may by some be thought to be officious when applied to the living, and since a Governor General is not perhaps the fairest judge of one of his own predecessors. I am relieved, however, from any anxiety that I might feel on this score by the consciousness that Lord Lansdowne only left India so short a time ago that his career, his services, his actions, must be even better known to many whom I am now addressing than they can be to me; and that the officers who served under him, the friends whom he made, and the community by whom he was so greatly appreciated, must cherish a recollection of his merits and charms, so warm and so enduring as to stand in no need either of resuscitation or of stimulus at the hands of a successor.

There is another consideration by which I am powerfully affected. I feel that we are too near to Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty to pass it under final review. If the greatest of modern Governors General, Dalhousie, could stipulate in his will that his papers were not to be published or his life written until 50 years had elapsed from his death, would it not appear to be a presumptuous thing to compose the epitaph of an administration that has only belonged to history for seven years? Certain landmarks, however, it is permissible for us to point to as destined to affect the ultimate verdict of posterity. It was under Lord Lansdowne's administration that was secured that expansion of the constitution and functions of the Legislative Councils that has so greatly increased both their representative character and their usefulness. It was he who with infinite discretion carried into execution the policy of Imperial Service Contingents which had emanated from the ingenious brain of Lord Dufferin, and which has since borne such happy fruit. Much as the measure was denounced at the time, we now recognise in the closing of the mints, which was carried out

by Lord Lansdowne's Government, the wise and indispensable prelude to the Currency reforms upon which we have since embarked. The close attention which he devoted to Frontier questions, and to the problems of military defence, culminated in the Kabul Convention of 1893, which placed upon a happier, and it is to be hoped a durable, basis British relations with our important ally, the Amir of Afghanistan.

There was, however, a further aspect of Lord Lansdowne's personality and work which will appeal at any rate to this audience, who knew him, quite as much as any record of official achievement or of public fame. I allude to that wonderful and engaging charm of manner, that high-bred and chivalrous courtesy, and that sweetness of disposition that caused him to be loved by equals, and revered by subordinates. (*Applause.*) Some public men attain their ends by inflexibility of character and relentless concentration of purpose. Others pursue the same goal by the gentler agencies of suavity and conciliation. There was no greater or more intuitive master of these humanities than Lord Lansdowne.

He would probably have been the last to deny that as Viceroy he was assisted by capable colleagues. Some of them are still among us. Others, like that remarkable man the late Sir George Chesney, have passed away, or, like Sir George White and Sir H. Brackenbury, continue to serve their country in other spheres. But it will not be disputed that the most notable of them all is he whose image confronts his former Chief from the opposite side of this roadway. (*Applause.*) Here, as long as Calcutta lasts, the effigies of these two illustrious men, the Statesman and the Soldier, the head of the Civil and the head of the Military Administration of the Indian Empire, will face each other in chiselled bronze. But the antithesis has a more than local application. For the names of Lord Lansdowne and Lord Roberts will be written side by side, not merely on the page of Indian history, but on the open

map of the Empire. (*Applause.*) Little, I suspect, did either of them dream, when they left the shores of India—and little did any of you who subscribed to the erection of their statues contemplate—that within a few years' time they would be conducting, as War Minister and as Field Marshal, the first Empire war of Great Britain. In this novel field I doubt not that their old co-operation stood them and stood the country in good stead. The Commander-in-Chief, while prosecuting his arduous task, felt that he could rely upon the sagacious forethought, the administrative energy, and the loyal championship of the Minister in Pall Mall. The latter was confident from long experience of the genius and the resourcefulness of the veteran Commander. (*Applause.*) The eyes of contemporaries are apt to be fascinated by the glare of the battlefield, and the sound that vibrates in all our ears is the music of victory. But when the shouting has died down and the dusts of controversy are laid, I suspect it will be found that, with a conscientious and purposeful tenacity that never wavered, and with a dignity that stooped neither to self-exculpation nor to reproach, the War Minister pursued his thankless path, and laid the foundation of those victories which our brave soldiers were destined to win. (*Applause.*)

And now, as Sir Patrick Playfair has reminded us, Lord Lansdowne has been called to another task, one of the three greatest that can be committed to any Englishman. It is his function to guide the ship of state through the narrow and perilous shoals of the international sea. None who have not seen it at close quarters can realise how difficult is that undertaking, how great the qualities of mind and character and temper that it requires. To guard that which is the greatest of all dominions, and by its very greatness excites jealousy, to control the mysterious law that is always forcing upon the Empire a reluctant expansion, not to neglect the small things, and not to exaggerate the big—or I may equally turn it the other way, and say not to magnify

the small things, and not to underrate the big—in other words to discern the true measure of Imperial proportion, to keep the honour of England bright, and yet never to bluster, still less to cringe—to do this before the eyes of the whole world and amid a whirlwind of rivalry and suspicion —this is the task of the Foreign Minister of Great Britain. (*Applause.*) Those of us who know Lord Lansdowne feel confident that he has both the skill and the urbanity, the courage and the patriotism, for the enterprise; and we wish him well in carrying it through. (*Applause.*) Future inhabitants of Calcutta or visitors to this city, as they pass up and down this Maidan, and gaze at the figures of the great men which adorn it, will see the effigy of none who has served the Empire with greater fidelity or upon a wider field of action, than the original of the statue which I now unveil. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

[His Excellency then unveiled the statue, a salute of 31 guns being fired from the ramparts of Fort William, and the troops and Guard-of-Honour presenting arms. Maharaja Bahadur Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I., then proposed a vote of thanks to His Excellency for presiding, and the proceedings closed. Their Excellencies were warmly cheered as they drove away.]

DEATH OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN-EMPRESS.

[The Legislative Council assembled at Government House, Calcutta, on Friday morning, the 1st February. On the Members taking their seats at the Council table His Excellency the President addressed them as follows:—] 1st Feb. 1901.

Here, at this table, where we are met to exercise the legislative powers, for the benefit of the people of India, that have been devolved upon us by the Crown of Great Britain, we ought not, I think, to meet to-day without paying such tribute of humble respect as is open to us to the

Death of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

memory of the great and good Sovereign who has worn that Crown for nearly two-thirds of a century, and now, in the fulness of years and honour, has passed away. The British Empire has had no such Queen, gracious, wise, dignified, symbolising all that was most enlightened and progressive in her time, of pure and stainless life. India, in its long cycles, has had no such Empress, tender-hearted, large-minded, just, humane, the loving parent of her subjects of every race and clime. All the Princes of India have been proud to own their fealty to so noble an example of sovereignty, and the hearts of all the Indian peoples have been drawn together by this singular and beautiful combination of mother, woman, and queen. Those of us who, in any official capacity, either here or elsewhere, have served Her Majesty have felt it to be our proudest distinction that it was her warrant that we acknowledged, her Empire that we were engaged in safeguarding, her example that inspired us. Whether we are young or old, we shall none of us ever forget that we were honoured by wearing the uniform of Queen Victoria.

It would be easy for me to say much about the mark that this marvellous reign has left upon the history of India, and to indicate, at many points, the sagacious hand and influence of the deceased Sovereign. But perhaps the present occasion is not the best for such a purpose, while, after all, are not all her reign and character, in their relation to this country, summed up in the famous Proclamation of 1858, the Magna Charta of India, the golden guide to our conduct and aspirations?

It has been the fashion in history to designate some Sovereigns by the distinguishing attributes of their personality or reign. Thus we have read of the Great, the Conqueror, the Just, the Lion-hearted, the Saintly, the Strong. Should it ever be desired to find such an appellation for the late Queen, it would be admitted by all that she deserves pre-eminently to be called by the title which she herself,

Death of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

I believe, gave to her own husband, namely, the Good. It is the virtue of her character, and the benignity of her influence, that her people have admired, quite as much as, if not more than, the splendour of the Victorian Era or the unequalled glory of her reign. If blame or reproach ever fell upon her country, no shadow of it touched herself. She was above all, as well as over all. She set an example not merely to Courts and nations, but to every human hearth; and at every hearthstone in the Empire is the feeling not merely that a great monarch is dead, but that a bright and beautiful ray has been extinguished.

Nowhere, I am convinced, in the wide orbit of the British Empire is there a more genuine sorrow, or a more profound sense of loss, than in India to-day. We are truly a nation in mourning. During the past ten days, many hundreds of telegrams and letters have poured in upon me testifying to the grief of communities and individuals. The newspapers have been full of similar evidence. All these records tell the same tale. They speak of the simple emotions that spring from the heart, of the sadness with which, even when it is a throne that is left vacant, men gaze upon the parting sail "that sinks with all we love below the verge."

And yet the occasion is not one for lamentation only. We may mingle a sense of pride and of gratitude with our tears. For the Queen's life was extended far beyond the normal span. It had covered four-fifths of one century, and had crossed the threshold of another. Nature seemed for a while to have relaxed its inexorable laws in her favour, and in extreme old age, even to the end, she retained the freshness, the warmth of affections, and the energy of youth. In her more than 80 years of life, she had represented, as no other living man or woman, the higher aspects of the spirit of the age. She had shared in its trials—indeed had borne more than her portion of them—had steadied its impulses, and had sympathised with its struggles and hopes. There was left to her no public or private duty undone, no

glory unattained. It may be said of her that she turned Great Britain into a world-wide Empire, with India as its corner-stone. If a part of the result is to be attributed to the statesmen who met at her Council, and part also to the movement of those unseen forces which are beyond human control, it yet remains true that her ministers were as often guided by her as she was by them, and that it was her personality and character, and the devotion which they excited, that gave to those forces the direction which they assumed. And so, having summed up in her own career the aims and achievements of the nineteenth century, she has now, in the very hour of the dawn of its successor, been relieved of the burden, and has handed on the trust to others. The British Empire, and the entire world, may count themselves fortunate if the new century produces any figure at all comparable with the central and shining figure of the old.

I propose, as a mark of respect, that this Council should not proceed further with its business this morning, but should stand adjourned until this day week.

QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL FUND.

6th Feb. 1901. [A Public Meeting, convened by the Sheriff of Calcutta, was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 6th February, at 4 o'clock, to express deep sorrow at the death of the Queen-Empress; to convey an expression of loyalty and allegiance to the King on his accession to the throne; and to determine the most appropriate form of national memorial that should be raised in the metropolis of India to perpetuate the memory of the late Sovereign. His Excellency the Viceroy presided, and was supported by a number of influential speakers, including the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Chief Justice of Bengal, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, and others. The Hall was densely crowded with people of all denominations, every class and community in Calcutta being represented. Her Excellency

Queen Victoria Memorial Fund.

Lady Curzon was seated with the Viceroy on the platform, a number of other ladies also being present. After the Viceroy, on the motion of the Sheriff, had been elected Chairman of the meeting, His Excellency rose and addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Your Honour, Mr. Sheriff, and Citizens of Calcutta,—We are met to-day upon a great and solemn occasion. For we are assembled to express, in the language, not of exaggeration or of compliment, but of simple truth, the feelings that lie deep in the hearts of all of us. They are feelings of a three-fold character, of sorrow at the death of our beloved Queen, of loyalty to her successor the new King-Emperor Edward VII, and of our desire to commemorate the name and virtues of the deceased Sovereign by some enduring monument that shall hand down to later ages a visible memorial of our veneration and of her wonderful and glorious reign. I accept, therefore, with a mournful pride the honour which has been conferred upon me of presiding upon this historic occasion, and I will proceed to deal with the first resolution which has been committed to my care.

I have already had occasion to speak elsewhere of the character and life of the late Queen, and I need not now either repeat what I then said, or encroach upon the ground of subsequent speakers. We all feel the same about her, whether we are Europeans or Indians. Our hearts are swelling with gratitude that we were fortunate enough to live under such a Sovereign, with an answering love for the great love that she bore to all of us alike, and with eagerness to preserve her memory imperishable for all time.

In India I venture to assert that there are special reasons why we should feel strongly, and act independently, and of our own initiative, in the matter. Queen Victoria loved India, as no other monarch, certainly no other monarch from another land, has done. The fifteen Governors General who served her, and of whom I shall always feel it a sad honour to have been the last, could one and all testify to her abounding regard for this country. She wrote regularly to each of

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them with her own hand, during the more than 60 years of her reign, words of wise counsel and of tender sympathy for the people whom she had charged them to rule. As we know, she learned the Indian language when already advanced in years. She was never unattended by Indian servants, and we have read that they were entrusted with the last sorrowful office of watching over her body after death. In her two Jubilee processions she claimed that the Indian Princes, and the pick of her Indian soldiers, should ride in her train. There are many of those Princes who could testify to the interest she showed in them, to the gracious welcome which she always extended to them when in England, and to the messages of congratulation or sympathy which they often received from her own hand. But it was not to the rich or the titled alone that she was gracious. She was equally a mother to the humble and the poor, Hindu and Mahomedan, man and woman, the orphan and the widow, the outcast and the destitute. She spoke to them all in simple language that came straight from her heart and went straight to theirs. And these are the reasons why all India is in mourning to-day, and why I claim that there are special grounds for which we should meet together, with no loss of time, to determine what we shall do to perpetuate this precious memory and this beneficent reign.

It is not without much anxious forethought and deliberation that I venture to put before this meeting, and before the Princes and peoples of India, a definite Memorial scheme. We are all of us naturally attracted by the idea of charity. It fits in so well with what we know of Her Majesty's character, of the warmth of her heart, and the gentle sympathy that she always showed to the suffering and distressed. There is, God knows, enough of poverty and affliction in India—as indeed there must be in any great aggregation of so many millions of human beings—to appeal to any heart and to absorb any number of lakhs of rupees. But, amid all the possible claimants to our support, how should we select

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the favoured recipients? I have seen in the press a great number of suggestions made. Some have said that we should add a great sum to the Famine Relief Trust that was started last year by that munificent Prince, the Maharaja of Jaipur. Others have recommended the claims of Hindu widows, of female education, of travelling students, of the poor raiyat, of the sick and infirm, of Technical or Industrial Schools, of Higher Research. In fact, there is not a philanthropic or educational object or institution in India, that will not have its advocates for some share in the bounty that may be evoked on behalf of an Indian Memorial to Queen Victoria. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am the last to deny that all of these are admirable objects fully worthy of our interest and support. I am confident that any one of them individually would have appealed to the heart of the late Queen. But it is quite clear that we cannot give to them all, and that we are not in a position to select any one of their number upon which to concentrate the affectionate tributes of the people. Some of them would appeal to Hindus, but not at all to Mahomedans; others would gratify the educated classes, but not the unlettered; others, again, would be confined to a single, though numerically the largest, class of the population.

Nor, again, would it do to pause in our appeals while we were disputing among ourselves upon which of these objects we should all unite. We should find that, before we had come to an agreement, we had wasted precious time and frittered away a golden opportunity, and that we had disappointed the eager hopes and the bursting generosity of the people. Therefore it is that I have ventured to come forward and, in consultation with a number of experienced and representative gentlemen, both European and Indian, have formulated the scheme which has appeared in the Press. I dare to think that the conception is a not ignoble one, and that it will not be unworthy of the great Sovereign whom we desire to commemorate, of all the Princes who are emulous

to do her honour, and of this wonderful country which has felt for her a loyalty aroused by no other human being. Posterity is apt to forget in whose honour charities were originally founded, or endowments named. Some day in the future the endowment itself is converted to another purpose, and the design of the original contributors is forgotten. Who, for instance, when Queen Anne's Bounty is annually distributed in England to augment the incomes of the smaller clergy, spares a thought for poor Queen Anne? On the other hand, it is different with a concrete memorial. It remains a visible and speaking monument to the individual, or the period, that is so commemorated. I venture to say that more good has been done in arousing public interest in the Navy in England, and in developing the lesson of patriotism in young Englishmen, by the spectacle of the heroic figure of Nelson standing on the summit of the great column in Trafalgar Square than would have been the case had the nation founded a hundred training ships, or endowed a score of naval hospitals in his honour. But I can give you an even higher authority, namely, the authority of Her Majesty the Queen herself. When her husband, the Prince Consort, died in 1861, and a large sum was raised by public subscription for the foundation of a National Memorial to the deceased Prince, the Queen herself was asked what form she would prefer the memorial to take. I will read to you the terms of her reply. She wrote as follows to the Lord Mayor of London:—

"It would be more in accordance with the feelings of the Queen, and she believes with those of the country in general, that the monument should be directly personal to its object. After giving the subject her maturest consideration, Her Majesty had come to the conclusion that nothing would be more appropriate, provided it was on a scale of sufficient grandeur, than a personal memorial to be erected in Hyde Park."

These, Ladies and Gentlemen, were the Queen's own

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words; and this was the origin of that noble Albert Memorial, which no one ever goes to London without seeing, which is one of the glories of the metropolis, and which will perpetuate to hundreds of thousands of persons who will never have heard of the Albert Orphan Asylum, or the Albert Medals, or the Albert Institute, the memory of the beloved and virtuous Consort of the British Queen.

And so I ask why should we not do for the Queen herself in the capital of India what she asked to have done for her husband in the capital of Great Britain? Shall we not be carrying out what we are justified in saying would have been in accordance with her own sentiments? Let us, therefore, have a building, stately, spacious, monumental, and grand, to which every new-comer in Calcutta will turn, to which all the resident population, European and Native, will flock, where all classes will learn the lessons of history, and see revived before their eyes the marvels of the past: and where father shall say to son and mother to daughter—"This Statue and this great Hall were erected in the memory of the greatest and best Sovereign whom India has ever known. She lived far away over the seas, but her heart was with her subjects in India, both of her own race, and of all others. She loved them both the same. In her time, and before it, great men lived, and great deeds were done. Here are their memorials. This is her monument." Gentlemen, a nation that is not aware that it has had a past, will never care to possess a future; and I believe that, if we raise such a building as has been sketched, and surround it with an exquisite garden, we shall most truly, in the words of Shakespeare, find a tongue in the trees, and a sermon in the sculptured stones, that will proclaim to later generations the glory of an unequalled epoch, and the beauty of a spotless name.

I must add that I would be the last person to desire that the erection of a national memorial here should stand in the way of the dedication of funds, should it be so desired, to

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local objects elsewhere. We do not want to coerce, or to dictate to anybody. A donor is entitled to a free choice of the object for which he contributes. There may be a strong desire expressed in different parts of India for a provincial local memorial, quite independently of ours. This seems to me quite natural. I do not see why any Presidency or Province should not please itself. They have their local standpoint and interests. They may want their memorial, whatever form it may take, all to themselves. There must be no jealousy in the matter. At the mouth of the grave all petty feelings must be extinguished; and charity which, as our great Christian Apostle has told us, "envieth not, vaunteth not itself, and is not puffed up," must quarrel with nobody, but must be permitted to seek and find its own outlet. Even in such cases, however, I hope that the local Committees may decide to transmit to us a certain proportion of their funds, so that they may have their share in the monument of the nation. But I really think that I may go further and may put it to these various communities whether, except in cases where there is an obvious opening for local commemoration, they will not be acting wisely and reasonably in contributing to the Central Fund. And I say so for two reasons: partly because I want everyone—all the Princes, and all the Provinces, and all the States—to have their part and portion in this National Memorial, and partly because if they respond to the appeal on at all the scale that seems to me not unlikely, it is possible that not merely may we have funds for the erection, and equipment, and endowment of this building, but we may have a balance that may appropriately be dedicated to some object of national charity or beneficence. What it should be I cannot now say. Indeed, it would be premature to discuss an object before we have collected the money. But I make these observations in order to indicate that philanthropy is by no means excluded from our purview, and that the wider the response to our appeal, the more likely we are to be able to supplement the Victoria Hall by some

object that may gratify those who have a charitable or moral purpose at heart.

Now, may I just say one word about the selection of Calcutta as a site? It is quite true that Calcutta is not the gate of India. But neither is Washington the gate of America, nor Ottawa the gate of Canada, nor Rome the gate of Italy; and yet no one would dream, or has dreamed, of erecting a great American, or Canadian, or Italian, National Memorial, except at those capitals. For instance, the Washington obelisk was erected, not at New York, a city of two millions of people, but at the capital, a city of a quarter of a million. Calcutta, in the same way, quite apart from being the most populous, is also the capital city of India. This generation did not make it so: but so it is, and it is now too late for the present, or for succeeding generations, to unmake it. The seat of Government inevitably tends to acquire a metropolitan character. The presence of the Supreme Government here for five months out of every twelve cannot be gainsaid. It was from the banks of the Hugli that the orders of the Governor General in Council were issued that bore the names of Warren Hastings and Dalhousie; and the same process will, I suppose, go on in the future.

I merely make these remarks in order to argue that, if a National Monument is a desirable thing, I think that Calcutta is the inevitable site. It is said that we are rather out of the way. Perhaps we are; and yet sooner or later, just because this is the seat of Government, everybody finds his way here, whether he be an Indian Prince, or a European traveller, or an English merchant. Of course there are other cities with magnificent associations: Bombay with its splendid appearance, Delhi with its imperial memories, Agra with its majestic monuments, Madras with its historic renown. But the two seaports will probably have their own memorials: Agra is consecrated to a vanished dynasty and régime; while it is now too late—I sometimes wish it

were not—to turn Delhi again into an imperial capital. No one will, I think, contend that we could possibly place a building of this character in a locality, however famous its past, or however central its position, where the Government of India is never found, which is not even the capital of a Local Government, and where there is neither a European civil nor military population of any size. This building, if it is to be a great success, and if its contents are to be worthy of its name, will probably require the keen personal interest of the Viceroy for a number of years to come. I think that the making of the collection will thereby be a good deal facilitated. This interest I am quite prepared, and I am sure that my successors will equally be prepared, to give to it. But I doubt very much whether we could do it as well, or at all, at a distance.

Gentlemen, I am glad to be able to say that I think the prospects of a remarkable, and indeed unexampled, response to our appeal, are encouraging. Since the scheme which I ventured to propound has been put forward, it has met with a most gratifying support at the hands of all the representative organs of the Press, both European and Native, in Calcutta. I am very grateful to them for their discriminating and reasoned support. It has been communicated to the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces of British India, who are about to hold meetings at which its merits will be discussed. It has excited the warm sympathy of the mercantile community in Calcutta, who have come forward with their accustomed liberality, and to whose contributions I shall presently refer. And, finally, it has appealed to the enthusiastic devotion, and the boundless generosity, of the Princes of India, who have lost in the Queen a Sovereign whom they all worshipped, a mother whom they revered, and who, I prophesy, will be found to vie with each other in their desire to contribute to the immortality of her name. One of these Princes is with us to-day—His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior,

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who, if I may say so before his face, has, at a comparatively early age, displayed exceptional capacities, and has already testified, with a splendid and princely munificence, his loyalty to the British Crown. It is in keeping with the generous instincts of His Highness that he should have sent me a telegram, as soon as he heard of the institution of this fund, offering me the regal donation of 10 lakhs. From the Maharaja of Kashmir I have had the splendid offer of 15 lakhs. The Maharaja of Jaipur has expressed a desire to increase his magnificent endowment of the Famine Trust by another four lakhs and to give five lakhs in addition to the Memorial Fund. From the Mysore Durbar I have received the preliminary offer, to be increased, should the necessity arise, of one lakh. Now these offers have placed me in a position of some little embarrassment. For, while they testify to the noble instincts of their donors, they may yet be held to set a standard to which others may find it difficult to conform and they may result in our receiving a sum largely in excess of our maximum ambitions. I have, therefore, decided to leave the matter in this way. It is too early at present to form any idea either of the sum that this National Memorial will cost, or of the extent of the contributions that are likely to be offered. I do not want at the start to stint the liberality of any man. But if a little later, we find that we are receiving sums in excess of those which we can properly spend, then I think that it will be a reasonable thing to fix a maximum, perhaps of one lakh of rupees, beyond which we should not be willing to profit by the generosity of any individual donor, and to which we should limit our acceptance of the larger offers that had been made. There is a sort of emulation in giving for a noble object; and it rests, I think, with those of us who are responsible for the management of this fund not to allow these instincts, however praiseworthy or honourable, to place too severe a strain upon the income of an individual or the revenues of a State.

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And now I pass from the contributions of the Princes to those of the public at large. Here I rejoice to say that already the offers that have reached me have been splendid in their scale of munificence. Although the fund has not yet been opened for more than two days, I am able to announce the following handsome subscriptions :—

Anonymous	3,000
The Nawab of Dacca	50,000
The Jute Mills of Bengal	90,020
The Coal Companies of Bengal . . .	14,500
Mahdi Hossain Khan, Zemindar of Patna .	5,000
Monomatha Nath Ray Chowdhury . .	3,000
Maharaja Monindra Chandra Nundy, of Cossimbazar	25,060
H. H. the Nawab Begum of Moorshedabad .	7,500
Raja Ranjit Sinha, of Nashipur . . .	10,000
Nawab Sahar Begum, and Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujat Ali Beg	2,500
Nawab Syed Badshah	5,000
Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore . .	50,000

I think, therefore, Gentlemen, that I may fairly claim that we have launched the ship under good auspices, and that she is sailing with a fair wind behind her.

It only remains for me to conclude my remarks with the business portion of my motion. We hope, in a very short time, to constitute a General Committee, of which it will be my privilege to act as patron, and of which I propose that the vice-patrons should be the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces and other Heads of Administrations, certain high officials, the leading Native Princes, and any other Prince, or Chief, or private donor, who contributes to the fund the sum of one lakh of rupees; while the General Committee will itself, I hope, be composed of representative men from all parts of the country. Then we shall also require a provisional Executive Committee to receive and take custody of the funds as they pour in, and inasmuch as we cannot draw here upon the inhabitants of

other Provinces or States, it is inevitable that this Committee should be composed, in the main, of gentlemen resident in Calcutta, or in Bengal. We have endeavoured to constitute this Committee in a manner representative of all classes and interests in this Presidency, and Sir Patrick Playfair, who has much experience in these matters, has very kindly consented to act as *pro tem.* Chairman of this body.

At a later date, when the money has been received, and the subscription list has been closed, and when we are aware of the different quarters from which we have received support, we shall probably require to constitute some body or bodies representative of the entire Indian community to carry the scheme in its various sections into execution.

I have now, I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, dealt with all the topics that fall under the motion assigned to me, and I will only, in conclusion, urge you, in accepting it, to give the rein to a generosity that shall be worthy of the revered and illustrious memory which we desire to honour, of Bengal and Calcutta, the capital Presidency, and the capital city of this country; and lastly of India itself, the mightiest and the most loyal dependency of the British Crown. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

[The Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University for conferring degrees was held in the Senate Hall of the University on Saturday, the 16th February, at 3 P.M., His Excellency the Chancellor presiding. Her Excellency Lady Curzon, and an unusually large number of visitors, were present, and the body of the Hall was well filled with graduates. His Excellency, on his arrival, was received by the Vice-Chancellor (Mr. Raleigh) and the Fellows in academic costume, and proceeded in procession to the daïs, where he took his seat, with the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on his right and the Vice-Chancellor and the Chief Justice of Bengal on his left. The Vice-Chancellor having presented the degrees to the various

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candidates, His Excellency the Chancellor, who on rising was very warmly received, spoke as follows :—]

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On both of the two occasions on which it has been my privilege to address you as your Chancellor, I have indicated my belief that changes are required in our system to enable both the Government and the Universities to play their respective parts in the scheme of Indian Education more efficiently than is now the case. I have led my hearers to hope that the Government of India had in view a more diligent discharge of its own responsibilities, as well as a reconciliation, if possible, of the singularly heterogeneous and conflicting shapes which Education as at present managed in this country is allowed to assume. At the same time I indicated in my Convocation Address of last year that I proposed to go slowly. Gentlemen, I have been compelled to go even more slowly than I anticipated, a result that has been due, not so much to the complexities of the subject, though these are great, as it has been to other preoccupations. I had hoped to be able to meet you this winter, and to discuss with you the outlines of a new plan: and I think that these hopes would have been realised, had I not found my attention diverted, and my time taken up, by great and absorbing administrative questions, such as those of Famine, and Frontier Policy, and many other calls, which have not left the time either to my Colleagues or to myself to carry to completion the views which we have formed of our responsibilities in respect of education. Not that we have been idle. This is far from having been the case. Our Education Resolution of October 1899 was an indication of our desire to secure greater unity of local action, and to see that the policy laid down by the Education Commission of 1882 was not evaded or ignored. I might specify other administrative acts and orders which have testified to a similar resolve. I merely refer to them now in order to say that deferred execution does not mean either disappointed

hope or dropped intention; and that next year, when I meet you for the fourth time at this annual celebration, I hope to be able to take you more fully into my confidence than is possible on the present occasion.

There is, however, an additional reason why, even if I had a tale of interest to unfold, I should be reluctant to seize the present opportunity to do it. When our late Vice-Chancellor, Sir Francis Maclean, retired after two years of faithful and strenuous service to this University—for which I am confident that I am only speaking both for the Senate, the Syndicate, and the various Faculties in expressing to him our warmest thanks (*applause*)—I was fortunate enough to persuade my Hon'ble Colleague, Mr. Raleigh, to take his place. (*Applause.*) I use the word fortunate with great deliberation; not merely because I am privileged to count Mr. Raleigh among my Colleagues, or because of his very uncommon intellectual and literary attainments, but because of his almost unique familiarity with University life, and his profound inoculation with what I may call the academic serum. I am naturally rather inclined to think that to have been an under-graduate and a graduate of Balliol, under Professor Jowett, and then to have been a Fellow of All Souls, under Sir William Anson, is not a bad academic hall-mark to bear upon one's person, since I am lucky enough to share both those advantages with Mr. Raleigh. (*Applause.*) But he had the leisure, as well as the inclination, to devote himself more exclusively to University affairs than is open to any man who has been swept off his feet in the mill-race of English politics. He became an Oxford Lecturer and Professor; and I venture to assert that, in the long line of eminent men who have served as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, you have never had any one better qualified, both by aptitude and by learning, to guide your proceedings than the new incumbent of that post. (*Applause.*) I have been rejoiced, therefore, to have so little to say to you to-day, because I

knew that I should thereby provide you with the treat of listening to the discourse which, at my special request, he has undertaken to deliver.

I will only intrude between him and you for the further time that is required to offer an explanation upon a single but not unimportant point. It is known that I have not so far, in the present year, invited the graduates of this University to proceed, according to an experimental custom initiated by Lord Lansdowne in 1891, to the election of a Fellow or Fellows; and it has been assumed in consequence that I have extinguished a privilege to which I believe that some value is not unreasonably attached. This is an incorrect assumption. I have merely imposed upon the graduates who have till lately exercised the privilege, a self-denial similar to, though much less than, that which I have temporarily accepted myself. During the two years since I became Chancellor 21 vacancies have occurred in the list of Fellows which it was open to me to fill, but of which I have only filled 7 by nomination, and have given 2 to election. I have, therefore, refrained from utilising my own prerogative of nomination in as many as 12 cases; and my reason has been this. On the one hand I have not a doubt that the present list of the Senate, which commenced in 1857 with only 40 Fellows, but which in 1890 touched a maximum figure of 220 Fellows, has been allowed to grow to immoderate dimensions. Even now, with as many as 180 Fellows, many of whom live far away from Calcutta, and never come near to our meetings or proceedings, the list is over-swollen. But I am even more impressed with the manner in which the Fellowships have hitherto been filled both by nomination and by election. Now I speak as an old University man, who, like my friend Mr. Raleigh, has been the Fellow of a distinguished Oxford College. If I may be allowed to quote my personal experience, I had to satisfy certain high academic standards before I could stand as a Fellow at all. I was not merely appointed *honoris causa*,

still less because I had canvassed the votes of the electors. I was not given a distinction that endured for a lifetime, irrespective of whether I took any interest in the work or not. My honour was in fact academic, terminable, and charged with a definite obligation. It was not titular, perpetual, and irresponsible. It seems to me that, different as our circumstances are, we may derive some useful lessons from our English forerunners and models. There are certain propositions to which I think that none of us will hesitate to subscribe. The first is that a University is an institution which exists primarily for the encouragement of learning, and that educational standards should, therefore, be allowed a predominant influence in its administration and its awards. The second is that a Fellowship, unless it be an honorary Fellowship, which is quite a different thing, is a duty as well as a distinction, and that those who are unable to discharge the duty are not well qualified to retain the distinction. The third is that a stream of fresh life should, as far as possible, be perpetually passing through the veins of the University organism; in other words, that, like the Fellowship which I myself held, our Fellowships should probably, in future, be held for a fixed period, capable of renewal. The fourth is that, just as at Oxford the graduate influence of the University is represented by those who choose to take the trouble to come up to Oxford and there to discharge their functions, while those who drift away to a distance, or into other occupations, cannot exercise their powers by paper or by proxy, so is the system of outvoting, with all the wire-pulling and canvassing that it engenders, a source not of strength, but of weakness, to an institution.

Gentlemen, I do not believe that there is one of these propositions which your reasons and your consciences will not equally endorse. They are the considerations which I have for some time been pondering; and although I am far from having definitely made up my mind on the matter, I think it desirable to present them to you as the ideas which

are in my mind. My one ambition is to make this University worthy of its position as the premier University in India (*applause*), to set before it a high ideal, and to render it capable of following in the footsteps of its European prototypes. Indeed, I should like to open up before it vistas of future expansion and influence such as have not yet dawned upon its vision. But these it will only realise if it remembers that its primary aim is the dissemination of knowledge, and the training for life; and that its powers and resources are given to it, not to satisfy the ambitions of individuals, or the designs of cliques, but to promote the intellectual service of the community at large.

I have now great pleasure in calling upon your Vice-Chancellor to address you. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL.

26th Feb. 1901. [On Tuesday night, the 26th February, a special meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal took place at the Dalhousie Institute for the purpose of hearing an address from His Excellency the Viceroy on the subject of the contents of the proposed Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria in Calcutta. There was a large gathering of Europeans and Natives, and on the platform with His Excellency were Lady Curzon, Sir John and Lady Woodburn, the Metropolitan, the Chief Justice of Bengal and other leading officials. Their Excellencies were received on arrival by the Council of the Society, and conducted to their seats, after which the Lieutenant-Governor, in inviting His Excellency to deliver his address, said that His Excellency had offered to address the Society on the subject of the Victoria Memorial Hall, the design of which was his own, and was a noble one. The development of His Excellency's scheme, which would now be laid before them, had been awaited with expectant interest on the part of the whole community, an interest which was evidenced by the large gathering of guests of the Asiatic Society on the present occasion. The scheme was regarded by no part of the community with greater warmth than by the Society whose main concern had been in the history and traditions of India.

The Victoria Memorial Hall.

His Excellency the Viceroy, who on rising was received with applause, then addressed the assembly as follows:—]

I do not think it necessary to say much about the general question of the proposed Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria in Calcutta. A good deal of the doubt or misconception that at first existed arose from ignorance of the real nature of the plan. This has been in the main dissipated by the publication of the full text of the original Memorandum, and of the proceedings at our meeting of February 6th in the Calcutta Town Hall. There only remain a few points in this connection upon which something may be added. It is quite clear, and, as I have before said, very natural and proper, that different parts of India and different localities should institute their own Memorials, although it is not always easy to determine what they shall be. The question before us, and before me in particular, was whether there should be a National Memorial as well. Now, Gentlemen, my view was that this was an occasion on which India would desire not merely to express its deep devotion to the late Queen's memory, but also to demonstrate to the world, in some striking manner, the truth of that Imperial unity which was so largely the creation of her personality and reign. Had each province been left exclusively to erect its own memorial, and had no effort been made to concentrate the public sentiment in some grander conception, we should doubtless have had, as we shall have, a number of excellent funds, and institutions, and buildings. They would have represented the feelings and the generosity of the individual province or locality, but they would not have condensed or typified the emotions of the nation. Visitors to India, and posterity in general, would hear or know little about this fund or that trust, however considerable the original endowment subscribed; the income derived from it, whether applied to charitable objects, or to the advancement of education or research, could benefit but a small number of persons out of

the population even of the province or district; and so, in time, the name and memory of the Great and Good Queen would have faded out of the public mind, because there was no visible object to bring it perpetually under the eye of future generations.

The case, therefore, for a National Memorial seemed to me to be a very strong one, and nothing that I have read, or that has occurred since, has done anything to shake it. The question next arose whether, an all-Indian Memorial being accepted, it should or should not have assumed a concrete shape. There is much, I think, to be said on both sides of this question; and we ourselves felt this so strongly that we decided to pronounce for neither to the exclusion of the other. All that we did was to give priority to the concrete Memorial, or, in other words, to ensure its execution as a first charge upon the Fund. No one could say, none of us can yet tell, what will be the total sum that we shall collect, or whether it would have been adequate to the constitution of a capital fund the income accruing from which could be devoted to an object of really national service. Moreover, amid all the multiplicity of opinions, no one could inform us, and no one has yet been able to decide, what should be the non-concrete object to which an all-Indian contribution should be applied. And, if this difficulty has been felt by smaller communities, who are only called upon to express the desires or to provide for the needs of restricted areas, how much more does it apply, and on a hundredfold scale of magnitude, to the entire continent. I think, therefore, it will be conceded that, given the desirability of a National Memorial, we acted not unwisely in allowing priority to the concrete monument, leaving to subsequent discussion the allocation of the surplus funds that we may receive. Though I should not like to be too sanguine at the present stage, it seems to me to be not at all improbable that we may be presented with a total sum large enough to enable us, after building the

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hall, to do something substantial in the interests of charity; and no one will be better pleased than myself if this is the result. I have devoted much anxious thought to a consideration of the numerous suggestions that have been made. I have read many scores, if not hundreds, of these, and have been struck by the fact that, meritorious as many of them are, no two are identical. In other words, there is no sort of national unanimity on the subject. For the present I am disposed to think—if there be such a surplus—that we shall find it difficult to fix upon a better object to which to devote it than the Indian People's Famine Trust, which was inaugurated by that splendid donation from the Maharaja of Jaipur last year. Famine is the one great calamity that is capable of attacking the whole country. Its relief is the one great charitable boon that will affect not isolated units, or even hundreds or thousands, but millions. Moreover, the objects of the Famine Relief Trust are outside of, and do not conflict with, the proper sphere of Government duty. These, however, are only my own ideas; and I give them for what they may be worth.

As regards Technical Education, I have not a word to say against an object in itself so admirable. It is in many ways the need of the future in India. But I have this to say about it at the present stage. The interest upon no fund that might be accumulated could possibly provide for more than the education of an infinitesimal minority, per annum, among the youths of India. The principles upon which they are to be trained, and the openings that might be found for their professional abilities and attainments, are not yet determined, and even in England, after fifteen years of struggle and discussion, are still in a fluid state. Finally, I hardly think it fair to connect the desire to commemorate the Queen's name with a task that has no definite association with her memory, and that is so pre-eminently the duty of the Government and of the community in combination

as that of providing for the education of a particular section of the population. Some people talk and write as though technical instruction were going to solve the Indian agrarian problem, and to convert millions of needy peasants into flourishing artisans. Gentlemen, long after every one in this room has mouldered into dust, the economic problem will confront the rulers of India. It is not to be solved by a batch of Institutes or a cluster of Polytechnics. They will scarcely produce a ripple in the great ocean of social and industrial forces. Indeed, if they were to fail, or to remain empty, as might conceivably be the case at this stage of our evolution, and as has been the case with some of the premature experiments already made, where would the memory and honour of Queen Victoria be? Technical education is a problem that must be met by the patient and combined efforts of the Supreme Government, the Local Governments, Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce, mercantile firms, and philanthropic and enterprising men. Let us all give to it that attention, but do not let us use the Queen's name to absolve us from our legitimate responsibilities.

It seems to me, therefore, that if we succeed in raising a great National Fund, which is partly devoted to the building of the Victoria Hall, and partly to the still further endowment of the Famine Trust, we shall, at the same time, have erected an impressive and enduring memorial to the name of Queen Victoria, and shall have consecrated the feelings aroused by her death to the service of the people in a manner that will beneficially affect the largest number. In the meantime, however, I have no desire to pronounce with finality upon the secondary or utilitarian object; and, while our funds are accumulating, I shall be very glad to profit by the advice that will doubtless continue to reach me from many influential quarters.

Next I come to the question whether, presuming an all-Indian Memorial to be desirable, it was for the Viceroy to

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place himself at the head of the movement. I must leave this delicate question to be decided by the voice of others, not by my own. Perhaps, after all, the result will be the most conclusive answer. All I would say at this moment is that, if the position of the Viceroy is to be what, in my opinion, it ought to be, the opportunity of fusing and giving expression to the aspirations of the entire community is one that he should be proud to seize, and that, if in some quarters it be said that he should have left the movement to ferment and to come to a head as best it could, I suspect that, had this advice been followed, it would have been said in a good many other quarters that he had signally failed to realise the unique opportunities of his position, and had allowed a golden occasion to slip by of vindicating the loyalty and the devotion of the Indian Empire to the British throne.

I pass to another of the preliminary questions which it has seemed desirable to discuss. It appears to have been thought in some quarters that the scheme for a Victoria Hall in Calcutta has been snatched up, so to speak, in precipitate haste, and foisted almost without consideration upon the notice of the public. This is far from having been the case. This scheme was not for the first time conceived or matured during the fortnight that elapsed between the death of Her Majesty the Queen and the Town Hall Meeting. On the contrary, it has rarely been out of my mind during the two years in which I have been in India. I had been collecting information, consulting individuals, working out all the possible ramifications of the proposal, long before the Queen was smitten by her last fatal illness. I had of course no idea at that time of proposing such a building as a permanent Memorial to the Queen, because so marvellous was her vitality that such an idea as her early decease had never entered into our minds. But I had hoped, before leaving India, to carry the idea into execution as a fulfilment of what I regard as a great

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Imperial duty, *viz.*, the handing down to posterity of what the past has failed to provide for us, that is, a standing record of our wonderful history, a visible monument of Indian glories, and an illustration, more eloquent than any spoken address or printed page, of the lessons of public patriotism and civic duty. I had even gone so far as to talk over this scheme with friends, to prepare designs for a building, and to think of where it might be placed. Then came the death of the Queen: and then it was that, not merely in my own mind, but in that of the representative persons whom I consulted, the idea took shape that we were already in possession of the germ of a great Imperial Memorial, worthy of Queen Victoria and worthy of India. It was, therefore, no sudden or inchoate project that was submitted to the Calcutta Meeting. On the contrary, how complete it was the information that I shall presently place before you will enable you to judge.

There is only one other prefatory question to which it is necessary to advert. I have seen it asked why, instead of suggesting a scheme to others, I did not write to all the Princes, and Governors, and leading men, and ask them to suggest one to me, and then decide according to the nature of their replies. Gentlemen, I invite you soberly to consider what the contents of such a post bag would have been. It needs no intuition to discern that I should have received not one scheme but one hundred, and I daresay as many more. And then a representative Committee would have had to be convened in order to discuss these schemes. It would have taken some weeks to assemble. Its deliberations would probably have taken as many months, and meanwhile where would the enthusiasm and the liberality of the people have been? We all know that even the noblest emotions are apt to dwindle or to be chilled if an outlet is not provided for them while they are still warm, and a course more likely to freeze the heart of the generous Indian public than that which has been suggested I cannot imagine.

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From this brief discussion of what I have called preliminary questions, I now pass on to a more detailed examination of the scheme of a Victoria Hall, as it exists in the minds of those who have originated it. And the first subject to which I shall address myself is this. What will be the contents of the building when raised? I shall next ask where and how can they be procured; and having attempted to answer both these questions, I shall, I trust, have left a clear impression in the mind of the public both as to what the scheme is and as to what it is not. Even among those who have warmly supported the idea, some doubts have been expressed on these points. "You are going to build a magnificent hall which will only be a second-class museum or an empty shell. You talk of collecting Indian relics and trophies, where are they? You want to commemorate great men and great events, who and what are they?" These are the sort of questions—and I do not regard them as unreasonable—that have been addressed to me. Indeed in some quarters there has been an attempt to throw ridicule upon the entire scheme. I shall, I hope, be able to show these critics that there is no ground for their unfriendly suspicions; and that all India may legitimately be asked to co-operate in a movement which, if its help be given, may easily be endowed with a truly cosmopolitan character, which will have a most practical as well as a sentimental side, and will contain not trash but treasures.

The building will be called the Victoria Memorial Hall. It will therefore, I think, be befitting that a central hall or a central space should be devoted to the mementoes of Her Majesty the Queen. Whether or not the statue of the Queen that has already been executed shall be erected inside or outside this building, is a matter that will remain over for subsequent decision. Probably it will remain outside. A separate representation of Her Majesty might perhaps be placed inside the hall. Around it might be grouped memorials of her reign. It might be possible to secure autograph

letters from her to the various Governors General and Viceroys who have had the honour to serve her. I at any rate shall be prepared to contribute, as the last. Some other personal relics we may be so fortunate as to secure. Upon the walls of this hall might be inscribed in letters of gold upon marble or upon bronze, both in English and in the different vernaculars, the famous Proclamation of 1858, and such other messages as the Queen has, at various times, addressed to the Indian people. If the originals are procurable, they might be placed in glass-cases below. The Emperor Asoka has spoken to posterity for 2,200 years through his inscriptions on rock and on stone. Why should not Queen Victoria do the same?

I have, on a previous occasion, observed that the Memorial Hall would be devoted to the commemoration of notable events and remarkable men, both Indian and European, in the history of this country. I will now proceed to indicate the character of the incidents and the personality of the individuals, who may perhaps be held worthy of this honour, and the manner in which it may be conferred. At the beginning it is almost necessary to draw a line which shall be the starting point of our historical procession. I may say at once that the idea is not to convert this Hall into an Archæological Museum, or to compete with the various institutions of that character that already exist in different parts of the country. I conceive it to be impracticable in a single building to convey a synopsis of all Indian history from the time of the Aryan immigration to the days of electric tramways and motor cars. I have not the slightest desire to accumulate here Buddhistic sculptures, or implements of the bronze and stone ages. They will find their home more fitly in the Imperial and Provincial Museums. Similarly, I do not think that we can include representations of the legendary and quasi-mythological epochs of Indian history, the period in fact of the epics. Anything that dates from those days can only be a copy of originals existing

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elsewhere, or can have what is in the main an antiquarian rather than a historical interest. In practice it will, I think, be found that the earliest date from which it will be possible to accumulate any sort of original record, will be the foundation of the Mogul dynasty. We may begin with Baber, and from then we may continue to the present date. Throughout the world progress seems to have taken a definite leap forward at about the same epoch; and the situation will be much the same as though in England we began to make a collection with the Tudors, in Russia with Ivan the Terrible, in France with Francis I, in Germany with Charles V, in Turkey with Solyman the Magnificent, in Persia with the Sefavi dynasty, in Japan with Iyeyasu.

I will first take Indian history. It ought, I think, to be possible to obtain some records of every period and every dynasty from the Moguls to the present day. These records would take the form of paintings, enamels, sculptures, manuscripts, and personal relics and belongings. I have heard of there being offered for sale in India in recent years the headdress of Akbar and the armour of Jehangir. Passing to the Mahratta ascendency, we should procure portraits of Sivaji and the leading Mahratta princes, generals, and statesmen. Then, if we turn to the Sikhs, we should have similar memorials of the leading Gurus, from Nanak to Guru Govind, of Maharajas Runjit Singh, Sher Singh, and Golab Singh of Jummu and Kashmir. All of these are, I believe, procurable. From Rajputana we should collect memorials of Rana Pertab of Mewar, Raja Man Singh, and Siwai Jai Singh, the astronomer of Jaipur, and Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. From Gwalior we should desire to commemorate Mahadaji Rao Sindhia and Dowlet Rao Sindhia; from Bhopal the Nawab Sikandra Begum, from Hyderabad Asaf Jah, the first Nizam. For my own part I should not hesitate for a moment to include those who have fought against the British, provided that their memories are not sullied with dishonour or crime. I would not admit so much as the fringe of the

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pagri of a ruffian like the Nana Sahib. But I would gladly include memorials of the brave Rani of Jhansi, and of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan of Mysore. There is, I believe, a very interesting picture of the death of Tippu at Seringapatam in the palace of the Nawab of Murshidabad. If we come to more modern times, I have already collected, with the aid of those gentlemen who have been good enough to advise me, a list of the names of eminent Indian statesmen, writers, poets, administrators, judges, religious reformers and philanthropists who might be entitled to commemoration in such a Valhalla. I will mention a few typical names alone :—Omichund, the great Bengal banker in the days of Lord Clive, Ali Verdi Khan, Raja Naba Kissen, Mir Jafar, Chaitanya, the founder of Vishnuism, Dwarkanath Tagore, Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, who died in England, Keshub Chunder Sen, whose portrait is in the Town Hall, Rajendra Lal Mitra, the antiquarian, Raja Krishna Chandra, Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh College, Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidayasagar, the social reformer and philanthropist. To these might be added the more eminent of the Nawabs Nazim of Bengal, and of the Talukdars of Oudh. In the memorandum previously issued were mentioned the names of well-known statesmen or public characters, such as Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Madhava Rao, Sir Salar Jung, Sir Jamsetji Jeejheebhoy.

I now pass to British history. Here we shall endeavour to secure portraits, or busts, or mementoes—and where the originals are not forthcoming, reproductions may perhaps be available—of the long line of distinguished men who have made the British Empire in India. They will fall into several categories; the pioneers of commerce and empire—such as Sir T. Roe, Job Charnock, Sir Josiah Child; Governors, Governors General, and Viceroys from Governor Holwell and Lord Clive to modern times; famous personages, such as Sir Philip Francis and Sir Elijah Impey; eminent Governors or Lieutenant-Governors or Administrators of

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the provinces—such names, for instance, as Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of Lord Chatham, Sir Thomas Munro, and Streynsham Master from Madras; Sir John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Richard Temple from Bombay; Sir Henry Lawrence, James Thomason, Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Henry Ramsay, from other provinces. There will be a category of great Generals and soldiers of whom I may instance a few—Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, Lord Lake, Lord Harris, Lord Keane, Sir David Ochterlony, Sir Charles Napier, Sir James Outram, Lord Gough, Sir Henry Havelock, Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde), Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn), Lord Roberts. There will be frontier heroes, such as Sir Herbert Edwardes, Colonel James Skinner, Colonel John Jacob, and General John Nicholson; military adventurers such as the famous George Thomas, who rose from being a sailor and a cavalry leader to be Raja of Hansi, and the cluster of foreigners who entered the service of Mysore, the Mahrattas, and Ranjit Singh. There will be the men of letters and science; historians, such as Orme, Tod, Sleeman, Elliot, James Mill, Lord Macaulay, Sir John Kaye, Sir William Hunter; students or scholars or antiquarians, such as Sir William Jones, James Rennell, H. H. Wilson, H. T. Colebrooke, James Prinsep, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Professor Max Müller, Professor Monier Williams, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Yule; financiers, such as James Wilson; jurists, such as Sir Henry Maine and Sir James Stephen; explorers and pioneers, such as Captain John Wood, Alexander Burnes, Moorcroft, Hayward, Sir Joseph Hooker; reformers and philanthropists, churchmen and missionaries, such as John Clark Marshman, Carey, David Hare, Dr. Duff, Bishops Heber and Cotton. These are only a few of the names that have occurred to me, and are neither a complete nor an exhaustive list. They are merely typical instances of the service and the character that have helped to build up the fabric of British dominion

in India, and that seem to me to be entitled to the honour of grateful commemoration at the hands of posterity.

And now having specified the type of person whom it is proposed to honour, let me pass on to the methods by which it may be done. One or more of the galleries of the Victoria Hall will doubtless be devoted to sculpture. Here will be collected the life-size figures, or the busts and medallions, of great men. A large number of these memorials, as I shall show presently, are already in existence, and will, it is hoped, be available for our purpose. I shall indicate methods by which others may be procured. Cases will arise in the future in which a desire to commemorate some eminent person may not justify, either in the scope of the services rendered or in the extent of the money subscribed, the crowning honour of a statue on the maidan. The busts of such persons will appropriately be placed in the sculpture gallery of the Victoria Hall.

A second gallery or galleries will be devoted to paintings, engravings, prints, and pictorial representations in general, both of persons and of scenes. Here will be hung original pictures and likenesses, or where these are not procurable, copies of such. There are still scattered about in Calcutta and Bengal, and I daresay in other parts of India, quite a number of oil paintings, dating from the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the last, commemorative of interesting persons and events. Now and then these find their way into the auction-room. More commonly they rot into decay. It is possible, in mezzotints and stipple and line engravings, to recover almost a continuous history of Anglo-Indian worthies, battles, sieges, landscapes, buildings, forts, and scenes during the last two hundred years.

While speaking of pictorial representation, it has been suggested to me that around the open corridors of the inner courts and quadrangles of the building might be depicted frescoes of memorable incidents or events. Fresco-painting is an art in which the Indian craftsman once excelled. Witness

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the pictured caves of Ajunta, the painted walls and ceilings of Fatehpur Sikri, the decorated pavilions of Agra and Delhi, the brilliant summer house of Tippu at Seringapatam. This art is not extinct in India, and is being fostered and revivified in Institutes and Schools of Art. I do not see why great historic scenes, such as the three battles of Panipat or the battles of Plassey, Sobraon, Assaye, Miani; the self-immolation of Rani Pudmine and the women of Chitor, the Rahtor Queen closing the city gates against her husband when he returned defeated, the first audience of British factors with the Great Mogul, the relief of the Residency at Lucknow, the Proclamation of the Queen at Allahabad in 1858, the Delhi Durbar of 1877, should not be thus commemorated. Precautions would have to be taken for the proper conservation of the frescoes during the rains. If pigments were found to be an unsuitable medium, however applied, recourse might be had to mosaics. Should more durable memorials still be preferred, it might be decided to fix bronze or copper plates in panels on the inner walls, containing inscriptions or bas-reliefs, dedicated to memorable scenes.

In the centre of the galleries that are occupied by paintings, or in adjoining rooms, I suggest that there should be placed stands and cases, with glass lids, containing the correspondence and handwriting, the personal relics and trophies and belongings of great men. It ought to be possible to procure autograph letters of all the Governors General and Viceroys of India, and of the majority of those whose names have already been mentioned. Miniatures, articles of costume, objects that belonged in lifetime to the deceased, and that recall his personality or his career—all of these will fitly appear in such a collection. I may mention as an illustration the objects that are exhibited in the King's Library at the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in many kindred institutions.

A wider extension of the same principle may be applied

to the commemoration of historical events. I should like to exhibit the originals, or where these cannot be procured copies, of Treaties, and Sanads, and Charters. I fancy that the original Charter of Queen Elizabeth of 31st December 1600 to the merchants of the East India Company is no longer extant, and that the earliest surviving grant is that of Charles II in 1661. Excellent facsimiles have been made in England of several of these documents. It may be noted in passing that the copy of Magna Charta which is exhibited in the British Museum is not the original, but only a reproduction. The oldest extant MS., which is itself not the original, is kept under lock and key in a fire-proof safe elsewhere. A great many original documents are, however, in the possession of the Government of India, or of the India Office at home; and a selection of the more interesting or important might be made from these. As regards earlier Indian history we may perhaps be so fortunate as to come into possession, or may be favoured with the loan, of Oriental manuscripts of which there are still a great many in this country, though, from lack of care and of means for collecting them, the majority have either perished or are fast leaving the country.

From documents or manuscripts it is a natural transition to maps and plans, both Native and European. It should not be difficult to collect, either in original or in duplicate, a complete set of all the maps of Calcutta from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day. Similar plans should be procurable of Fort St. George at Madras and of Bombay, and of many other factories, cities, and forts throughout the country. There is no means of studying local history and topography to compare with that of maps, and I should hope that we might acquire and exhibit a first-rate collection.

Side by side with maps I should be inclined to place newspapers. We could not hope to make any complete collection. That is the function of a library or of a

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museum. But a careful selection of some of the rarer or more interesting specimens might throw valuable sidelights upon the past. Coins might also be very properly included. Here we might make an exception and penetrate even further back than the Mogul days. A microcosm of the history of India through all the ages might be constructed from a classified exhibit of the different coins that have been current in India, Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Hindu, Afghan, Mogul, and finally British, including a specimen of every coin that has been struck in India during the Queen's reign. From the contents of a few cases we might grasp the outlines of history more vividly than from a library of books.

Among other objects that have occurred, or have been suggested, to me, I may mention musical instruments and porcelain. To some extent these are rather on the line between a historical gallery, which the Victoria Hall is intended to be, and a museum of the arts. Both, however, have a definite historical bearing. In a country where music has reached such a high pitch of development as in India, a collection of native instruments is in a certain sense a page of history. In the case of china, it may be even more so. For instance, there is no more interesting record than the few surviving pieces of the magnificent dinner services that were used in the time of the old East India Company. We have only a few specimens left in Government House, the bulk having long ago perished. There used to be a great deal at Madras, but what little of this was left has, I believe, drifted to London.

And now I pass to what I hope may be a leading feature of the Victoria Hall. Several of the Indian Princes have already subscribed to the Central Memorial Fund. I have little doubt that many more will do so. I have observed in those organs of the Press which have addressed themselves to belittling this scheme, the suggestion that pressure has been, or will be, brought upon Princes or Durbars to

contribute. This insinuation is both ungenerous and unjust. No solicitation has been, or will be, made. It is open to a Native Chief to join or to stand aloof as he pleases. He is not likely to set before himself any other standard than the measure of his own desire to join in a National Memorial to the Queen. That their contributions will not be devoted to an object in which they will bear no part or share will be evident from what I am about to say. The wonderful history of the Native States, the splendour of their courts, the achievements of their great men, can only fitfully be gathered by the visitor to India, or even by the resident in the country, from visits to their capitals and courts. I should like to constitute a Princes' Court or Gallery in the Victoria Hall, where such memorials should be collected as the Princes were willing to contribute or to lend. We might collect pictures of leading Princes and Chiefs. We might commemorate notable events in their dynasties and lives. They might be willing in some cases to present us from their armouries with duplicates of the large collections that are there contained. Spears, and battle-axes, and swords, shields and horse-trappings and coats of mail—these are the abundant relics, in India and elsewhere, of an age of chivalry. Where gifts are not found possible, the Chiefs might be prepared, as is so often done by the Royal Family, by noblemen, and by rich collectors in England, to allow a portion of their collections to appear on temporary loan, the lender being of course put to no expense, and his possessions being returned to him at the termination of such period as he himself desired.

Whatever be our success as regards native arms, I entertain no doubt of being able to amass a first-rate collection of British specimens. I would propose to devote one gallery to a chronological illustration of the history of British Arms in this country. I would present in cases a complete collection of British uniforms from the days of the earliest sepoys of the Company to modern times. From the various arsenals

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it will be a matter of ease to collect specimens of the muskets, carbines, and rifles, the powder flasks and pistols, the swords and lances, the cannon and guns of the various phases of military fashion in this country. An enclosed verandah in the fort at Lahore is so packed at present with Sikh trophies that everything cannot be got inside. Elsewhere military trophies are lying scattered about unhonoured and unknown. In the same gallery I would place a complete collection of British medals that have been granted for service in this country and on its borders; and here too I should hope will repose the tattered regimental banners that tell the tale of glory won, and pass on an inspiration to successors.

Another very proper adjunct of the Victoria Hall would be a collection of models. There are many objects of immense historic interest which we either cannot procure, because they have vanished, or could not introduce into our galleries because of their size and unsuitability. These may very fitly be represented by models. Such models might, for instance, be made of the ships that have brought European merchants and adventurers to India, from the vessel in which Vasco da Gama first cast anchor in the Harbour of Calicut on May 20th, 1498, to the pioneer sloops, a century later, of Captain James Lancaster and Sir Henry Middleton, and from them to the four-masted sailing ships that still lift their spars against the sunset on the Hugli, and the ocean liners whose smoking funnels bear the colours of the British India and the P. and O. Nor need models be confined to ships. Nothing brings home more closely the stories of battlefields, and sieges, and assaults than well-designed models. The storming of Chitor or Gwalior, of Bhurtpur or Seringapatam, becomes a different thing to all of us, when we have the actual scene reproduced in miniature before our eyes. I shall certainly have placed in the gallery a model of old Fort William in Calcutta, of which I am at present engaged in identifying and demarcating the outlines. I remember when at Oxford seeing in the Bodleian Library a white

marble model of the Calcutta Cathedral according to the original and uncompleted design. But why it should repose at Oxford instead of Calcutta I do not know.

I have now dealt to the best of my ability with the principal categories of objects that appear to be suitable for inclusion in the Victoria Hall. Perhaps my hearers will be inclined to agree with the friend who, after I had unbosomed myself to him on the matter, exclaimed "Why, the danger is that you will have, not too little, but too much!" I will now proceed to point out the sources from which these and similar objects may be procured.

Two main channels of collection I have already indicated, namely, gift and loan. Many persons who would not be willing to part with cherished possessions might consent to lend them; and, as in the Bethnal Green and other museums, we might perhaps hope for a succession of such favours. Nevertheless, for the bulk of our exhibits we must look to gift or purchase. Fortunately we already possess the admirable nucleus of such a collection as I have described in this place. Who can doubt that the fine marble statue of Warren Hastings by Westmacott, which is now effectually concealed from public view in the southern portico of the Town Hall—a building which is itself condemned—must find its way to the Victoria Hall? The same may be said of Bacon's great marble figure of Lord Cornwallis on the ground floor of the same building, a masterpiece that is now strangely out of place amid dusty records and scribbling clerks. If the Town Hall be, as alleged, condemned, there are other portraits and busts that might very well be transferred to the new building. There are the pictures of Her Majesty Queen Victoria herself and the Prince Consort, which I believe that she presented to the Town of Calcutta. There are portraits of Lords Clive and Lake now hanging on dark corners of the staircase, of Dr. Duff, and Dwarkanath Tagore. There are busts of James Prinsep and the Duke of Wellington. In the High Court are two pictures of Sir

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Elijah Impey, one by Kettle, the other by Zoffany. Perhaps the learned Judges might spare us one. The Asiatic Society, whom I am addressing to-night, in their plethora of treasures, possess no less than one bust and three pictures of their founder, Sir William Jones. They might like to diffuse his fame. Similarly, they own portraits of four Governors General, Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, which are now only seen by a few score of persons, and which they might be willing to place on loan for the edification of a larger public.

I may next turn to the building in which I am now speaking, and which was originally erected with very much the same object, namely, a National Valhalla, as the new Hall which we are about to raise. I do not think that any one will claim that it has quite succeeded in vindicating its initial claim. Lord Dalhousie's statue, which I see opposite me, originally belonged to Government House, and was surrendered by Sir John Lawrence to this building, after its completion in 1866. Separate funds were raised for the commemoration of Havelock and Nicholson, and resulted in the busts of those two great men that we see before us. Chantrey's beautiful statue of Lord Hastings, which stands in the entrance by which we all came in, has nothing to do with this building at all, for the portico in which it was placed was raised in Lord Amherst's time to hold the statue, and the Dalhousie Institute was subsequently tacked on behind it. It will, I think, be generally conceded that all these memorials will find a more appropriate and a more worthy home in the Victoria Hall. I may carry the same line of argument and illustration further. We have three busts of Sir T. Metcalfe in the Metcalfe Hall. Having bought the place for Government, I shall be very glad to hand over one of them to the Victoria Hall. Metcalfe, the founder of a Free Press in India, ought to be commemorated there. Perhaps, too, we may appeal for some friendly assistance to the Bar Library. There, I believe, are to be

found, unless they have already perished, fourteen volumes of the manuscript notes of cases in the handwriting of Mr. Justice Hyde. There is his transcript of the evidence of Warren Hastings and Barwell at the trial of Nuncomar, and his entry of the order for the execution of that ill-fated person. I believe that there is also in the High Court the original bond given by Bolagi Das to Nuncomar, which was pronounced a forgery at the trial. Speaking of Warren Hastings, I have been told that some years ago, and I daresay still, unless they have been devoured by white ants, there were contained in the Collector's Office at Chittagong, of all places in the world, quite a number of official documents in the writing of that great man and bearing his signature, with those of Francis, Barwell, Clavering, and Monson. Similar documents are, I doubt not, to be found, in the almirahs or cupboards of many a district officer throughout the country and could, with a little search, be recovered from an oblivion which in a climate such as this is sooner or later synonymous with total destruction. I noticed a short time ago a cry of pain from a Madras paper at the idea that I might be going to indent upon Madras for the letters of Sir Thomas Munro. Well, and how does Madras show its reverence for that most interesting correspondence? By allowing it to repose in a dingy cupboard in the Collector's Office at Salem. I have no desire to rob any place, or any society, or any individual, of that which may be dear to them. But I submit that we should at least treat Sir Thomas Munro better, for it would be difficult to treat him worse, than his own Presidency has done.

I have said enough, I think, to indicate that in this country, in record-rooms, in offices, and in kutcherries, will be found a plentiful mine of documentary richness. From the Imperial Library, and from the Foreign Office here, we may be able to make a substantial contribution. Appeals in the newspapers will doubtless bring to our knowledge the existence of many objects at present lost to the public view.

The Victoria Memorial Hall.

In England I should make similar appeals. The India Office might be willing to restore to us some of the objects belonging to the old East India Company which are in their possession, or to present us with copies or duplicates. I would myself undertake to write to the families, or descendants, or living representatives of the remarkable men whom we may desire to commemorate. Learned Societies might be willing to contribute something to us from their abundance. Finally, there is perpetually passing through the hands of the London dealers and auctioneers a stream of interesting memorials of the Anglo-Indian past, which attract no notice, because they do not belong to celebrated collections, or because their owners are not known to fame; but upon which a careful watch might be kept by experts appointed for the purpose. I entertain no shadow of a doubt that, within ten years of the date upon which the doors of the Victoria Hall are opened, there will, unless there be some grave and inexplicable relapse in public interest or in competent supervision in the interim, be collected therein an exhibition that will be the pride of all India, and that will attract visitors to this place from all parts of the World. I should add that, if sufficient means are forthcoming, I would certainly propose adequately to endow the building, so that a sum may be annually available for adding to the contents, and maintaining them at a high standard of excellence.

I have now, I trust, said enough to show both what the Victoria Hall will be, and what it will not be. It will not be a museum of antiquities, filled with undeciphered inscriptions and bronze idols and crumbling stones. It will not be an industrial museum, stocked with samples of grains, and timbers, and manufactures. It will not be an art museum, crowded with metal-ware of every description, with muslins, and kinkobs, and silks, with pottery, and lacquer-ware, and Kashmir shawls. It will not be a geological, or ethnographical, or anthropological, or architectural museum.

The Victoria Memorial Hall.

All these objects are served by existing institutions; and I do not want to compete with or to denude any such fabric. The central idea of the Victoria Hall is that it should be a Historical Museum, a National Gallery, and that alone, and that it should exist not for the advertisement of the present, but for the commemoration of that which is honourable and glorious in the past. Neither is it proposed to constitute the Victoria Hall, even while retaining its character as a Historical Gallery, a museum representative of all countries. We could not possibly collect the materials: many of them would not survive the Indian climate, and the result would be an indescribable medley, which would merely confuse instead of informing and stimulating the senses. It is, I think, essential that the art, the science, the literature, the history, the men, the events which are therein commemorated must be those of India, and of Great Britain in India, alone. That is the whole pith and marrow of the idea, and I venture to think that it would be most unwise to depart from it.

I must remove another misconception. Enquiries have been addressed to me as to whether there might not be incorporated with this building a magnificent Imperial Library, where there should be collected all the notable works, in whatever language, that have been written about India, or that have been composed in the Indian vernaculars. The authors of these enquiries are perhaps unaware that I have already provided for this object. For nearly two years negotiations have been proceeding for the acquisition of the Metcalfe Hall and its library by the Government. They are now on the verge of a happy termination. We propose to renovate and redecorate that handsome building; to transfer to it the whole of the Imperial Library at present deposited in the Home Department of the Government of India; and to present it with an endowment sufficient to enable it, within no very lengthy space of time, to become a really representative collection of the literature that I have

The Victoria Memorial Hall.

mentioned. We have obtained, through the good offices of the Home Government, the services of a most competent Librarian from the British Museum, and I hope, before I leave India, to have converted the Metcalfe Hall into a miniature edition of the Library and Reading Room in that great institution, a place which shall be the haven of Indian and Anglo-Indian scholars, and the nursery of writers and students. There is obviously, therefore, no need for adding a Library to the Victoria Hall.

There is, however, one feature that might, I think, not improperly be included in the building. Like most structures of a similar character in Europe, it should probably possess a really fine hall, distinct from the hall that is especially dedicated to the Queen. Such a hall might be used for the Chapters of the Indian Orders, for a great durbar, or for any other ceremonial function. An organ might be placed at one end for concerts and choral performances. Upon occasions it might supply a meeting ground for the public, much in the same way as the Banqueting Hall is used at Madras. As time passes on, benefactors might adorn this Hall with pictures or frescoes, and with the statues of princes and great men. I may add that in the future I hope that the leading Chiefs may be seen at Calcutta more frequently than in the past. I have for some time been in negotiation for the purchase of Hastings House, the old country residence of Warren Hastings, at Alipore; and if this transaction be satisfactorily concluded, I propose to utilise the house, which is a fine building, quite apart from its historical associations, for the occasional entertainment of the Princes, who are always so lavish in their hospitality to the Viceroy, as the guests of the Government of India in Calcutta.

A few details only remain to be noticed. It is too early as yet to speak about the style of a building, when the money has not yet been subscribed with which it is to be raised. That will have to be settled, as will most of the

other points that I have raised, by a representative Committee later on. There will probably, however, be general agreement that it should be built of the best and most solid material, white marble for choice, and that it must be so constructed as to resist the deteriorating influences of a tropical climate. There must be unity of design in the plan, but scope must be left for later generations to add to the original structure should the occasion arise. It has already been announced that it is proposed to inscribe, in a prominent place in the building, the names of all subscribers of half a lakh and upwards. When the collection has been made, cheap but full guide-books will be prepared both in English and in the vernacular, so as to tell the visitor where to go, and what it is that he is about to see. Finally, the surrounding space will be converted into a beautiful garden, which, with due regard to the flowerbeds and lawns, should be accessible to all, and will be a joy and delight to the town.

Such, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the scheme of the Victoria Hall, as it presents itself to me, assisted by the able advice of the numerous authorities and scholars whom I have consulted. I hope to have shown you that it will not be a merely sentimental creation, but that it will have a most utilitarian aspect as well. There is no more practical or businesslike emotion than patriotism. I believe that this building will give to all who enter it, whether English or Indians, a pride in their country, in addition to reminding them of the veneration that all alike entertain for the great Sovereign in whose honour it was built. I believe that it will teach more history and better history than a study-full of books. I believe that it will appeal to the poor people just as directly as to the rich: and that they will wander, wondering perhaps, but interested and receptive, through its halls. Lastly, I believe that it will do much to bind together the two races whom Providence, for its mysterious ends, has associated in the administration of this great

Empire, and whose fusion has been so immeasurably enhanced by the example, the wisdom, and the influence of Queen Victoria.

I will only add that I shall be most happy now, or in the future, to receive any communication or suggestions from any who may have useful light to throw upon the realisation of the scheme upon which we have embarked. (*Applause.*)

[Mr. Risley and Colonel Hendley then addressed the meeting, and a vote of thanks to the Viceroy for presiding was proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor. His Excellency having acknowledged the vote of thanks, the proceedings closed.]

ASSAM LABOUR AND EMIGRATION BILL.

8th March 1901.

[In the Legislative Council held at Calcutta on Friday, the 8th March, the Assam Labour and Emigration Bill came up for consideration. Sir Charles Rivaz, who had charge of the Bill, was to move that the Report of the Select Committee be taken into consideration, but before doing so, His Excellency the President made a statement to the Council regarding the position of the Government in relation to the measure. His Excellency said :—]

It may perhaps be of convenience to Hon'ble Members, and may facilitate the course of the present debate, if I state at its commencement the course which the Government propose to adopt. As to the merits and the desirability of the greater part of the Bill which we are asked to-day to pass into law, there are, I understand, no two opinions. This legislation is not merely required, but is accepted as salutary and essential by all the different parties concerned. There is, however, one provision in the Bill, namely, that to make a slight increase to the statutory wage of the Act-labourer on the tea gardens of Assam in the second and third years of his service, which has been the subject of much controversy, and about which opinions are sharply divided, both among the outside public and in

this Council. Intimately connected with this question is that of the present condition of the tea-industry, which is alleged by its spokesmen to be in so depressed a condition as to render unwise, if not unjust, any increase to its burdens.

The Government desire to approach both these questions with absolute impartiality. Though this Bill is a Government Bill, we have throughout shown our readiness to meet criticism, or objection, by the substantial concessions that have been made in Committee in the proposed increase of wages. We wish that the question should be examined by this Council with as much freedom from bias, or from external influence, as we have ourselves endeavoured to apply to it. The case is one that should, in our opinion, be decided exclusively upon its own merits, and by the unhampered discretion of this Council.

We do not of course propose to divest ourselves of our duty, as the body charged with the administration of this country, to give advice to this Council as to the manner in which it should proceed. We are ourselves convinced, after repeated and most careful discussion of the clause, that the case for a modified and reasonable increase in the wage has been made out. That conviction we shall be prepared fully to vindicate in the debate that will presently ensue: and for it the Government will, without exception, vote. Hon'ble Members will thus be in a position to hear both sides of the question. They will be acquainted with the planters' views; and indeed the latter will bear me out in the statement that I have ensured to them the fullest possible opportunity for giving expression to their opinions by placing two seats upon this Council, and upon the Select Committee, at their disposal, exclusive of those Hon'ble Members who were known in advance to sympathise very strongly with their desires. On the other side will be heard the views of the Government and of the Chief Commissioner of the Province, though, as is known,

he would wish to go a good deal further than the Government have been prepared to follow. It should not be difficult for any Hon'ble Members of this Council, who have not previously made up their minds, to decide upon the issue that will thus be placed before them.

I will now pass to the second point. There is, I think, a legitimate distinction between the acceptance of a proposal as justified in itself, and the insistence upon its enforcement at a particular time. For instance, a man may perfectly well hold that a case for the increase of the Act-coolies' wages in Assam has been made out, and he may resolve to vote for it. But he may also hold that, owing to the present condition of the industry, it would be inopportune, and might be harsh, to bring that increase into operation at the present moment, or for a fixed period of time. Now, I understand that the representatives of the tea-industry propose to ask this Council to reject *in toto* that clause of the Bill which provides for any increase in the wage. They are of course quite entitled to do so: and if they were to succeed, the Bill would not be lost, but that particular clause would disappear. If, however, this Council accepts the advice of Government and retains the clause, and if any Hon'ble Member were then to bring forward a further amendment to the effect that the operation of the wage clause of the Bill should, for special reasons, namely, the present condition of the industry, be postponed for two years, he will have my permission to do so, and, in the event of a good case being made out for such postponement, the Government will not stand in the way of its acceptance by this Council. They will even be prepared to vote for it themselves. We cannot divest ourselves of our responsibility to secure to the labourer that additional statutory protection to which we consider him to be entitled. But we have no desire to secure it at a time or in a manner that may be oppressive to a hard-hit industry, which, not less than the coolie, has a claim upon our dispassionate consideration.

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This, then, is the course which the Government propose to adopt. We shall ourselves support the compromise offered with our consent by the Hon'ble Sir Charles Rivaz in Select Committee—in the shape of a modified increase of wage in the second and third year: and we believe that the reasons which we shall adduce in favour of this course will be such as will commend themselves to a majority of this Council. Should our advice be accepted, Hon'ble Members will then be invited, after listening to the discussion, to vote upon the question of a two years' postponement of the operation of the clause—which in practice will mean that the enhancement will not commence to take effect until the close of the third year from now; since it is only in the second year of the coolie's service that it will begin to operate, while it will not become fully operative until the first batch of coolies to whom it applies have been for three years upon the plantations. I venture to entertain the hope that this course may vindicate the impartiality, without any abnegation of the responsibility, of Government, and may conduce to a harmonious solution of the disputed problem that lies before us.

[The Hon'ble Sir Charles Rivaz then moved that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill be taken into consideration, which, after a short discussion, was put and agreed to. The Hon'ble Mr. Buckingham then moved an amendment to clause 5 of the Bill which would have had the effect of leaving the coolies' wages as at present. He proceeded to argue the case of the tea-industry, insisting that legislation was not required; and was followed on similar lines by Messrs. Henderson and Ashton, and Sir Allan Arthur. Mr. Bolton, the official member for Bengal, supported the amendment, holding that a case for increasing the coolies' wage had not been made out; Mr. Cotton delivered a long and earnest speech in the cause of the coolies. He was supported by Mr. Bose, Sir Harnam Singh, and Mr. Ananda Charlu; and, Sir Edward Law and Mr. Raleigh having addressed the Council against the amendment, His Excellency the President closed the discussion as follows:—]

We have listened to a long and interesting debate on this amendment: and it will, I am sure, be the opinion of

Hon'ble Members that the respective views have been stated with much ability and force. The Hon'ble Mr. Buckingham, assisted by some other Hon'ble Members, has proved a valiant and capable champion of his cause; and, on the other side, have been given the views of Government, as expressed by Sir Charles Rivaz, who has conducted this Bill through its various stages with much tact and skill, and by Mr. Raleigh, as well as the opinions, stated with obvious sincerity, and with an authority which cannot be denied, of the Chief Commissioner of the Province. Of him I will only say in passing that I have no sympathy with the attacks that have been made upon him, not in this Chamber, but in other quarters, for the conscientious discharge of what he has believed to be a public duty: and that it is a doctrine which I cannot myself accept, and which, when I came out to India only two years ago, I was universally implored to repudiate in the case of Assam, that the Government of India should not attach much weight in a matter of internal politics to the counsels of the head of the Local Administration. The Government of India have not been prepared to go as far as the Hon'ble Mr. Cotton would have wished: but I desire emphatically to express my opinion that he has been actuated by no other desire than to secure the welfare of the province with which his name has been so long and honourably associated, and that to impute to him any other motive is unjust.

Before I proceed to sum up the grounds upon which the Government must advise this Council to reject the amendment of the Hon'ble Mr. Buckingham, I must make a few preliminary observations upon the conditions under which we are called upon to intervene in this matter at all. It seems to have been inferred in some quarters that the Government is now taking upon itself, in an uncalled for and malevolent manner, to interfere with the movements of an industry which only asks to be left to itself. I have read a great deal in the Press about grandmotherly legislation

and a grandmotherly Government. And yet I venture to say that, if the Assam planters were offered the option of dispensing with the grandmother altogether, they would very speedily discover the virtues of her existence. Why, the governing factor of the whole situation is that the Government of India has been called upon to constitute itself a grandmother to the tea-industry in Assam, that, without her protection, it would never have been called into being, and that, but for her assistance, it would long ago have dwindled and died. Do not imagine for a moment that *we* are enamoured of the system of penal contracts. It is an arbitrary system, an abnormal system, and sooner or later it will disappear. But it has been devised, not in the main in our interests, but, as Mr. Raleigh has pointed out, in the interests of an enterprise with which the Government could not but sympathise, namely, the effort to open up by capital and industry the resources of a distant and backward province. In order to secure that end we have created, and are now revising, a law which enables the planter to procure the labour without which he could not cultivate the soil, and which is not forthcoming in the country itself; and in order to render this alien labour continuous and remunerative, we have further placed the coolie under a penal contract, which enables the planter to arrest a deserter without warrant, and to treat a breach of contract as a criminal offence, punishable with imprisonment by the Courts. These are great privileges and great advantages; and in return for them the least that the Government can demand is that the coolie, who is not a shrewd or independent personage, but is often an almost unknowing partner to the contract, should not suffer from his ignorance or his timidity, but should be accorded a protection corresponding to the stringency of the conditions by which he is bound. That protection we offer him by statutory stipulations as regards the term of his contract, the conditions of his employment, the price of his food, and, above all, the rate of his wages;

and we have just as much right to revise the latter, if we think them unjust or inadequate, as we have to provide the machinery which brings him into Assam at all. The Hon'ble Mr. Buckingham quoted with approbation a passage from a speech which I made when in Assam a year ago, and in which I said that, in the long run, this question will be settled by the immutable laws of supply and demand. So it will. But we are dealing here, not with the long run, but with the short run; and the less Hon'ble Members talk at the present stage about the laws of political economy in the present context, the better, I venture to say, for their own position. Where, I wonder, are the laws of supply and demand at the present moment, when the coolies cannot be imported, at any rate in sufficient numbers, without the assistance of the law, when they cost Rs. 150 a piece, when they are not allowed to combine or to strike, when they are compelled to stay for four years whether they like it or not, and when they are put into gaol if they run away? The less, therefore, that is said about the laws of supply and demand, I venture to think, the better. I should be only too pleased to revert to them at once. But if I proposed to repeal this legislation altogether, and to leave the entire industry in Assam to the operation of natural laws, from whom would the loudest protests come? It would not be from the coolies, but from my Hon'ble friends who represent the employers' interest. This, then, is the justification for our interference. It is the corollary of the whole of our action in the matter for the last 36 years: and if we ceased to intervene, it would be capital, and not labour, that would utter the bitterest outcry. The Hon'ble Sir Allan Arthur said that, if a higher wage were called for, why should not the planters give it? The answer is that, as long as the penal contract remains, by which capital is rendered relatively secure of its labour, so long will capital continue to resist an increase of the wage. It is merely another illustration of the proposition that the ordinary laws of supply and demand do not apply to Act-labour in Assam.

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And now as regards the case for the particular increase of wage that is advocated by the Government. I confess that I find it rather difficult to distinguish between all the calculations and statistics with which we have been favoured by opposite speakers. I have never come across a more striking illustration of the proposition that figures are obedient servants but queer masters. Each Hon'ble Member has provided himself with a store of these pliable instruments, which have done for him all that he could desire. But then another Hon'ble Member has appeared upon the scene with a rival batch of figures, leading to a diametrically opposite conclusion; until we have all felt ourselves in the position of the bewildered interrogator who asked, What is Truth? I cannot of course claim to be any better judge of these rivalries than any one else; but I have at least set myself to a very patient examination of them, and the conclusion to which I have come is the following. I cannot conceive how it can be argued that a wage which was considered a fair minimum wage nearly 40 years ago is a fair maximum wage (for so it is in general practice) now. Whether we compare the wages of Act-coolies with those of free-labour coolies upon the Assam gardens, or the wages in the plantations of Assam with those in Bengal, or the wages in the tea-industry with those in other forms of industrial enterprise, or the wages of Assam coolies with those of the Indian emigrants who proceed to foreign countries —and I have endeavoured to apply all these tests—we cannot, in my judgment, resist the conclusion that, where his fellows or neighbours or competitors have gone ahead, the Act-coolie in Assam has relatively stood still. But then I shall be told that the answer to this is the contention of the Hon'ble Mr. Buckingham and his friends, namely, that the average coolie already gains more than the minimum wage, and, therefore, that it is a task of superfluous generosity to increase his pittance. These were Mr. Buckingham's words: "The minimum legal rates are already exceeded

by arrangements which have gradually grown up between employers and employed." Now this is exactly the contention which is disputed by the Government, and which is, I believe, incapable of being sustained. For, in the first place, the contention fails to specify that the arrangements spoken of are absolutely voluntary, and are provided for by no law. Next, the calculations upon which the contention is based include overtime payments (which are not earned everywhere, or by everybody, or at every time of the year); they also, I believe, in many cases include the bonuses paid to time-expired coolies to induce them to re-engage. They are further based, as Sir Charles Rivaz has pointed out, upon the unit, not of the individual, or of the man and his wife, but of the family. If all these deductions be made, and if it be remembered further that, at the end of every calendar month, a subtraction is also made on account of the uncompleted tasks during the preceding 26 working days, then I do not hesitate to say that the monthly wage earned by the average indentured man and woman on the Assam tea gardens, so far from being Rs. 5 + Rs. 4, that is, Rs. 9, which is the statutory minimum, will be below it. In other words, the statutory minimum is in excess even of the normal maximum; and the law which provides for the former has in practice broken down. That this is so is conclusively proved, as regards first and second year coolies, by the action of Mr. Melitus at the Tezpur Conference in recommending a fixed minimum of Rs. 3½ for a man, and Rs. 3 for a woman, for the first two years irrespective of task. Why should he have made any such proposal, if this minimum, in itself far below the statutory minimum, were commonly exceeded in practice? I am not here saying one word in criticism or in depreciation of the management of the majority of the gardens. I saw enough of them in my short visit of last year to justify much admiration. But I say that we have to deal with the average coolie, and not with the exceptional coolie, with the average garden, and

not with the exceptional garden; and that a situation in which the law has fixed a minimum wage for the male and female coolie, and in which the majority of them fail to earn it within the limits of their ordinary task, is not a situation which the Government can accept with equanimity, or in whose permanent continuation they can acquiesce.

I am aware that pictures have been drawn in these discussions of the contentment of the coolie, and of the happy Arcadia in which he dwells. It is impossible in this context to ignore the evidence placed before us to-day by the Hon'ble Mr. Cotton. It may relate to exceptional cases; but even if they be exceptional, how is it possible to defend a system under which such things can occur? So far as it goes—and I desire to push it no further—the evidence is, in my judgment, overwhelming. I have seen some excellent plantations, in which I think that favourable conditions may reasonably be predicated: though even there I should very much like to hear the coolies' view of the situation. But if the planters' contention is generally true, and if, as is also alleged, the coolie knows perfectly well what he is going to when he is enlisted for Assam, then I fail to see why the stream of emigration to this peasant paradise should be drying up, or why there should be such difficulty in securing eligible recruits. It cannot be due to the superior attractions of labour in the coal-fields or jute-mills of Bengal, or in the gardens of the Duars, because Hon'ble Members decline to admit that the wages there are any higher, or the prospect more alluring. How then does it come about, to quote the Hon'ble Mr. Buckingham's figures, that the total number of imported adult coolies sank from 61,000 in 1896 to 25,800 in 1899, and of Act-coolies from 18,800 in 1896 to 11,000 in 1899? Famine conditions, and the facility of procuring labour in famine years, do not explain these variations. How are we to account for the figures that were given, in his speech, by Mr. Cotton? It seems to me that the argument that the

coolies know exactly what they are about in going to Assam, when coupled with the startling reduction in the totals in which they go there—a reduction that, it should be noted, has been simultaneous with an extraordinary expansion of the industry—is fatal to the hypothesis that they find in the existing prospect, which turns mainly upon the wage, a sufficient attraction. The Hon'ble Mr. Bolton said that the coolie need not go to Assam, and nevertheless that thousands go every year. But how much does the poor ignorant coolie really know of where he is going to? One recruiting agent comes along and tempts one man by glowing promises to go to Assam. Another agent appears and persuades another man by an equally glowing picture to go to the coal-mines or the Duars. Not too much stress should, I think, be laid upon the volition of the coolie. As for the thousands in which they are alleged to go, the whole point is that the thousands are diminishing. That has been conclusively shown by the figures quoted by Mr. Buckingham.

It is not unreasonable also to suppose, if the coolies are so familiar with the prospect that lies before them, that they are acquainted with the terribly high rate of mortality that prevails among the Act-labourers, as compared with the free-labourers, in Assam. No one has disputed the figures upon this point: and, to my mind, it seems clear that the consciousness that there awaits the exile a wage lower than that of his fellows, and a risk of mortality immensely greater, is quite enough to staunch the flow of the emigrant stream. The Hon'ble Mr. Henderson remarked that he had himself experienced no difficulty in procuring sufficient labour. Yes, but his plantations are, I believe, in Cachar, where the Act-coolies are in so small a minority that the proposed increase of wage will have little effect. The conditions of Cachar, moreover, are very different from those of the Brahmaputra Valley: and the dearth of labour in the latter is a matter of universal complaint and is incontestable.

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I next pass to the cost of the proposed increase of wage. I read some astonishing statements at a recent public meeting in Calcutta, to the effect that it might involve the tea-industry in an additional annual burden of 30 lakhs. This calculation proceeds, in the first place, upon the assumption that, because there is a slight increase in the wage of the Act-coolie, there must be a corresponding increase in the wage of all the non-Act-coolies, both in the Surma and Brahmaputra Valleys. I believe this to be an erroneous hypothesis. In the Surma Valley the Act-coolies are, as it is known, in a small minority compared with the free-labourers, and might, so far as I can see, be dispensed with altogether. Secondly, the planters have themselves contended throughout that there is no analogy between the circumstances or conditions of the two parties. Thirdly, it is generally admitted that the wages of the free-labourers are already higher, so that there need be no question of bringing the two sets of wages on to the same level. I believe this surmise, therefore, to be destitute of any wide-spread or general foundation. Mr. Buckingham has given the number of Act-coolies as 132,000. Out of these it can be shown by calculations that about 50,000 are in their second or third year. An increase of eight annas per month to the wage of each of these persons for two years means an increase in each case of twelve rupees, or a total increase, spread over the two years, of six lakhs. Now I understand that the Labour Bill of the Assam gardens is about 200 lakhs a year, or four crores in two years. An addition to this total of six lakhs is an addition of only 1½ per cent. in each of two years, not, I should have thought, a burden that would have reduced even an embarrassed industry to ruin.

But perhaps it may be said that the arguments which I have been using might equally justify the larger increase advocated by Mr. Cotton, with the smaller increase proposed by the Government of India. I am not sure that this is not the case, and that we have not been too moderate.

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But we have preferred to err, if at all, on the side of leniency rather than of severity. We have tried to see how best we could reconcile our responsibility to the labourers with our desire to do no injury to the planters: and we have accordingly diminished our proposals to the minimum point compatible with fairness. What then is the upshot of the contemplated legislation in respect of wage? For the first year of the quadrennial period, the maximum wage will remain, as under the existing law, at Rs. 5 a man and Rs. 4 a woman, with the proviso that those who are physically unfit for the discharge of a full task shall receive the same wage for a half task during the first six months. In the second year the wage will be Rs. 5½ for a man, and Rs. 4½ for a woman, instead of Rs. 5, and Rs. 4. In the third year, the figures will remain the same as in the second year. In the fourth year, they will be raised, as they already are under the existing law, to Rs. 6, and Rs. 5. I have further indicated in my opening remarks our willingness to consider favourably the postponement of this very modest increase for another two years. I submit to this Council that our proceedings have been actuated by conspicuous and almost excessive moderation, and by the most anxious desire to strike the delicate mean between the two great interests which it has been our duty to consider; and I cheerfully ask the consent of this legislative body to a proposal which, when it comes into operation, will, I believe, do something to ameliorate the lot of the labourer, to attract a better class of coolie to the Assam plantations, and, in the long run, to benefit the employers even more than the employed.

[The Hon'ble Mr. Buckingham replied briefly, when the amendment was put to the Council and negatived. Mr. Buckingham then moved an amendment to the effect that the operation of clause 5 of the Bill should be suspended for two years, stating that this suggestion of His Excellency was grasped at by the planting community as a drowning man would grasp at a straw. A discussion ensued during which Mr. Cotton, in opposing the amendment, said that it

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would stultify the very inadequate concession which had just been won for the coolie.

His Excellency the President spoke as follows :—]

I am sorry that this proposal has met with so unfavourable a reception at the hands of the Chief Commissioner of the Province. He seems to have considered that it is one of an extraordinary character. I hope he will allow me to say that it is, in no sense, extraordinary. It is not at all an uncommon thing in legislation in England, and it has not been an unknown thing here, if the Government or the Council have, upon their responsibility, decided, upon legislation of a particular character affecting a particular interest, and if any circumstances have been brought forward which have demonstrated to the satisfaction of the legislative body concerned, that a change in the law which, upon general principles, they have accepted, could only be put into operation at a certain moment at the cost of some injury to one of the parties concerned—I say it is not at all an uncommon thing, either at home or here, to accept an amendment, or proviso, postponing for a short time the operation of the Act or clause in question. Nor, again, do I think that there is anything extraordinary in the circumstances of this particular case. We have now had a long debate lasting the greater part of the day, and widely as our opinions have differed, and difficult as it has been to test the figures that have been given, undoubtedly the calculations which have, in my judgment, least admitted of dispute have been those which have indicated that the tea-industry in this country, and Assam in particular, has, during the last year or two, passed into a depressed and impoverished condition. However, the Chief Commissioner says that we are now about to stultify—this is very strong language—the benefits and the advantages which it is proposed to confer upon the coolie by this Act. Well, I would submit that he is ignoring or forgetting the fact that the postponement of the wage clause will not in the least degree affect the

particular concession as regards the full wage for the half task during the first six months of the term of service of the Act-coolie. He is also ignoring the great and indisputable advantages that ought to accrue to the coolie no less than to the employer from the improved methods of recruiting and superior supervision that will be effected under this Act; and he is also ignoring, as has been pointed out, the remarkable figures and calculations given in the table that was read by Sir Allan Arthur this afternoon. There is, therefore, I submit, nothing extraordinary in such a proposal being submitted to this Council; and, while it is true that its acceptance may involve the postponement of certain of the advantages of this Bill, to say that it will stultify them is language which exceeds the bounds of that which is reasonable or just. What we are called upon to do is to strike a balance between the two parties. No doubt it is true that it would be more to the advantage of the coolie that the increase of wage should come into operation at once, but even the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner must remember that, were his advice accepted, it would not do so for a whole year, inasmuch as the rise of wage only begins to apply to the coolie in his second year. He has himself, therefore, already by his vote signified his acquiescence in a position which does postpone for an entire year the increase of wage which he now argues ought to take immediate effect. Then, as I have said, we have not only to consider the wage of the coolie on the one hand, but we also have to consider the effect that might be produced upon him by the imposition of this additional tax upon the industry that employs him at a time when it is very seriously depressed. Is not this point worth considering—that if the increase of wage began to operate at once, and if the facts are as they are alleged to be, in connection with many of these plantations, even the modest additional expenditure entailed by the increase of the wage of the Act-coolie, in its effect upon these impoverished firms and companies, might be followed by a very unfavourable

reaction upon the coolie himself? I think, therefore, that, even in the interests of the coolie, a case may be made out for postponement.

We have, as I indicated in my remarks at the opening of this debate, been prepared to listen with an open mind to the arguments which might be adduced in favour of such a postponement. At the same time there are certain of these arguments in which I cannot profess to find any peculiar force. I have heard it said, both inside this Council and outside, that if, and when, the slight addition to the wage of the Act-coolie in Assam, that we have sanctioned by the vote of this Council, be put into operation, the majority of the gardens will pass out of cultivation, and that Assam will revert to a howling wilderness. Having heard a good deal of public and platform declamation, I have learned that in speeches wildernesses always howl. But they do not do so in fact; and even were this increase of wage which we have passed to come into immediate operation, I should not be in the least alarmed as to the relapse into waste of any considerable part of the cultivated area of Assam. It might unfavourably affect a number of tottering ventures, and I am willing to regard this as a ground for postponement; but I cannot believe that it would appreciably retard the general development of the province.

There is another claim that was specially put forward by the Hon'ble Sir Allan Arthur which I must equally decline to accept. It is the claim that we owe some special reparation to the planters for our currency policy, which, by raising the rate of exchange, is alleged to have raised against them the cost of production. Now this case was argued before the Currency Commission in London, in 1898, by prominent representatives of the planting interest; and I do not hesitate to say that it completely broke down. It was conclusively proved before that Commission that the depression in the industry was due, not to the closing of the Mints by the Government of India, nor to the fiscal policy

of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in raising the tea-duty, but to over-speculation, over-competition, and over-production. I have gone very carefully into the figures, and they show most conclusively that, whereas in the nine years preceding the closing of the Mints, that is from 1885 to 1893 inclusive, the area under tea cultivation in India increased by 39 per cent., and the quantity produced by 85 per cent.; in the six years following upon the closure of the Mints, namely, 1894 to 1899, the area increased by a further 43 per cent., and the produce by a further 76 per cent.; while in 1899 the increase in production was double what it had been in any previous year. So much for all India. I will next take the case of Assam alone. In the nine years, from 1885 to 1893, the increase in area was 30 per cent., in production 75 per cent.; in the six years, from 1894 to 1899, it was 38 per cent. in area, and 67 per cent. in production. Further, if we eliminate the years 1893-1897 while the rupee was steadily rising from 13*d.* to 16*d.*, and if we take the years posterior to 1897 only, during which the rupee reached and maintained stability, we shall find that, in the two years 1897-1899, there was an increase of 20,000 acres in Assam alone brought under cultivation, and of 21 million lbs. of tea produced. Moreover, the fall in the price of tea, about which we have heard so much, continued long after exchange had become stable. It is clear, therefore, to me that the argument derived from the closure of the Mints is of very little value; and that the tea-industry has been disastrously affected, not by the currency policy of the Government of India, but by the ill-considered rush of speculation, and by the production of more tea than there were markets to purchase, or mouths to swallow.

However that may be, we have to deal, at this moment, not so much with causes as with results; and I am quite prepared to recognise that the facts that have been placed before us, testify to a condition in the industry which is one of much embarrassment. The situation has changed materially,

and for the worse, since 1899. Figures have been given in this debate of the fall that has taken place in the prices of tea. I am far from admitting that this fall involves a corresponding abridgment of profits, since I learn that there has been a considerable reduction in the cost of production, arising from more scientific cultivation, better plucking, and improved methods in general. But nevertheless the fall in prices has been continuous and unarrested, and cannot fail to re-act unfavourably upon the industry. Similarly, I have examined the dividends of the Joint Stock Tea Companies throughout India, in order to realise the general impression that was being produced upon them by the stagnation, resulting from excessive production, in the industry. I gather from the statistics that the turn for the worse did not come till after 1899. Up till that time many were doing very well. Of 31 companies registered in India in 1899, six paid dividends of 4·10 per cent., and five of 10·15 per cent. or over. On the other hand, that production was already becoming extravagant was shown by the fact that 17 of the 31 paid no dividend, and of these 8 never had paid any dividend. The figures for 1900 have been given by Sir Allan Arthur and Mr. Buckingham, and I need not repeat them. Of the 50 companies registered in England, 12, in 1899, paid no dividend, 16 paid 5·10 per cent. and 11 paid 10·15 per cent. Here again we have received the figures for 1900 from Sir Allan Arthur and Mr. Buckingham. Mr. Cotton has spoken as though 10, 7, and 5 per cent. were still common figures. I believe that this is not the case; and I think that the mistake he has made is his failure to recognize that there has been a marked decline since 1899.

I am prepared, therefore, to admit that, not merely in Assam, but throughout India, the tea-industry is at the present moment in a position which demands much sympathy and deserves respectful consideration. Other calculations and reasonings have been placed before us by the spokesmen of that industry at this table. Though I do not

for one moment shrink from the position that the increase to the wage of the coolie, which was recommended to this Council by Government, and which has been accepted by a majority of its votes, was a right and a wise decision, I will not refuse, on behalf of my Colleagues and for myself, to accept the postponement that has been suggested, in the hope that, in the space of time that will intervene before the change in the law comes into operation, there may, under the new Act, be an improvement in the facilities for recruitment by the garden-sardar, and a reduction in the price of importation, that will render the planting interest itself more favourable to an enhancement of wage that will provide it with a better article at a reduced cost.

But here, in conclusion, let me say a friendly word to the representatives of that interest. I am a believer in the policy of helping those who know how to help themselves. I see the tea-merchants of India and Ceylon scrambling for the markets of England, the Continent, and the United States of America. Why do the Assam planters not recognise that there lies the most splendid market in the world at their doors? Millions of Indians now burn kerosine oil, consume ice, carry umbrellas, and smoke cigarettes. Twenty-five years ago these habits would have been scouted as impossible. Now they are common and in some cases universal. Why do you not tempt these people also to drink tea? What is the good of scouring the world for the thousands? You have the millions at your gates. If I were a planter in Assam, I would never rest till the pluckings of my garden became the staple drink of the Indian artisan, in place of the spirituous poison which he is now tempted, for want of anything better, to pour down his throat. I give you this suggestion for what it is worth: and whether it be taken or not, I hope that Hon'ble Members will at least admit that throughout the controversial discussion of to-day the Government has shown itself a critical, but a not unfriendly, champion of the composite interests of the most interesting province of Assam.

[Mr. Buckingham's amendment was then put to the vote, when 15 votes were recorded in its favour and 4 votes against it. The Bill in its amended form was then passed into law.]

MINES BILL.

22nd Mar. 1901. [At the meeting of the Legislative Council which was held in Calcutta on Friday, the 22nd March, the Hon'ble Sir Charles Rivaz moved that the Reports of the Select Committees on the Bill to provide for the Regulation and Inspection of Mines be taken into consideration, and subsequently that the Bill as amended be passed. On this latter motion a debate took place, in which the Hon'ble Sir C. Rivaz, Mr. Ashton, Rai Sri Ram Bahadur, Mr. Smeaton, Sir Allan Arthur, Mr. Evans, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Mr. Raleigh took part.

His Excellency the President, in closing the debate, spoke as follows:—]

I think that I may now bring this interesting debate to a conclusion. Few measures that have ever been enacted by the Legislative Council of the Governor General of India have passed through a severer preliminary ordeal than this. It is seven years since the report was presented to us by Mr. Grundy, the first Inspector of Mines in India, which showed that legislation was necessary. Upon his report was convened the Committee of 1895, upon which the Mining Industry was represented. They provided, as the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh has pointed out, the material for the first draft Bill and Rules that were circulated to Local Governments, as explained in the Government Resolution of October, 1896. When the replies had been received, the draft Bill was revised and sent home to the Secretary of State. All this had taken place before I assumed my present office. The Bill, as accepted by the Secretary of State, was introduced into Council in the Session of 1899. It was then recirculated to Local Governments and other bodies for their opinions and advice. It was dealt with in Select Committee during the Session of 1900: and, as re-amended by that body, was again sent out to Local Governments in the summer of last year. Finally, I reconstituted the Select Committee during the present Session, and invited the presence upon it of the Hon'ble Mr. Ashton, whose practical knowledge has been of the utmost value to the deliberations both of the Committee and of this Council, and who has delighted us to-day with a most vigorous speech; and the Bill as re-amended and substantially modified by it—and how

great the modification is, has been powerfully pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Smeaton—has now at length emerged from its long period of labour, and is about to take its place on the Statute Book. This brief historical retrospect is, I think, sufficient to demonstrate by what slow and cautious steps we attempt to move in these cases, how numerous and unhampered are the opportunities which we provide for outside criticism, and how undeserved are the censures of those who represent the Government of India as consumed by a passion for legislative interference with matters upon which it is imperfectly informed. If any one still thinks that such a reproach can be brought against the present Administration, I would invite him to compare the form of the Bill as it is now on the table before us with the shape in which it was first sent home to the Secretary of State, and to read the notes not of dissent—for they are appended to a frank acceptance of the Bill—but of what I may call subdued interrogation, by the Hon'ble Sir Allan Arthur and the Hon'ble Mr. Ashton, which appear at the close of the Select Committee's Report. The Hon'ble Mr. Ashton, it is true, questions the desirability of any legislation dealing with the coal-mines of Bengal—a point as to which I shall have a word, or rather several words, to say in a minute—but both he and his Hon'ble Colleague confess in their notes that their only objections to the clauses of the Bill are objections which they do not at present foresee: an admission which, emanating as it does from such far-sighted gentlemen, may, I think, justify the remainder of us in concluding that they cannot be very much on the surface. I would further invite attention to their speeches of to-day. The Hon'ble Mr. Ashton has, indeed, somewhat advanced from the position taken up in his note; for he now describes the Bill as the inevitable result of the convention of modern times; and he compares it with vaccination. Now, I am sure that my Hon'ble Colleague was once vaccinated himself, and that, if an epidemic of small-pox were to threaten Calcutta, he would take very good care to be vaccinated again; and

therefore I think we may conclude that the convention of modern times is a formula of which he may speak disrespectfully, but to which in practice he would be very scrupulous to conform.

Accordingly I accept his comparison, and I gladly respond to his challenge to explain to this Council why we have preferred the inoculation prescribed by this Bill to the unimpeded prevalence of the disease which it is intended to check. A Bill for the Regulation and Inspection of Mines is, in my opinion, nowhere more needed than in this country; and an ample vindication of this proposition might, I think, be found in the general, as distinct from the peculiar, circumstances of the case. The Mining Industry in India is one that may truly be said to be increasing by leaps and bounds. Twenty years ago it had barely sprung into existence. Now it is a healthy adult. I am one of those who look forward to a promising and remunerative future for this industry, and who would wish to provide every possible opportunity for its expansion. But is it to be conceived that alone in India, of all countries in the world, the Government is to stand aloof and allow mines to be dug, and hundreds of thousands of its subjects to be employed in an occupation, at all times severe, and sometimes perilous, without intervening to ensure that reasonable protection shall be afforded to life and limb, and that adequate safeguards shall be instituted for inspection, supervision, and control? It is, I believe, true that India is the only country in the world, where mining exists on anything approaching the same scale, where there is no Mining Law. At present no mine can be visited by a Government Inspector, except by the good will of the owner of the mine. Other forms of industrial labour here have been regulated by Statute, as, for instance, by the Factories Act. Mining could not possibly expect for any length of time to escape from a similar supervision: and great, I think, would have been the responsibility of a Government which shirked a duty that has

been assumed by the Government of every civilised nation, and which is imposed upon us equally by our obligations towards the Indian people, and by our respect for the common law of humanity.

I do not think that many persons, even among the mine-owners themselves, will seriously dispute this proposition. I detect, indeed, a curious analogy between the circumstances of the present Bill and that which we were discussing in this room a fortnight ago, namely, the Assam Labour Bill. The greater part of that measure was designed to improve the conditions under which the coolie is recruited for the tea-gardens in Assam, and is maintained while at work upon them. Those provisions were very generally and thankfully accepted by all parties. Then there was the single clause dealing with an increase of wage, concerning which there was much diversity of opinion, but upon which we ultimately came to a decision that was, I believe, generally acceptable to this Council. Similarly, in the case of this Bill, I venture to think that $\frac{19}{20}$ths of its provisions will be recognised as salutary and necessary by all of those here present; while the disputed section, known as the Labour Clauses, is again a matter upon which we have shown a keen anxiety to meet outside and expert criticism, and not to proceed beyond the necessities of the case. I have indeed as strong a dislike of academic legislation as can possibly be entertained by any mine-owner, who looks upon Governments as sinister bodies animated by an almost fiendish propensity for meddling in other people's business, and, in particular, for interfering between capital and labour. I am all for developing our nascent Indian industries; and I know that this is not to be done either by coddling them on the one hand, or by persecution on the other. This is an explanation of the attitude which the Government has adopted with regard to the labour clauses of the present Bill, and, indeed, towards the Bill in general: and it is one which I at any rate fearlessly submit to the bar of public opinion.

Mines Bill.

But now I pass to the justification for a measure of this sort not on *a priori* grounds, but on grounds of local and demonstrated necessity. Some people are in the habit of talking and writing as though mines in India were such simple affairs, so shallow and agreeable, and free from conditions either of discomfort or danger, as to be able to dispense altogether with statutory regulation, equally with labour above-ground and in the fields. The Hon'ble Mr. Ashton has drawn a picture of the poor perspiring labourer, who retires to the happy haven of the underground coal-pit as a refuge from the heat of the outer air. I think that this is pushing the case rather too far. It rather reminds me of those persons who defend fox-hunting on the ground that the exercise is so agreeable to the fox. I daresay that in many cases Mr. Ashton's dictum applies. But it is not of universal application. Mines in India are not at all invariably the safe and comfortable resorts which he would have us believe. For years past Mr. Grundy, the Official Inspector of Mines, has called the attention of Government in his annual reports to the defects in their working, and to the dangers to which the operatives were exposed. I have studied these reports, and other Hon'ble Members have probably done the same : and they are far from bearing out the sanguine description to which we have listened. But I have carried my investigations a step further. I resolved to ascertain what was the very latest information as to the alleged conditions of danger attending mining in India, and I accordingly sent and asked Mr. Reader, the Officiating Inspector, for a special report. His reply only reached me a short time since. It was written less than a month ago, just before Mr. Reader sickened of cholera, and died. What he told me was that, in his many inspections, he had repeatedly found an utter disregard for human life, resulting partly from ignorance, and partly from carelessness, and that many mines were conducted upon such inhuman lines—these were his own words—that some immediate remedial

action ought to be taken. He further supplied me with details about 71 collieries and mines which he had personally inspected at a recent date. In 55 of these he found that precautionary measures were generally taken, and that the health and safety of the work-people were looked after. But in 16 cases—which were principally those of native-owned mines, where he reported a lower standard of experience and care—he declared that there was evidence of an utter disregard to make this elementary provision. In many of the mines the head-gear and winding apparatus were unsafe. Elsewhere there was no attempt at proper ventilation. Frequently the managers were absent, and the work was proceeding under no sort of control. In some cases the proprietors stopped the working of the mines altogether in order to prevent the Inspector from descending and finding out what was going on. This is the class of manager to whom the Hon'ble Mr. Ashton's earnest appeal of to-day may profitably be addressed. In one case, in a Bengal coal-mine, Mr. Reader found 250 people (men, women, children, and infants) at work, where he reported the ventilation as nil, the air as foul in the extreme with smoke and gases, and the conditions as unfit for human existence. In another case he found that three deaths had been caused by a fall of overhanging sandstone, due to incompetent management, and that the lives of 65 other persons were in jeopardy from the same cause. In another case he found the women carrying the coal passing to and fro under a roof of coal that was being taken down and might have fallen in at any moment. In two other gaseous mines, where the managers were absent, and incompetent substitutes had been left in charge, he found huge fires kindled in the working galleries, and naked lights suspended from the roof where the cutting was going on. In a long succession of cases in his report I read the words—"only one entrance; no ventilation; ventilation none." What the danger of only one entrance is must be obvious to everybody.

Supposing any accident to happen at the mouth, or the single incline to be blocked, all the persons working underground are imprisoned alive. Again, he says that infants are allowed to be carried and put to sleep in foul places incompatible with health or safety. I might go on multiplying these quotations, which I have given in Mr. Reader's language, not mine. But I think that I have said enough to convince my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Ashton, that the case for legislation has not only been proved, but proved a dozen times over. If I were to allow such evidence to come before me, and to refrain from acting upon it, when it lay in my power to do so, I should be unfit to be the head of this administration. At the same time I readily admit that these are the exceptional and not the normal cases—it is with bad exceptions that legislation is as a rule called upon to deal—and that they probably do not occur in the mines with which the Hon'ble Member is himself acquainted. Indeed, Mr. Reader added in his reply to me that the fires, of which I have spoken, were not allowed in any mines under European management, and that where he had noted grave defects in any such mines, they were in process of being remedied.

I have now, I think, said enough to show that Government are standing upon very solid ground in taking the powers for official inspection and control that are provided by this Bill; and I will pass to the next remaining subject that demands my attention, namely, the regulation of the labour of women and children. I say frankly in this context that I think that our standard should be, not a too rigid or pedantic correspondence with the tests or the enactments of European countries, but the security of female and child labour, as affected by the conditions of Oriental labour and life. There is no analogy, or, at any rate, none but the slightest analogy, between the circumstances of English coal-pits, where women and children are not permitted to descend below the surface at all, and the conditions in India, where families all work together, and where such co-operation

not merely adds to the earnings of those who are miserably poor, but is a check upon, rather than an incentive to, immoral relations. I do not conceive that a case has been made out for interfering, on abstract grounds, with labour of this sort. I may add that Mr. Reader was of the same opinion, and that, outspoken as he was in his condemnation where condemnation was required, he reported that he had not found women and children doing work in one district which was performed by men in another, or work which was itself of an unsuitable or dangerous character, but that the division of underground labour was fair and well observed. On the other hand, he did report that he had inspected mines where women and children ought not to be employed at all, and that he had found them employed elsewhere under conditions which were equally dangerous to them with the men. This being the case, he held most strongly that legal power ought to be taken to prevent their employment in such places. I do not see how it is possible to differ from this conclusion. Even now woman and child labour is not employed in a number of mines, or is only employed at the surface; and I have seen a letter from a mine manager in Bengal who has had 20 years of experience in India, and who says that he has never yet employed a woman or child underground, and never will. Though not a word has been said about it in the debate, I think too that Government should not shut its eyes to the fact that in a good many cases the labour of women and children is really engaged, not for domestic reasons, but simply for economy's sake: in other words, because it is cheaper than that of men. Labour so employed is peculiarly defenceless, and has only Government to look to for protection. Moreover, Hon'ble Members must recollect that, as time goes on, while no doubt higher standards as regards management will be introduced into Indian mines, so also will there be a tendency on the part of the labour conditions to become more like, and not less like, the European model.

Shafts will become deeper, narrower and gaseous seams will be more and more encountered, ventilation will become more necessary, improved facilities for ingress and egress will be required, and the need for closer inspection, and sometimes direct interference, will develop. In these circumstances, it is simply impossible for Government to divest itself of the full authority to intervene in such cases, or to abrogate its duty, by a rule-making power, to assimilate progressive conditions to a progressive standard of comfort and security.

Our main object in modifying the labour clauses, as we have done, has been to secure that no such intervention shall take place in a sudden or ignorant or arbitrary manner; but that the fullest opportunity shall be conceded to the mine-owners to be heard in counsel, in exculpation, or in defence. This is the origin of the advisory Boards and Committees which we have instituted, and which I venture to think will provide a machinery that will ensure to capital an almost unexampled opportunity of making its legitimate influence and authority felt, while not depriving Government of any portion of its right to protect and to safeguard labour. I cannot conceive anything more unfortunate or unwise than that, at this early and transitional stage of the industry in India, definite and rigid rules should be inserted in the Act, authorising or compelling a particular method of interference, and that alone. I would venture to say with some confidence to mine-owners that, were any such course adopted, the only result would be that, before many years had passed, the rules would be found to be so inflexible as to have become either obsolete or inadequate, and that a demand would be made, and very likely strongly reinforced by agitation at home, for a remodelling of the entire Act. It is from every point of view undesirable that we should be perpetually tinkering our former legislation, or passing new legislation, to regulate these questions of labour and capital in India. No enterprise will grow that is always in legislative swaddling-bands. It

is much better for all parties that Government should retain the full power to which it is entitled, and which it cannot without discredit shake off or evade; but that it should provide, as we have endeavoured to provide, the amplest guarantees that this authority shall not be used to override expert advice, or to run away in advance of public opinion or of the necessities of the case. The Hon'ble Mr. Ashton has, I understand, invited me in his speech to-day, to lay down the lines upon which the rules of the future shall be framed, and in particular to define the restrictions that may be applied to women and children. In other words, the Government of India having deliberately refrained from introducing the rules at this stage into the Bill, my Hon'ble friend suggests that I should supply the deficiency by stating them in my speech. " 'Will you walk into my parlour?' said the spider to the fly." I am afraid that I must assume the position and give the answer of the humbler insect. The fact is, if I may point it out, that the Indian Mining Association do not quite know their own minds in the matter. As Sir Charles Rivaz has pointed out, there was a time a few years ago when they were all in favour of a rule-making power and against the insertion of rules in the Act. Now they have swung round and are crying out for definite rules. I venture to say that their earlier attitude was, for the reasons that I have named, wiser than the later. Indeed, it would have been absurd to introduce into the Act rules that would have applied to all the metalliferous as well as to the coal mines of India; and no one would have been so competent to point out this absurdity as my Hon'ble friend.

He has further taken exception to the proposed Mining Boards on the ground that they will contain an overpowering Government majority. Well, the Board is only to consist of five persons, and as two of these are to be mine-owners or representatives, the majority against them, if all the rest vote together, can only be one, which can hardly be described as very overpowering. But who are the three

to be ? Excluding the Mining Inspector, the two remaining members are to be a public officer nominated by the Local Government, and another independent person similarly appointed. I presume that these persons will commonly be selected from the local officers of the district, to whom I have always understood that the mine-owners gladly appeal in confirmation of the proper conduct of their enterprise, and who have been cited to-day by Mr. Ashton as witnesses favourable to his case; and if my Hon'ble friend now assumes, as he does, that these parties, when they are placed upon a Mining Board, will always be against the mine-owner, I can only say that he displays a most surprising lack of confidence in the equity of the cases that will come before them.

The fact is that my Hon'ble friend and his associates are very much pleased at the constitution of these boards. It gives them all and more than the protection that they desired. That the Coal-mining Industry at large cannot be very seriously frightened at what we are about to do, may, I think, be inferred from the market prices of the Bengal mining shares, which have risen steadily while our measure has been proceeded with, and which stand now at higher figures than they have ever before touched ; while, if my Hon'ble friend had been at all genuinely perturbed, I am sure that he would have quoted some more recent authorities upon mining than Lord Bacon and Burke, Lord Macaulay and Sir Henry Maine. In reality, I believe that he has been dissembling his emotions of relief this afternoon. They were much more openly confessed by the Hon'ble Sir Allan Arthur, whose candid admissions I greatly admired. For my own part, I do not at all doubt that this Bill, while regularising, will encourage, rather than cripple, the enterprise with which it deals, and which is much more likely to be successful when it is no longer allowed to be lax. It is, therefore, with no small confidence that I submit the motion now before us to the votes of this Council.

DEBATE ON THE BUDGET.

[The Hon'ble Sir Edward Law, Financial Member of Council, introduced and explained his Financial Statement for 1901-1902 in the Legislative Council on Wednesday, the 20th March, 1901, and the Statement came up for discussion on the following Wednesday, the 27th. Before the proceedings began His Excellency the President remarked that, if any Hon'ble Member cared in the course of the debate to adopt the plan that was followed in some cases last year, of laying upon the table either his speech, or such portions of it as were of a detailed or technical character, he would not stand in the way of his doing so. This suggestion of His Excellency's was adopted by some of the speakers and resulted in a considerable saving of time. The debate was opened by the Hon'ble Mr. Ashton, who was followed by the Hon'bles Rai Sri Ram Bahadur, Mr. Smeaton, Sir Allan Arthur, Mr. Bose, Mr. Buckingham, Sir Harnam Singh, Mr. Ananda Charlu, Sir C. Rivaz, Sir A. Trevor, Sir Edwin Collen, and Sir E. Law. In closing the debate His Excellency the President spoke as follows :—] 27th Mar. 1901.

We have arrived at the close of what I venture to claim as a practical and businesslike session. A year ago, in my Budget Speech, I had to confess and to explain the withdrawal or the postponement of our most important legislative measures. In the present year we have a better record; for not merely have we placed upon the Statute Book a number of subsidiary measures, to one of which, providing a much desired relief in respect of inheritance and of succession duties to Native Christians, I attach no small weight, but we have also carried into law two bills of the highest importance, the Assam Labour Bill and the Mines Bill, both of which raised issues of a very controversial character, and were keenly watched by public opinion. I ventured to prophesy last year that we should profit, rather than lose, by postponement; and I have little doubt that, whereas we have in both cases secured general assent, and in one case absolute unanimity, in the final stages of these measures, we should not have been so fortunate had we persisted in pushing them forward at that time. I feel

therefore that we may all compliment ourselves upon good work done: and although my test of the success of a legislative session in India certainly would not be the amount of the legislative outturn, I yet feel that, even judged by this standard, we have not done amiss. It is hardly necessary for me to reiterate the opinion to which I have given expression on a previous occasion, and which, I am sure, will meet with the enthusiastic acceptance of the Hon'ble Mr. Buckingham, that I am not anxious to strain too heavily the productive capacity of our legislative machine during the remainder of the time that I am in India.

If our session has been one of a workmanlike character, we may also claim that it has terminated in a very business-like budget, and in a discussion of solid interest. My Hon'ble Colleague, Sir Edward Law, has hardly met with the conditions which a financier of repute would voluntarily choose for the inauguration of an Indian term of office. He has had to fight a famine of exceptional severity, and to watch a financial situation that has always been delicate, and sometimes anxious. Nevertheless, at the end of a year of strain, he has been able to convert the almost nominal surplus that was estimated for by his predecessor into a sum of nearly 1¾ millions sterling. He can congratulate the country and himself that the currency policy, which was inaugurated just before he joined us, has gained in strength and stability at his hands, so much so that all those gloomy ravens who sat about and croaked of disaster at about the time when the London Committee issued its report, seem to have vanished from the scene; and after making the most ample provision for a generous famine expenditure in the Bombay Presidency, which unfortunately is not yet free from serious drought, for increased military expenditure, and for a much larger outlay upon railways and upon irrigation, in the forthcoming year, he is yet able to predict a substantial surplus at its close, which, if only we can count upon a recurrence of normal conditions, I shall hope to see largely increased.

Debate on the Budget.

I do not wish to strain these achievements, or the figures upon which they rest, beyond their legitimate scope. I am well aware that we have had a number of windfalls during the past year, which no one could foresee, and upon which we most certainly cannot reckon in the future. But, nevertheless, making due allowance for them, I still claim that the situation is one that is hopeful, both as regards the economic and the financial position of India. I shall revert to the first of these subjects later on. But as regards the latter, while I should always be cautious in dogmatising either about the durability of any financial situation, or the vitality of any fiscal system, I yet think that, if we examine our main sources of revenue and note their steady increase, we may feel some confidence that, barring a recurrence of disasters which are beyond our foresight or control, India is already beginning to tread upon a brighter and happier pathway.

There is one heading of the estimates upon which I desire to say a word. I allude to the Military Estimates. They have been introduced in a statement and have been explained to-day in a speech by the Hon'ble Military Member, enumerating the very considerable reforms and additions which we have already undertaken, or are about to undertake, and summarising in a concise manner the principal measures of improvement that have been carried out in the Indian Army during the sixteen years with which, in one or another capacity—culminating in the highest—Sir Edwin Collen has been connected with the Military administration of the Government of India. He is now retiring from our service with a record of long and honourable work, such as few administrators can point to, and that has left an enduring mark upon the *personnel*, the organisation, and the equipment of the Army in India. May I be allowed to congratulate him upon the record which he has so modestly compiled, and also upon the very substantial addition that he has been able to make to it during the past two years?

Debate on the Budget.

I am sure that he will be willing to make the reciprocal acknowledgment that, although his proposals have never been more searchingly investigated than during the many hours which the Members of the present Executive Council have spent at the Council Table in discussing with him the problems of our Military administration during the past year and a half, and although there are many respects in which we have not been able to concede the full measure of his demands, he has not in his long experience been associated with colleagues who were more profoundly impressed with the gravity of their responsibility for the defence of the Indian Empire, both to the inhabitants of this country, and to the larger unit of which India forms a part. I need not repeat to-day what I said in the Budget Debate last year. I gave a clear warning on that occasion that there would be a rise in the Military Estimates, and that rise has come. I am not in the least disturbed by the argument that all this Military expenditure is a waste, and that the money had much better be spent upon projects of economic development. I would gladly spend the whole of our revenues in the latter way, but I say frankly that I dare not. The Army is required to make India safe; and it cannot be said that India is safe. In the event of an invasion or a campaign those very theorists who are so fond of the phrase 'bloated expenditure,' and who denounce any attempt to make the Army more efficient that costs money, would be the first to run round and take shelter under the armaments whose expansion they had resisted. Exorbitant or ill-considered outlay, equally with them, I would decry; but my Hon'ble Colleague will bear me out that there is not an item in the new Military expenditure of one million sterling in the forthcoming year which has not been exhaustively threshed out and sifted at the Council Table, whether the outlay was half a lakh or twenty lakhs. He has given to Council in his memorandum an indication of the objects to which this expenditure is to be devoted.

Debate on the Budget.

They are not fanciful experiments, the emanation of the brain of the faddist or the doctrinaire. Still less do they spring from schemes of aggression or advance. There have never been two years in India less marked by a bellicose ambition. The purposes to which the money is to be devoted are such objects as rearmament of the entire Army with the latest weapon, the increase of our artillery and its supply with the most modern guns, a very substantial addition of officers, the creation of an organised transport corps instead of the fumbling units which have hitherto been a substitute for it, the proper armament of our coast defences, the building of light railways with which to strengthen our frontier posts, the establishment of factories with which to turn out our own military material. I am far from saying that the list of necessary improvements is exhausted. Year by year the discussion has to be resumed in the light of fresh experience and of demonstrated needs. But at least no one can say that, while the whole world has been busy with military reform, we in India have stood still. I remember last autumn reading in the leading organ of the English press an article about the Indian Army. It was one of those rather sensational letters which, from the cover of anonymity, fling broadcast the accents of denunciation and doom. I never blame the writers of these productions; because their purpose is almost always honest, even where their knowledge is imperfect; and because their invective, though sometimes exaggerated, very often calls attention to positive blots. This particular writer declared that our armaments in India were hopelessly inadequate, our *personnel* insufficient, our equipment obsolete and absurd. How far these opinions are correct must be judged in the light of the information contained in the present Budget and in that of last year. But when the writer went on to say that nothing was being done, or, if being done, was being done so slowly and so incompletely as to be little better than absolute inaction, and that the Government of

India was not in the least likely to take the necessary steps, he revealed an ignorance which was profound, and, if he possessed any opportunity of learning the facts, culpable.

In my first Budget Speech two years ago, I alluded to twelve important reforms to which I hoped to address myself while in India. I was sufficiently cautious at the time not to indicate their nature, and I remember that there was some playful conjecture as to what they might be. Inasmuch as before we meet again at this table, more than half of the normal term of office of a Governor General will have elapsed, and as I shall be terminating my third and entering upon my fourth year of administration, I may perhaps take advantage of the present occasion to indicate in more precise language how far the Government of India has travelled up to the present date along the road which we then set before ourselves. I hope I may not be misunderstood. Neither my Colleagues nor I desire to claim for ourselves any premature credit for measures as yet only recently introduced, and to which the test of experience has yet to be applied. We also know enough of India not to be sanguine or to prophesy. Just as two years ago I never anticipated that we were standing on the brink of an appalling famine—the second within three years—so now there may be vicissitudes or risks ahead of us of which we know nothing, and which may upset all our calculations. All I desire to do upon the present occasion is to take the public into our confidence as to the measures which we have placed before ourselves, and to indicate to it that we have not so far been idle.

First in importance among these objects I placed the creation and pursuit of a sound Frontier Policy. It seemed to me that many of our blunders and misfortunes had arisen from the fact that there was no settled basis of policy, no principle of action operating throughout that long and troubled zone, but that each situation was apt to be dealt with as it arose, and according to the advice or influences

that happened to be uppermost. I do not think that there is in this picture any disparagement of the officials who were responsible for what was done. They were dealing with a transitional epoch, in which the frontiers were being pushed forward by the pressure of events, without any policy having been formulated to keep pace with them, and in which there was a tendency to oscillate, according to the predominant influence of the hour, between advance and retrogression. It has always seemed to me that a survey of the whole situation, in the light of our experience, our pledges, our armaments, and our general resources, ought to be productive of a code of frontier policy, which could, with consistency and without violent interruptions, be applied to the whole line of our North-Western frontier from the Pamirs to Beluchistan. Such a code we have endeavoured to evolve. Its main features consist in the withdrawal of our regular troops from advanced positions in tribal territory, their concentration in posts upon or near to the Indian border, and their replacement in tribal tracts by bodies of tribal levies trained up by British officers to act as a militia in defence of their own native valleys and hills; in other words, the substitution of a policy of frontier garrisons drawn from the people themselves, for the costly experiment of large forts and isolated posts thrown forward into a turbulent and fanatical country. This is the policy that we have been engaged in carrying into effect from Chitral on the North to the Gomal Valley on the South. I do not say that it is a policy unattended with risk. There is no frontier policy capable of being framed that could be described as absolutely safe. I have not uttered one boastful word about it since we began two years ago; and I am not even going to indulge in a murmur of self-congratulation now. The policy has to justify itself: and that it can only do in time. I do not say that it will save us from frontier warfare, or from occasional expeditions, or from chronic anxiety. They are the inevitable heritage of a boundary

with the physical and ethnographical characteristics of the Indian frontier. All I claim for it is that it is a policy of military concentration as against diffusion, and of tribal conciliation in place of exasperation: and I desire that it should be given a fair chance. I do not at all care by what name it is called. One of the main errors of the past seems to me to have been that, instead of realising that there could be such a thing as a policy upon which all parties could agree, it has been assumed that there were only two policies—the Lawrence policy and the Forward policy—and that a man who was fit to think must be an advocate of one or the other. In my view both of these policies have long ago been superannuated. I have frequently argued in the House of Commons and elsewhere that the policy of Lord Lawrence is dead, from the complete change in the situation and from the efflux of time: and I think that there is nothing more dangerous or more futile than to summon dead men from their graves, and to dogmatise as to how they would have dealt with a situation that they could never have foreseen. Similarly, as regards the Forward School, the word is one of those elastic and pliable adjectives which are capable of assuming the most different meanings, from a statesmanlike prevision of military and political danger on and beyond the frontier, to a rash indulgence in military adventure. All I would say is, let us get away from the paralysing influence of labels. Let our new frontier policy be called by any name that men choose. Only let it be based, not upon obsolete political formulas, but upon up-to-date common sense; and if it approves itself as time goes on, let it become a tradition and endure.

The second reform that I set before myself was the constitution, after I had had time carefully to examine the whole situation, of the best form of administration for the Frontier districts. As Hon'ble Members know, these studies led to the recommendation of a new Frontier Agency to be created out of the Trans-Indus Districts of the Punjab, and to be

placed under the direct control of the Government of India. This proposal was unanimously accepted by my Colleagues here, and has received the assent of the Secretary of State and of His Majesty's Government at home. The papers have already been printed in the form of an Extraordinary Gazette, which will show to the public what were the steps by which we were led to these conclusions. I need not recapitulate them now. We may perhaps feel some reasonable pleasure at the solution of a problem which has baffled successive Governments for 25 years. But our new province will have to be judged not by its promise, but by its results. In one respect I observe a great change in public opinion; for, whereas when I left England the majority of those persons whom I had consulted on the desirability of such a change were hostile to it, and it was doubtful what might be the reception accorded to it by the Press, I now observe with satisfaction that it is everywhere described as inevitable, and taken as a matter of course. This is rather the way with reforms. They are often vigorously and successfully resisted, as this proposal has been ever since the days of Lord Lytton, who was its first parent. But when they are ultimately carried, every one shakes hands, and says that the result was a foregone conclusion.

Third in order of importance I place the steps that we have taken, with the consent of the Secretary of State, to remedy what I hold to have been one of the greatest abuses that have grown up in recent years in this country, and the most subtle and insidious danger to Indian Administration. I allude to the frequency of official transfers arising partly out of our leave rules, partly from local systems of official promotion, partly from a preference of the convenience of the individual to the exigencies of the public service. It is hopeless to expect good administration without continuity, intelligent administration without local knowledge, popular administration without personal interest. If these considerations apply to Government in any country, much more are

they true of a country like India, where large masses of people are being ruled by a small minority of alien extraction. The abilities, the training, and the enthusiasm of the latter are all discounted or thrown away if the officers are shifted hither and thither before they know the district or have mastered the local dialect, or have acquired the confidence of the inhabitants. It is as though the captain of a cricket eleven were to place his field indiscriminately and to shift a man from post to post before he had learned the work of one. This great danger in India, as to which I never fail to make enquiries wherever I go on tour, and which in some parts of the country has attained to extravagant dimensions, has attracted our earnest study; and the reform in the Leave Rules which we have instituted, and which, without detracting from the privileges of the Service, will prevent the frequent removal of officers upon leave at short and insufficient intervals, with a consequent chain of transfers, and far-reaching dislocation, will, we hope, tend very greatly to mitigate the evil. At the same time we are taking up independently the case of particular Presidencies or Provinces where a bad system seems to call for special treatment, and we have issued general rules, applicable to all, as to the conditions under which district posts should in future be held. Any administrator who in his time can feel that he has done something to draw closer together the ties between rulers and ruled in this country, and to produce that sympathy that can only result from mutual knowledge, may go away with a consciousness of not having altogether failed.

A corollary of this abuse is the divorce that has been brought about between an officer and his work, or at any rate the most important part of his work, by the interminable writing that has grown up in the administration of this country, and that threatens to extinguish all personality, or initiative, or despatch, under mountains of manuscript and print. The real tyranny that is to be feared in India,

is not the tyranny of executive authority, but that of the pen. I do not say that the system is without its good features. It could not have grown up, it could not have reached its present dimensions in India, had it not had substantial justification. In a country so large, where the life of officials, even the most sedentary, is so fleeting, where customs and traditions and practice vary so greatly, and where such importance rightly attaches to precedent, it is essential that there should be preserved the written records not merely of administrations but of departments. In this way only can an officer upon arrival in a new district find out what has been going on there before him; and in this way only are the perpetually changing officers in the various Secretariats able to deal with cases, of which, without the written records, they would be in entire ignorance. These are the good and necessary sides of the system. But there is a consensus of opinion among those who are qualified to speak that the engine has become so powerful as to have got the better of its driver, and that those who should be the masters of the system have become its slaves. In the departments of Government I found when I came here inordinate writing, unjustifiable repetition, unbusiness-like procedure, and much easily avoidable delay. I do not think that any individual or series of individuals could be blamed for this. It had grown up so to speak by stealth; and every one was a half unconscious victim. Three things were necessary. The first step was to make a careful study of the system in the various departments, and to ascertain when and how and why it had grown. I found that it was almost entirely the product of the last 25 years, and that it synchronised with the great development of communications, and more especially of the telegraph, in other words that it was the product of modern centralisation. The next step was to compare our system with those of the best offices in the Government at home, and to see what lessons could be derived from them. The third step

was, by consultation with all those officers who are responsible for working it, to ascertain where the pruning knife could most effectively be applied. In this way was drawn up an entirely new set of Rules of business for the Secretariat of the Government of India, providing for greater simplification of procedure, less penwork, more frequent verbal consultation, superior despatch. These rules were sent round to all the Local Governments, and with suitable modifications have been largely adopted by them. They have now been in operation for a year and a half in the departments of the Government of India. I watch over them, as my Hon'ble Colleagues and the Secretaries and Under Secretaries know, with all the interested vigilance of a parent, and I have received and desire to acknowledge the most loyal co-operation at their hands. More recently, after prolonged examination, we have attacked that more mischievous development of the same abuse which arises out of the multiplicity and length of reports, and we are striking at its very roots. It is no exaggeration to say that the system of report-writing that prevails in India is at once the most perfect and the most pernicious in the world,—the most perfect in its orderly marshalling of facts and figures, and in the vast range of its operation; the most pernicious in the remorseless consumption of time, not to mention print and paper, that it involves, and in its stifling repression of independence of thought or judgment. The Government have made public their views in a Resolution recently published in the Gazette, and we are now addressing all the Local Governments. It is of no use to deal with the matter in pious generalisations, or with academic counsels of perfection. Resolutions or appeals of that sort are gratefully acknowledged, and as speedily forgotten. We have made a detailed examination of every report that comes in from any quarter to the Government of India, and have collated them over a period of years. In this way we have been able to strike a mean, both as to contents, and character, and

length. A great many have been found to be useless, and have been abolished altogether. With regard to the remainder, we have issued definite orders in each case, prescribing the manner of compilation and the limits of length. We have invited the Local Governments to do the same with the reports that go up to them but do not come on to us. We are thus thinning the forest, not by a general order to reduce the amount of superfluous timber that it contains, but by ringing every tree in it that ought either to be lopped or to be cut down, and by sending in the woodmen with axes to perform the task. But I may be asked what is going to come out of all this? Will not this reformatory zeal soon die down, and be replaced by the normal apathy? Who is going to secure continuity either of energy or plan? I observe that this was the tone of a recent gathering in England that met to discuss this question. A large number of Indian officers of authority and experience attended, and they were all good enough to say that our reforms were excellent, but a good many added that they would be ephemeral. Indeed, one gentleman said that no permanent reform would ever originate in India. Let us wait and see. I at any rate do not mean to be put off by these counsels of despondency and despair. As I said in the Government Resolution, there is no reason why a good practice should not endure just as well as a bad practice, if once it be given a fair start; and I think I have a right to appeal for the co-operation of every officer of Government, from a Governor to a Deputy Collector, to see that that start is given. It is true that Viceroys are fleeting phantoms, whose personality is transient, and whose term is soon over. But this is a work in which is involved not the prestige or the whim of an individual, but the entire credit of British rule in India; and it is even more to the interest of every Local Administration that it should continue than it can be to mine.

Fifthly comes the great change in our Currency system, to which I have already adverted, and which is now in the

second year of successful and tranquil operation. It is, I think, a considerable thing to have escaped for so long from all the inconveniences and troubles arising from an unstable and fluctuating exchange. It was fatal to accuracy of financial forecasting, and it was in the highest degree prejudicial to trade. We are now all settling down to a 16*d*.-rupee as if it had existed since the beginning of time, and we make our calculations upon a basis of reasonable certainty. Even the prospects of a redundant circulation of rupees, by which some are frightened, are rendered innocuous by the Gold Reserve Fund which we have established upon the advice of Sir E. Law, and which is to hold in reserve the gold with which to meet any sudden plethora in the silver coinage. It really seems as though India were entering upon a period of reasonable stability as regards currency: and this new and happy era, which was inaugurated by Mr. Dawkins, may, I hope, be converted into a settled tradition by his successor.

One of the objects with which I have always welcomed the introduction of the gold standard, placing India as it does in closer contact, and upon even terms, with the money-market of Great Britain, has been the hope that it might accelerate the flow of capital to this country in industrial and other undertakings. This will not come all with a rush; but I think that I see signs that the movement is spreading. And this brings me to the sixth subject, upon which I have bestowed close attention, and to which I have been anxious to communicate a positive impetus. I allude to Railways, and I speak not merely of railway construction but of railway policy and railway finance. I remember, before I came out to India, saying that I hoped that 25,000 miles would be completed in my time. I erred on the side of caution. Though we have had to deal with a curtailed programme in consequence mainly of famine, this total has already been reached and passed. When I made my first Budget Speech, the total length of open lines was 22,500.

Debate on the Budget.

It is now 25,155. In the last two years our railway account has, for the first time in the history of Indian railways, exhibited a net surplus,—a result which must be very gratifying to my Hon'ble Colleague, Sir A. Trevor, who has administered the Public Works Department with so much acumen for five years—and we are proposing in the forthcoming year to spend over 10¼ crores upon railways, as compared with 8¼ crores during the past year of famine, and 9 crores in the preceding year. But here I am confronted by a point to which I must make a passing allusion. I observe that a question has been raised as to whether the increase of railways is not an injury rather than a gain to India, and whether by carrying away the food supplies of the country in times of plenty, they do not leave the raiyat impoverished and exhausted when famine comes. It has been suggested in consequence that, if we do not stop our railways, which are supposed to swell our exports, we ought to restrict the latter. Inasmuch as these arguments appear to me to involve a fallacy of the first order, and to rest upon presumptions for which there is no foundation, I may perhaps halt for a moment in order to expose them. The first of these presumptions is that our export of food-grains is largely upon the increase, and that this increase has been in the main caused by railways. There is no ground for this hypothesis. The total export of food-grains from India between 1880 and 1890 was 22,687,000 tons; between 1890 and 1900, 23,257,000 tons, or an average annual increase during the second decade of only 57,000 tons over the first. Had the exports increased in proportion to the extension of railways, the volume of trade in the second decade would have been half as much again as that in the first. In the last year the grain export has been far below the average of any previous year. The second presumption is that a large proportion of the total grain produce of India is exported. This again is not the case. Out of a total estimated production of 73,000,000 tons,

little more than 3 per cent. is exported, and if rice be excluded, less than 2 per cent., the bulk of the export being wheat, which is not the food of the people in time of famine. If then we place a check upon exports in order to provide the population with more grain when famine comes, all that we shall do will be to ruin Burma, which lives upon its great export of rice to India, notably in times of famine, and to deprive the wheat grower of the Punjab of the market which railways have created for him.

As a matter of fact, what was the old system which railways are alleged to have destroyed and which we are now invited in some quarters to re-establish? It was the plan of grain storage in ordinary years against the years of drought. This was a possible and a desirable system in the days of no communications. Each district had then to be self-sufficing, because it was landlocked. With the spread of railways such a policy has become a costly and a useless anachronism. The storage system itself was attended by the gravest drawbacks, which have now apparently been forgotten. Rice is a grain which will not easily admit of being preserved. Even the drier grains are apt to moulder under such conditions, and, when the grain pits of the Deccan were opened in 1897, a great deal of bad grain was thrust upon the market and caused wide-spread disease. Again, it seems to be forgotten that the grain-pit usually has a private owner, and that the price at which he will consent to open and sell is not determined by the needs of the public, but by the interests of his own pocket. Under the storage system the most startling fluctuations of prices occurred even in adjoining districts. Grain was at famine prices in one place, while it was lying rotting upon the ground in another. Everyone knows the story of the Madras beach in 1876. Take the case again of Raipur in the Central Provinces under this system. In 1861 wheat was selling at 84 seers for the rupee, in 1863 at 32, in 1868 at 20, in 1869 at 15 in 1876 at 53¾, in 1878 at 19½.

Debate on the Budget.

If anybody tells me that this is a condition of affairs good for the cultivator, or the consumer, or for trade, or for the Government of India, I must take leave to doubt his sanity. Now, as against this, what have railways done? They have equalised the prices all round. They have given to the landlocked districts access to external markets in times of plenty, and they have brought the produce of those markets to their doors in times of need. It must be remembered that the whole of India is never fortunately afflicted at the same time by famine. There are always flourishing parts to feed the parts that are famishing. In the old days the inhabitants of the latter consumed the grain in their pits, and then laid down and died. Now imported grain keeps alive the whole population. I gave just now the experience of Raipur under the old conditions. Let me tell Hon'ble Members what it has been under the new. I will quote the words of the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Fraser, with reference to the recent famine. "It is impossible," he writes, "to over-estimate the benefits which railway extension has conferred upon the province. If Chattisgarh, for instance, had not been opened up by railways, it is horrifying to think of what might have occurred. The recent extensions of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway poured in supplies of the cheap scalded rice of Orissa which penetrated far into the interior. In 1897 this source of supply was wanting, and the more expensive rice from Burma was the chief foodstuff brought in. In the famine of 1897, when exports were carried away in the early months, the Chattisgarh people pointed to the railways as an exaggeration of their ills. In this famine they have regarded them as their salvation. Within one year the railways have brought into the province grain enough to feed three millions of people for a year." Now this is a very instructive quotation; for it shows how in 1897, when the Chattisgarh people held fairly large stocks, they resented the depletion of these by the railway and a rise in prices later on. On the other hand,

in 1899 there was in over two-thirds of Chattisgarh no crop at all. Where I wonder in such a case would the grain-pits have been? On this occasion had it not been for the railway, the entire population would have perished like flies. Storage may for a time supply a restricted area. It never has saved, and never will save, a district or a province.

There remains the third fallacy, as I regard it, that railways have raised prices to a prohibitive level. I can discover no ground for this allegation. The export trade in food-grains cannot have produced any such result because I have shown it to be infinitesimal. Railways themselves cannot raise prices; their tendency is to equalise them. Prices may rise from an increase of demand over supply, that is, by the increase in the number of those to be fed or in the standard of living. But railways are not accountable for this consequence. It has been due in India to a number of economic causes to which I need not now refer, and, before we set it down as a hardship, we should have to enquire whether there had not been a corresponding increase in the purchasing power of the population.

I therefore shall certainly not be deterred by any of these economic heresies from a steadfast policy of railway construction in my time. I regard railways as a blessing to this country as a whole, and as the most unifying agency that exists in India. Indeed I would like to go further and to free railway policy and finance from many of the shackles by which it is now hampered. Almost ever since I came here I have been examining this question, and we have been trying by discussion amongst ourselves and with the Secretary of State, whether we cannot do what the Hon'ble Mr. Ashton has urged us to do, namely, find some means of separating Railway finance from general finance, or for putting productive Railways which pay more than the interest charges on their capital into a category apart from precarious or unremunerative concerns. It is easy enough to make out a good case on paper: but it is difficult

to construct a workable scheme in practice. In the long run the money for railways has to be raised by loan, whether in England or in India, and the greater part of it has to be spent in India in rupees. The one is a question of borrowing, the other of ways and means for expenditure. Both questions fall at once within the range of the financial operations of Government. Sir E. Law, however, is not less interested than myself in this question, and we hope to carry it to a successful issue. I have no time on the present occasion to speak of the steps which I have taken by the institution of a Travelling Railway Commission, which has already done valuable work, and by the publication of an annual summary of all the Railway proposals before us, and of the attitude of Government towards them, to take the public into our confidence and to conduct railway development in this country on commercial rather than departmental lines. I hope to carry these efforts even further by means which I have in view: but already I claim that we have made not inconsiderable progress.

Side by side with railways in India we always consider the subject of Irrigation; and this is the seventh branch of administrative policy in which I have been most desirous to initiate a positive advance. I spoke last year of the limitations attending a too ambitious programme, and of the fields of investigation and activity still open to us. During the last two years I have persuaded my Financial Colleague to raise the annual grant to one crore instead of the three-quarters of a crore to which it was confined when I came out to India. It is not always possible to spend this sum, for considerable time is required in the preparation of the various schemes; and last year, although we granted one crore, we only succeeded in expending 90 lakhs of rupees. In the present year we have gone much further. I pledged myself in my famine speech at Simla in October to conduct an enquiry into the irrigation branch of the famine question. I want to be quite sure that no sources of water-supply or

water-storage are neglected or ignored in this country. They may not always be great rivers flowing down unimpeded to the sea, though people at home seem to think that any river ought to be capable of being tapped in the Himalayas, and diffused either into the Central Provinces, or Guzerat, or Berar. Neither do I postulate everywhere profitable or remunerative schemes. What I want to ensure is that in each province the sources of water-supply best suited to it, whether they be canals, or tanks, or wells, shall be scientifically investigated and mathematically laid down, so that we may be presented with a continuous programme which we may pursue in ordinary years as an insurance against the bad years when these come. If only people would give one some credit for common sense in the matter instead of writing to me as they do every week from all parts of the world to acquaint me with the astonishing discovery that they have for the first time made, namely, that no more famines need ever take place in India if only I would cut canals to the Himalayas or build reservoirs on the top of rainless plateaux, I should be very grateful. It is no good flogging a willing horse. No Government of India has ever been more profoundly impressed with the importance of encouraging irrigation than this. As I have said, it is one of the twelve problems, and I should have thought that the Resolution recently issued with the orders that it contained, foreshadowing a sustained investigation of all irrigation projects in the possible areas of famine in the forthcoming autumn preparatory to a Commission in the ensuing winter, could have satisfied even the most exacting critic of the thoroughness and sincerity of our intentions. The Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu has, nevertheless, complained that no such detailed or defined scheme is contained in the present Budget. I am afraid that he has never read the Resolution to which I refer. Anyhow I would beg him to give us a little time. It is not for the Finance Department to usurp the function of the Engineers. As soon as

these have given us their reports, we are ready to set to work. The extra charge of the operations which we have ordered will be debited to the Famine Insurance grant, and my hope is that its outcome may be a sustained policy of protective even if non-productive hydraulic works for a number of years to come.

Eighth among the problems that I hinted at two years ago was the vexed question of the increasing indebtedness of the agricultural population and the extent to which the land is passing out of their hands into those of the money-lending class. We have already dealt with the question in the Punjab by the Land Alienation Bill which was passed last autumn. That Bill was an act of innovation, but it was also an act of courage. It was to me a matter of surprise that so many organs of native opinion should have combined to attack a measure which was exclusively based on considerations of public interest and to which, whether it succeeds or fails, it was impossible to attribute a selfish motive. The same problem meets us elsewhere in ever-increasing volume and seriousness, and each case will require to be considered upon its own merits.

Two years ago, in reply to the Hon'ble Sir Allan Arthur, I promised to take up the question of a reduction in the present high rate of Telegraphic charges between India and Europe, which I described as inimical to trade and intercourse, and as obsolete and anomalous in itself. He has reverted to the subject in tones of anguish this afternoon. I had hoped long before now to be able to announce the successful termination of the negotiations which we undertook in prompt redemption of my pledge. My view was that no reform would be worth having that did not provide for a reduction of at least 50 per cent. in the present charges. Our negotiations were so far successful that we did persuade the companies to agree to an immediate reduction to 2*s.* 6*d.* a word, with a prospective reduction to 2*s.* a word, as soon as the increase of traffic justified it; and in order to

secure this end we undertook to give a very liberal guarantee from Indian funds. So far all went well. But since then the matter has been hung up, owing to clauses in the Telegraphic Conventions which require the assent to any change of rate of certain foreign powers through whose territories the wires are laid. This situation is engaging the earnest attention of His Majesty's Government. It is to my mind an intolerable position that telegraphic communication between England and India, and the rates at which it is conducted, should be at the mercy of other parties, and I think that some way out of the difficulty will have to be found that will make Great Britain the mistress of her own principal lines of connection. I shall hope to see the reduction of which I have spoken realised in my time. But I may add an expression of my private opinion that the matter will not be satisfactorily or finally settled, and that there will not be the maximum development of traffic between the two countries, until the rate has been reduced to 1*s*. per word. That change will not come yet awhile and we shall probably only reach it by gradual stages. But it will assuredly one day come, and I commend it to the reformers of the future.

I may mention among other matters that have engaged our attention, and in which we have made material progress during the past two years, the preservation of Archæological remains in this country. I have often emphasised what I conceive to be the duty of Government in this respect, and everywhere that I have been throughout India on tour I have made a most careful inspection of the famous or beautiful buildings of the past, and have given orders as to their repair or preservation. We have addressed the Secretary of State as to a more liberal provision for this object in the future, and as to the appointment of a Director-General of Archæology, and we hope before long to introduce a Bill that will provide for the safe keeping of historic monuments, and will prevent the removal of antiquarian treasures and relics from our shores.

Debate on the Budget.

There is one subject upon which I have never hitherto spoken one word in India, because it is one of much delicacy, but to which I desire to-day to-devote a few passing remarks. I speak of the relations between British soldiers and the natives of this country. The friends of the soldiers are greatly in error if they believe that there is the least wish to place harsh restrictions upon them or to deprive them of reasonable openings for sport and recreation. On the contrary, it is desired to give them such openings in the fullest manner compatible with the discipline and routine of military life, and as a well-earned relief therefrom. On the other hand, it is impossible for those who are entrusted with the Government to view with equanimity any risk to these relations arising from carelessness, or ignorance, or lack of restraint. That such risk has in many cases arisen, it is impossible to deny. I make no attempt to apportion the blame. Sometimes there may have been rashness resulting in collision on one side. I have heard of conspiracy culminating in attack upon the other. What we, as a Government, have to do is to minimise the opportunities for such friction, and to induce mutual self-respect. For such a purpose strict rules are required and strict attention to the rules when formulated.

Now upon this point I wish to be especially clear. The Civil and the Military authorities have been and are absolutely united in the matter. The responsibility is shared between them. It cannot be shifted from the shoulders of one party to those of the other. The head of the Civil administration could not in a matter of discipline act in independence of the Military authorities. They, on the other hand, make a point of co-operating with the Civil power. There is no single rule now in operation as regards the reporting or trial or treatment of cases or otherwise which has not emanated from the Military authorities in the first place. There is no measure, proceeding, or step which has not been taken upon their authority and with their full consent.

When the shooting rules were revised last autumn, the task was entrusted to a Committee upon which the Military and Civil elements were equally represented, and further one of the Civilians was an old Military Officer. Their report, and the rules as revised by them, were accepted without demur by the Government of India. I make these remarks, because it cannot be too widely known that there has existed throughout this unity of action, and because I have seen or heard of the most erroneous allegations to the contrary effect. I remember a case in which a Local Government reported to us what it called a gross miscarriage of justice in a trial for the murder of a punkah coolie. The Civil authority does not exist to rectify the errors that may be committed in a Court of Law, and there was unfortunately nothing to be done. Some time later the Commander-in-Chief, having satisfied himself that the acquitted party had so conducted himself as to be unfit to wear Her Majesty's uniform, decided to dismiss him from the Army. This proposal was submitted to, and of course received the sanction of, the Government of India, who would not interfere in a disciplinary matter with the supreme Military authority. Forthwith arose an ignorant outcry that the Civil power had usurped the functions of a final Court of judicial revision. I merely mention this case as typical of the misunderstandings that are apt to prevail in these matters. I will only say for the Government, that our attitude has been in every case one of the most scrupulous impartiality. Our one desire is to draw closer the bonds of friendly feeling that should unite the two races whom Providence has placed side by side in this country; and I venture to assert that no higher motive could inspire any body of men who are charged with the terribly responsible task of Indian administration.

There remain a number of subjects, high up in the list of the original dozen, upon which we are still busily engaged, but as to which we have not found time as yet to carry our views to fruition. First among these I would name

Educational reform, the placing of Education in India, in its various branches, University, Higher, Secondary, Technical, and Elementary, upon a definite and scientific footing, and the clear determination of the relations between private enterprise and the State. This great object has been for a long time occupying my attention, and I hope that we may be able to deal with it in the forthcoming summer or autumn.

Another matter that is one of anxious pre-occupation to us is the reform of the Police. Grave abuses have crept into this branch of the service, and are responsible for administrative and judicial shortcomings that are generally deplored, besides producing a widespread and legitimate discontent. We have already sanctioned very considerable improvements, notably in the direction of securing a better class of man in the higher grades at a superior rate of pay both in the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, and Bengal. I will say no more at present than that the matter is one into which I hope to go more deeply.

There are a number of other subjects which fall within my category, but of which I prefer not to speak at present lest I might arouse false expectations. There are others again which can seldom be absent from the mind of any ruler of India, and to which, though he must speak with caution upon them, there is no need why he should not refer. The possibility of fiscal reforms, leading, if circumstances permit, to a reduction of taxation, is an object that is always in the background of his imagination. The protection and scientific propagation of agriculture, for which we have instituted a separate office of Inspector-General, the possible institution of agricultural banks, the question of assessments, the fostering of native handicrafts, and the encouragement of industrial exploitation in general—these are all aspects of the larger question of the economic development of the country upon which my colleagues and myself are bestowing the most assiduous attention. *Salus populi suprema lex;*

and all the reforms to which I have been alluding are, after all, subsidiary to the wider problem of how best to secure the happiness and prosperity of the helpless millions.

Upon this subject I should like to add a few words which I hope may tend to dissipate the too pessimistic views that appear to prevail in some quarters. There exists a school that is always proclaiming to the world the sad and increasing poverty of the Indian cultivator, and that depicts him as living upon the verge of economic ruin. If there were truth in this picture I should not be deterred by any false pride from admitting it. I should, on the contrary, set about remedying it to the best of my power at once. Wherever I go, I endeavour to get to the bottom of this question, and I certainly do not fail to accept the case of our critics from any unwillingness to study it. In my Famine speech at Simla last October, in making a rough and ready assumption as to the agricultural income of India, I based myself upon the figures that were collected by the Famine Commission of 1880 and that were published in 1882. The agricultural income of India was calculated at that date as 350 crores, and at Simla I spoke of it as being now between 350 and 400 crores. Thereupon I found my authority quoted in some quarters for the proposition that the agricultural wealth of the country had remained stationary for twenty years, while the population had gone on increasing by leaps and bounds. The further and equally erroneous assumption followed that there had been no rise in the interim in the non-agricultural income of the community; and I found myself cited as the parent of the astonishing statement that the average income of every inhabitant of India had sunk from Rs. 27 in 1882 to Rs. 22 in ordinary years and to Rs. 17½ in 1900: the inference of course being drawn that, while Nero has been fiddling, the town is burning.

I have since made more detailed enquiries into the matter. There are certain preliminary propositions to which I think that every one must assent. In every country that is so

largely dependent upon agriculture, there comes a time, and it must come in India, when the average agricultural income per head ceases to expand for two reasons: first, that the population goes on increasing, second, that the area of fresh ground available for cultivation does not increase *pari passu*, but is taken up and thereby exhausted. When this point is reached, it is of no good to attack the Government for its inability to fight the laws of nature. What a prudent Government endeavours to do is to increase its non-agricultural sources of income. It is for this reason that I welcome, as I have said to-day, the investment of capital and the employment of labour upon railways and canals, in factories, workshops, and mills, in coal mines, and metalliferous mines, on tea and sugar and indigo plantations. All these are fresh outlets for industry, and they diminish *pro tanto* the strain upon the agricultural population. That they are bringing money into the country and circulating it to and fro is evident from the immense increase in railway traffic both of goods and passengers, in postal and telegraph and money order business, in imports from abroad, and in the extraordinary amount of the precious metals that is absorbed by the people. These are not the symptoms of a decaying or of an impoverished population.

Turning, however, to agriculture alone, concerning which the loudest lamentations are uttered, I have had worked out for me, from figures collected for the Famine Commission of 1898, the latest estimate of the value of the agricultural production of India. I find that in my desire to be on the safe side, I underrated the total in my Simla speech. I then said between 300 and 400 crores. The total is 450 crores. The calculations of 1880 showed an average agricultural income of Rs. 18 per head. If I take the figures of the recent census for the same area as was covered by the earlier computation, which amount to 223 millions, I find that the agricultural income has actually increased, notwithstanding the growth in the population, and the increasingly

stationary tendency of that part of the national income which is derived from agriculture ; and that the average per head is Rs 20, or Rs. 2 higher than in 1880. If I then assume—and I know of no reason why I should not—indeed I think it an under-estimate—that the non-agricultural income has increased in the same ratio, the average income will be Rs. 30 per head as against Rs. 27 in 1880.

I do not say that these data are incontrovertible. There is an element of the conjectural in them ; but so there was in the figures of 1880. The uncertainty in both is precisely the same, and if one set of figures is to be used in the argument, equally may the other. Again, I do not claim that these calculations represent any very brilliant or gratifying result. We cannot be very happy in the face of the recent census, which shows an increase of population so much less than we had anticipated—a falling off which is no doubt due in the main to the sufferings through which India has passed, and which by so much reduces the denominator in our fraction. But at least these figures show that the movement is for the present distinctly in a forward, and not in a retrograde direction, that there is more money and not less money in the country, and that the standard of living among the poorer classes is going up and not down. Above all, they suggest that our critics should at least hold their judgment in suspense before they pronounce with so much warmth either upon the failure of the Indian Government, or upon the deepening poverty of the people.

There is one point, however, in these calculations where we are upon very firm ground. In 1880 there were only 194 millions of acres under cultivation in India. There are now 217 millions, or an increase in virtually the same ratio as the increase in population. This alone would tend to show that there can have been no diminution of agricultural income per head of the people. The case for increase results from the increased standards of yield between 1880 and 1898. Perhaps the earlier estimates were too low. That I cannot

say. The fact remains that the 1880 figures showed a yield per acre of food crops in British India of 730 lbs. ; those of 1898 show a yield of 840 lbs. In some cases this will be due to improved cultivation, perhaps more frequently to extended irrigation. They are satisfactory so far as they go ; for they show that the agricultural problem has not yet got the better of our rapidly increasing population. But they also show how dangerous it will be in the future if India, with this increase going on within, continues to rely mainly upon agriculture, and how important it is to develop our irrigational resources as the most efficient factor in an increase of agricultural production.

I have now brought to a termination this review of the present position in India and of the policy and attitude of Government. I have, I hope, extenuated nothing and exaggerated nothing. I am a believer in taking the public into the confidence of Government. The more they know, the more we may rely upon their support. I might have added that the policy which I have sketched has been pursued at a time when we have had to contend with a violent recrudescence of plague, and with a terrible and desolating famine. But these facts are known to every one in this Chamber, and an allowance will be made by every fair-minded person for conditions so unfavourable to advance or prosperity in administration. Should our troubles pass away, I hope that in future years I may be able to fill in with brighter colours the picture which I have delineated to-day, and to point to a realisation of many of our projects which still remain untouched or unfulfilled.

Thanking Hon'ble Members for their valuable contributions to the successful labours of the present Session, I will now adjourn this Council *sine die*.

MAHOMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE, ALIGARH.

23rd April 1901. [His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by his Staff, arrived at Aligarh at 1-30 P.M. on Tuesday, the 23rd April, and was received by the Commissioner, the Collector, the residents of the station, and the Trustees of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College. His Excellency was entertained at luncheon by the Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Faiyaz Ali Khan, the President of the College, a large number of guests being present. The health of His Majesty the King and the Royal Family, and of the Viceroy, having been drunk, the College was visited, and a great gathering of students was held in the Strachey Hall at 4 P.M. An address from the Trustees welcoming His Excellency, gratefully acknowledging the sympathetic interest which had prompted his visit to Aligarh, and explaining at some length the objects and motives of the College, was then read, and His Excellency replied to it in the speech which follows. After his speech the Viceroy inspected the College buildings, visiting the various rooms of the Students' Union Club, the lecture rooms, etc., leaving the College at 6 P.M.

His Excellency's speech was as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—Since I have been in India I have had a most earnest desire to visit this College, and to see with my own eyes the work—a work as I think of sovereign importance—that is being carried on within its walls. This desire was stimulated by the acquaintance that I was fortunate enough to make with your late and first Principal, Mr. Theodore Beck, during my first summer in Simla. Mr. Beck was a remarkable man. He gave up a life and career in England, and devoted himself to the service of the Mahomedans of India, and to the making of the fortunes of this place. There burned within that fragile body—for when I saw him the seeds of his early death had, I suspect, already been sown—the fire of an ardent enthusiasm, for which in his own student days in England he had been notorious among his friends. But experience had tempered it with a sobriety of judgment, and a width of view, which, coupled with his high moral character, must have supplied an inestimable example to his pupils in this College. As I followed his body to its grave among the Himalayan deodars, I felt that I was paying

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such small tribute of respect as lay in my power to one who had both been a faithful friend to the Mahomedans of India, and a benefactor of the common weal. I afterwards had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of your present Principal, Mr. Morison, upon whom you have passed so high a eulogy, and who is so singularly qualified to carry on the work that Mr. Beck began, and I promised him that I would visit the College as soon as I could. I made the attempt last autumn upon my return northwards from a famine tour in Guzerat. But I was informed that the College was then in vacation, and inasmuch as to come to Aligarh while the teachers and the boys were away would be like going to see the play of Hamlet on the stage with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out, I decided to postpone my visit till the earliest favourable occasion. This has now come, and I shall regard the afternoon that I am fortunate enough to spend in your company as among the most valuable and interesting of my experiences in India.

In the address that has just been read you have supplied me with a succinct account of the objects and history of this College. I cannot say that they were new to me, for a little while ago I had placed in my hands a volume of the addresses and speeches that have been delivered on the various occasions when the Aligarh College has been visited by public men. It was a collection of uncommon interest, for, on the one hand, in the statements that were from time to time put forward in addresses of welcome by the Committee, or Trustees, one could follow step by step the progress of the College, from its first inception as a small school 26 years ago, to the present day, and could learn in what manner the aspirations of its illustrious founder, whose death you have justly deplored as an irreparable loss, had been realised. On the other hand, one could observe the impression which these events, and their narration, had made upon the minds of a number of eminent men. You have, as I think, enjoyed exceptional good fortune in Aligarh. For you have been

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addressed by Viceroys as scholarly and brilliant as Lord Lytton and Lord Dufferin, and by Lieutenant-Governors as famous for their intellectual attainments, in addition to their administrative capacities, as Sir William Muir, Sir John Strachey, and Sir Alfred Lyall. It is interesting to note in their speeches, delivered, I dare say, in this very hall, how a common train of reflection runs through the words of each. It has been a frequent observation that this College embodies the principle of self-help; that it furnishes a moral and religious as well as a mental training, a point upon which I observe that you have laid much stress in your address this afternoon; that it has nevertheless no sectarian character; that it inculcates the importance of physical exercises; that it imbues its pupils with a sense of citizenship and of loyalty; and that it keeps aloof from political questions. On many occasions also have the pupils of this College been reminded of the eternal verities that knowledge is not the sole object of education, and that your education is not over when you have said good-bye to Aligarh. Now, to what does this identity of reflection and utterance point? Certainly not to any sterility of thought on the part of the eminent men who have addressed you. Quite the reverse, for, as I have said, they were among the most accomplished of our Anglo-Indian statesmen. It indicates rather the importance and truth of the propositions that commended themselves in almost the same formulæ to such different minds. But it indicates, also—and here I trace its application to myself—the difficulty—I might even say the impossibility—of saying anything novel about the College, or to its inmates. The fact is that, of all subjects, education is one in which the tritest observation is most apt to be also the wisest and best, and in which a straining after the original is fraught with the greatest danger. Pray do not think, therefore, that I have come to tell you anything new about education, or about Aligarh. I do not pretend to be an authority upon the former, and I am only paying a fleeting

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visit to the latter. It will be much better for you that you should read the ideas which have been common to the many speeches to which I have referred, in language that has frequently been a model of expression, than that I should dress them up again with an inferior sauce for your consumption this afternoon.

I should like however, for a moment to contemplate the work that is being carried on here as a branch of the larger problems with which those who are responsible for the future of this great and bewildering country are faced. If the British dominion in India were exterminated to-morrow, and if all visible traces of it were to be wiped off the face of the earth, I think that its noblest monument and its proudest epitaph, would be the policy that it has adopted in respect of education. When I speak of policy I am not using the phrase in its narrow or administrative application—a sphere in which we have made many mistakes—but in the broadest sense. We have truly endeavoured to fling wide open the gates of the temple of knowledge, and to draw the multitudes in. We have sought to make education, not the perquisite or prerogative of a few, but the cheap possession of the many. History does not, I think, record any similarly liberal policy on the part of a Government differing in origin, in language, and in thought from the governed. In my judgment it has not only been an enlightened policy, it has also been a wise one ; and I do not believe that you will ever have a Viceroy or a Lieutenant-Governor who will desire to close by one inch the opened door, or to drive out a single human being who has entered in. Well, if this be the character, and, as I also contend, the permanence of the great movement that I am speaking of, how overwhelmingly important it is that no section of the community should fail to profit by the advantage which it offers. We have just crossed the threshold of the twentieth century. Whatever else it may bring forth, it is certain to be a century of great intellectual activity ; of far-reaching scientific discovery ; of

probably unparalleled invention. To be without education in the twentieth century will be as though a knight in the feudal ages had been stripped of his helmet and spear and coat of mail. It will be a condition of serviceable existence, the sole means for the majority of holding their own in a world of intellectual upheaval and competition. That is why it must be so gratifying to any ruler of India to see the Mahomedans of this country, Sunnis and Shias alike, exerting themselves not to be left at the starting post while all their many rivals are pressing forward in the race. They can run, too, if only they will learn how; they knew it once in the great days when Mahomedan rulers dispensed justice in their marble audience halls, and when Mahomedan philosophers, and jurists, and historians, wrote learned works. But the old running is now out of date; a new and a swifter style has come in, and you must go to the seminaries, where are the professors of the modern art, to teach you the suppleness of limb and fleetness of foot that are required for the races of the future. I hold, therefore, that Sir Syed Ahmed, and those who worked with him to found this place, showed not only patriotism in the best sense of the term, but also a profound political insight; for they were seeking to provide their co-religionists in India with the conditions that will alone enable them to recover any portion of their lost ascendency; and if I were a Mahomedan prince or man of wealth in India to-day, I would not waste five minutes in thinking how best I could benefit my countrymen and fellow-followers of the Prophet in this country. I would concentrate my attention upon education and upon education alone. That these are your own conclusions is evident from the frank and manly admissions of the address which has just been read. You say in it that only by the assimilation of Western thought and culture can the Mahomedans of India hope to recover any portion of their former sway. You are quite right. Adhere to your own religion, which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and of

profound truth, and make it the basis of your instruction, for education without a religious basis is, though boys at school and at the University are often too young to see it, like building a house without foundations. But, consistently with these principles, press forward till you pluck the fruit of the tree of knowledge, which once grew best in Eastern gardens, but has now shifted its habitat to the West.

Gentlemen, I am aware that the friends of this College have formulated even higher ambitions than are embraced by your present character and scope. Mr. Beck spoke and wrote to me, with that enthusiasm of which I have already spoken, of his desire to expand this institution, which is already a residential College, into a residential University, with real professors, real lecturers, a living curriculum, and a definite aim. I may mention, too, that the project had reached the ears of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, and that in one of the first letters that she wrote to me, after my arrival in India, she enquired most sympathetically about it. I believe that you have not yet, owing to financial and other impediments, been able to travel far upon this pathway, and, indeed, that there are some who doubt the policy of a sectarian institution at all. Upon this I am not called upon to pronounce an opinion. But one admission I do not shrink from making, namely, that you will never get from a University, which consists of little but an examining Board or Boards, that lofty ideal of education, that sustained purpose, or that spirit of personal devotion that are associated with the historic Universities of England, and that were, I believe, in some measure also produced by the ancient Universities of Islam.

And now, before I conclude, suffer me to say a few words to the younger members of my audience. I am still sufficiently near to my own College days to feel an intense interest in those who are passing through the same experience. It is a period of high hopes and sunny aspirations.

Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh.

All the world is before us, and we are ready to confront it with a smile on our faces, and an unwrinkled brow, since we have not learnt of its disappointments and sorrows. Day after day, as our study extends, the horizon of knowledge expands before us, and we feel as those mariners of the old world must have done who sailed out into unknown seas, and before whose wondering eyes, as each day dawned, new islands, or fresh promontories, rose continually into view. But it is not learning only that we are acquiring. We taste the pleasure of personal friendship, we feel the spur of honourable emulation, and we kindle the local patriotism or *esprit de corps*, out of which, as we grow older, springs that wider conception of public duty which makes us proud to be citizens of our country, and anxious to play some part, whether great or small, on the public stage. All these are the delights and the novelties of our College days. Later on, perhaps, we learn that some of them are illusions, and very likely we fall short of our earlier ideals. That is the fate of humanity, or, perhaps I should say, it is the fault of ourselves. But, even if I knew that the hopes entertained by any young man of my acquaintance were destined to be disappointed later on, I would nevertheless not deprive him of the joy and zest of forming them. It is good for all of us to have had a time when the tide of hope ran high within us, and to have sailed our bark for a little while upon its shining waters. You will believe me, therefore, young men and students of this College, when I say that it is with peculiar sympathy that I have met you, and been allowed to address a few words to you, this afternoon. It is the sympathy of one who may, perhaps, still be entitled to call himself young, in the presence of those who are still younger. I wish you Godspeed in your career, and I shall always rejoice to hear of the success in life of any of the pupils of Aligarh.

ARMY TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.

[A meeting of the Army Temperance Association was held on Thursday afternoon, the 6th June, in the Town Hall, Simla, the Viceroy presiding. With His Excellency on the daïs were the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edmond Elles, the Bishop of Lahore, Major-General Meiklejohn, and the Rev. Mr. Bateson, Secretary of the Association. The audience was large, many officers and soldiers being present. The Viceroy on rising to open the proceedings was received with much applause. His Excellency spoke as follows :—] 6th June 1901.

Your Honour, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad to see so many officers and soldiers present here to-day, because, after all, the subject on which I am about to speak is one connected exclusively with the Army. At the same time, I am glad to see such a large attendance of the outside public, both because it shows an interest in the Army, and also because temperance is a matter in which, independently of the particular profession to which we belong, we all of us ought to feel an interest. I propose to address this audience in as plain and simple language as I can command. There may be some perhaps who will say that I have no right to address you at all. In the first place, I am a civilian speaking to soldiers who may be supposed to know their own business much better than any outsider can teach them. Secondly, I am a non-abstainer speaking on behalf of a society whose main principle is that of total abstinence. And yet, on both points, I think that I have a good answer to give. Under the law which regulates the Government of this country, the supreme authority over the Army in India is vested in the Governor General in Council; and the Governor General in Council is, as you know, the rather imposing name that is given to a small number of distinguished gentlemen, over whose proceedings and deliberations, I, as Viceroy, have the honour to preside. I conceive, therefore, that there is no one, except perhaps the Commander-in-Chief, who has a greater right to be

interested in the reputation and honour of the Army—and believe me, its reputation is bound up in its sobriety—than the head of the Government. Everything that concerns its moral character, its discipline, and that which is the result of these two, namely, its efficiency, must be a vital interest to those who are connected with the administration of this great country: and I would not give much for a Viceroy who, because he was not a soldier himself, therefore dismissed the Army, or the welfare of the Army, as beneath his concern. (*Applause.*)

On the second point, as to whether a non-abstainer has any right to advocate temperance, I have even less hesitation in pronouncing. Temperance, in the strict meaning of the term, he is the very man best qualified to advocate; since he is only preaching what he endeavours to practise. But where then, you may say, does total abstinence come in, and how can he get up and speak on behalf of a society which urges its members to take the pledge? Well, I think that I can answer that too. Why does the Army Temperance Association urge its members, or, at any rate, the bulk of its members, to sign the pledge of total abstinence? It is because it knows very well that for the class of man to whom it appeals total abstinence is the only road, or, at any rate, the shortest and straightest road, to temperance. This is true of the young soldier fresh out from home, ignorant of the life and the temptations of this country, whom the Association endeavours to capture before he has yielded to pernicious example, and has gone astray. It is true of the confirmed toper who can only be converted to sobriety by a violent physical and moral wrench. It is useless to take the drunkard and ask him to go back by easy stages of moderate drinking to self-discipline and self-control. He is powerless to do it. A man cannot suddenly begin to do in moderation that which he is accustomed to do in excess. If he is to be wrested from his bad habits, it can only be by a determination to put the evil thing from

him, not, so to speak, in pints or in driblets, but altogether. That is why the pledge is a necessary thing for him. And, thirdly, there is the man of high character, himself either free from temptation or having conquered it, who feels that he can better set an example to his comrades by taking the pledge himself. For all these classes total abstinence is the best, and for some the only available, prescription; and so it is that a man who does not practise it himself, because in the conditions of his life he has not found the need, may yet with perfect consistency stand up and plead its cause to his fellow-countrymen. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

And now, before I turn to the question of drinking in the Army, I should like to say one word about the position of the British soldier in India. I daresay that there are some soldiers who think that the conditions of their life are imperfectly understood by civilians, and that insufficient allowance is made for their circumstances and surroundings. I do not think that this is at all widely the case. I realise as fully as it is possible to do that the British soldier does not always have a good time of it in this country. He is in a climate very different from that to which he is accustomed, and, in the plains in summer, exceedingly trying. He is often in a very confined locality. He has not the fun, and games, and amusements, and society, to which he is accustomed at home. There is apt to be a good deal of monotony about his life. He lives perhaps in stuffy and ill-lighted barracks, where on the hot nights he can scarcely get a breath of air. If he leaves the lines there is nothing but the native bazar with its low temptations to attract him. I make, and I think that we should all make, full allowance for these conditions. They are partly responsible for the drinking and the other wrong deeds that occur. For my own part, I would like to alleviate them to the best of my power. There is no subject in which I have taken greater interest, since I have been in India, than in that of the improved ventilation and lighting of barracks. I have

insisted on forcing it to the front, and in causing all sorts of experiments to be made. Sir Edwin Collen was strongly with me on the matter; and so, I have reason to know, are the present Military Member and the Commander-in-Chief. (*Applause.*) I look forward to the time, and am doing my best to hurry it on, when every barrack in India shall be lighted by electricity, and when the punkahs shall be pulled by the same motive power (*applause*); and I believe that if this scheme were to cost half a crore of rupees or more, it would be money well laid out, in the improved health and contentment of the men, and in the diminution of one of the most frequent causes of collision between soldiers and natives. (*Applause.*) It is from exactly the same point of view that I welcome the institution of the rooms and of the work of the Army Temperance Association. I have seen them at Deolali—where I must say they were so attractive as almost to tempt me to regret that I am not a soldier myself (*laughter*)—and I have also seen them at other places on my tours. But I would like to see them made even brighter and more attractive than they are. (*Applause.*) I would like to wean men away from the perilous attractions of the Canteen, with its flow of conversation, and jollity, and drink, all leading to excitement, and apt to culminate in excess, by providing them with something which is just as good for their appetites, much better for their morals, and incomparably superior for their health. (*Applause.*) I hope, therefore, to have shown you that the powers that be in India, to use a familiar phrase, do not turn a blind eye upon the British soldier in this country, but that they have his interest and welfare at heart. (*Applause.*)

I now pass to the work of this Association and the need for it. Temperance or intemperance in the British Army—at whichever side of the shield you like to look—has passed through many phases. We remember the stories of the soldiers with whom the Duke of Wellington fought many

of his great battles. There was not much temperance or sobriety among them. They were drawn from a low class of the population, and in those days the extraordinary and grotesque illusion prevailed—to which all subsequent experience has given the lie—that the hardest drinker was also the best fighting man. The Duke of Wellington as good as said so on many occasions, and he was always alternating between respect for the bravery of the men who won his battles and disgust at their vices. Well, we have long ago got away from all that; and you have not had a single Commander of recent times who would not tell you that the hard-drinking soldier is not merely a moral disgrace, but a military danger. (*Applause.*) Read what Lord Roberts said about our men in South Africa. They were sober there by compulsion, perhaps, as well as by choice, for the drink was not to be had: and they comported themselves like heroes and gentlemen. It was only when they got back that Lord Roberts feared they would fall below the high standard that they had observed in the field, because of the temptations to drink that were pressed upon them at home. Accordingly we have passed as I say into a phase of life, in which everyone admits that the sober soldier is a better man than the intoxicated soldier, the moderate drinker than the hard-drinker, and I daresay the total abstainer the best of all. (*Applause.*) No one will deny that. But, Gentlemen, we cannot stop there. We have only got so far to an abstract admission; we must translate it into concrete fact. It is not the slightest use for any of us to indulge in these platonic aphorisms, and then to think that our work is over. It is no good for the speakers on this platform to say how much better the British Army is nowadays than it was in the days of Talavera or Waterloo, and to think that this is an end of the whole business, and that nothing more need be done. It is no good either for the soldiers from Jutogh or anywhere else to applaud the excellent sentiments to which we all treat them and then to walk back and

drown it all in a too liberal participation in the joys of the regimental Canteen. (*Applause and laughter.*)

No, we have to face facts and not to delude ourselves either with sentiment or with figures; for if there is one thing that is sometimes capable of being even more fallacious than sentiment, it is figures. (*Laughter.*) Therefore I decline to say that all is well, because at an earlier period of our history it was worse; and I refrain from quoting the statistics of crime, or the returns of the orderly room, lest I should be lulled into thinking that because they illustrate the growing advance of temperance, therefore the battle has been won. That is not the case. The crime returns are neither the sole test nor an infallible test, and the Commanding Officer who thinks that because he can show a clean sheet in this respect, there is no excessive drinking going on in his regiment, is often living in a fool's paradise. Let us recognize, and let this Society recognize, that, even if crimes resulting from drink diminish, as I hope and believe that they do, there are still far too many; that, if cases of "drunk and disorderly" are fewer, they ought to be fewer still; and that there are in every regiment a large number, too large a number, of men who still take more than they should, who habitually drink hard, even if they are not convicted of intoxication, and who are constantly on the brink of excess, even if they do not actually step over it.

I had some official figures given me the other day, which showed that in one British regiment in India, in the month of April last, where the total number of men, exclusive of patients in hospitals and members of this Association, was 380, the amount of beer consumed was nearly 130 hogsheads. (*Laughter.*) Now this meant an average daily consumption of 2¾ quarts for every man; and when you remember that among the 380 must have been several men who only drank in moderation, you will see that there must have been a certain number in the regiment who drank much more than was good for them. These are the men,

therefore, that this Association ought to try and get within its mesh. We want to stop not merely gross excess, leading to crime, but steady drinking, leading to disordered faculties, and physical and moral decline. I believe that if every Commanding Officer in India were told that he himself would be judged by the sobriety of his regiment, and that a flourishing Canteen Fund would be looked upon as a mark of a bad Colonel, it would be a most excellent thing; and I respectfully present this suggestion, for what it is worth, to the Commander-in-Chief. (*Applause and laughter.*)

There is only one other point of view from which I desire to plead the cause of this Association, and to appeal to the officers and soldiers of the British Army in India. It is a wider, and, in my opinion, a higher standpoint. What, I would ask, are we all here for—every one of us, from the Viceroy at the head of the official hierarchy to the latest joined British private in barracks? We are not here to draw our pay, and do nothing, and have a good time. We are not here merely to wave the British flag. We are here because Providence has, before all the world, laid a solemn duty upon our shoulders; and that duty is to hold this country by justice, and righteousness, and good will, and to set an example to its people. (*Loud applause.*) You may say why should we set an example, and what example have we to set? Well, I daresay that we have much to learn as well as to teach. It would be arrogant to pretend the contrary. I feel myself that never a day of my life passes in India in which I do not absorb more than I can possibly give out. But we have come here with a civilisation, an education, and a morality which we are vain enough, without disparagement to others, to think the best that have ever been seen; and we have been placed, by the power that ordains all, in the seats of the mighty, with the fortunes and the future of this great Continent in our hands. There never was such a responsibility. In the whole world there is no such duty. That is why it behoves every one of us,

great or small, who belong to the British race in this country, to set an example. The man who sets a bad example is untrue to his own country. The man who sets a good one is doing his duty by this. But how can the drunkard set an example, and what is the example that he sets? And what sort of example too is set by the officer who winks at drunkenness instead of treading it under foot? It is no answer to me to say that the native sometimes gets intoxicated in his way just as the British soldier does in his. One man's sin is not another man's excuse. Where are our boasted civilisation and our superior ethics if we cannot see that what is degrading in him is more degrading in us? If we are to measure our own responsibility by that of the millions whom we rule, what becomes of our right to rule and our mission? It is, therefore, officers and soldiers, not on mere grounds of abstract virtue, nor for the sake of the discipline and the reputation of the Army, nor even for your own individual good alone, that I have stood here this afternoon to plead the cause of temperance in the ranks; but because the British name in India is in your hands just as much as it is in mine, and because it rests with you, before God and your fellowmen, to preserve it from sully or reproach. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

[The meeting was in turn then addressed by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edmond Elles, Mr. Bateson, and by General Meiklejohn, who proposed a vote of thanks to the Viceroy for presiding, which was seconded by the Bishop of Lahore. The vote was put to the meeting by the Lieutenant-Governor in a brief speech. His Excellency in replying spoke as follows:—]

Your Honour, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have only a very few words to say in reply. I am grateful to the speakers who have proposed and seconded, and to the meeting who have so kindly accepted, this vote of thanks; and particularly so to His Honour for the courteous and encouraging words with which he concluded his remarks. There are only two points arising out of our

proceedings this afternoon upon which I should wish to say something in conclusion.

Sir Edmond Elles, in his most practical speech, said that in his opinion the chief need of the Army Temperance Association was a little more encouragement from the Government of India. Well, I beg leave to remind him that he is the Government of India in its military capacity. (*Applause and laughter.*) I have been largely instrumental in making him the Government of India. (*Laughter.*) He is the Military Member of our Council, and, in these matters, enjoys a great power of initiation. He has behind him, as the meeting this afternoon has shown, a friendly Viceroy and a favourable Commander-in-Chief. (*Applause and laughter.*) I hear Mr. Bateson clapping; and it is quite obvious that he sees the dawn of a new day before him. (*Laughter.*) I do not like to encourage him by saying too much at the present moment, but I would merely suggest that he might take a convenient opportunity of having a conversation with the Military Member. (*Applause and laughter.*)

The second point is this: we have had this afternoon a very good meeting. This hall has been filled by a large, attentive, and I think an interested, audience, who have heard a number of inspiring speeches. This must be a great encouragement to Mr. Bateson in his undertaking. Do not let us separate, however, without sending him away with a special word of God-speed. (*Applause.*) He has been engaged for some time in this work. It is not a very easy work. No doubt he meets with a considerable amount of discouragement and difficulty. He has, in fact, told us so in his speech. A good deal of spirit, energy, and devotion are, therefore, required in a man who is so employed. My idea always has been that, for any work worthy of the name to be carried through with success, two conditions are essential. One is personal enthusiasm, and the other concentration. We know Mr. Bateson sufficiently well to be assured that

his heart is in his work. We know from his activity that he spares no effort to carry it through. I hope, therefore, that a great future lies before the Association in India: and I should like to see it for this reason in particular. The Bishop was one speaker and the Lieutenant-Governor another, who said this afternoon that temperance is the great social reform and movement of the future. I agree with them. Both at home and on the Continent nothing surprises, and, I may say, disgusts me more than the tone of cynicism and indifference that is sometimes adopted on the subject. If ever again I were to hold any position in public life in England, temperance would certainly not be a matter that would occupy a backward place in my programme. (*Applause.*) However, I am not concerned with that now. It is enough for me to look to its application here. How rarely it is in India that we have the opportunity of being ahead of public opinion at home. Here is Lord Roberts, who is just starting an Army Temperance Association in England on the lines of that which has been so successful here. This should be an encouragement to us. Do not let us stop where we are; let us go on elevating, improving, and expanding the range of work of this Society, so that its example may not merely embrace this country, but may even extend to our fellow countrymen in England. I will only say, in conclusion, that I never remember a public meeting over which it has given me greater pleasure to preside. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

2nd Sept. 1901.

[The first meeting of the Educational Conference of 1901, to consider the system of Education in India, was held at the Secretariat of the Public Works Department in Simla on Monday, the 2nd September, at 11-30 A.M. The following gentlemen, who formed the Committee as approved by the Viceroy, were present:—

President: His Excellency the Viceroy. *Members*: the Hon'ble Sir C. M. Rivaz, K.C.S.I.; the Hon'ble Mr. T. Raleigh; the Hon'ble Sir E. F. Law, K.C.M.G.; the Hon'ble Mr. A. T. Arundel, C.S.I.; the Hon'ble Mr. A. H. L. Fraser, C.S.I.; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy; Mr. J. P. Hewett, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department; Mr. J. B. Fuller, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department; the Hon'ble Mr. G. H. Stuart, Director of Public Instruction, Madras; the Hon'ble Revd. Dr. W. Miller, C.I.E., Principal, Madras Christian College; the Hon'ble Mr. E. Giles, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay; Mr. H. H. Risley, C.I.E.; Mr. A. Pedler, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal; Mr. W. N. Boutflower, Officiating Director of Public Instruction, North-Western Provinces and Oudh; Mr. W. Bell, Officiating Director of Public Instruction, Punjab; Mr. A. Monro, Inspector General of Education, Central Provinces; Mr. F. G. Selby, Principal and Professor, Deccan College; Dr. G. Watt, C.I.E., Reporter on Economic Products; Mr. A. Chatterton, Professor, College of Engineering, Madras.

The Viceroy, in opening the proceedings, spoke as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I have invited you here to assist me with your advice in the enquiry upon which the Government is engaged with reference to the existing system of Education in India. In any scrutiny of this system it is, I think, desirable that we should consider it from every point of view, in its broader and more important as well as in its narrower aspects. If we are to embark upon reform, it will be well that our eye should range in advance over the entire arena, that we should co-ordinate the various departments of educational effort, and should deal with them as parts of a systematised whole. In this way we may best succeed in observing proportion in our treatment of the matter and fidelity to the guiding principles upon which it is our desire to proceed. I shall, therefore, ask your attention successively to the following sub-headings of our main subject; University

Education, Secondary Education, Primary Education, Technical Education—and, finally, to such general questions as remain over from our more detailed enquiries. I will indicate to you presently what is the nature of the problems to which I think that we should endeavour to find a solution in each of the categories to which I have referred.

But, before doing this, I should like to say a few prefatory words as to the character and scope of the present Conference. We are a small number of persons collected round this table. Had I accepted one-half of the offers and suggestions that have been made to me, this room, large as it is, would not have held the numerous authorities who courteously volunteered their services. They did so, I think, in the belief that this gathering is more than it pretends to be. We are not met here to devise a brand-new plan of educational reform, which is to spring fully armed from the head of the Home Department, and to be imposed, *nolens volens*, upon the Indian public. This Conference is merely a gathering of the highest educational officers of Government, as well as of the official representatives of our leading Universities, whom I desire to consult upon many matters concerning which we at headquarters are lacking in first-hand knowledge, but to which, on the other hand, they have devoted many years of their lives. They will give us information which the Government does not possess, and will prevent us from committing mistakes into which we might otherwise fall.

But I do not expect our meetings, informal and confidential as they will be, to take the place of that examination of the subject and of our ideas upon it, by the educated sections of the outside public, which I think that they are quite entitled to offer, and which I, for my part, shall be grateful to receive. The question of education in India is one that concerns not only the Viceroy or his Council, or the persons who are engaged, officially or otherwise, in administering the present system. It is the concern of every

educated man in the country; aye, and also of the uneducated millions whom we hope gradually to draw within its range. Their interest in the matter is as great as ours, for while in it is involved our responsibility, upon it hangs their future. Do not let anyone suppose, therefore, that we are going to launch any vast or sudden surprise upon the Indian community without hearing what they think or what they may have to say. Concealment has been no part of my policy since I have been in India; and the education of the people is assuredly the last subject to which I should think of applying any such canon. It is for this reason that I have decided to address you, as I am now doing, not merely in order to indicate to the members of this Conference the subjects which we are about to examine, but also to take the outside public, so to speak, into our confidence, in order that they may know the nature of the difficult problem that we are studying, and may help us with their disinterested opinions upon it.

Before such an audience as this I need not enter into any critical examination of the steps by which education in India has reached its present stage. They may be summed up in the broad general statement that we have been occupied for 70 years in imparting an English education to an Asiatic people. I do not mean to imply that, before this epoch commenced, there was no education in the country. Education there was; but it was narrow in its range, exclusive and spasmodic in its application, religious rather than secular, theoretical rather than utilitarian, in character. Above all, it wholly lacked any scientific organisation, and it was confined to a single sex. The land-marks of the reaction against this old system, which may now be said to have disappeared, and of the gradual and successful installation of its successor, have been Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835, the Despatch of the Court of Directors of July 1854, the Report of the Education Commission of 1882-3, and a series of Resolutions of the Government of India, the last

of which was that issued by the present Administration in October, 1899. In these may be traced the record of the struggles, the ambitions, the achievements, the errors, the hopes, of English education in India. We have now reached a stage at which it is possible for us at the opening of a new century to pass them in review, and incumbent upon us to determine in what manner we are to proceed in the future.

There exists a powerful school of opinion which does not hide its conviction that the experiment was a mistake, and that its result has been disaster. When Erasmus was reproached with having laid the egg from which came forth the Reformation, "Yes," he replied: "but I laid a hen's egg, and Luther has hatched a fighting cock." This, I believe, is pretty much the view of a good many of the critics of English education in India. They think that it has given birth to a tone of mind and to a type of character that is ill-regulated, averse from discipline, discontented, and in some cases actually disloyal. I have always severed myself from these pessimists, and I do so again now. I have no sympathy with those who mope and moan over that which has been the handiwork of our own hands. Let us take it with its good and its evil. To me it seems that there is no comparison between the two. Mistakes and blunders there have been, otherwise we should not have met here to-day in order to discuss how we may set them right. But the successes have been immeasurably greater. Crude and visionary ideas, and half educated and shallow products, of education, are far too plentiful. But I firmly believe that, by the work of the past three quarters of a century, the moral and intellectual standard of the community has been raised, and I should be ashamed of my country if I did not think that we were capable of raising it still higher.

I have made this disclaimer of views to which expression is given in so many quarters, because it will be my duty

to-day to call your attention to the weak points of the system, rather than to its merits; and because it might otherwise be thought that I had joined the band of carpers myself, and wanted to disparage and pull down, where my whole object is to reconstruct and build up. This, however, we cannot do until we realise where we have gone wrong and allowed unsoundness to enter in.

Some of these errors are very much on the surface. We started by a too slavish imitation of English models, and to this day we have never purged ourselves of the taint. For instance, we thought that we could provide India with all that it required in the shape of University education by simply copying the London University. In later times we have tried bodily to transplant smaller educational flora from the hot-houses of Europe. Then we opined that it was enough to teach English to Indian children before they had even mastered their Native tongues. Further, we assumed that because certain subjects were adapted to the Western intellect, they could be equally assimilated by the Eastern, and that because they were communicated in certain formulæ and a recognised terminology to English boys, these would be equally intelligible to Indians. Finally, by making education the sole avenue to employment in the service of the State, we unconsciously made examination the sole test of education. Upon this point I must enlarge somewhat, seeing that it is at the root of the evil which we are convened to examine.

The late Dr. Thring, who was one of the greatest Educationalists that England has produced, once remarked that education is the transmission of life from the living through the living to the living. I am afraid that in India we have fallen somewhat from this ideal. The secret of life has been in our hands, and we have not stinted its outpouring; but about the instruments, the form, the methods, and the recipients of the gift we have been not too particular. Examinations are being carried to extremes

in most civilised countries, and cramming, which is their inevitable corollary, is now generally recognised as a universal danger. But in India we appear to have pushed the method to an excess greater than I have come across in any country, with the exception of China. We examine our boys from childhood to adolescence, and we put a pass before them as the *summum bonum* of life. When I contemplate the thousands of youths in our Indian Schools and Colleges, steadily grinding away in order to get their percentage of marks in an endless series of examinations, the spectacle does not seem to me less open to lament than that of the monks whom one sees in Tibet, and who by a never-ending mechanical revolution of the prayer-wheel, accompanied by the repetition of sounds which convey little meaning even to the suppliant, think that they are compassing eternal salvation. I am not speaking of the results of the examination system so much as I am of its effect upon its victims. That is the real issue. It is of no use to turn out respectable clerks or munsifs or vakils, if this is done at the expense of the intellect of the nation. A people cannot rise in the scale of intelligence by the cultivation of memory alone. Memory is not mind, though it is a faculty of the mind. And yet we go on sharpening the memory of our students, encouraging them to the application of purely mnemonic tests, stuffing their brains with the abracadabra of geometry and physics and algebra and logic, until, after hundreds, nay thousands, have perished by the way, the residuum, who have survived the successive tests, emerge in the Elysian fields of the B. A. degree. Teachers get carried away by the same fundamental error as their pupils, and, instead of thinking only of the mental and moral development of the students committed to their care, are absorbed with percentages and passes and tabulated results. This is the furrow out of which we ought to lift Indian education if we can, before it has been finally dragged down and choked by the mire.

Educational Conference.

There are other questions which I ask myself, and to which I cannot give the answer that I would like. I have remarked that we have been at work for 70 years. Even if we have done much, have we made the anticipated progress, and are we going ahead now? We are educating 4½ millions out of the total population of British India. Is this a satisfactory or an adequate proportion? We spent upon education in the last year from public funds a sum of £1,140,000, as compared with £1,360,000 from fees and endowments. Is the State's contribution sufficient? Ought it to be increased? Is there an educational policy of the Government of India at all? If so, is it observed, and what is the machinery by which it is carried out? Is there any due supervision of this vast and potent engine of creative energy, or after its furnace has been fed, are the wheels left to go round, and the piston-rod to beat, without control? As I say, I cannot answer all these questions as I should wish. There seems to me to be a misdirection, and in some cases a waste, of force, for which I cannot hold the Government free from blame. I observe a conflict of systems which finds no justification in the administrative severance or in the local conditions of separate provinces and areas. In the praiseworthy desire to escape centralisation at head-quarters we appear to have set up a number of petty kingdoms, a sort of Heptarchy in the land, whose administration, in its freedom and lack of uniformity, reminds me of the days of the Hebrew Judges when there was no King in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes. Elasticity, flexibility, variety, our system must have. But it will lose half its force if they are not inspired by a common principle or directed to a common aim. The limits of Government interference I shall discuss later on, but it will be observed from what I have already said that the responsibility of Government, by which I mean the Imperial Government, is one that I do not hesitate to avow. I hold the education of the Indian people to be as much a

duty of the Central Government as the police of our cities, or the taxation of our citizens. Indeed more so; for whereas these duties can safely be delegated to subordinate hands, the Government can never abrogate its personal responsibility for the living welfare of the multitudes that have been committed to its care.

With these preliminaries I pass to an examination of the different problems that lie before us. The first of these is the University system in India. The Indian Universities may be described as the first-fruits of the broad and liberal policy of the Education Despatch of 1854. Founded upon the model of the London University, they sprang into being at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. At a later date a somewhat different constitution, though a similar model, was adopted at Lahore and Allahabad. As time goes on, the list may perhaps be extended, though consolidation rather than multiplication of academic institutions is the object that I should prefer for the present to hold in view.

Now the first reflection that strikes every observer of the Indian system, who is familiar with the older English Universities, is the fundamental contrast both of character and conception. Oxford and Cambridge are incorporated institutions composed of Colleges which constitute, and are embodied in, the corporate whole. The two together make the University; they twain are one flesh. Each College has its own students and fellows and tutors, and its own local habitation, often hallowed by romance and venerable with age. The groups of Colleges combine for purposes of lectures. The University supervises and controls all by its examinations, its professorial lectures, its central government, and its administration of corporate funds. Above all, it sways the life of the College undergraduate by the memory of its past, by the influence of its public buildings, by its common institutions, and by the cosmopolitan field of interest and emulation which it offers.

How different is India. Here the University has no

corporate existence in the same sense of the term; it is not a collection of buildings, it is scarcely even a site. It is a body that controls courses of study and sets examination papers to the pupils of affiliated Colleges. They are not part of it. They are frequently not in the same city, sometimes not in the same province. The affiliated Colleges of the Calcutta University are scattered in regions as remote as Burma and Ceylon. Then look at the Colleges. They are not residential institutions, with a history, a tradition, a *genius loci*, a tutorial staff, of their own. They are for the most part collections of lecture rooms, and class rooms, and laboratories. They are bound to each other by no tie of common feeling, and to the University by no tie of filial reverence. On the contrary, each for the most part regards the others as rivals, and pursues its own path in self-centred, and sometimes jealous, isolation. The reproach has even been brought against them that their lecturers are not teachers, but are merely the purveyors of a certain article to a class of purchasers, that this article happens to be called education, and that the purveyor stands not behind a counter, but behind a desk. There may be exaggeration in this description, but there may also be a grain of truth. Even if the process may be termed education, it is not in the truest sense teaching: it may sharpen some facets of the mind, but it cannot properly develope the whole.

These are of course the familiar characteristics of an examining as contrasted with a teaching University; characteristics which, owing to Indian geography and to the peculiar circumstances of Indian life, are seen in exaggeration in this country. The question that they suggest to me is whether we cannot do something to combine with the obligatory features of an Indian University some portion of the advantages and the influence of Western institutions. Of course we cannot all in a moment, by a stroke of the pen, create an Indian Oxford or an Indian Cambridge. The country is not ready for the experiment, the funds are not

forthcoming, the students would not be there, it would not fit in with the Indian environment. But at least it may be possible to remove the impediments that retard the ultimate realisation of such an ideal. The younger sisters of our premier Indian Universities were given constitutional powers that had been denied to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay thirty years before. They may "appoint or provide for the appointment of professors and lecturers," whereas Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay enjoy no such statutory power. It is true that there is no obstacle to the private endowment of lectureships or professorships at these Universities, and the Tagore Law Professorship and the Sreegopal Basu Mallick Fellowship at Calcutta are instances of such endowments. But they are not University foundations in the sense of being controlled by the University, nor is attendance at the lectures included in any University course. Now I do not say that if the legal facilities for the constitution of a teaching University were provided, advantage would forthwith be taken of them. The Universities of Allahabad and Lahore have not yet profited by their privileges in this respect. Neither do I say that education has yet reached a point of development in India at which they are essential to its progress. But it is conceivable that the opportunity will in time create the desire. Wealthy men in India, as elsewhere, may be tempted to expend their resources upon the endowment of University Institutions or University Chairs: and thus by slow degrees the Indian Universities may one day rise to the dignity of the superior status, and may learn to deserve their name. The foundation of prizes or scholarships for original work lying outside the University courses, might also tend in the same direction. If, at the same time, it were found possible to concentrate and to unify the educational power that is now diffused in so many different directions, and to institute even tentatively a system of linked lectures among some at any rate of the affiliated Colleges, I think that we should be doing

something to infuse greater unity into the present conflict of jarring atoms, and to inspire higher education in India with a nobler ideal. There is one matter upon which, in view of the fact that our advance must in any case be slow, too much stress cannot, in my opinion, be laid. I allude to the adequate provision and due inspection of hostels or boarding-houses for the pupils at the Colleges in the large towns. In the absence of residential Colleges, these institutions appear to furnish the nearest equivalent that can for the present be supplied. Many a father is deterred from sending up his son to take part in the College courses in the great cities, from fear of the social and moral temptation to which he will be exposed. If attached to every College or group of Colleges there were such a building or buildings, a parent might feel less alarm, and the student would quickly become the gainer by the comradeship and *esprit de corps* which life in such surroundings, if properly controlled, would engender. I, therefore, commend the consideration of this subject to the Conference.

I pass to the government of the Indian Universities, by which question I mean the constitution and composition of the Senates and Syndicates. Here I do not shrink from saying that there is substantial need for reform. To some extent the failure of the Universities to satisfy the full expectation of their founders has been due to faults already indicated, the nature of the education offered, and the system under which it is supplied. But for these faults the executive authority cannot be held free from blame, and when one realises the principles upon which that authority has been constituted, and the sources from which it has been replenished, there cannot be much cause for surprise. I find that the strength of the various Senates differs in the following degrees:—Allahabad 82, Lahore 104, Calcutta 180, Madras 197, Bombay 310. There can be no sufficient reason for such extreme disparity. These bodies, moreover, are constituted in different ways and in different proportions.

The majority of them suffer from being much too unwieldy: and they all suffer from being filled, in the main, not by the test of educational interest, or influence, or knowledge, but by that of personal or official distinction. I do not say that it is not a good thing to place upon the governing body of every University a number of eminent outsiders who will lend dignity to its proceedings, and will regard academic matters from a not exclusively academic standpoint. Everyone will agree with this: but everyone also knows that the principle has been pushed to extravagant lengths; that scores of Fellows have been appointed who never come near the Senates at all, except possibly once or twice in a decade when they are whipped up for some important division; that a Fellowship is regarded as a sort of titular honour, not as an academic reward; that the majority of the Senates have had no practical experience of teaching, and very likely only take an abstract interest in education; that many excellent men have never been placed upon them; and, generally speaking, that almost any interest rather than that of education *per se* has been considered in their composition. If we take the elected Fellows, we shall find a similar diversity in proportions, methods of election, and results. In some cases, election is provided for by Statute; in most it is conceded as a privilege. The numbers vary as follows:—Lahore 7, Madras 16, Bombay 18, Calcutta 22, Allahabad 41. In some cases the Senates elect, in others the Graduates. Sometimes the elections are periodic, elsewhere they are intermittent. Then, if we proceed to examine the Syndicates, which are the real governing bodies of the Universities, we shall find a similar absence of uniformity, with what seem to me to be even more undesirable results. In the cases of Allahabad and Lahore, the Syndicates are provided for by the Acts of Incorporation. In the older Universities they have no statutory recognition at all, but have sprung out of the Provisional Committees which were appointed to work out the original constitution of

those bodies. In the older Universities, the Syndicates number 9 or 10 persons in addition to the Vice-Chancellor, in Bombay 14, while in that of Calcutta, there is no provision, other than the uncontrolled option of the Faculties, that a single educational officer shall be placed upon it. At Allahabad and Lahore the numbers are larger, 18 and 20, and of these it is required by bye-laws that a certain number shall have been engaged in educational work.

Now, as regards all the bodies that I have named, namely, nominated Fellows, elected Fellows, Senates, and Syndicates, I do not plead for mathematical uniformity, either of numbers, or proportions, everywhere. It is a great mistake to be too rigid, or to try and force everybody and everything into the same mould. But, on the other hand, I do say that the present absence of system is indefensible, and that it tends to produce much of the uncertainty and conflict which I have deplored. I have already, in a speech at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University, indicated some of the directions in which I think that reform should lie: and as they will form the basis of our discussions, I will summarise them here. It will be for us to examine whether the larger Senates should be reduced to more moderate proportions, whether some machinery should be devised for placing upon them a sufficient number of educational experts, whether a Fellowship should be a terminable honour, capable of renewal, and whether a reasonable attendance test should be imposed. As regards elected Fellows, we must consider whether it is desirable to give a statutory basis to this most important and highly valued privilege, and if so, what should be the qualifications both of the electoral body, and of the candidates, and for what duration of time the Fellowship should be held. As regards the Syndicates, it is for consideration whether statutory recognition should be given to those bodies who are at present without it, what should be their due

numbers in relation to the strength of the Senate and the position of the University, what are the functions that they should discharge, and what steps are required to ensure that these influential Committees, which practically have the government of the Universities in their hands, shall contain a due proportion of experts, who will guide them towards the goal that all friends of education must have in view.

All these are important questions. I do not venture to pronounce dogmatically upon any of them. But from such opportunity as I have had of consulting authoritative opinion as well as of testing the currents of the popular mind, I am inclined to think that they will furnish the basis of a generally acceptable reform. They are attempts to introduce order and regularity into that which is at present formless and void: and to provide us in future with a more scientific and efficient machine.

But improvements in mechanism cover but a small part of the field of enquiry. They are the mere instruments of administration, and their consideration leads us by a natural transition to a study of the system which they administer. I shall put to this Conference the questions—Is the academic standard which it is their business to maintain sufficiently high, or is it unduly low? Is it in course of being elevated, or is the tendency in a retrograde direction? What are the facts as regards the Entrance Examinations? And what as regards the First Arts and B. A. Examinations? These are questions upon which I have not the knowledge to enable me to pronounce with any certainty, but concerning which the facts that have come under my notice lead me to entertain some doubt. The evidence varies somewhat in different parts of the country, but the general impression seems to be that there is cause for alarm.

When I find that at Madras in the past year, out of 7,300 persons who presented themselves for the Entrance University Examination, certified by their teachers to be fit for the

higher courses of teaching, as many as four-fifths were rejected, I ask myself what the value of the school final courses can have been. When I find that in Calcutta, out of 6,134 who entered for the Entrance Examination, only 3,307, or 54 per cent., passed; that out of 3,722 who entered for the First Arts Examination, only 1,208, or 32 per cent., passed; and that out of 1,980 who entered for the B. A. Examination, only 370, or 19 per cent., passed; and that, roughly speaking, of those who aspire to a University course, only 1 in 17 ultimately takes a degree, and of those who actually start upon it, only 1 in 9—I cannot but feel some suspicion as to the efficacy and the standards of a system which produces such results. Some might argue that tests which admit of so many failures must be too hard. I am disposed to ask whether the preceding stages are not too easy.

Now I know that a proposal to raise the standard anywhere is not popular. Every pupil wants to go forward, every College desires to send up as many as possible of its students; every teacher is personally concerned in pushing on his pupils. No one wants to discourage the Colleges which are engaged in a most momentous and uphill work, or to dishearten and retard the boys. So much we may all concede. But my gorge is disposed to rise when I read in respectable papers that it does not matter whether the standard is high or low, and when I am invited, as I was on the occasion of the death of the late Queen Victoria, to commemorate her name by lowering the standard all round. Only the other day I read an argument that, because at some of the less influential Oxford or Cambridge Colleges the matriculation standard is low, therefore it does not matter how low it is here. There is not the remotest analogy between the two cases. An undergraduate does not pass those examinations in England as a test for the public service: and he goes to a College in many cases less for the sake of the academic standards to which he is required to conform, than of the

social and moral influences which result from a University career, and which are entirely lacking in this country.

We must regard the matter not from these low or selfish standpoints, but in the higher interests of Education at large. A system, the standards of which are in danger of being degraded, is a system that must sooner or later decline. We do not want to close the doors of the Colleges, or to reduce the number of their pupils. It is quality, not quantity, that we should have in view. Whether this danger is a serious one, and how far it is desirable to meet it by increasing the length of the school courses, or by fixing a limit of age for the Entrance Examinations, or by raising the percentage of marks required for a pass, are matters upon which I shall take your opinion. But let the criterion of our action, and also of the public attitude upon this matter, be not the sordid one of self-interest, but the welfare of Education as a whole, and the advancement of the future generations of our people.

These, Gentlemen, are the main questions in connection with University Reform that I shall submit to your notice. But there are others of scarcely inferior importance which I have no time to do more than summarise to-day. I have spoken of the duty of maintaining a high standard in examinations. Is it not equally our duty to maintain a high standard in the affiliation of Colleges? I have examined the systems in vogue in the different University areas, and I find that no two are alike, and that in some cases carelessness has crept in. I think that we want to exercise great caution and vigilance in the recognition of these affiliated institutions, and that incentives should be given to their maintenance of the initial standard. Again, when I look at the question of degrees, I was somewhat surprised to note last year that a proposal made in the Senate of the Calcutta University to deprive of their degrees members who had been convicted of a criminal offence, was defeated. I believe that the somewhat sinister interpretation which this step appeared

to justify was not borne out by the inner history of the case: but it cannot be denied that a University whose governing body arrives at such a decision exposes itself to not undeserved reproach. Here once more I ask—Is not a high standard a primary and solemn obligation?

A corollary of the subject of the elevation of standards is the assimilation of those already existing. It does not seem desirable that the degree of one University should be thought much of, and another little. Is it possible to take any steps towards the equalisation of the value and estimation of University degrees? Is any interchange between the examining staffs of the different Universities possible?

Then there is the question of Text-books and Courses of Study. Upon looking into the matter two years ago in connection with Primary and Secondary Schools, I found that there was a complete absence of uniformity in the different provinces, that the Local Governments had in some places abdicated their functions, and that the cardinal principles of the Education Commission had been ignored. By a Resolution issued in February 1900, we endeavoured to correct these errors. The question of text-books in Colleges is one of equal importance, and calls for examination. I observe that public opinion is very sensitive in this matter, and is always inclined to suspect the Government of some dark intention. This appears to me to be unreasonable. It might equally be open to the Government to turn round and say to the Boards of Studies, or the authorities who prescribe the text-books and courses of study, that there must be something queer in the background if they are so nervous about any intervention. Surely we all realise that successful teaching must depend upon two things, the quality of the teachers, and the nature of the thing taught. To tell me that Government is responsible for Education in this country, but that it is not to be at liberty to say a word upon the thing taught, is to adopt a position which seems to me illogical and absurd. The views that we entertain upon

this matter were clearly stated in the Resolution to which I have referred, and I will quote them :—

> "The Government of India cannot consent to divest itself of the responsibility that attaches both to its interest and its prerogatives. If it is to lend the resources of the State to the support of certain schools, it cannot abrogate its right to a powerful voice in the determination of the course of studies which is there imparted."

I have now finished with the subject of University Education. Your authority and advice should enable me to solve many of the doubts that I have here expressed: and we shall all profit by the out-of-door criticism which these views may perhaps be fortunate enough to elicit. If it be found desirable to take any comprehensive action in the matter, I suggest for further consideration whether it may not be well to institute some preliminary enquiry at the various centres affected, at which those who are interested may have an opportunity of favouring us with their views.

The subject of Secondary Education to which I now turn presents, in many ways, more encouraging features than its sister subjects, both higher and lower in the scale. This is due in the main to the increasing demand for English education, to the starting of schools in order to meet it, and to the rise in income from fees therein obtained. There are several matters in connection with this branch of our subject to which I shall invite your attention; but there are only two of them upon which it is necessary to say anything here.

The first of these is the degree to which is being carried out the Government policy as laid down by the Education Commission of 1882-3 and by subsequent Resolutions—*viz.*, that private effort should be encouraged by every possible means, and that Government should gradually withdraw from the direct management of secondary schools. This seems to me to be a very difficult question, for, while it cannot be doubted that the principles underlying this

policy are sound, and while progress in that direction should be our aim, Secondary Education is not yet in most parts in a position to stand alone. The existence of a limited number of well-managed Government schools undoubtedly serves to keep up a high standard in aided schools; and their disappearance would probably be followed by a serious diminution in the quality of Secondary Education. My view is that a *pari passu* development will probably for some time longer be found desirable, but that Government should be careful to regard its own institutions not as competitors, but as models.

The second question is how far the policy of bifurcation of studies in the upper classes of High Schools—as recommended by the Education Commission—is being carried out, and what are its results. The object of this recommendation was to institute a practical course of instruction for those youths who do not intend to proceed to the University Examinations, but who aspire to a commercial or non-literary career. Progress in this direction has, on the whole, been slow, and has varied in different portions of the country. The obstacles have been great. The Indian middle class public has not yet attuned itself to the need for practical education; a superior commercial value still attaches to literary courses. To some extent the studies thus organised have not been successful, because they lead to nothing, because they have been too optional, and not sufficiently practical, and because they have not been co-ordinated with technical or commercial education in a more advanced stage. I expect that if we can provide the boys, who elect for what I may call, upon the English analogy, the modern side, either with employment when they leave the schools or with facilities for a continuous training in technical courses, we shall do better in the future. But something will also depend on the attitude of the educated classes, and the direction which they give to the popular mind.

Primary Education, by which I understand the teaching

of the masses in the vernacular, opens a wider and a more contested field of study. I am one of those who think that Government has not fulfilled its duty in this respect. Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian text-books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined. This, I think, has been a mistake, and I say so for two principal reasons. In the first place, the vernaculars are the living languages of this great Continent. English is the vehicle of learning and of advancement to the small minority. But for the vast bulk it is a foreign tongue which they do not speak and rarely hear. If the vernaculars contained no literary models, no classics, I might not be so willing to recommend them. But we all know that in them are enshrined famous treasures of literature and art; while even the secrets of modern knowledge are capable of being communicated thereby in an idiom and in phrases which will be understood by millions of people to whom our English terms and ideas will never be anything but an unintelligible jargon. My second reason is even wider in its application. What is the greatest danger in India? What is the source of suspicion, superstition, outbreaks, crime,—yes, and also of much of the agrarian discontent and suffering among the masses? It is ignorance; and what is the only antidote to ignorance? Knowledge. In proportion as we teach the masses, so we shall make their lot happier, and in proportion as they are happier, so they will become more useful members of the body politic.

But if I thus stoutly urge the claims of the education of the people, there is one misapprehension to which I must protest against being exposed; the man who defends Primary Education is not therefore disparaging Higher Education. It is one of the peculiar incidents of journalistic criticism as practised in the Native Press that you cannot express approval of one thing without being supposed to imply

disapproval of another. Let me say then, in order to disarm this particular line of comment, that I regard both Elementary and Higher Education as equally the duty and the care of Government, and that it does not for one moment follow, because the one is encouraged, that the other will therefore be starved. As a matter of fact, we have rushed ahead with our English Education; and the vernaculars with their multitudinous clientèle have been left almost standing at the post. They have to make up a good deal of lee-way in the race before anyone can be suspected of showing them undue favour.

The main obstacles which Primary Education has to contend with spring from the people themselves. As they rise in the social scale they wish their children to learn English. The zemindars encourage this tendency, and the District Boards and Municipalities do little to drag the pendulum back. Thus we find that in some provinces Primary Education is almost stationary, while in others it is only making slow speed. The question is really in the main one of money. If the means were forthcoming, I do not doubt that Local Governments would be ready to adopt a more generous policy. For my own part, I venture to think that, when we have the resources at our disposal—as I hope that with a cycle of good seasons we shall have before long—one of the first claims upon its bounty that Government would do well to acknowledge will be the education of the masses. It cannot be a right thing that three out of every four country villages should be still without a school, and that not much more than 3,000,000 boys, or less than one-fifth of the total boys of school-going age, should be in receipt of primary education. I am not clear also that we might not do more by making passes in the higher vernacular examinations the test for subordinate Government posts, where the first requisite is familiarity with the language of the people.

Subordinate questions connected with this branch of my

subject, such as the applicability of Kindergarten or object lesson teaching, and of manual training, practical instruction in the scientific principles underlying the industry of agriculture, simple lessons in geometrical drawing, and the sufficiency of the teaching and inspecting staffs, I will reserve for our deliberations, and will now pass on to the subject of Technical Education.

The phrase Technical Education is employed in many senses in this country, just as it also is in Europe. In both parts of the world, many of those who use it have no clear idea of what it signifies; and so great is the general confusion that I observed the other day that no less a personage than the Prime Minister of Great Britain declared that he was unable to find a meaning for the phrase. Here in India there seems to be a general idea that in Technical Education will be found the regeneration of the country. Technical Education is to resuscitate our native industries, to find for them new markets and to recover old, to relieve agriculture, to develope the latent resources of the soil, to reduce the rush of our youths to literary courses and pursuits, to solve the economic problem, and generally to revive a Saturnian age. The imagination of the people has been struck by the alleged triumphs of Germany, and by the unquestionable enterprise of the youth of Japan. The Government of India has been caught in the same stream of anxious interest, but uncertain thought: and the autumnal leaves are not more thickly strewn in Vallambrosa than the pigeon-holes of our Departments are filled with Resolutions on the subject inculcating the most specious and unimpeachable maxims in the most beautiful language.

There is nothing to wonder at in the relatively small progress that has so far been attained. Where knowledge is fluid, action is not likely to be consistent or strong: and where every dreamer expects to find in a particular specific the realisation of his own dream, there are certain to be

more disappointments than successes. But from this it must not be inferred either that nothing has already been done, or that much more cannot be done, or even that a good many of those who write and talk rather vaguely may not be to some extent on the right track.

First, however, let me say clearly what I mean, and what I do not mean, by Technical Education for the purposes of the present discussion. I mean that practical instruction which will qualify a youth or a man for the practice of some handicraft, or industry, or profession. I do not include in the phrase that more advanced form of educational activity which is known as Scientific Research, and which involves the application of the most highly trained faculties to scientific experiment. Nor, at the other end of the scale, do I include the practical steps to be taken for the revival of Indian Arts and Industries. That is a question in which I take the keenest interest; but it is a question which has a commercial aspect, and which will be solved by the application of private enterprise and capital, and by following the recognised and traditional lines of Indian practice, rather than it will be by education in Government Colleges or Schools. Nor, again, do I refer to those steps for imparting a more practical turn to the education of the young in our Primary and Secondary Schools, mention of which has already been made, but which must not be confused with technical instruction, partly because they are general, instead of specialised, partly because they are in the majority of cases intended to train up faculties rather than to train for professions.

Eliminating all these aspects of educational effort, which are sometimes, though as I think incorrectly, included in the phrase Technical Instruction, and confining its use to the narrower interpretation which I have suggested, let us see what has already been done, and where lies the necessity for increased activity or for reform. The institutions of this character that have been founded or aided by the Government

of India fall into two classes: (1) Technical Colleges or Schools; (2) Industrial Schools. The former have been founded for the direct object of training skilled workers in certain professions, arts, or trades. They include Colleges of Engineering and Agriculture, Veterinary Colleges, Schools of Art, and other analogous institutions. Some of these, such as the Rurki and Sibpur Engineering Colleges, the College of Science at Poona, the Victoria Jubilee Institute at Bombay, have turned out, either for the public service, or for professional careers, most excellent men. Several of the Schools of Art have done much also to keep alive old arts and designs; though I fancy that their pupils, when the courses are over, are too apt to drift away from artistic pursuits, and that they cannot claim as yet to have produced any considerable artists or architects. The Agricultural Colleges have been less successful. They have been resorted to as stepping-stones to Government service in the Revenue or Settlement branches of administration; but, in a country that subsists by agriculture, they have as yet been but poorly patronised by the class who are hereditarily connected as landholders with the soil. Nevertheless, surveying the whole field, it does not seem to me that it is in respect of institutions of the class that I have been describing that reform is most urgently required. Indeed, there is a certain danger in starting too many ambitious schemes. We have to provide not merely for the select thousands, but, if possible, for the less favoured tens of thousands.

This brings me to the subject of the Industrial Schools that exist, or should exist, on a rather lower plane—what I may call ordinary Middle Class Technical Schools. Last year, as you know, I entrusted Sir Edward Buck, who has devoted a life-time to infusing ideas into Indian administration, with the task of advising the Government upon Technical Education in general in this country; and his Report, which you have already received, will supply us with a useful basis for discussion. It cannot be doubted that here lies a fruitful

field for reform. These schools have been started in different parts of the country upon no definite principles and with no clear aims, and have so far been attended with insignificant results. In the first place, it is a commonplace of all Technical Education that it must have certain antecedents, *i.e.*, it must be preceded by a good general training of a practical character in the schools. This consideration explains the importance of the subject to which, when speaking of Primary and Secondary Education, I have already drawn your attention. Then, when the pupil comes to your Industrial School, you must make up your mind whether you wish to turn him into a scholar, or to make him a craftsman—it is difficult to do both at the same time. If the latter is your object, as it obviously must be, then you must give him an education neither too high nor too low to qualify him for an artisan. If it is too high, you make him discontented with manual labour; if too low, he becomes a useless workman. Further, when you propose to teach him a handicraft, let it be one to which he will adhere when he has left the school, and which will provide him with a livelihood. Sir E. Buck says that our present Industrial Schools are largely engaged in teaching carpentry and smithy-work to boys who never intend to be carpenters or blacksmiths. There can be no excuse for such a misdirection of energy. It applies also to many of the Art Schools where, with great labour, a boy is taught carving, or pottery, or sculpture, or some other art industry, and then, when he has got his diploma, he cheerfully drops his art and accepts a modest billet in the service of Government. If Technical Education is to open a real field for the youth of India, it is obvious that it must be conducted on much more businesslike principles. When the poet said that "Life is real, Life is earnest," he wrote what is even more true of that part of life which is called education. I should like to begin with these Industrial Schools, and to see whether we cannot make

something much better out of them. First, we must co-ordinate them with the general schools, and distinguish, instead of mixing up, their courses. Then we must turn them into practical places where a boy does not merely pick up a smattering of an art or an industry for which he has no care, but where he acquires a training for a professional career. Lastly, we must invite Native interest to co-operate with us in the matter. For there is no use in creating good schools if the pupils will not come into them; and there is no use in manufacturing good workmen if no employment is available for them when they have been taught. If we can proceed on these lines, I believe that we may be able to do something substantial, even if it be not heroic, for the cause of Technical Education in this country.

There remain five subjects to which I hope that we may find time to devote attention. The first of these is the present condition and future encouragement of the Training Colleges or Schools, and in a lower scale of the Normal Schools, in which our teachers are trained up. I would not quarrel with the thesis that this is the supreme need of Indian Education. Two propositions I would unhesitatingly lay down. The first is that as the teacher is, so will the school be, and the pupil in the school. I might even carry on the remark to a higher stage, and say that as the head of the Training School is, so will the teaching staff be whom he turns out. The second is that no country will ever have good education until it has trained good teachers. My tours in India have not brought me into contact with any of these preparatory institutions, and I therefore cannot speak of them at first hand. I am disposed, however, to think that, while there is no great deficiency in their numbers, there is room for much improvement in respect of quality and work; and that our policy should be not to multiply, but to raise the status. Of course here, as everywhere else, raising the status means in the last resort raising the pay. I would not shrink from recommending

this conclusion to the Local Governments, since I cannot imagine any object to which they could more profitably devote their funds.

The second question is that of the recruitment of the higher officers of our educational service, and the tests in respect both of educational knowledge, and of acquaintance with the language, to which they are required to conform. Are we sufficiently strict in these particulars?

The third topic is that of Female Education. Here the figures exhibit a relatively very backward state of affairs. Indeed, Mr. Cotton in the last Quinquennial Review described it as "the most conspicuous blot on the Educational system of India." In the past year there were only 425,000 girls attending all classes of schools out of the entire population, and of these nearly one-third were in Madras, where the Native Christian and Eurasian populations are unusually large. Moderate as I have shown the number of boys to be who go to school, only one girl attends for every ten of the male sex, and only 2½ per cent. of the female population of school-going age; and the total expenditure upon Female Education in Primary and Secondary Schools from all public funds (I exclude fees, subscriptions, and endowments) was last year only 11 lakhs, as compared with 80 lakhs on boys. Female Education has to suffer from many drawbacks in this country. It is contrary to the traditions and prejudices of the people. Their native customs, particularly that of early marriage, and the idea that women ought not to be trained up to remunerative employment, are unfavourable to it. In so far as it is practised, it is almost entirely confined to girls of the lower classes, who go to the Primary Schools to pick up the three R's. Parents in the higher classes will not send their girls to school. They prefer to have them educated in the zenana at home. It is too much, with all these obstacles in the way, to expect that Female Education in India will make any sudden or rapid strides. But I think that we might do more to foster its growth by

providing suitable teachers, and, perhaps, by encouraging the formation of a few model schools.

The fourth subject to which I referred is that of Moral Teaching in our schools. I do not feel it necessary to speak of religious instruction, because, profoundly as I believe that no teaching of the young can have the desired results unless it rests upon a religious foundation, I hold as strongly that it is not for ourselves to undertake the teaching of a foreign religion in the Government schools. But the question of moral training is one to which the Government of India have often devoted much attention. I am not inclined to find a solution in the moral primer, or text-book, that was suggested by the Education Commission. If pupils can cram Euclid, there is nothing to prevent them from cramming Ethics. I am not certain either that the moral precepts, which we understand, are as easily grasped by the Native mind. The ideas of good and evil are equally entertained but are differently expressed by the East and the West. We must look for religious instruction, Christian, Mahomedan, or Hindu, to the private institutions, where the tenets of those faiths are taught by their own votaries, and to which we can lend the assistance of Government grants-in-aid. As regards the moral standard, there are three methods by which it can be inculcated: by the careful selection of teachers, by the use of text-books that imbue by precept or examples a healthy moral tone, and by discipline in the boarding-schools. The sum and substance of the matter is that books can do something, but teachers can do more.

My last topic is the desirability of creating a Director-General of Education in India. Upon this point I will give my opinions for what they may be worth. To understand the case we must first realise what the existing system and its consequences are. Education is at present a sub-heading of the work of the Home Department, already greatly overstrained. When questions of supreme educational interest are referred to us for decision, we have no expert to

guide us, no staff trained to the business, nothing but the precedents recorded in our files to fall back upon. In every other department of scientific knowledge,—sanitation, hygiene, forestry, mineralogy, horse-breeding, explosives,—the Government possesses expert advisers. In Education, the most complex and most momentous of all, we have none. We have to rely upon the opinions of officers who are constantly changing, and who may very likely never have had any experience of education in their lives. Let me point to another anomaly. Under the system of decentralisation that has necessarily and, on the whole, rightly been pursued, we have little idea of what is happening in the provinces, until, once every five years, a gentleman comes round, writes for the Government of India the Quinquennial Review, makes all sorts of discoveries of which we know nothing, and discloses shortcomings which in hot haste we then proceed to redress. How and why this systemless system has been allowed to survive for all these years, it passes my wit to determine. Now that we realise it, let us put an end to it for ever. I do not desire an Imperial Education Department, packed with pedagogues, and crusted with officialism. I do not advocate a Minister or Member of Council for Education. I do not want anything that will turn the Universities into a department of the State, or fetter the Colleges and Schools with bureaucratic hand-cuffs. But I do want some one at headquarters who will prevent the Government of India from going wrong, and who will help us to secure that community of principle and of aim without which we go drifting about like a deserted hulk on chopping seas. I go further, and say that the appointment of such an officer, provided that he be himself an expert and an enthusiast, will be of immense assistance to the Local Governments. His wider outlook will check the perils of narrowness and pedantry, while his custody of the leading principles of Indian Education will prevent those vagaries of policy and sharp revulsions of action which distract our

administration without reforming it. He would not issue orders to the Local Governments. But he would be in frequent communication with them: and his main function would be to advise the Government of India. Exactly the same want was felt in America, where decentralisation and devolution are even more keenly cherished, and had been carried to greater lengths, than here; and it was met by the creation of a Central Bureau of Education in 1867, which has since then done invaluable work in co-ordinating the heterogeneous application of common principles. It is for consideration whether such an official in India as I have suggested, should, from time to time, summon a representative Committee, or Conference, so as to keep in touch with the local jurisdictions, and to harmonise our policy as a whole.

I have now passed in view the entire field of Indian Education; and if I have detained you long, I doubt whether it would have been possible to do even elementary justice to so vast a theme more shortly. I will only say in conclusion—and these remarks are addressed to the outside public rather than to yourselves—that I trust that the frankness in which I have indulged will not turn out to have been misplaced. It is possible to wreck any scheme of educational reform by making it an occasion for the selfishness of class-interests or the bigotry of faction. Let us dismiss all such petty considerations from our minds. The Government desire, with an honesty of purpose that is not open to question, and with aims that few will contest, to place the Educational system of this country upon a sounder and firmer basis. It can be done if all the parties and persons interested will combine to help us: and in that case it will be done, not by Government fiat, but by common consent. Only let every one of us bear in mind the real magnitude of the issues, and remember that we are not playing with counters, but handling the life-pulse of future generations.

ADDRESS FROM THE PEOPLE OF CACHAR.

[On Monday morning, the 4th November, 1901, the Viceroy, accompanied by a portion of his Staff, left Simla on his autumn tour for Burma. His Excellency travelled by steamer from Goalundo to Chandpur and thence by rail to Silchar, where he arrived on the 7th November and was received by the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Political Agent, Manipur, and all the principal Civil and Military Officers of the district. The Surma Valley Light Horse escorted His Excellency from the station to the Circuit House, which was his residence during his stay at Cachar. The Lushai Chiefs were drawn up along the route and were subsequently presented to the Viceroy. At noon on the following day, His Excellency received an address of welcome from the Silchar Municipality and the members of the Local Boards in the District, on behalf of those bodies, and as representatives of the people of Cachar. The various matters alluded to in the address are discussed by His Excellency in his reply, which was as follows:—] 8th Nov. 1901.

Gentlemen,—Permit me to thank you for the cordial welcome that you have extended to me yesterday and to-day. It has been a real pleasure to me to visit a locality, which, though it lies a little outside of the ordinary track, so well repays inspection. I have been struck by the beauty of your scenery, by the splendid promise of this year's crops, by the well-to-do appearance of the people, and by the manifest sincerity of the reception which you have offered to me as the representative of our illustrious Sovereign. The only bitter drop in my cup of nectar is the absence of Lady Curzon, to which you have so gracefully alluded, but which you cannot possibly deplore so much as myself.

I am glad to hear you speak a good word for the Assam-Bengal Railway. I have had to say rather hard things of it in the past; and, later on, in my second reply, I may be called upon to allude to the effect that it has exercised and continues to exercise upon our general policy of railway development in Assam. However, whatever it may have cost in the jungles and hills, and whether it ought ever to have been carried through those regions or not, there

cannot be a doubt that, in the plains of Bengal, Sylhet, and Cachar, it has been an unmixed blessing, placing this part of Assam in touch with the outer world, bringing up, as you have pointed out, immense supplies of rice at a time when famine was imminent, taking away the produce of your tea gardens, and enabling the planters to obtain coolies at a greatly reduced cost.

You have alluded to the unfortunate depression in the tea-industry, in which I deeply sympathise with you, but which will perhaps more appropriately come up for mention in reply to the succeeding address. You have also referred to other evidences of a backward condition, such as the present state of education, and the alleged poverty of the district. In connection with the latter you have stated, with obvious reference to the recent re-settlement of the Cachar District, that it is a matter of grave concern that revisions of the land assessment invariably result in an enhancement of the Land Revenue, and that you sincerely trust that the matter will occupy my attention.

I am happy to assure you that your hopes stand in no danger of disappointment. I have spent a good many months during the past summer at Simla,—where we are sometimes supposed to be kicking up our heels and having a good time (*laughter*), but where, if I may speak for myself and other high officers of Government, we work as hard as any coal-miner at the bottom of a shaft—or, shall I say any coolie in a tea garden? (*loud laughter*)—in looking into this very question; and I hope that before long the Government of India may be in a position to make a broad and statesmanlike pronouncement of its views and its policy upon the subject of Land Revenue assessments, indicating the principles upon which we proceed, and the rules of guidance to which it is our desire to conform. I will only say here that a rise in assessment itself is no more an improper or culpable thing than is a rise in the rent of a house or in the price of a horse. If the article in question has gone up in value,

the purchaser, or the part owner, or the lessee, as the case may be, must expect to pay more when the period for making a new contract comes round. What we have to look to is that the increase in payment shall not be beyond the deserts of the case or the capacity of the individual who has to pay it; and that it falls upon him in such a manner as to ease the burden of a sudden enhancement. When the new settlement here was made, I looked very carefully into the matter, and I convinced myself that the increase in rates was neither unreasonable nor immoderate. The rates here, which vary from 12 annas to 1 rupee 6 annas per acre for rice lands, are considerably lower than they are in the Assam Valley, and if we exclude the whole of the culturable but non-cultivated waste and take only the cropped area, the incidence amounts only to 1 rupee 10 annas per acre as compared with Rs. 3 in Sibsagar. This cannot be called a harsh assessment. Moreover, the Government, in pursuance of a policy, which I hope that it will always observe where the enhancement is relatively though not intrinsically high, has relinquished no small portion of its due by postponing the full levy for a number of years. As succeeding revisions occur, you may be sure that the State will have no desire to pose as a hard task-master, but that it will always be ready to co-ordinate its own interests with those of the agricultural population upon whose prosperity it depends.

You proceed to refer to the question of *begar*; and here I am in substantial agreement with what you say. *Begar* or impressed labour is a heritage from the days when the State revenue was largely paid in labour instead of in cash. But it is a system which is open to abuse, and which, as communications develope, and free labour becomes available, is destined to disappear. British rule has witnessed its practical extinction in Egypt, except for such purposes as the construction of embankments against sudden floods. It has also been shorn of its abuses in Kashmir. Wherever the

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system survives, it is justified by the requirements of the public service and the paucity of the local labour supply: and it is now everywhere free from the crowning abuse of the old-fashioned *begar*, inasmuch as it is invariably accompanied by a reasonable scale of pay. Thus, in this district, after a memorial had been presented to me by the *mirasdars* of Cachar in 1900, a consultation between the Government of India and Mr. Cotton resulted in an increase of the daily wages from 6 to 8 annas. This increase of rate, which has, I believe, caused general satisfaction, will itself reduce the demand for *begar* labour; and in time, as you are brought into closer contact with the outside labour market, and as a larger labour population makes its way into the Surma Valley, *begar* will cease to exist.

You have next referred to two subjects which are receiving my close attention. The first is the union of judicial and executive functions. We have been in consultation with the Local Governments on the subject; and a mass of papers are awaiting my attention which I have not yet had time to look at, but which I hope to take up and study in earnest next year. What conclusion they may lead to I cannot at present say. In the concrete case to which you call my attention in this district, I understand that the difficulty arises from the fact that, if the Deputy Commissioner ceased to exercise the functions of a Civil Judge, a separate officer would have to be imported for that purpose, and that there would not be enough work for him to do. The second subject is the too rapid transfers of Executive Officers. Mr. Cotton is not one whit behind myself in realising the injurious effects of these transfers upon the continuity and the efficiency of administration. You may rely upon him not to lose sight of these considerations in this or any other district. For my own part, I can truthfully say that this is one of the blots upon our Indian practice (for it is no essential ingredient of the system) which I have been doing my best, by our new Leave Rules, by executive orders and

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otherwise, to remove. I heartily endorse the propositions that an officer, in order to do good work, must get to know the people; that he cannot get to know them except by living among them for some time; and that he cannot do the latter if he is liable to sudden and capricious transfers. We are, I can assure you, well aware of this blemish, and our best efforts are directed to removing it.

It has given me great pleasure to listen to your emphatic appreciation of the services of Mr. Cotton, your present Chief Commissioner. He has never failed or wavered in his sympathy with the people of the Province which he has been called upon to administer; and he will have the satisfaction of knowing, when he leaves you, that its interests have greatly prospered in his hands.

Finally, you have indulged in some too generous expressions of sympathy with the task which has been imposed upon myself as the temporary head of the Government of India. I daresay that one makes many mistakes. If I were in a quiet corner with you, instead of on a public platform, I might tell you a few of them myself. (*Laughter.*) But when you say that, at the bottom of one's heart, there is no other desire than to do good to the people of this country, you speak the truth, and when you say this of me you may say it with equal truth of the vast majority of the men of my race who are engaged in administering the Government of India. The task is not always an easy one, for it has to be pursued through much criticism, some misunderstanding, and occasional attack. On the other hand, in no country in the world is there a more generous recognition of honest effort, or a more willing condonation of venial errors. That is both our encouragement and our consolation. (*Loud cheers.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE SURMA VALLEY TEA ASSOCIATION.

8th Nov 1901. [The members of the Surma Valley Branch of the Indian Tea Association, representing the tea-planting community in the districts of Cachar and Sylhet, presented an address of welcome to the Viceroy at Silchar on the 8th November, 1901. His Excellency, in his reply, dealt with the various subjects touched upon in the address, speaking as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—Your very temperate and well composed address opens with a reference to the circumstances in which the only one of my predecessors who ever visited the Surma Valley came here as far back as 27 years ago. It may interest you to learn that among the *ex*-Viceroys of India, of whom there are now five living at home, there is none who takes a keener or more constant interest in the welfare of the country, which he once administered so conscientiously and so well, than Lord Northbrook; and that he still follows with the closest vigilance everything that passes here. Though it has taken his successors a quarter of a century to follow his example in visiting Silchar, I hope that the tradition may now become fixed, and that my successors will not be so unwise as to deny themselves the pleasure, which I am enjoying to-day, of meeting the inhabitants of this interesting and prosperous neighbourhood.

I should not have regarded my acquaintance with Assam —circumscribed as in any case it must be—as at all rounded or complete, had I not been able to supplement my visit to the Brahmaputra Valley last year by a similar visit to the Surma Valley before the end of my term of office. The conditions of climate, of communications, and of labour, differ so materially in the two cases that a man would no more understand Assam who had seen one and not the other, than he would be able to judge of London had he only seen Bloomsbury and not Belgravia, or *vice versâ*. Which is Bloomsbury and which Belgravia in the present case, I will not undertake to say. (*Loud laughter.*) Perhaps neither is either. (*Renewed laughter.*)

Address from the Surma Valley Tea Association.

A prominent place has been given in your address to the subject of communications in this part of Assam, and to the desirability of connecting the tea gardens by light feeder lines with the railway or the river: and you add that you entertain little doubt that capital would be attracted to the district for this purpose if the Government of India could see its way to offer favourable terms and a minimum rate of interest. You are right in one respect; but if you will allow me to say so, you are wrong in the other. The question is not one of favourable terms at all. We have never boggled about terms; or, if this has ever been done in the past, we certainly should not do so now. We are prepared to make the conditions as favourable as is necessary—I might almost say, as favourable as is desired. But that is not the question. The confidence of every promoter that I have come across, great as it is, falls short of being willing to undertake the risk without a Government guarantee. He always declares that the prospects are assured; but he prefers that they should be assured by the bond of Government rather than by his own. Now, I do not in the least complain of this. Business men are right to be cautious; and, if they want to attract capital, they know that it is better to have Government behind them than to step into the market alone. But, as I explained last year at Gauhati, the moment a Government guarantee is asked, the scheme passes at once into another category; it falls within the Government programme; it has to be correlated with every other railway demand that is based upon a Government guarantee, or that involves the expenditure of Government money in every Province of India. You may say why not and why should not Assam have its turn? To this the answer is very simple. Assam is already having a good deal more than its turn. The allotment of funds that we make annually to the Assam-Bengal Railway is greater than that to any other railway in India, with three exceptions, and two of these are main trunk lines, not

running through what have been described to-day as backward districts, but through the most populous provinces of the empire. Now, we have to observe a certain proportion all round; and we cannot, out of the limited funds at our disposal, both provide large sums for the completion of the Assam-Bengal Railway (the great benefits of which to this district you have frankly admitted in your address) and at the same time risk it in the shape of guarantees upon smaller local enterprises. If we did so, every other Province would clamour and scream; and my tours would be punctuated not so much by polite petitions as by angry protests. (*Laughter.*) As soon as we have completed the Assam-Bengal Railway, then I hope that we may have the means to help you elsewhere. Meanwhile, as I said last year, there is not the least objection to the Local Boards undertaking the matter on their own account. I should like to see an expansion given to the financing of small railways by Local Governments and their subordinate agencies; and if I were an Assam planter, or a person interested in the exploitation of the country, I would sit down and address myself to the problem from this point of view.

You have spoken in your address of the period of depression through which the tea-industry has been passing. I am glad to see, from a careful study of the declared dividends of the various Tea Companies in Assam, that this is not universal; but in some cases it is undoubtedly severe, and, generally speaking, it is widespread. Into the causes of this state of affairs it is not necessary for me now to enter. We discussed the whole matter at great length in our debates in Council at Calcutta last spring; and let me here say that I look back upon those proceedings with the most agreeable recollections. The case of the planters was stated with much ability by Mr. Buckingham and by Mr. Henderson, the latter of whom hailed from this immediate neighbourhood; and the substantial agreement at which we ultimately arrived was, I think, a proof of the advantage of

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frank and friendly debate. It certainly gave me a knowledge of tea which is incapable of being acquired from the inside of a tea-cup (*laughter*), and which, I think, enables me to understand more intelligently the vicissitudes and troubles of the industry in which so many of you are engaged.

There is one respect in which I gather from your address that you think those troubles have been augmented, namely, by the recent revision of the Land Settlement in these Districts. I have looked into the matter, and I hardly think that the grievance is one of which much can be made. I remarked in reply to the preceding address that the rates here are much lower than those in force in the Assam Valley: and I find that the total enhancement upon the tea lands in Sylhet was only Rs. 10,000, which can scarcely involve an appreciable addition to the cost of output. Moreover, it has been in large measure due to the assessment of lands which have been brought under cultivation since the last settlement, and which could not of course escape paying their due share. In cases where the enhancement might have involved a substantial increase in the cost of working, we have made the concession by postponement to which you have referred.

Gentlemen, having been twice to Assam in the course of 20 months, I do not suppose that it will ever be my good fortune to visit this Province again. Let me say, therefore, that I shall always regard it as among the happiest features of my Viceroyalty that I have made the acquaintance of this most picturesque and progressive corner of His Majesty's dominions, and that, if Assam ever wants a good word said for it—which I do not suppose is likely, seeing that it has very well equipped lungs of its own (*loud laughter*)—I shall always be glad to place myself at its disposal. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

DINNER GIVEN BY THE CACHAR PLANTERS.

8th Nov. 1901. [On the evening of Friday, the 8th November, His Excellency the Viceroy was entertained at dinner at Silchar by the planters of Cachar, about 150 persons, including the Chief Commissioner of Assam, being present. Mr. Cathcart occupied the Chair, and, after the King's health had been drunk, proposed the toast of the evening, which was very warmly received. His Excellency, in responding to the toast, spoke as follows :—]

Mr. Cathcart, Your Honour, and Gentlemen,—I am very grateful to Mr. Cathcart for the kind words in which he has proposed my health, and I am glad that the circumstances on the frontier to which he alluded were not of a character to delay for more than a week my long-promised visit to the Surma Valley. (*Cheers.*)

The hospitality of the planter, of which I am the recipient this evening, is one of those time-honoured Indian traditions which are as unbroken as the rising and setting of the sun. (*Cheers.*) Men may come and men may go, prices may rise or prices may fall (*laughter*), but, like the poet's 'brook,' the generous instincts of the planter go on for ever. (*Loud cheers.*) Indeed, I believe that his inclination to entertain his friends is enhanced, instead of being diminished, by the fact that he is engaged in the production of an article which, excellent as it is in its own place, is not wholly adapted to be the staple of such a festivity as this. (*Loud laughter.*) Tea is never out of his thoughts in the day-time. Upon it he flourishes or pines. But, by an admirable law of re-action, when the evening comes on he invites his guests to dinner and he gives them something else. (*Loud cheers and laughter.*)

Gentlemen, I have now had the honour of being entertained by the planters of Tezpore and Silchar. I have similarly been the guest of the Companies that extract oil at Margherita and crush gold at Kolar. I have also been addressed by many Chambers of Commerce since I have been in this country. There are one or two words that I

should like to say about the position of communities such as these in India. It is a position unlike that of the majority of us. The bulk of Englishmen here belong either to the Army or to some branch of the Public Service. We are brought to India by a beneficent Government, are sustained by the same agency, and, after serving it for the stipulated term of years, we retire, gracefully or otherwise as the case may be. (*Laughter.*) But the tea-planters of Assam and the South of India, like the teak-cutters of Burma, or the indigo-planters of Behar, or partners in the other industrial concerns which I have named, come here with different objects, and they work under a different system. Primarily, no doubt, they come to make a livelihood for themselves or to earn dividends for their share-holders. But secondarily, it cannot be forgotten that, if they take some money out of the country, they also bring a great deal in; where native capital, except perhaps in the case of the Parsis of Bombay, is so very timid and unventuresome, they produce and invest the rupees without which the country can never be developed (*cheers*), they employ and pay many hundreds of thousands of native workmen, and thereby raise the scale of wages (*cheers*), and they exploit the resources of parts of the country which would otherwise remain sterile or forgotten. (*Cheers.*) They are, therefore, bearing their share in the great work of development, which in every sphere of activity, industrial, material, and moral, is required in order to enable a country to put forth its best and to realise its full measure of productivity or advancement.

Now, there is an old-fashioned idea that these independent pioneers of progress have nothing to do with Government, and that Government has no interest or concern in them. Sometimes, in the past, these ideas have bred feelings of estrangement and even of hostility between the two parties. Planters and others have been disposed to look upon Government and its ways with suspicion; and Government has perhaps retaliated by looking upon them with a cold

and inconsiderate eye. That is not at all my view of our relative positions. I look upon all Englishmen in this country (and if any Scotchmen or Irishmen are present, pray do not let them think that I am excluding them) as engaged in different branches of the same great undertaking. Here we are all fellow-countrymen, comrades, and friends. (*Loud cheers.*) The fact that some of us earn our livelihood or discharge our duty by the work of administration, and others by cultivating the resources of the soil, does not differentiate us one from the other. These are merely the sub-divisions of labour. They are not distinctions of object, or purpose, or aim.

Still more do I hold that relations of confidence and concord should prevail between the Government and those of its clients who are engaged upon the tasks to which I have referred. I repudiate altogether the fallacy that Government ought to be or need be antagonistic to private enterprise or industry or trade. (*Cheers.*) It ought to be impartial, and sometimes it is bound to interfere. Both parties recognize that. But I maintain that equally is it a part of its duty to hold out the hand of friendship to industrial or commercial enterprise, to endeavour, by careful study, to understand its conditions, and to secure its loyal co-operation. That, at any rate, is the spirit in which I have endeavoured to approach and to handle these matters since I have been in this country. I gladly acknowledge that I have met with the most cordial reciprocity at the hands of every section of the business community, whether they were tea-planters or mine-owners or merchants or partners in other industrial concerns; and I truly believe that there is at the present time a feeling of mutual regard and friendliness between Government and the classes of whom I have been speaking, which is of great value to the smooth working of the machine of British Administration in this country. (*Loud cheers.*)

Gentlemen, in the case of the planters' industry, there is all the greater need for co-operation, since the labour that you

employ is to a large extent procured and regulated by laws that have been passed by the State. In the Brahmaputra Valley it is in the main controlled by the Act which we revised and re-enacted last spring. Here, in the Surma Valley, where so-called free labour is more common, considerable advantage is taken of another law, Act XIII of 1859, which was not passed for the purpose, but which has been applied—not always, as I think, quite fittingly or successfully—to the labour upon plantations. Anyhow, the existence of these two statutes, and the extent to which the tea-planting industry is dependent upon them, are indications of the closeness of interest that must necessarily prevail between yourselves and the State.

As regards the present position of your fortunes, the Government is conscious of the hard times through which in many places the planters have been and still are passing. While the revised Act is coming into operation, what we need more than anything else is a period of diligent and peaceful adaptation to the circumstances of the new situation. We feel that we may reasonably call upon the planters to assist the Government in the execution of the law and in the fulfilment of its provisions; and I doubt not that we shall receive from them individually, as well as from their representative organisations, the ungrudging support to which we are entitled. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, as I drove in here yesterday I had the honour of being escorted by a detachment of the Surma Valley Light Horse. I was reminded by it of the part that some members of that force have recently played upon a wider field than Assam. (*Cheers.*) From the Surma Valley Light Horse came quite a number of recruits for that gallant contingent which Colonel Lumsden took out to South Africa, and of which I had the honour to be the Honorary Colonel, the solitary military distinction that I have ever so far attained. I daresay that some of them are here to-night. A few, alas, have been left behind never to return, including the

brave Major Showers, who was once your commandant here. His name, and that of the others who fell with him, will appear upon a brass tablet, which Lumsden's Horse have kindly allowed me as their Honorary Colonel to order for erection in the Cathedral at Calcutta. I hope that it may be completed and placed *in situ* in the forthcoming cold weather. When you go down there, do not fail to drop in to the Cathedral in order to see this record of the valour of your old friends. It will be a perpetual memorial, not merely of the wonderful movement that ran like a thrill through the whole heart of the Empire some two years ago, but also of the individual contribution that was made to it by the patriotism of Sylhet and Silchar. (*Loud cheers.*)

When I was in the Brahmaputra Valley last year, and had the honour of being escorted by the Assam Valley Light Horse, I was allowed, in remembrance of my visit, to present to them a shield for competition among the members of that force, in such manner as a committee of the officers might decide. May I be allowed a similar privilege on the present occasion? If you will permit it, I should like to present a similar memento to the Surma Valley Light Horse, to be held by them upon such conditions as may be thought desirable. (*Loud cheers.*)

In conclusion, Gentlemen, it only remains for me to say that I shall long look back with pleasure upon this agreeable evening, and shall always congratulate myself that, during my term of office, I have enjoyed the privilege of meeting the planters both of the Brahmaputra and Surma Valleys, not merely at the Council table or in the files of Government proceedings, but also on their own gardens, at their hospitable table, and in their homes. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

DURBAR AT MANIPUR.

[The Viceroy arrived in Manipur on Friday, the 15th November, and on the following morning held a Durbar, at which the Raja of Manipur, his brothers and relations, the chief officials of the State, and a very large number of the inhabitants of Manipur were present, besides many British officials. Mr. Barnes, the Foreign Secretary, having obtained permission to declare the Durbar open, Colonel Maxwell, Political Agent, gave an account of the progress of the State during the period it has been under British administration, his statement being translated afterwards into the vernacular. The Raja, his brothers and the leading officials were then presented to His Excellency, after which addresses, one from the Hindus and a second from the Mahomedans of the Manipur State, were read. The principal subjects of these addresses are discussed in His Excellency's speech to the Durbar, which was as follows :— 16th Nov. 1901.

Your Highness, and inhabitants of the Manipur State,—I have seen the question asked—why should the head of the Government of India have come to Manipur? I think that a sufficient answer might be forthcoming in the need of some change after incessant work elsewhere; or it might be found in the magnificent scenery of the Manipur hills through which I have been marching for the past seven days, and in the picturesque features of this valley, capable, as it appears to me, of such immense development and of sustaining so much larger a population in the future. But neither of these is the reason that has drawn me to this distant spot. I have come here in pursuance of a definite resolution formed when first I was appointed to be Viceroy of India, namely, that I would, so far as health and circumstances might permit, visit all the outlying States and parts of India during my term of office, as well as the better known and the more important. My reason was two-fold. In the first place, I have always found it difficult clearly to understand any public question until I have visited the locality, seen the inhabitants myself, and conversed with the local authorities on the spot. Secondly, I am, beyond all things, anxious to bring home to the minds of the people,

even in the remote parts of this great Empire, that the Government knows about them and is interested in their welfare; and that when they speak of the Sircar they are alluding, not merely to a dim force, but to a concrete authority and to living persons. That is why I have come so far out of my way to little-known Manipur. I wanted to see how this State has prospered during the ten years that have passed since it was placed under British administration; and also what fortune is likely to await it when in a few years' time the young Raja is gradually initiated into the administration of the State.

The first thing I have to say is that the British Government does not repent of the clemency which induced it to spare the independence of Manipur when the State and the people behaved so wickedly and so shamefully ten years ago. By those acts the State became forfeit to the Crown; and it rested with the Government to make such disposal of it as might be thought best. The Government displayed great mercy and great consideration. It refrained from adding to the territories under its direct administration: and it showed its desire so to manage the future of Manipur that the people might still retain their liberties, and, after passing through a period of good government, might once again be entrusted to a Native Chief, who should rule in accordance with the traditions and the laws of his race. This is the policy that has been pursued. Many evil customs have been abolished under the British administration, and many good things have been introduced; and the people of Manipur are now a better governed, a more prosperous, and a more peaceable community than they were before the ten years of probation had begun.

Secondly, I have to say that the Government will not recede from its decision. The Sircar is a master whose word is to be obeyed. The old order of things and persons is an order that will not be allowed to come back. They are past and gone for ever. The old bad

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practices that carried with them so much rebellion and disorder in the State and so much oppression to the people will never return. They have been utterly destroyed; and the persons who brought these troubles upon Manipur will never again be invested with power. The Government has selected the young Raja as the future ruler of the State. He has been given a good education. He has come back to Manipur to become familiar with the people and to learn the duties of the Raj; and so long as he is a good ruler, and is just and benevolent to his people, he will be supported by the British Government, and the latter will then have abundant cause to rejoice at the wise step that they have taken.

Colonel Maxwell has given an account in his speech of the changes that have passed over Manipur during the ten years in which he has administered the country. Consider what the British Government has done for you. The old *lallup* or forced labour has been abolished, and you are now free men, and are paid good wages for your work. Domestic slavery has ceased to exist. A new system of taxation and of land revenue has been introduced that is fair to all and is collected without hardship or oppression. Ten years ago there was no Police to maintain order, no Forest management to secure an income from the State forests, no department to look after public communications such as bridges and roads, no education for your boys and girls. There was practically no trade in Manipur. The population was only 221,000, the revenue was less than one lakh of rupees. Now there is a growing trade; the fisheries give an income of about Rs. 30,000 a year; the population has grown to 284,000, and under a continuation of just and tranquil rule will greatly multiply; the revenue of the State last year was Rs. 3,87,000, and there is a cash balance of three lakhs of rupees. The hill tribes are peaceful and contented; each man is safe in his own home; and, if some old Manipuri of 50 or even 20 years ago were to come back from the spirit world, he would say, 'This is a new and a

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happier Manipur.' For all these benefits you owe much gratitude to the Sircar and to Colonel Maxwell, who has been a prudent administrator and a true and trusted friend to Manipur. I hope that, when his time comes to go, you will long hold his name in honoured remembrance.

I have received to-day two addresses from the Hindu and from the Mahomedan subjects of the Manipur State. The former number 172,000 out of the total population, the latter 9,000. I will deal briefly with their respective petitions.

The Hindus have expressed their gratitude that Government has restored the old Chirap Court and the Imphal Punchayat and Village Punchayat Courts and has appointed natives to be Judges in them. This is a part of the generous policy of the Sircar, who is anxious that the people should continue to be judged by their own laws and by influential men of their own race.

Further, they have asked that, in accordance with old practice, lands should be granted free of rent to all Brahmins, shrines, Rajkumars, and Rajkumaris. I do not think that this was the old practice. Land was given rent-free to certain of these classes, but not to all. Some of them continue to receive these privileges at present. But the policy of wholesale exemption is not one that is favoured by the British Government or that is sound for the State. If every Brahmin and every Rajkumar and Rajkumari in Manipur were to be granted lands rent free, there would be a considerable diminution in the public revenue, and other taxes would have to be imposed. Whether any further exemption can be given, beyond those which are now accorded, is a matter which can be disposed of by the Raja when he succeeds to the administration.

In asking for a reduction of the land assessment, the Hindu memorialists have also forgotten to state that, if their prayer was granted, the income of the State would be reduced by one lakh, or more than one-quarter of the entire revenue. This would have to be made up from some other source,

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and the memorialists might find themselves worse off at the end than they are now. I cannot follow the minute calculations which have been made in the address. But I observe that they proceed upon the assumption that the average price of *dhan* is 3 *pots* for a rupee. This, however, is not the average rate. During the last eight years it has been Rs. 2-1 per *pot*. It should be remembered that assessment rates must be guided, not by the circumstances of a specially cheap year, but by the average of a number of years, including the good as well as the bad. If an era of very low prices were now to begin, the present scale of assessment might be found to be too high. At present it does not seem to be excessive. As regards the date of payment it does not much matter to the State when this takes place. It is the desire to fix it at periods and in instalments which are fair and convenient to the cultivating classes.

The Mahomedans complain in their address that they are treated like foreigners and do not receive a fair share of Government appointments. They must remember that they are only a small minority in a Hindu State, who have but recently come to the country. The policy of the British Government is to deal out equal proportionate treatment to all races and creeds. Native States are gradually learning to follow more and more the same idea; and if the Mahomedans continue to be loyal subjects of the Manipur State, they will receive more liberal treatment as time passes on. The Sircar is asked both to interfere and to leave men alone. It cannot at the same time do both.

These are the principal subjects that have been named in the addresses that have been made to me. I have been glad to see this great crowd of persons, the largest number that has probably ever been collected in a single building in Imphal: and I have been pleased at the loyal reception accorded to me by the people.

In conclusion, let me add that, though I shall go far away and shall never see Manipur again, I will not forget the

Manipuri people. I will from time to time make enquiries about them and their condition : and they may be sure that, though they are very far off, the hand of the Sircar will be over them and they will be protected by the officers who are sent here to represent the Government and to do the bidding of the Great King.

ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF KINDAT.

23rd Nov. 1901. [The Viceroy and party left Manipur on the 19th November, and arrived at Tamu on the 21st. Here His Excellency was met by the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, who was accompanied by Mr. Wingate, his Chief Secretary, and Captain Fryer, his Private Secretary. The party arrived at Sittaung on the banks of the Chindwin River on the 23rd, where the Royal Indian Marine Steamer *Bhamo* was in waiting for His Excellency. Kindat was reached in the evening, and here after dinner the Viceroy received an address of welcome from the inhabitants, to which His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—As you are the first inhabitants of a Burmese town by whom I have been addressed, I may seize the opportunity of saying with what pleasure I visit this important province of the Indian Empire, and with what interest I have approached it by a track which has enabled me to see places and persons whom I should not in the ordinary course have encountered.

Your brief address opens with sentiments of gratifying loyalty to the throne of Great Britain and to the Sovereign who has lately ascended it in succession to his revered mother, Queen Victoria. The sympathy which was felt for her Indian subjects by her is equally entertained by her son, the present King-Emperor, and he receives with the keenest pleasure any tidings of the welfare of the Indian peoples.

Address from Chin Hill Chiefs.

You next proceed to enumerate the advantages which the inhabitants of this part of Burma have derived from the assumption by the British Government of the administration. Dacoities and lawlessness suppressed, a country tranquil and prosperous, trade remunerative and expanding, improved communications, and a greater care for health—this is the tale which you have to tell. I congratulate you on its realization; and I trust that, as time advances, you may profit by these and similar blessings to an even greater degree.

ADDRESS FROM CHIN HILL CHIEFS.

[The Viceroy, accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor, landed at Kalewa on his way down the Irrawaddy, to receive about fifty Chiefs of the Chin Tribes who had been brought in by Mr. Fowler, the Superintendent of the Chin Hills. Mr. Fowler read an address of welcome on behalf of the Chiefs, expressing regret that His Excellency was unable to visit them in their own country, and referring to other matters to which His Excellency alludes in his reply. After the reading of the address, each Chief was presented to the Viceroy and presents of various kinds were given to them. His Excellency's reply, which was interpreted to the Chiefs, was as follows:—] 24th Nov. 1901.

Chiefs of the Chin Tribes,—I am glad to see you to-day, and I should have been still better pleased had I been able to visit you in your own hills. There is nothing that I enjoy more than making the acquaintance of the interesting peoples who live on the fringes of the Indian Empire, and who retain customs and habits peculiar to themselves, and unlike their neighbours. My desire everywhere is not to suppress their individuality, but to retain it, so long as it is not used to justify violence or wrong-doing. As time, however, did not permit of my coming to you in your own homes, I rejoice that you have come here to see me; and I have received your loyal address with much satisfaction.

Address from Chin Hill Chiefs.

Allusion has been made by you to the disarmament which has for some time been proceeding in the Chin Hills, and to the more recent operations of the Census; and the Superintendent has represented the majority of the Chiefs as having acted faithfully and with zeal. I am pleased to hear that this is the case. The policy of disarmament and of Government licenses for a suitable number of guns was not at first understood; but now that its consequences are seen in the peace that prevails in the hills, and in the cessation of raids on the plains, its benefits are generally appreciated, and the Chiefs know that they are consulting their own interests as well as those of Government in assisting to carry it out. You have been rewarded by the remission of one year's tribute in consequence. You also assure me that you will in no way be associated with the lawless acts that are sometimes committed by your tribesmen, owing to their turbulent nature, except to suppress them. I welcome the assurance. My own belief is that, as the Chief is, so will the tribe tend to be; and that a good Chief means a good tribe. I shall bear in mind your promise, and shall judge you by this test. It is the settled policy of Government to support the hereditary Chiefs to the uttermost, and to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of the tribe, except in the interest of order and peace. For this support, Chiefs, you owe a return to Government.

The census also was most important. To some of the tribes this is a novel procedure, and it excited some suspicion. You should remember, however, that the desire of Government is to know your numbers, in order that, if they be small, we may endeavour to increase them; whereas, if they be large, we may be conscious of the extent of your claims. Now that we have learned from the census that there are at least 85,000 Chins in this part of the country, and probably more, we realise how large is the community for which the Government has made itself responsible.

You have given me certain assurances. I will now give

Address from Chin Hill Chiefs.

one to you. Do not imagine for one moment that the British Government is going to leave you or to abandon your country. As the head of the Government, I should not have come all this way to speak to you if we were going to evacuate the Chin Hills. On the contrary we are going to stay with you, and you will be permanently under the British Raj. You have my word for this. The knowledge of it will enable you to turn your attention to the development of your country, to the encouragement of trade, which is now in a backward state, and to the exploitation of the resources of your forests, which have long been neglected.

Another source of security lies in the fact that the boundaries of the Chin country, between the Chins and the Lushais, and between the Chins and Manipur, have now been settled; so that no future difficulties on questions of jurisdiction can arise. When a country is under firm and civilised administration, and when its frontiers have been fixed, there is no further excuse for disorder, and the only thing that remains for its inhabitants to do is to promote their own prosperity by turning to the arts of peace.

I have been pleased to see from the reports that have been laid before me that the officers of Government have distinguished themselves by their energy and activity in touring amid the Chin Hills. This is the true secret of government. The officers can only get to know the Chiefs and the people by moving about in their midst, and by seeing them in their villages. Thus confidence is bred on both sides; for we trust those whom we know, and we are frightened by that which is vague and unknown.

For this reason also I have marched across from Assam, in order that I might make the acquaintance of the Manipuris, and the Nagas, and the Chins; and I shall henceforward look upon the inhabitants of these regions as people whom I know, and whom it will always be my desire to befriend.

ADDRESS FROM THE MANDALAY MUNICIPALITY.

26th Nov. 1901.

[The Viceroy, accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor, arrived at Mandalay at 4-30 P.M., on Tuesday, the 26th November, and was received at the railway station by Mr. G. W. Shaw, Judicial Commissioner for Upper Burma, the Theebaw Sawbwa, the Kin Wûn Mingyr, the Sawbwa of Hsipaw, Mr. N. C. Cholmeley, Commissioner of Mandalay, the General Officer Commanding the Mandalay District, the principal local officials, and a large number of the general community. After His Excellency had inspected the Guards of Honour on the platform, an address of welcome was presented by the Municipal Committee in a large open shamiana, which had been erected outside the station. In reply to this address the Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—It is, I think, one of the less fortunate aspects of a Viceroy's tours that he is commonly invited to receive, and to respond to, addresses of welcome at the first moment after his arrival at this or that spot, instead of at the last moment before his departure. One result of this procedure is that he can possess nothing but a second-hand knowledge of the locality which he is visiting, and of the questions which may be laid before him in the address; a condition of affairs which does not stimulate either value or originality in his reply. A second result is that he is prevented from communicating to his audience the experiences which a few days of residence in the place and association with its leading citizens cannot fail to give him—experiences, the narration of which might be found interesting, and possibly also, though this is more open to doubt, beneficial. I am peculiarly susceptible of this difficulty upon the present occasion. For having at present seen no more of Burma than can be derived from a march across unpopulated hills from Manipur, a comfortable descent in a river-steamer on the Chindwin, and a short journey by train, I find myself in the capital of the Upper Province, called upon within a few minutes of my arrival to address the City Fathers of Mandalay, and expected to show a familiarity with this famous city and with their work in connection with it, which I cannot profess to enjoy.

Address from the Mandalay Municipality.

Fortunately you have lightened my task by the moderation which you have shown in sparing me any Municipal or other conundrums at the outset, and by the nature of the statement, as regards the welfare of the city and its inhabitants, that you have been in a position to make. When I find a Municipality addressing me in sober and sanguine tones about night-conservancy and water-supply, about schemes for urban improvement, about a central market and a General Hospital, I draw the conclusion that it is devoting itself in a business-like spirit to that which is the true field of municipal activity, namely, the bettering of the conditions under which the people, both European and Native, reside who are committed to its care. The addresses that you have presented to my two immediate predecessors three and eight years ago, when compared with that which you have read to me to-day, sufficiently indicate what substantial progress has already been made in the path which you have set before yourselves. In the course of the next few days I shall have many opportunities of seeing at closer quarters the results of your labours; and I daresay if I were then called upon to pass an examination, I might show results that would not discredit even a flying visit to this city, and that would redound to the credit of its municipal institutions. In one respect they have sustained a very desirable expansion since the visit of my last predecessor but one, Lord Lansdowne, in 1893; for the hope that was expressed to him that electoral rights might be conceded the Municipality of Mandalay has since then been realised, 12 of the 17 Members of the Committee being returned by the ratepayers of the town. I hope that this widening of your representative basis has been accompanied by a proportionate increase in utility and influence.

Mandalay has advantages of situation which, although it is only a modern city, and although, as you say, it is associated with no particular industry or trade, are likely for long to preserve its metropolitan character and importance.

Forty-five years ago its site was a jungle. Its population is now numbered at over 180,000 souls. These figures record a slight decrease from those of the preceding census, due to special causes of no particular importance. Before another decade has passed, the loss should be more than made up by the increase of population which is certain to result from the opening of the Mandalay Canal. The various railways that radiate from Myohaung and Mandalay to all parts of Upper and Lower Burma must also tend to increase its importance and population; and I see no reason to doubt that it will become in time a greater and more prosperous city than any of the Burmese capitals of the past. The control of so large an aggregation of humanity is a great charge and a vast responsibility. I hope that your successors, like your predecessors and like yourselves, may continue to sustain it with fidelity and discretion.

Allow me to thank you, Gentlemen, for the warmth of the welcome that you have accorded to me, and for the excellent arrangements that have, I understand, been made for my entertainment and occupation while I am in this place.

DURBAR AT MANDALAY.

28th Nov. 1901. [At 4 P.M. on Thursday, the 28th November, His Excellency the Viceroy held a public Durbar in the West Throne Room of the Palace at Mandalay for the reception of the chief notables and other Native gentlemen of Burma, and for the conferment of certain Native Titles. The Durbar was attended by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, the Judicial Commissioner, Upper Burma, and by all the principal Civil and Military Officers of Government at Mandalay, by the Superintendent and Political Officer, and thirty Chiefs of the Southern Shan States; by the members of the Burmese *ex*-Royal Family residing at Mandalay and by the *ex*-Ministers of the late Burmese Government. After the presentations had been made and the

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various recipients had received from the Viceroy's hands the Sanads conferring their respective titles, His Excellency addressed the Durbar in the following speech :—]

My first and most pleasing duty at this Durbar has already been discharged. It has consisted in the presentation of titles and awards of merit to certain of the Chiefs of the Southern Shan States, and to a number of Burman gentlemen and officers of Police, for services rendered in their several callings. The distribution of honours is one of the most delicate of the duties that devolve upon the head of the Government of India. But laborious and often invidious as is the task of selecting the few who are most deserving among the many who are deserving, I can say for myself that the reward of merit, more particularly if it be unselfish and unostentatious merit, is one of the most agreeable prerogatives that attach to high administrative office. It gives me the most genuine satisfaction to pick out some worthy recipient for the recognition of Government or the favour of the Crown, especially if he has laboured in comparative remoteness or obscurity; and my pleasure is certainly enhanced when, in these or other cases, I am permitted, as I have been to-day, to be the vehicle of presentation myself.

The whole of the Chiefs of the Southern Shan States, from as far East as Keng Tung, and as far South as Karenni, have passed before me this afternoon, in addition to those who have received special marks of distinction. The area which they inhabit, amounting to over 40,000 square miles with a population of 800,000 persons, is one of the undeveloped assets of the future. Its people are keen traders, the soil is fertile and capable of producing many sorts of grain, valuable minerals lie hidden beneath the surface. In fifteen years it has passed, under the able management of Mr. Hildebrand—who, I am sorry to say, is leaving you before long—from a state of chronic rapine and disorder to tranquillity and contentment. In this work he has been

Durbar at Mandalay.

assisted by the enlightened attitude of many of the Chiefs, who instead of spending their time in raiding each other's States and killing each other's people, as their forefathers would have done, now compete with each other in carrying out works of public utility and in opening up their country by means of roads. A school is also about to be opened at Taunggyi for the special education of the sons and relatives of the Chiefs, and, if they are wise in their generation, as I take them to be, they will not fail to profit by the advantages which it will confer. One day in the future you will get Railway connection with the main Burma lines; the Southern Shan States will become a great exporting area: and some later Viceroy will come and see you in your homes, and congratulate you on your prosperous and remunerative partnership in the Indian Empire.

I now turn to the main body of those whom I am addressing, and who represent the inhabitants of Upper Burma in general. This Province cannot fail to present special attractions to any Viceroy of India, so recent is its acquisition, so remarkable what has already been accomplished, so promising its future. It is especially interesting to one who has made the frontiers of Empire his peculiar study, and who knows no spectacle more absorbing than that of Oriental peoples passing by a steady progress from backwardness to civilisation, without at the same time forfeiting the religious creed, the traditions, or the national characteristics of their race. Here in Upper Burma both extremes of this process may be observed; for, on the one hand, in the settled tracts are an intelligent and tractable race, immersed in agriculture or business, and living under the sway of one of the oldest and most cultured of religions; on the other hand, one has only to proceed to the north-eastern border to encounter tribes who still derive pleasure from cutting off each other's heads. I doubt if the north-western frontier of India, which I know well, presents features more diversified than yours on the north-east. The frontiers of

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Upper Burma touch those of China and Assam; they bring the territories of Great Britain into contiguity with the Asiatic dominions of France; they extend to the boundaries of Manipur and Assam; and they shade away on the north into unvisited tracts peopled by unknown and semi-savage tribes. Here is a situation and a task that will occupy the genius of the British race for many a long day to come. A hundred years hence Upper Burma, with its immense resources developed, its waterways utilised, its communications improved, its population many times multiplied, and peace reigning from the Hukong Valley to the Gulf of Martaban, and from the Lushai Hills to Yunnan, will be as much unlike its present condition as the Bengal of to-day is unlike the Bengal of Warren Hastings. Your population in the Upper Province, excluding the Shan States, is less than four millions. With a temperate climate, a fertile soil, cheap and abundant food, and practical immunity from famine, I see no reason why it should not one day be fourteen millions. I wish that I could live to see it. But as that is impossible, I rejoice to think of what remains for those who come after me to do: and that not for many generations will India fail within its borders to provide my countrymen with the work for which their instincts seem especially to fit them among the nations of the earth.

Gentlemen, in Upper Burma the stages of your evolution have been relatively rapid. In the sixteen years that have elapsed since annexation I detect four distinct landmarks of advance. First came the era of conquest, which was shortly and swiftly achieved. Next came the period of disorder and guerilla warfare, following upon conquest, in which, upon a larger scale and on a much wider stage, our troops are now engaged in South Africa, and which here also was not without its vicissitudes and its trials. Next came the task of internal reconstruction in the newly-acquired territories, of instituting a proper system of land records and land assessments, of providing for the

due administration of Civil and Criminal justice, of organising an efficient Police, of encouraging the marked aptitudes of the people for education, of making roads, bridges, and railways, of extending the post and the telegraph, of building hospitals and dispensaries, of diffusing the benefits of vaccination and sanitation, of developing agriculture and spreading irrigation, of pacifying the hill tracts and tranquillising the tribes. Finally, and simultaneously with the third, comes the fourth stage of development, in which the lack of wealth in the country requires to be supplemented from the outside, enabling your wonderful resources in timber, in oil, and in gems to be exploited by organised enterprise and capital. Practically the whole of these stages in your recent history have been supervised by your present Lieutenant-Governor. I cannot conceive a prouder reflection with which an Indian administrator can leave these shores, as in the course of next year Sir F. Fryer will be called upon to do, than that he has nursed so sturdy a child of Empire from childhood to adolescence. He has been in the position of a sculptor who is given the choicest block of marble, and is bidden to shape it to whatever in the art of statuary his own imagination or the capacity of the material may suggest.

Statistics are always considered to be rather a repellent study; but they sometimes illustrate, in a concrete form and with tell-tale directness, an argument or a proposition; and they are, after all, the quarry from which the historian of the future must hew. If anyone, therefore, here present desires to be convinced that I have not been dealing in unsupported generalisations, I may inform him that since annexation the revenue of Upper Burma has increased from 56 lakhs to 141½ lakhs, and that the population during the last decade has increased by nearly 500,000 or between 14 and 15 per cent. If he is disposed to identify the progress of a country with the opening of communications, he will like to know that, whereas Upper Burma had not a single mile of

Durbar at Mandalay.

railway in 1886, it now possesses 850 miles; and that over 3,000 miles of road are now open in the Province, of which 700 are the work of the past five years. If he is an apostle of irrigation, he will be gratified at the impending opening of the Mandalay Canal, executed at a cost of nearly 50 lakhs, and destined to irrigate 100,000 acres. If he is not satisfied with this, he may be pleased to learn that the Shwebo Canal, which will cost about the same amount, has already been begun, and that the Mon Canals on a similar scale will follow —these three works when completed costing little short of one million sterling. If my friend to whom I am referring is a champion of law and order, he may take pride in the fact that so well-behaved is the Upper Province that in 1900 there were only 145 cases of violent crime, as compared with more than three times the number in Lower Burma. Finally, if he is a Burman patriot, I would invite him to facilitate the efforts which are being made by the British Government to employ the Burmans in the administration of their country, by inducing them to take every advantage of the educational facilities which are every day being offered to them in a greater degree.

And now, before I conclude, I have only one further reflection to add; and I address it to those persons in this audience, and through them to the wider outside public, who belong to the Burman race. Because the British have come to this country and have introduced the reforms of which I have been speaking, we do not, therefore, wish that the people should lose the characteristics and traditions, in so far as they are good, of their own race. It is a difficult thing, as I have often said elsewhere, to fuse the East and West; but no fusion can be effected by suppression of national habits and traits. The Burmans were celebrated in former times for their sense of respect—respect for parents, respect for elders, respect for teachers, respect for those in authority. No society can exist in a healthy state without reverence. It is the becoming tribute paid by the

inferior to the superior, whether his superiority be in position, in rank, or in age, and it is the foundation stone of civic duty. I should think the advantages of the education which we give you dearly paid for if they were accompanied by any weakening in these essential ties. Again, if civilisation were found to encourage a taste for such pursuits as betting and gambling, or in any way to depreciate the standards of commercial honour, I should think that it had not succeeded in its aim.

There is another respect in which I beg of you not to be diverted from your old practices. You have, as I have said, a venerable and a famous religion whose relics are scattered throughout the East and whose temples are among the beauties of the Oriental world. But it is of no use to build pagodas unless you maintain them, and a powerful and popular religion is not well represented by crumbling and dilapidated shrines. Similar thoughts are suggested by your art and your architecture, once so fanciful, so ingenious, and so picturesque, but now in grave danger of being undermined. The main reason for which I ordered the preservation and restoration of the building in a part of which I am now speaking, is that a model of the ceremonial architecture of this country might survive; for I felt certain that, if it disappeared, as before long it would otherwise tend to do, its place would never be taken by anything similar in design or structure, but, if at all, by something new, and in all probability hideous. If, however, your art and your architecture, your delicate wood carving, your silver work and lacquer work and painting, are to survive, they cannot be fostered by external patronage alone: they must rest upon the unprostituted tastes and traditions of the nation, and upon the continued support of your own selves. My concluding words, therefore, to the Burmans to-day are these—keep that which is best in your religious faith, in your national character and traditions, and in the pursuits and accomplishments of your race. The most loyal

subject of the King Emperor in Burma, the Burman whom I would most like to honour, is not the cleverest mimic of a European, but the man who is truest to all that is most simple, most dutiful, and of best repute in the instincts and the customs of an ancient and attractive people.

[The speech was then read in Burmese, after which the Durbar was closed.]

DURBAR AT LASHIO.

[At 4 P.M. on Monday, the 2nd December, 1901, His Excellency the Viceroy held a Durbar at Lashio for the reception of the Chiefs and Notables of the Northern Shan States, and for the conferment of certain Native Titles. The Durbar was attended by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma (Sir F. Fryer); the Superintendent, Northern Shan States; the Chiefs of the principal Northern Shan States; and by the Civil and Military Officers of Government. After the presentations had been made, the Viceroy delivered the following address:—] 2nd Dec. 1901.

Chiefs of the Northern Shan States,—The recent connection of the Northern Shan States by railway with Mandalay, which has brought me within 14 miles of this place by train—a gap that will presently disappear—may explain how it is that I am the first Viceroy to visit this extreme corner of the Indian Empire, and to see the Shan Chiefs in their own territories. The railway, however, will mean a great deal more to you than the importation of an occasional Viceroy. Placing you in connection, as it does, with the heart of the province of Upper Burma, and with its capital, it will be followed by a great and salutary change in the conditions of your life. You will be brought more into touch with the outer world. You will become easily accessible to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and will be able to express to him your wants and desires. Your trade will greatly increase, and with it the wealth and the numbers of your people; and in time these States will attain

Durbar at Lashio.

a prosperity which it is doubtful if they have ever previously enjoyed.

Chiefs, before coming to Lashio I have made a careful study of the circumstances of your several States and of the work, good, bad, or indifferent, that has been done by their rulers. I have come here to speak to you words of encouragement and advice. It is the business of the head of the Government to learn all that he can about the many peoples and Chiefs who are under the dominion of the King-Emperor; and, when he travels to see them in their homes, it is fitting that he should address them in tones of counsel and of authority.

The main duties which I would recommend to the Shan Chiefs are the following. Let the Sawbwas and Myozas live among their people and take an active share in the administration. Indifference and absence are equally to be deprecated. The revenue should everywhere be made reasonable and fair, so as not to be oppressive to the people; and it is not well to grant exemptions to specially favoured persons such as those who inhabit the home districts or are in personal attendance upon the Chief. In the annual accounts there should be an accurate balance of revenue and expenditure. I have heard that salaries of officials, and of public servants, are often in arrears. This is a bad system. You will not get good servants or good service unless payment is punctual and regular. Fire-arms should be registered and withdrawn from persons of doubtful character. I do not see why they should be allowed to be worn at festivities or in bazars. A sufficient allotment should be made from the public revenues to the construction of bridges and the opening up and maintenance of roads. The railway cannot run everywhere; and those parts of the States which are not in close proximity to it should be connected with the line by well made and well kept roads. Otherwise you will lose one half of its value. As time goes on, you will have to pay more attention to the demarcation of forest reserves

and to the principles of scientific conservancy. The wealth of its forests will be one of the great resources of Burma in the future. Tea-cultivation in these States will probably admit of considerable extension. But you must be careful that you do not overtax it. No unauthorised collection of taxes should be permitted either by the Chiefs or by subordinate officials pretending to act in their name. Gambling is a very mischievous practice which, I regret to learn, flourishes greatly in some of these States, and instead of being everywhere discouraged by the Chiefs, is even pursued by their sons and near relations. This is a pernicious example, which reflects discredit upon the Chief and upon the State. If gambling be anywhere permitted, it should be subject to strict regulations, and should be confined to special occasions and to limited periods of time. Licenses should only be granted to respectable characters, and illicit gaming should be severely punished.

These are the subjects which seem to me of principal interest in your internal administration. You have had a good year, with an abundant harvest and a flourishing trade. I hope that you will continue to enjoy these advantages, and that further frontier troubles may be avoided by the progressive pacification of savage or unruly tribes.

The Government of India follows with keen interest the history of your progress and your welfare. You live a long way from the seat of Government; but yet not so far as to escape our notice or to forfeit my regard. The King-Emperor will rejoice to hear that his representative has been amongst you; and to learn that his Government has brought, and is bringing, increased prosperity and contentment to this part of his vast dominions.

[A translation of His Excellency's speech was then read, after which the Durbar was closed.]

ADDRESS OF WELCOME AT RANGOON.

9th Dec. 1901. [Their Excellencies the Viceroy, Lady Curzon, and party, arrived at Rangoon from Prome at 8-30 on Monday morning, the 9th December. Their Excellencies were received at the Railway Station by a number of the principal Civil and Military officers of Burma and were escorted by a mounted Company of the Rangoon Volunteer Rifles and the Burma Military Police to a large reception Pandal, where over 1,000 persons were assembled, and where the Viceroy was presented with an address of welcome by the Reception Committee on behalf of the inhabitants of Rangoon of every nationality. The address was brief and was couched in the warmest terms of welcome and loyalty. In replying to it His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—Your friendly address of welcome to Lady Curzon and myself is but a continuation of the reception that I have met with at each stage of my journey through your beautiful and fascinating country. Indeed to such a pitch have you carried your courteous consideration that the address which has just been read may be described as almost exclusively of a complimentary character. If I might draw the inference from this that you were altogether without grievances or complaints, I would indeed be happy. But such an assumption would certainly be inconsistent with the accepted traditions of the English character, and it might turn out to be not altogether warranted by the facts of the case. For the moment your courtesy has the embarrassing consequence that, looking to you, as I fondly did, for the straw with which to make my bricks this morning, I find myself unprovided and must build as best I can on my own account.

With one of your remarks I am in cordial agreement. You have expressed your gratification that I have been able to come here at a comparatively early period of my term of office. It was, I know, owing to unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances only, that my two immediate predecessors, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elgin, were prevented from visiting Burma until their last year in India. Both of them deeply regretted this misfortune. I had some moments

of anxious apprehension, when certain events occurred in a neighbouring country two months ago, lest a similar fatality might befall myself; and I entirely appreciated the perspicacity of the local organs in Burma, who said that their faith would only revive when the Viceroy had actually crossed the frontier. Fortunately everything has conspired to re-establish their confidence; and Lady Curzon and I are now here, prepared to enjoy ourselves to the uttermost; whilst, if I may speak for myself, my mind is a vessel which I have emptied for the occasion, in order to receive the information which I judge from the numerous addresses, memorials, and petitions, to which I understand that I shall be called upon to devote my attention, there will be no reluctance on your part to administer, and the personal and practical knowledge derived from which I join with you in hoping that I may be able to turn to useful account in the interests of this Province in the future.

Gentlemen, your city may, I think, be described as a place of great performances, but of even greater possibilities. It is now over 110 years since the British flag first flew over a factory in Rangoon. It is over 100 years since the first British Resident was appointed to this spot, in the days of the old Burman Kings. It is over 75 years since Rangoon was first occupied by a British force. It is over 50 years since it became a possession of the British Crown. At that time its population was only 20,000. It is now 232,000, and the city has become the third seaport in British India. Indeed, when we speak of the three presidency towns, we always add Rangoon to that illustrious trinity, so completely has it vindicated its claim to be considered one of the chief glories of the Indian Empire. How thoroughly you have justified your name this brief record is sufficient to show. Rangoon or Ran-kun, the original form of the word, means, I have been told, the end of war. But the end of war is also the beginning of peace. Such at least is the interpretation which the experiences of

half a century of British rule have successfully vindicated for the title. Fifty years do not seem to amount to much in the lifetime of an individual. Anyhow, those of us who are drawing on to that term would, I am sure, decline to admit that we are anything but young. But, in the history of a city, it may mean an absolute metamorphosis, a complete reincarnation—how complete those who are aware of the earlier records of Rangoon will know.

Gentlemen, a city with such a history is entitled to be proud of itself, and its citizens are entitled to be proud of it. I do not for one moment deprecate the local patriotism that induces Bombay to question whether there can possibly be a metropolis at Calcutta, and Madras to regard with some suspicion the relative juvenility as a British settlement of Bombay. If it induces Rangoon to claim equality with its elder sisters, I am sure that such a pretension will neither be contested nor grudged. No stranger who comes here and sees your magnificent wharves, and docks, and shipyards, your saw-mills, and rice-mills, and oil refineries, so affronting to the sense of beauty, so gratifying to the eye of business, your broad and well laid-out streets, your beautiful park, soon, as I hope, to be extended as your local memorial to our late beloved and venerated Queen, your heterogeneous but contented population drawn from half the races of Asia—no one, I say, who comes and sees all these things can fail to comprehend the pride of the Rangoon citizen in his city. I take it that the admirable laying out of the place, and its open spaces, have been largely responsible for your immunity from the scourge of plague: and I am grateful for the ample opportunities that are to be afforded me during the next few days of making acquaintance both with the amenities and with the more business-like attributes of your town.

I think that I may go further and legitimately claim Rangoon as typical, in its achievement, of that which has already been accomplished in Lower Burma at large, and,

in its promise, of the rosy future that I believe awaits the entire province. Seeing that no less than 30 per cent. of the import and export trade of Burma passes through Rangoon, you may fairly be described, not merely as the neck of the bottle, but as providing a fair indication of the contents and capacity of the bottle itself. In my journeys through the province during the past few weeks, in which I have learned so much, and seen so much to interest and inspire, there is one object in which I have hitherto failed. I have been searching everywhere to discover the blight by which I learn from the press that the province has been declared on high authority to be afflicted. Gentlemen, where is this blight? I have not found it in other parts of the province; and shall be very much surprised if you afford me any evidence of its existence in Rangoon. So far from being harshly dealt with by the Government of India at the last provincial Settlement, Burma received a liberality of treatment that was due partly to our ignorance of the great capacities of the province, partly to our desire to give every chance to a developing concern. The great increase in your revenues, owing in the main to the rise in Land Revenue, and to the wide development of cultivation, has enabled the Local Government to expend far more upon Public Works than was allowed for in the Settlement. During the five years of its duration the Burmese Government will have spent, in excess of the terms of the settlement, and for the most part out of its accumulated balances, 15½ lakhs upon minor works and navigation, and 20½ lakhs upon Civil Works. No doubt the Local Government might, in the interests of the Province, usefully have spent more, had its establishments been stronger. But you cannot undertake public works on a larger scale than the strength of your staff allows; and the idea that money has been deliberately tied up when it ought to have been disbursed, is one for which I cannot find the foundation. It must be remembered that the money for Railways and Canals is furnished from

Imperial Funds: and that Provincial Revenues are not ordinarily requisitioned for those purposes. Had Burma been called upon to provide the money, I very much question whether you would have been able to show a surplus at all. As it is, your surpluses during the five years will have amounted to over 100 lakhs, or an average of 20 lakhs per annum: and the bulk of this will be devoted to the most necessary railroad extensions in the province. Viewing these facts and figures, Gentlemen, I do not quite see where the cause for lamentation or the blight come in. I am far from saying that you are not entitled to make every reasonable claim for your province, and to push your local patriotism to the full limits that are compatible with loyal partnership in the Imperial union. But, when fortune has been auspicious, then I think that we ought to be grateful to fortune; and I declare to you that your last five years, which I think that Sir F. Fryer is justified in looking back upon with most honourable pride, have been years of prosperity which many other Provinces in India have envied and which all would gladly have shared. Why, even their distress was your gain: for in the famine year of 1900 you exported over 1,000,000 tons of rice to India, helping to feed the poor there while you enriched both rich and poor here. If Burma is a blighted or benighted province, where, I wonder, are progress and enlightenment to be found?

Gentlemen, pray do not regard these words as intended to place any check upon your legitimate aspirations for the future. Everything that I have seen and heard during the past few weeks tends to confirm my enthusiastic confidence in the destinies of this country. Your rice-trade is enormous. But it is nothing to what it will one day become. Your timber trade is a great asset; but it is capable of immense expansion. Your mineral resources are only just being scratched: one day they will be dug and bored into with the accumulated resources of science and capital. Rangoon is a great city; but it will become a greater. As

the population of the province increases, as you are enabled to turn it to the cultivation of the waste lands that are crying for clearance, and for the plough, as capital realises this almost limitless field for investment, so will the star of Burma continue to rise, and your share in the fortunes of the Indian Empire will become an increasing source of benefit and blessing to both.

The position and the fortunes of the different ranks of the Service in Burma are a subject that has constantly occupied my attention. The improvement that we made a short time ago in the pay and prospects of the officers in the higher ranks of the Burma Commission has, I believe, been a most acceptable boon. We are now engaged in trying to do something for the Police, and for other departments of the Service; and should it be proved to me that an amelioration of existing conditions is anywhere else required, you may rely upon my sympathetic consideration.

I cannot conclude, Ladies and Gentlemen, without offering a special word of thanks for the beautiful and artistic gift that you have just made to me in connection with your address. The Shwe Dagon pagoda is the tutelary genius of Rangoon. I shall visit it in the next few days with an eye that will warmly appraise its beauties and will be zealously directed to their preservation. In the model of the pagoda which you have presented to me, I shall carry away a lasting remembrance of this remarkable place, and its generous and hospitable inhabitants.

MEMORIAL FROM THE MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS OF RANGOON.

10th Dec. 1901. [At 4 P.M. on the 10th December, 1901, a large meeting took place at the Jubilee Hall in Rangoon at which the Viceroy was presented with four memorials and addresses. The first of these was from the Municipal Commissioners, and dealt with two matters, namely, the term of currency of Municipal Loans, and the transfer to Government of the Municipal Hospitals in Rangoon. His Excellency, in replying to the address, spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—It has given me much pleasure to look into the subjects named in your Memorial, which are of very intelligible importance to your Municipal Committee. They are two in number. The first relates to your existing borrowing powers, which appear to you to be inadequate to your requirements, inasmuch as they impose a term in ordinary cases of 20 years, and in special circumstances of 30 years, for the repayment of your municipal loans. You explain that these short term loans disable you from undertaking the large public works to which you would wish to turn your hand; and you ask that you may be conceded the same privileges as were allowed to the Calcutta Municipality in the Act of 1899.

Your argument contains the remark that one of the effects of borrowing for short periods is to throw upon the present generation an unfair proportion of the cost of permanent improvements. The converse of this must also not be lost sight of, namely, that the effect of long term loans, if the period be not kept within reasonable bounds, is to throw upon future generations an undue share of the burdens which ought to be borne by those who incur them. This is a principle of at least equal importance with the other; and it should be the business of the prudent financier to strike a mean between the two.

The limit in the Calcutta Municipal Act is fixed by requiring a payment of 1 per cent. to a sinking fund. If interest is taken at 4 per cent., this is equivalent to a term

Memorial from the Municipal Commissioners of Rangoon.

of from 40 to 41 years. The question I have to decide is whether the Government of India can fairly allow you a similiar extension of term.

I think that we can. In my speech yesterday I said that we were in the habit of ranking Rangoon along with her elder sisters, the Presidency Towns; and although I should not like to push this admission too far, lest it should bring upon me a stream of importunate and inconvenient applications, yet I think that the greater latitude in respect of borrowing enjoyed by them over Municipalities in general might fairly be extended to you; and accordingly I reply that, if your request is sent up to the Government of India with the support of the Local Government, I will gladly interest myself to push it through.

Your second request is that I will do what I can to expedite the settlement of a question that has for some time been under discussion between the Local Government and yourselves, concerning the transfer of Municipal Hospitals from your to their control. I can quite understand that a dual control may have been the cause of some friction; and greater harmony as well as simplification of procedure ought to result from the proposed change. You are, however, mistaken in one point. The matter has not yet been under the consideration of the Government of India or of the Secretary of State. It has not been referred to us; but I gather from the correspondence that the new arrangement is likely to be submitted before long, the Local Government proposing to take over the hospitals, resuming at the same time the compensation in lieu of excise; and when the case comes to Calcutta I shall be very glad to expedite its settlement to the best of my ability.

It is so seldom that, in the course of my tours, I receive a petition to which I am able to return a complete and unqualified affirmative, that I congratulate you upon having presented me with an opportunity, the issue of which will, I hope, be not less agreeable to you than it has been to myself.

ADDRESS FROM THE RANGOON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

10th Dec. 1901. [A Deputation of the Chamber of Commerce, Rangoon, next presented His Excellency with an address of welcome. The address chiefly dealt with the subject of railway development in Burma and the question whether the Judge of the Chief Court should be a Barrister or a Civilian. His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—Your address relates in the main to two topics upon both of which I welcome an opportunity of acquainting you with the opinions that I have formed, and which I will place before you without reserve. The first of these is the form that Railway development should assume in this part of the Indian Empire. The second is the question whether the Judge of your Chief Court should be a Barrister or a Civilian.

Railway extension in Burma raises problems of the widest political importance, as well as those of a narrower and more local application. In the former class are included the vast projects which have been so much talked about, of establishing an overland connection by rail with Bengal, and of tapping the supposed resources of Western China. I will devote a few words to each of these subjects.

Some day I have little doubt that the connection with Bengal will come. It will be demanded by the increasing development of this province, the great need of which is, and will long continue to be, population. But in my judgment it is not required now ; and it would be an unwise, and for many a long day an unremunerative, expenditure of money, to forge these outlying links, while there are so much more important and profitable undertakings lying near at hand. One of my objects in coming overland to Upper Burma from Assam was that I might inspect one, at any rate, of the possible lines for such a railway as has been spoken of, and might see what were the character and nature of the country which at this end it is proposed to open up. I shall not be a party in my time to an extension of the

mountain section of the Assam-Bengal Railway from Makum through the Hukong Valley to the Chindwin. We have got quite enough on our hands in that quarter at present, and I have no desire to absorb another large block of remote jungle inhabited by semi-civilised tribes. They do us no harm: and we can afford for the present to leave them alone. Neither am I in favour of the Manipur route; for I think that a railway would do no present good, but probably some positive harm, to that interesting little State. But even supposing that either of these railways were built, I am very doubtful whether, in the present condition of things, any appreciable influx of population would be brought thereby to Upper Burma. First, you would have to persuade—I think myself that it would be a case of bribing—the people to come. Then, when you got them there, you would have to pay and support them while they cleared the dense jungle and commenced cultivation. Then you would have to find a market for their surplus produce, which, in the existing state of communications, it is quite impossible to do. The entire enterprise would be of an artificial character, and would infallibly break down. As regards the most southerly of the various lines that have been suggested, that by the Eng Pass into Lower Burma from Arakan, I have not myself seen the country. But I understand that the line would be very costly, and I do not recommend its being undertaken, at any rate for the present. The other day I saw the Bay of Bengal called the curse of Burma; and no doubt connection by land with the teeming population of British India is a great desideratum. But my own impression is that the sea will become less and less of a barrier with every year that passes, and that, as the province develops, it will attract a much larger number of the immigrants whom it desires.

The second of the more ambitious projects to which I have referred, is that of railway connection with Yunnan, with immediate reference to the prolongation of the

Address from the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce.

Mandalay-Lashio railway to the Kunlong Ferry on the Salween. For the last ten years I have had abundant opportunities of studying this question from every point of view, both in the India Office, and in the Foreign Office at home, when I was Under Secretary, in China on two occasions as a traveller, and now in Upper Burma, where I have just made a journey on the line as far as Lashio. I think, further, that I have studied almost every report that has ever been made by European travellers or residents in Yunnan. The impressions, therefore, that I have formed, may be said to rest upon some appreciable foundation, though it is necessary here to condense them in a shape that may imperfectly represent the study upon which they are really based. My belief is that there has been a greater lack, both of exact knowledge and of perspective, in the treatment of this matter, and a looser rein given to the imagination, than in almost any subject of contemporaneous politics. Were a bonfire to be made to-morrow of the prolific literature to which it has given birth, I do not think that anyone in the world would be the loser. The parts of Yunnan to which access could be gained by rail from the Northern Shan States are not those which it would be of any advantage to us to tap: the building of a railway through them to the upper waters of the Yangtse in Szechuan is, if not a physical impossibility, at any rate so speculative, and so enormously costly an undertaking, that neither the home Government, nor the Indian Government, nor any Company or Syndicate, could conceivably undertake it; the idea that, if it were built, the wealth of Szechuan would stream down a single metre-gauge line, many miles of which would have to scale the mountains by a rack, to Rangoon, while great arterial rivers flow through the heart of the province of Szechuan itself, which are quite competent to convey its trade to and from the sea—is one, as it seems to me in the present stage of Central Asian evolution, almost of midsummer madness. Why we should even

carry on our present railway at the extra cost of considerably over half a million sterling to the Kunlong Ferry, across which the entire Chino-Burmese trade is successfully transported in two dug-outs, and amounts to less than 100 tons a year, is beyond my comprehension. For my own part, therefore, I cannot advise that, in the pursuit of fanciful political ambitions, we should use Indian money to spreadeagle our railways over foreign countries and remote continents; while all the time there is lying the most splendid and lucrative field of investment at our doors. There is a good deal to be done within range of our own perch, before we begin to flap our wings in distant firmaments. I do not say that there are no political reasons which could justify such a venture. But such reasons, to be decisive, must be overwhelmingly strong: while their strength would be manifestly enhanced could they be reinforced by financial arguments, which in the present case are conspicuously lacking. For my own part, therefore, I would sooner see this flourishing country overspread with a network of lines, bringing waste lands under cultivation, increasing population, developing security, and expanding trade, than I would push out tentacles into the unknown. The Burma Railways Company already, after paying its full toll to Government, hands over to its shareholders a dividend of nearly 3¾ per cent., and this upon the whole of its lines, which include several hundreds of miles of railroad which at present do not pay their way. There are abundant projects in this country which would return a certain 10 per cent., if not more. Let us take some of them in hand, and link up the various parts of Burma itself, before we jump out into space without any clear idea of where we are going to land. Later on the Government may require the Company to execute its obligations as regards the extremities. But for the present charity may, I think, more profitably begin at home.

I now pass to your second request, that, when there is a

vacancy in the Chief Judgeship, the Government of India will reconsider its decision about the appointment of a Civilian to that post. The matter is one that seems to have developed some local warmth. I hope that my own attitude in regard to it, whether you agree or not, will not at any rate be denied the merit of impartiality, seeing that the Government of India cannot conceivably have any other interest in the choice than that it should be one which will be beneficial to the work and prestige of the Court, and to the interests of the entire population. For this reason I must emphatically repudiate the insinuation, which is without any excuse, that the Government desire to have a Civilian as Chief Judge in order to maintain the subordination of the Judiciary to the Executive. The times have gone by, if they ever existed, when any such idea would enter the heads of the rulers of India. I am not aware that a Civilian Judge is one whit less sensitive about his honour, or less scrupulous about his independence, than a Barrister Judge. The independence of the Court is not at stake. That is safe in any case. The question is, as I have said, exclusively one of the efficiency of the Court and the interests of the people.

I have carefully studied the various memorials that have reached me from the Chamber of Commerce, and the Bar, and Trades Associations, in Rangoon; and I remain unconvinced by their arguments. Great stress is laid upon the necessity of acquaintance, in the case of the Chief Judge, with maritime and mercantile law. Why this should be especially necessary in his case I do not see. He does not sit alone and try your cases on the original side. On the contrary, since the Chief Court was instituted, you have a Barrister Judge who sits to take these cases exclusively, whereas, under the old system, you only had a part share in the services of a Recorder. When commercial cases go up on appeal, the appeal lies to a bench on which the Chief Judge usually sits with a Barrister Judge as his colleague.

Address from the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce.

Your commercial cases in Rangoon are, I gladly admit, of great and to yourselves supreme moment. But until you can show that they are jeopardised under the new system, I do not see how, on this ground, you can successfully impugn it. Moreover, it is impossible to ignore the equivalent, if not superior, importance of the cases, civil and criminal, coming up on appeal from the entire country under the jurisdiction of the Court, cases for which an acquaintance with the language and customary law of the people, not generally possessed by a barrister, seems to me to be, in the case of the head of the Court, very desirable. The further argument which I have found in your memorials that the task of inspecting the provincial Courts cannot possibly be undertaken by the Chief Judge, is disproved by the fact, which I have ascertained from a personal study of the dates and figures, that these duties have been successfully discharged in no small number of cases by the present Chief Judge. My decision, therefore, Gentlemen, on the point which you have referred to me, cannot be in your favour. When I add that it is entirely concurred in by the Secretary of State and his Council, from whom the injunction originally emanated, and also by your present Lieutenant-Governor, who knows Burma as well as any man living, you must, I think, allow that such a consensus of authority is not likely to be destitute of all value. I will only say, in conclusion, that, in asking you to accept this decision, I am making an appeal which I am sure that your loyalty and your reasonableness will equally endorse.

A UNIVERSITY FOR BURMA.

10th Dec. 1901. [On the conclusion of the preceding address the Viceroy discussed a subject concerning which the Educational Syndicate had petitioned for an interview, and which was also the subject of a memorial from the "Principal Burman Residents of Burma," praying that His Excellency would sanction the establishment of a Burma University to take the place of the present Educational Syndicate. The ground on which this was urged was the unsuitability for Burma of the courses of instruction laid down by the Calcutta University for the Entrance and higher examinations. The question had been raised several times before. In 1893 the Educational Syndicate had recommended the establishment of a separate University for Burma, but it was considered that the time was not then ripe for such a measure. Last year the Secretary of State for India had said the primary object of the formation of the Educational Syndicate was to pave the way for the establishment of a University for the province, and the question was again discussed by the Syndicate and a proposal submitted to the Local Government, but it was again postponed. The Syndicate, not being satisfied with the reply, had had an interview with the Lieutenant-Governor, and it was understood that a scheme was being drawn up for submission to His Excelleney. The Viceroy's reply was as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am now about to insert my head into a hornets' nest ; for I am going to give you my views, for what they may be worth, upon the subject of a University for Burma.

The matter has been raised in one address that has been submitted to me : and I have further studied it at length by perusing the entire correspondence that has passed between the Local Government and the Educational Syndicate during the present year, as well as the records of the similar but unsuccessful attempt that was made by a majority of the Syndicate in 1892-3. The study of all these papers has occupied many hours of time. But it has been labour well spent ; since I have learned a good deal about Burma and its educational system which it will be useful for me to know, and since I have thereby been familiarised with the arguments on both sides of the question.

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When I describe the position with which I am confronted as a hornets' nest, you must not imagine that I attribute to any individual a conscious desire to sting. That I am sure would be foreign to the instincts of the Educational Syndicate, and inconsistent with the very temperate manner in which the discussion has so far been conducted. All I mean is that when an outsider, like myself, appears upon the scene and intrudes his head, he probably gets stung somehow, because he unconsciously disturbs some peaceful insect that is pursuing its legitimate avocations. This risk I must run. All I will ask of you to believe in my own case is that it is in no spirit of captiousness or indifference that I approach the subject: but that it is to an enthusiast about education, and to one who has certainly no *a priori* shrinking from educational reform, that you have appealed.

Now, my first duty has been to try and place myself in the position of those who propose this innovation. To a large extent I appreciate their desires. They see that Burma is a country with a people, a language, a literature, traditions and customs of its own. They see that it has grown to the point of acquiring a Lieutenant-Governor and a Chief Court: and in their anxiety to conserve an individuality which we all admit and are bent, in so far as we can, upon saving from destruction, they ask, why should not Burma have a University as well? They argue that no outside University, such as Calcutta, can possibly satisfy these aspirations, and they urge that higher education, if it is to meet local requirements, must be in local hands. There is some *primâ facie* force in these considerations; although their authors seem to me to lose sight of the fact that Ceylon, which is quite as unlike India as Burma, has been contented with the Calcutta University for many years, that the Central Provinces, which possess more Colleges than there are in Burma, have never dreamed of a separate University, and that Assam, which is very unlike Bengal, is a contented partner in the same system.

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Further, I see no reason to doubt that it is in the interests of higher education itself that this change is proposed by the majority of its advocates. I do not believe in insinuating motives or in throwing stones. The Educational Syndicate would, in my opinion, not have unanimously recommended this proposal had they not felt convinced that higher education was cramped and stinted under the existing system, and that benefit would result from its emancipation. I am also prepared to concede that the curriculum of the Calcutta University, of which I am Chancellor, and which I have made some attempt to investigate, is capable of great improvement. It is much too stiff, and inelastic, and wooden, and I can quite believe that it finds some difficulty in assimilating itself to the needs of its various and scattered clients.

All these admissions I am willing to make. But I must point out that, though they convey us some distance, they are far from carrying us the whole way to the constitution of a new University in Burma. Before you condemn Calcutta as impossible, or incurable, I want to know what attempts you have made to induce the Calcutta Senate or Syndicate to meet your wishes, and whether they have resulted in failure. When the proposal of a separate University for Burma was put forward in 1893, the main, if not the sole, reason was that the centres of local examinations in Burma had been reduced to one, namely, Rangoon. But as soon as this was represented to the Calcutta University, it added three centres to the number, namely, Akyab, Moulmein, and Mandalay. I should like, therefore, to know what representations you have addressed in recent years to the same quarter, and what reply they have met with. It is of no good to abuse Calcutta, if you have not given it a chance of meeting your views. In one of the letters of the Educational Syndicate it is said that there is no hope of a bifurcation of studies from Calcutta: this is entirely wrong. There is very good hope. Mere random statements are not worth

much. You must show me, if you want to carry persuasion, that you have invited Calcutta to satisfy your reasonable objections and have been refused. You must also show me that you are going to benefit by cutting yourselves adrift from the specialised examinations and the highly trained Syndicate of Calcutta. They may not be all that is desired, but have you anything better to set up in their place? It is not sufficient to answer me, yes. I want not an affirmative assertion, but convincing proof.

Next, I observe that in your argument you attack many of the weak features of the Calcutta University system, and particularly the subordination of higher culture to cram. There is a good deal of truth in this: but your diagnosis must go somewhat further and deeper before your censures upon the existing Indian Universities can be treated as a ground for adding another to their number. Are you quite sure that these evils that you rightly deplore are confined to Calcutta alone? Are they not equally diffused throughout India? Nay, do we not hear a good deal of the same sort of thing in Europe? Can you assure me that, if you establish a University at Rangoon, cram will be dethroned here, while it continues to reign elsewhere? The fact is that the whole system of the education that we are giving to India, and the value that is attached to its tests, as an opening to the public service, tends to exalt cramming. The tendency will be the same in Burma as elsewhere. Starting a new University here will not necessarily lessen the sum total of cramming in British India. It will merely diffuse it. The way to deal with the matter is by a drastic overhauling of the entire system of examinations, as practised in India, by reducing their number, by simplifying their character, and by declining to accept the examination test as the decisive criterion of every sort of proficiency or merit. This is the task which the Government of India discussed at the recent Educational Conference at Simla, and which we are about to take in hand. I am hopeful that

we shall succeed in mitigating some, at any rate, of the worst features of the existing system.

The next question that I should like to ask you is whether you have at all a clear idea what your proposed University is to be. I am rather doubtful on this point. In the discussion in 1893, Mr. Rose, the then Principal of the Rangoon College, whose recorded notes and speeches seem to me the most practical of those that I have read, said that there was no necessity for a University in Burma, but that if one came in time, it ought to be not an examining but a teaching University. To this it was replied by the leaders of the University movement, that this was an utterly impracticable idea in Burma. And yet it is with a scheme for a teaching University that you have now come up. At least it is called by that name. I confess that it seems to me to be lacking in most of the essential attributes of a teaching University. I do not know of any other country or place where such an institution as you now propose exists, and I think that we ought to pause a little before planting this strange exotic in the virgin soil of Burma.

To me the most important questions, when the creation of a new University is at issue, are, firstly, whether the materials for such an institution are forthcoming; and, secondly, supposing they are, what effect will be produced upon the education of the province as a whole. In answer to the first question, it is no good to show me a scheme that looks very beautiful on paper. I want one that will work in practice. I ask, therefore, where your examiners, your lecturers, and your professors are to come from. It is beside the point to tell me that there are a certain number of distinguished persons in Burma. No doubt there are: but that does not make them either qualified or willing to examine. I had a long academic career myself; but I should not therefore regard myself as qualified to examine anybody in the world. In fact, I have never seen an examination paper in India which I could half comprehend.

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Then I go on to ask, with reference to all the degrees that you propose to give, where is the machinery for turning out the candidates, and where are the candidates to come from? You have no Medical College in Burma. Your Engineering College has only a small number of pupils, and those in elementary stages. I believe that the Law classes in Rangoon College had to be closed for want of attendants. Finally, if I enquire into the number of Colleges who would be affiliated to your proposed University, and to the quality and numerical strength of the constituency which it would represent, I find that there are at present only two Colleges, namely, the Rangoon College, which is affiliated up to the M. A., and the Baptist College, which is only affiliated to the F. A. The latest list that I have seen of the former showed that it had not much more than 100 pupils on its rolls, while the average daily attendance was less than 90. The Baptist College is a second grade College which had 9 scholars in the College Department in 1900. The number of candidates from Burma for the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University has only averaged a little over 200 during the past five years, and this although the boys are all examined in this country and none of them is obliged to go to any great distance from his home. Out of the 207 who entered in 1899-1900 only 115 passed, and this was a larger proportion than in any previous year. The average number of candidates for the F. A. Examination during the past five years has been 41. Last year it rose to 59, but of these only 24 passed, and I wonder how many of them were in the first division. The average number of candidates for the B. A. has been 9. Last year there were 11, but only 3 passed and I should not be surprised if they were in the Pass Course. Finally, there have been no candidates for the M. A. during the past five years. Gentlemen, it requires a very sanguine spirit to deduce great encouragement from these figures. It is beside the question to say that the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, started from

similarly humble beginnings. The water has been flowing under the bridge for 50 years since then: and higher standards and less problematical experiments are now required. When the North-Western Provinces started their University they had 13 affiliated Colleges, the Punjab began with 5. Even if the analogy were pertinent, which it is not, can you guarantee me in Burma an educational progress similar to that which has, during the past half century, attended Bengal, Madras, and Bombay?

There remains the second question as to the effect which the institution of a Burmese University would have upon Education in this country. There seems to be an impression among you that the backwash of the Calcutta University system unfavourably affects every class of Education in Burma, including elementary. I do not feel clear that this has not been much exaggerated, or that the blame does not rest elsewhere. Anyhow, I would point out that weak and struggling high schools do not become strong by being tacked on to a weak and struggling University. The Educational Syndicate protest very emphatically, and I am sure with absolute sincerity, that they have not the slightest desire to lower the standard of higher education. That no doubt is their intention, but will it be the result? In the 1893 discussion, Mr. Rose, Mr. Hosking, and Mr. Thirkell White, all feared that such a depreciation might be the consequence of founding a local University. There were some indeed who said that it did not matter. Further, when one of the main grounds put forward was that the Calcutta University is too hard in its affiliation of Colleges and recognition of schools—an opinion which I do not in the least share, seeing that I regard the tendency as entirely in the opposite direction—what else did that mean but that a local University would be less stringent in its standards here? And what does a relaxation of standards mean but a deterioration in the quality of education? I think there is good ground to fear that, if you had a local University,

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one of its first actions would be to relax the standards of affiliation and recognition, in order to increase its range and to popularise its influence. This would, in my judgment, not be an advantage, but a serious drawback, to education in Burma. It would be no benefit to you—it would be a positive harm—to have a third rate University, whose degrees did not command respect, and which could only keep itself going by detracting from the high ideals that should be inseparable from anything that bears the name of University in the twentieth century.

Gentlemen, my remarks have been very frank, but they have not been unfriendly. As the Chancellor of the premier Indian University, and as Head of the Government, it is my duty while I am in India to avoid if possible the blunders of the past, which we all unite in deploring, and which have dragged Indian Education down. I want to lift it again on to a better and purer level. If you could convince me that your proposed University would have that result, it would have no warmer supporter than myself. But I must candidly own that you have not yet achieved that object. Perhaps by pointing out to you some of the doubts that have arisen in my mind, and by respectfully commending them to your notice, I may facilitate your own ultimate progress towards the goal that you desire.

I should like to add that I think it very desirable that you should depute some representative to attend the meetings of the proposed University Commission when it sits in Calcutta to examine into the question of the Calcutta University, and that your representative should give evidence before the Commissioners.

MEMORIAL OF THE BURMA GAME PRESERVATION ASSOCIATION.

10th Dec. 1901. [The fourth and last of the addresses and memorials presented to His Excellency in the Jubilee Hall was a memorial from the Burma Game Preservation Association. The memorial stated that for several years past the destruction of game in many parts of Burma had been so serious that some species (especially the *thamin*—brow-antlered deer—and the *dayè*—hog-deer) were threatened with extermination : and the Association had been formed to check wanton slaughter and encourage legitimate sport. Wholesale destruction was carried on by villagers in Lower Burma and by professional hunters, who not only shoot themselves but also hire out their guns to Burmans. The Notifications of the Local Government dealing with the subject having been of little avail, the Association urged that power should be given to enable the Local Government to prohibit, where there is danger of extermination, the possession or sale of the flesh of certain kinds of deer during the breeding season in Municipalities and Cantonments.

The Viceroy in reply said :—]

Gentlemen,—Among the many memorials which the enterprising inhabitants of Lower Burma and of Rangoon have showered upon me, and to all of which it has not been possible for me to give a verbal reply, I have selected yours as one of those to which I should be sorry not to return such an answer, owing to the great importance of the subject which it raises.

The question of Game Preservation in India is one that may appeal, in my judgment, not merely to the sportsman, but also to the naturalist and the friend of animal life. It is certainly not through the spectacles of the sportsman only that I would regard it, though I yield to no one in my recognition of the manly attractions of shikar. Such considerations, however, might be suspected of a selfish tinge, and I think that in approaching the matter we should, as far as possible, put our own predilections in the background, and view it in the public interest at large.

There are some persons who doubt or dispute the progressive diminution of wild life in India. I think that they

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are wrong. The facts seem to me to point entirely in the opposite direction. Up till the time of the Mutiny lions were shot in Central India. They are now confined to an ever-narrowing patch of forest in Kathiawar. I was on the verge of contributing to their still further reduction a year ago myself: but fortunately I found out my mistake in time, and was able to adopt a restraint which I hope that others will follow. Except in Native States, the Terai, and forest reserves, tigers are undoubtedly diminishing. This is perhaps not an unmixed evil. The rhinoceros is all but exterminated, save in Assam. Bison are not so numerous or so easy to obtain as they once were. Elephants have already had to be protected in many parts. Above all, deer, to which you particularly allude in the case of Burma, are rapidly dwindling. Every man's hand appears to be against them, and each year thins the herds. Finally, many beautiful and innocent varieties of birds are pursued for the sake of their plumage, which is required to minister to the heedless vanity of European fashion.

The causes of this diminution in the wild fauna of India are in some cases natural and inevitable, in others they are capable of being arrested. In the former class I would name the steady increase of population, the widening area of cultivation, and the improvement in means of communication—all of them the sequel of what is popularly termed progress in civilisation. Among the artificial and preventible causes I would name the great increase in the number of persons who use firearms, the immense improvement in the mechanism and range of the weapons themselves, the unchecked depredations of native hunters and poachers, and in some cases, I regret to say, a lowering of the standard of sport, leading to the shooting of immature heads, or to the slaughter of females. The result of all these agencies, many of which are found in operation at the same time, and in the same place, cannot fail to be a continuous reduction in the wild game of India.

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I cannot say that the Government of India have hitherto shown any great boldness in dealing with the matter. But there has been, and still is, in my opinion, very good reason for proceeding cautiously. There are some persons who say that wild animals are as certainly destined to disappear in India as wolves, for instance, have done in England, and that it is of no use to try and put back the hands of the clock. I do not attach much value to this plea, which seems to me rather pusillanimous, as well as needlessly pessimistic. There are others who say that, in a continent so vast as India, or, to narrow the illustration, in a province with such extensive forest reserves as Burma, the wild animals may be left to look after themselves. This argument does not impress me either; for the distant jungles are available only to the favoured few, and it is the disappearance of game from the plains and from accessible tracts that is for the most part in question. I do, however, attach great value to the consideration that wild animal life should not be unduly fostered at the expense of the occupations or the crops of the people. Where depredations are committed upon crops, or upon flocks and herds, the cultivator cannot be denied, within reasonable limits, the means of self-protection. Similarly, it is very important that any restrictions that are placed upon the destruction of game, should not be worked in a manner that may be oppressive or harassing to his interests.

Hitherto the attempts made by Government to deal with the question by legislation, or by rules and notifications based on statute, have been somewhat fitful and lacking in method. In parts, as I have already mentioned, elephants have been very wisely and properly protected. A close season has been instituted for certain kinds of game. An Act has been passed for the preservation of Wild Birds. And I observe from one of the enclosures to your memorial that your ingenuity has not shrunk from the suggestion that a deer may reasonably be considered a wild bird. Under

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this Act, the possession or sale during the breeding season of the flesh of certain wild birds in Municipal or Cantonment areas is forbidden. Then again rules have been issued under the Forest Act, protecting certain classes of animals in certain tracts.

The general effect of these restrictions has been in the right direction. But I doubt if they have been sufficiently co-ordinated, or if they have gone far enough; and one of my last acts at Simla, before I had received or read your memorial, was to invite a re-examination of the subject with the view of deciding whether we might proceed somewhat further than we have already done. We must be very careful not to devise any too stereotyped or Procrustean form of procedure; since there is probably no matter in which a greater variety of conditions and necessities prevails; and the rules or precautions which would be useful in one place might be positively harmful in another. Among the suggestions which will occur to all of us as deserving of consideration, are some greater restriction, by the charge of fees or otherwise, upon the issue of gun licenses, the more strict enforcement of a close season for certain animals, the prohibition of the possession or sale of flesh during the breeding season, penalties upon netting and snaring during the same period, restrictions of the facilities given to strangers to shoot unlimited amounts of game, and upon the sale and export of trophies and skins. I dare say that many other ideas will occur to us in the discussion of the matter, or may be put forward in the press and elsewhere, by those who are qualified to advise. My own idea would be, if possible, to frame some kind of legislation of a permissive and elastic nature, the provisions of which should be applied to the various provinces of India in so far only as they were adapted to the local conditions. The question of Native States somewhat complicates the matter. But I doubt not that the Government would, where required, meet with the willing co-operation of the

Chiefs, many of whom are keen and enthusiastic patrons both of animal life and of sport. The subject is not one that can be hastily taken up or quickly decided, but I have probably said enough to show you that I, personally, am in close sympathy with your aims; and I need hardly add that, if the Government of India finds itself able, after further study, to proceed with the matter, an opportunity will be given to those who are interested in each province to record their opinions.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MOULMEIN MUNICIPALITY.

13th Dec. 1901. [The Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Curzon and Their Excellencies' Staff, arrived at Moulmein on Friday, the 13th December, 1901, and was presented with an address of welcome by the Municipal Committee. His Excellency was received by Mr. Fleming, Commissioner of the Tenasserim Division, and a large body of officials and representatives of every class of the community. In replying to the address of welcome, the Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I have now reached the final stage of a tour through the Province of Burma, that has been replete both with æsthethic attraction and with political interest. I have passed through virgin jungles that have never known the axe, have conversed with wild tribes who are only just struggling out of barbarism, have seen the picturesque relics of the power to which the British have succeeded at Mandalay, and have been shown the sights and wonders of the great commercial emporium of Rangoon. It is no disparagement to any of these experiences, while it is no more than justice to yourselves, to state that for sheer beauty my last halting place, where I am now addressing you, probably surpasses them all. My predecessor, Lord Elgin, told me of this fascinating spot, with its abundant verdure, its romantic hill setting, its broad and busy river,

its pagodas gleaming amid the trees, and, above all, its warm-hearted and loyal population; and I made up my mind that when I visited Burma, nothing would induce me to omit Moulmein. There is further a tranquil interest, not without some novelty in the East, in a city that has no history but that of peace, that has been the scene of no pageants, has witnessed no horrors, and has experienced no disasters. This peaceful distinction is yours. The kindly terms of the address that has just been read lead me to think that my desire to visit so attractive a place is one with which its inhabitants are themselves in sympathy, and that Lady Curzon and I are likely to find a fitting climax to a singularly enjoyable though not unlaborious tour, in our two days' halt in your midst.

Gentlemen, you have very naturally profited by the occasion to inform me of your chief wants and desires. First among these you have placed an improvement in your communications by land and sea. When you get a railway to Pegu and Rangoon, tracts which are at present land-locked will be opened to the outside world, and should produce an expansion both in your population and your trade. I entirely agree with you that roads are a great desideratum in Tenasserim. Round Moulmein I believe that they are good; but I have no doubt that more are wanted in outlying parts, although I understand that owing to the physical conformation of the country, they cannot in many cases be cheaply constructed. I am glad to learn that the Local Government, which is responsible for this department of administration, has already under construction 2¾ lakhs worth of road; while estimates have been prepared for a further outlay of 1¼ lakhs.

I next turn to the subject of your maritime approaches, and will utilise the occasion to answer both a paragraph in your address, and a memorial that has reached me from the leading merchants of Moulmein, relating to the same topic. You are quite right in laying extreme stress upon the

importance to yourselves of maintaining a clear, deep, and open channel. The continuous silting up of the river cannot fail to be attended by risks and delays that are disconcerting, and might ultimately be disastrous to the maritime traffic upon which you depend. If steamers of suitable draught cannot get up and down the river, or are liable to frequent detentions, trade will tend to desert the port, and the entire life of the place, which is the second seaport in Burma, and I believe the sixth in India, will be prejudicially affected. I quite agree, therefore, that something must be done. The question is what. Not being an engineer myself, I regard with profound respect the scientific attainments of that body of men. But I observe that, like doctors and theologians, they are rather apt to disagree with each other. It is with no surprise, therefore, that I have studied the recent history of the Moulmein river-approach question. First, your local engineers advised a particular scheme. Then a distinguished engineer from Calcutta said that it would not do at all, and recommended something entirely different and much more expensive. Then our Government of India engineers overhauled the plans of the Calcutta engineer, and advocated something else. This is the present condition of affairs. My impression is that training works might do something, while their cost would probably be within the competence of the Port Trust. If, however, any considerable or permanent result is to be effected, I doubt its being secured without the purchase and continuous use of a dredger. This is an expensive business, for it involves a heavy initial outlay as well as a steady recurring charge. We shall want more information from the Local Government as to the capacity of the Port Trust to meet the whole or a portion of any such outlay, and as to their own willingness to come to your assistance. If further expert opinion is required, as I think may very likely be the case, we might be able to help you by securing the services of some high authority. As you know

very well, there is no more complex or difficult problem in civil engineering than the manipulation of river channels: and for every successful experiment, one may reckon half a dozen failures. The matter, however, will not be left to drift; and I shall certainly try my best to secure that something practical is done.

I observe in your address a cautious allusion to the new water scheme of Moulmein. I propose, Gentlemen, to emulate your caution. I have not the slightest intention of being tempted into a pronouncement upon the vexed question of artesian wells against river supply, or river supply against reservoir storage. It is quite sufficient for me to know that, after discussing the matter for seven years with the Local Government, the citizens of Moulmein signified their preference for a particular scheme, which is now in course of being carried out. If they did not understand their business—which I think extremely unlikely—it is certainly not for me to pretend to the smallest knowledge or wisdom in the matter. I prefer to think, as it seems to me that I reasonably may, that the Local Government and yourselves arrived at a sound decision: and I join with you in wishing speedy and lasting success to the venture upon which you have embarked. As regards the loan which has been contracted by the Municipality, in order to supply the requisite means, the burden seems to me to be fairly divided between the present generation and that which will come after.

Gentlemen, I wish that I could see more of Tenasserim than is possible from a necessarily hurried visit to its capital city. I should have liked to get down to Tavoy and Mergui; for I think that the outlying limbs of Empire sometimes fare not too well when compared with the centre and heart. But time does not permit of my going everywhere; and on this, as on many other occasions, the will must be taken for the deed.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I doubt not that in the course of the next two days Lady Curzon and I will have many

opportunities of confirming the pleasant impression that has already been produced upon our arrival at Moulmein; and that you will furnish us with renewed occasions of thanking you for the warmth and hospitality of your welcome. I must also not fail to acknowledge the singular beauty of the casket, a specimen, as I understand, of your local silver-ware, in which you have placed the address, as well as the taste and skill displayed in the illumination of the address itself; and on Lady Curzon's behalf I must add a further word of thanks for the album of photographs, which will be to both of us a pleasant reminder of our visit.

CALCUTTA PUBLIC LIBRARY.

10th Jan. 1902. [At a meeting of the Legislative Council held in Calcutta on Friday, the 10th January, the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh moved for leave to introduce a Bill to confirm and validate certain Indentures made between the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India and the Calcutta Public Library, respectively, and the Secretary of State for India in Council. He explained the object and purport of the measure, after which His Excellency the President addressed the Council as follows :—]

I should only like to add one or two words to the very clear statement that has just been made by my Hon'ble Colleague on my left. My object in carrying out the scheme which has taken shape in this Bill, has been to present Calcutta with a public library worthy of the name. When I came to India we could not be said to possess here any such institution. There was the collection to which my Hon'ble Colleague has referred, consisting of the records and writings and documents of Government, which was contained in one of the buildings of one of our Departments. This collection, valuable as it was to officers of Government, was not, and could not in the nature of the circumstances, be accessible to the public, nor indeed was its existence

Calcutta Public Library.

generally known except to those officers who from time to time had occasion to refer to it. On the other hand, the existing public library in the upper storey of the Metcalfe Hall, while it contained an enormous number of books, had practically degenerated, so far as the use made of it was concerned, into a library of light literature and of fiction. It seemed to me desirable to consolidate these collections as far as possible, and to constitute a library which would both have the solid foundations that would recommend it to the student and at the same time possess all the necessary works of reference upon India and Indian subjects. I therefore decided to hand over to this new institution, should I be fortunate enough to obtain the building, the Government collection to which I have referred, while by the arrangements that I was enabled to make with the proprietors of the existing Metcalfe Library, and which, if I may say so in his presence, were conducted with great skill by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, I was enabled to secure the existing collections that were at that time housed in the first floor of the Metcalfe building. My next step was to procure from home a competent librarian and student from the British Museum, who has now for a year been in charge of the new undertaking.

The Metcalfe Hall itself has been painted and renovated, and I think would hardly be recognised by many Honourable gentlemen at this table, if they paid it a visit. Shortly the whole collection will be thoroughly revised and re-housed, and I hope that, within about a year from now, this building will be a place for the student, a place for the historian, and a place for the casual reader as well. It seemed to me highly necessary that there should be somewhere in India, and obviously in Calcutta as the capital of the Empire, some library to which any man should be at liberty to go who wanted to know anything about India. My desire is to collect there every book that has been written in an intelligible tongue about this Continent, so that material not

merely for casual reference but for the publications and compilations of the historian of the future may be there available. This I think we can effect. I hope that, before I have left this country, we may have in the Metcalfe building on a small scale what the Reading Room of the British Museum supplies to the student and reader at home, and although many of us in the busy lives we live out here do not find much time for other than official reading, yet I hope that we may attract to the interior of this new library a race of scholars and may gradually build up in the future works of investigation and research that may add to the credit of British rule in this country. These are the objects with which this institution has been founded, and this Bill that has been introduced is intended to give legislative form to the arrangements to which I have referred.

CONFERENCE ON CHIEFS' COLLEGES.

27th Jan. 1902.

[The first meeting of the Conference for the discussion of various questions in connection with the Chiefs' Colleges was held at Government House, Calcutta, at 11 A.M., on Monday, January 27th, 1902, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding.

The following were present:—The Hon'ble Sir Charles Rivaz, K.C.S.I.; The Hon'ble Mr. C. S. Bayley, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India; Colonel W. Loch, Principal of the Mayo College, Ajmere; H. Sherring, Esq., Headmaster, Mayo College, Ajmere; Colonel S. H. Beatson, C.B., Inspector-General, Imperial Service Troops; C. W. Waddington, Esq., Principal, Rajkumar College, Rajkot; T. Morison, Esq., Principal, Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh; J. C. Godley, Esq., Principal, Aitchison Chiefs' College, Lahore; R. H. Gunion, Esq., Principal, Daly College, Indore; Major W. A. Watson, Commandant, Imperial Cadet Corps; J. W. D. Johnstone, Esq., Inspector-General of Education, Gwalior State; Major H. Daly, C.I.E., Deputy Secretary, Foreign Department; Khan Bahadur Yar Mahomed Khan, C.S.I., Minister of the Jaora State; Mr. W. R. Lawrence, C.I.E., Private Secretary to the Viceroy; His Highness the Maharao of Kotah; Colonel J. B.

Conference on Chiefs' Colleges.

Hutchinson, Governor of the Aitchison Chiefs' College, Lahore; the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel D. Robertson, C.S.I., Resident in Mysore.

In opening the Conference His Excellency the Viceroy spoke as follows:—]

Before we proceed to discuss the subject for which I have invited you to Calcutta, I should like to indicate how and why it is that the occasion has arisen, and in what manner I am anxious to profit by your advice in dealing with it. Chiefs' Colleges in this country, or Rajkumar Colleges as they are sometimes called, are the growth entirely of the last 30 years. They are the outcome of the growing desire, which has manifested itself in every class of the community, to keep abreast of the times, and to give to the rising generation in India an education that shall enable them to hold their own in a world of constant change and ever-increasing competition. These ideas have found their way into the minds even of the most conservative classes. It has become apparent that neither private tuition, nor the practices and institutions of Native States or territories, succeed altogether in giving to the sons of Chiefs and Nobles that all-round education, particularly in relation to character, that is admittedly the product of the English public school system. To many of the Indian nobility the discovery has come slowly; to some perhaps it has not yet come at all. Nevertheless, of the general existence and steady growth of this feeling among the upper classes of Indian society there can be no doubt, and it was partly to meet the demand where it already existed, partly to anticipate it where it had not yet found expression, that Government has interested itself in the foundation of a small number of Colleges, directly designed to provide a superior type of education for the sons of the princely and aristocratic families of India.

The first of these Colleges to be started was the Rajkumar College at Rajkot in 1870. This was originally intended for the Chiefs and noble families of Kathiawar, but has, in recent times, acquired a wider scope, and is now

recognized as the Chiefs' College for the entire Bombay Presidency. Next came the Mayo College at Ajmere, the idea of which originated with Colonel Walter as far back as 1869, but which only took concrete shape after the lamented death of Lord Mayo in 1872, and in memory of him. Planted in the heart of Rajputana, and intended to provide more especially for the youth of the Rajput titled houses, this College has perhaps excited the most widespread attention. A Rajkumar College was also founded in memory of the same illustrious Viceroy at Nowgong for the Chiefs of Bundelkhund. At Indore there was a Residency College which had been instituted at about the same time by Sir H. Daly for the families of the Chiefs of Central India: and which afterwards developed into a more ambitious concern, and received the designation of the Daly College, in honour of its original parent. There not being scope for two such institutions within so short a distance of each other, the Nowgong College was in 1898 amalgamated with the Daly College at Indore. Next in date followed the Aitchison College at Lahore, which was founded in 1886 by the distinguished Lieutenant-Governor of that name as a school for the nobility and gentry of the Punjab. Smaller and less influential schools have been started in different parts of India for the education of the sons of Chiefs and gentry of lower rank or more humble means. Such are the Colvin School at Lucknow for the sons of the Oudh Talukdars, and the Raipur College for the sons of the Chattisgarh Chiefs. I might also mention the Girasia Colleges at Gondal and Wadhwan in Kathiawar. I am not called upon to deal with this latter class of institutions on the present occasion. Similarly, the Mahomedan College at Aligarh stands outside of my present enquiry; since although it is patronised by families of very good position, it is not a Chiefs' College, and is founded upon the basis of creed rather than of rank. It is with the four Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmere, Lahore, Rajkot, and Indore that I am principally

concerned to-day, and it is their condition and prospects that I am about to submit to examination.

Of the apparent success of these Colleges there are many external symptoms. They have attracted the abilities and have inspired the life-service of more than one remarkable man, foremost among whom I would name Mr. Chester Macnaghten, who devoted 26 years of a short but noble life to the Rajkumar College at Rajkot. They have sent out into the world a number of distinguished pupils, some of whom are now Ruling Chiefs, while others have carried the name of their College on to even wider fields. They have attracted the quinquennial visits of Viceroys, and the more frequent patronage of the heads of Local Administrations. They have even given birth to a school literature, specially designed to commemorate the exploits and fame of the particular *alma mater*. Three of the Colleges I have had the good fortune to visit myself, since I have been in India, and I have devoted a good deal of attention to the subject of their management and curriculum. More recently my interest in them has been guided into a fresh channel by the gracious permission of His Majesty the King-Emperor to institute an Imperial Cadet Corps, which will be recruited in the main from the Chiefs' Colleges, and will provide for the pick of their pupils that opening in the field of military service which has hitherto been denied to the aristocratic ranks of India. In connection with the first formation of this Corps, it became my duty to institute a somewhat close examination into the circumstances of each College. I became familiar with many virtues, but I also learned many defects which, I believe, have long been recognized and bewailed by those who have far more right to speak than I. It is in order to strengthen and extend the good features of the system, and, if possible, to purge away the blemishes, that I have invited you to this Conference.

The original object with which these Colleges were founded has often been defined. It was in order to fit the

young Chiefs and Nobles of India physically, morally, and intellectually, for the responsibilities that lay before them, to render them manly, honourable, and cultured members of society, worthy of the high station that as Ruling Chiefs, as *thakors* or *sirdars*, as landlords or *jagirdars*, or in other walks of life, awaited them in the future. With this object in view the founders of these institutions, deliberately selecting the English Public School system as that which had best succeeded in doing a similar work among the higher ranks of English society, sought to reproduce its most salient features here. Indian boys of the upper classes were taken away from the narrow and often demoralising existence of their homes, and were thrown together in the boarding-house, the class-room, and the play-ground. Instead of being the solitary suns of petty firmaments, they became co-ordinate atoms in a larger whole. In the Colleges they were taught exercises and drill and games. They received the elements of a liberal education. They learned that there was a wider life than that of a Court, and larger duties than those of self-indulgence. In all these respects the Chiefs' Colleges in India have followed, at a distance it may be, but with anxious fidelity, their English prototypes.

But there I am afraid that the resemblance stops. In our eagerness to think that all is going well, and in the proneness of mankind to mistake the appearance for the reality, we run the risk of shutting our eyes to considerations which a more careful scrutiny will not fail to reveal. In the world of nature a plant cannot suddenly be shifted from some foreign clime, and expected straightway to flourish in a novel temperature and a strange soil. So it is with the Public School system in India. Never let us forget that it is not a plant of indigenous origin, or of easy growth in this country. In its essence the system is contrary to the traditional sentiments of Indian parents of the aristocratic classes, and to the hereditary instincts of Indian sons. Those sentiments, and those instincts, are gradually changing,

but they cannot be twisted round and revolutionised even in a generation. It is a work that may occupy the best part of a century. Moreover, some of the best and most cardinal features of English Public School education we cannot, at any rate for many a long day, reproduce here. Take the question of numbers. The four principal English Public Schools contain a total of nearly 2,500 boys. The four Chiefs' Colleges in India only contain between them from 180 to 190. How can a College, whose students only range from 20 to 60, be compared with a school of 500 or of 1,000? In this respect it is really more like a private or preparatory school than a public school. Numbers too represent much more than a mere arithmetical disparity. With a small number of boys, you cannot have the perpetual play of one character upon another that follows from participation in a crowded society; your pupils are too few to compete among themselves; your institutions are too small to compete with each other. You inevitably lack the vitalising influences that produce *esprit de corps*, and that give fibre to character.

Again, one of the chief sources of a healthier result in the English system is a feature that is difficult of reproduction, and, as I shall say later, ought not, in my opinion, to be forcibly reproduced here. Eton is an aristocratic school organised upon a democratic basis. It was not always so. It has become so in the process of time. The scions of the nobility are commonly sent there by their parents: but there is nothing to prevent the son of the *parvenu* from being sent too. All mix together on a footing of social equality. That is impossible in India, and will be impossible—even if it were desirable, which I think it is not—for many a long day to come. Here the class distinctions are much sharper and more stubborn than in the West. They are ingrained in the traditions of the people, and they are indurated by prescriptions of religion and race. You do not, therefore, get here, and you cannot

expect to get, that easy intercourse between high and low, titled and untitled, rich and poor, which is the most striking external symptom of Public School life in England. You have to deal with a more primitive state of society and with feelings whose roots are intertwined in the depths of human nature. That levelling down of class distinctions without detriment to the sanctions of class respect, which is so marked a characteristic of English civilisation, cannot be expected ready made in a country like this.

I will notice two other points of difference. A good deal of the success of the English Public School system, for which it gains a credit that it does not exclusively deserve, lies in the fact that it is not an education by itself. It is only a five or six years' interlude in an education that is going on for at least double that time. It is preceded by the private school, which very often lays the foundations, and it is, in a large number of cases, followed by the University, which puts on the coping stone. If a boy went straight to Eton or Harrow at the age of 8 or 9, having never learned anything before, and left at the age of 18, never intending to learn anything afterwards, we might hear a good deal more about the failures of the English Public School system than we do. Now the situation that I have depicted is exactly that which prevails here. Most of the boys whom you train in the Chiefs' Colleges are hopelessly raw when they come: a good many are still immature when they go. That is the result of the conditions under which you work. One of my objects is to see whether we cannot in some respect modify them. But let it not be forgotten that this is a handicap by which your efforts are materially and unavoidably retarded.

The concluding respect in which the Indian Chiefs' Colleges fall far behind their English prototypes lies in the dearth of those influences which are associated with the boarding-house. In England a boy is continuously exposed to these influences from morning till night. He is not only

taught in the class-room, or the lecture-room, for brief periods at stated hours. His house-master, who is really responsible for his bringing up, is always teaching him too, teaching him not merely by tasks and lessons, but by watching and training his combined moral and intellectual growth. It is the house-master, far more than the class-master, that is, as a rule, responsible for the final shape in which the public school boy is turned out. But in your Indian Chiefs' Colleges the reverse plan is adopted. You bring the boy into contact with his teacher during the few hours in which he is being taught; and then you take and shut him up in a boarding-house, where he is surrounded by *motamids*, or *musahibs*, or native tutors, or guardians, who may be the best men in the world, but who are separated off from the staff, the curriculum, and the educative influence of the College. In fact, you divide his College career into two watertight compartments. The boy is transferred from the one to the other at stated intervals of the day or night: and you sacrifice the many advantages that accrue from a single existence with an undivided aim.

These then appear to me to be the chief respects in which the Indian Public School system differs, and to a certain extent must necessarily differ, from its European models. I pass on to consider certain other points in which its weaknesses are deserving of closer examination, and in which reform may be possible.

The first point that strikes me is the relative paucity of the numbers that are being educated in the Chiefs' Colleges in India. The Mayo College, I believe, contains accommodation for 150 pupils; but there are at the present time only about 50 on the rolls, and the maximum number ever entertained there has not been more than 80. Yet there are 18 Ruling Chiefs in Rajputana, while I have seen the number of aristocratic families reckoned at 300. The Aitchison College contains less than 70 boys, but the Punjab should be capable of furnishing double that number. The

Rajkot College has 45 pupils; but if its area of recruitment be the entire Bombay Presidency, or even if it be the northern half of it alone, the total ought, I should think, to be very much greater. The highest number contained in the Indore College has, I believe, been 28. There are now 23; and in what relation such a figure stands to the capacity of the Central Indian States it is unnecessary for me to point out. The closing of the Nowgong College has not diverted the current of Bundela recruits to Indore, for I learn that no pupils from those States are being educated in the Daly College. The reflections suggested by these figures are not altogether encouraging; and their effect is not diminished, but enhanced, when we remember how many of the existing students have been sent to the Colleges as minors or wards of Court, in other words, not owing to the spontaneous choice of their parents or families. A number of Chiefs, more enlightened or less conservative than their fellows, have given to the Colleges their continuous support. They have sent their sons there, or been educated there themselves, and in the next generation the sons of these old boys are, in some cases, already following their fathers. But we all know that there is a large number who have stood and who continue to stand aloof, and it is their attitude that we must make a serious attempt to understand, and their sympathies that we must endeavour to enlist.

From such information as I possess, I am led to think that their hostility or indifference springs in the main from three causes. There are, first of all, the deeply embedded conservatism of the States, the tradition that the young Chief or Noble should be brought up and trained among his own people, the zenana influence which is frightened at the idea of an emancipated individuality, and the Court surroundings, every unit in which is conscious of a possible loss of prerogative or authority to itself in the future, should a young recruit from the West appear upon the scene, and begin to stir up the sluggish Eastern pools.

These are influences which can only be overcome by the spread of enlightenment and by the breaking down of obsolete barriers.

Next I place the belief that the education given in the Chiefs' Colleges is too costly. In comparison with our English Public Schools, it is extremely cheap. But that is not an altogether fair test to apply. Many of the Chiefs have been very hard hit in recent years by famine and other adversities. It is all that they can do to make both ends meet; and if they find that the boys of the family can be much more cheaply educated either by a private tutor at home, or, in the less exalted ranks, by being sent to a neighbouring High School, it is not an unnatural thing that they should attach some value to these financial considerations. I think we ought to discuss whether there is any validity in this criticism and, if so, whether it is possible in any way to meet it.

Thirdly, I am doubtful whether the Chiefs are entirely satisfied with the class and quality of education that the Colleges provide. I may not correctly interpret their views. But the points in which I think that they might fairly criticise the present system are these. It might be said in the case of almost every College that we have spent too much upon bricks and mortar, and have left too little for tuition. How can the best pupils be expected without the best teachers, and how can the best teachers be forthcoming unless you offer them adequate prospects and pay? Where are the public schools men, and where are the University graduates, European and Indian, upon your staffs, and what is their number? Are they a happy, or are they a discontented and constantly changing body of men? Slow promotion, low pay, and no pension, would, I expect, be the tale that a good many would tell. Then I wonder whether it might not be said that the education that is imparted at the Colleges is neither sufficiently practical nor sufficiently serious. You desire to prepare a young man

to be a landowner. Do you give him precisely the instruction that will fit him for that object? In future you will want your best pupils to be selected for the Imperial Cadet Corps. Is your training well qualified to prepare them for such duties? When the youth is to become a Ruling Chief you wish to give him the all-round education of a gentleman. He should obviously be a master of the vernacular of his country. He ought to be acquainted with a classical language, so that he may not be shut off from the literature of the East. If he is to learn English—and English is the only gateway through which he can attain to the full benefit of his teaching—then he should acquire not a perfunctory but a solid command of the English tongue. I have no sufficient ground for impugning the discipline and the morality of the Colleges, the general average of which is reported to be good. But I own to the impression that attendance is in some cases very slack, that boys come and stay away rather as they please, that admission is made too easy—though if there is a difficulty in procuring candidates, this may be a pardonable error—and that superannuation and punishment are not easy enough. If there is any truth in these impressions, then it is possible that an air of insufficient seriousness may be spread abroad, which must indirectly affect the reputation of the Colleges.

There is a further respect in which I desire information. It occurs to me that in some cases the Colleges, instead of recognizing that they have been founded for a definite and special object, have dropped somewhat too easily into the current of the Provincial Educational system. Examinations by members of the Provincial Education Department, classes that are assimilated to those of the middle and secondary schools, standards that are borrowed from those of their neighbours—all of these may be to some extent inevitable. But I am not prepared offhand to accept them as irreproachable, or even as right. I know that in

some cases very useful and practical courses have been substituted for them. This is a question that we must examine. Here I will only say that the idea that the Chiefs' Colleges exist as preparatory schools for the Indian Universities appears to me to be a fundamental misconception. In my opinion, they are constituted not to prepare for examinations, but to prepare for life.

These remarks will have afforded some idea of the lines upon which I think that our labours should proceed. In the first place, I would keep firmly to the original object for which the Chiefs' Colleges were founded, namely, as seminaries for the aristocratic classes. I would not unduly democratise them. In this respect I would not aspire to the ideal of the English Public School. The time is not yet. I would frankly admit that a Rajkumar College rests, as its name implies, upon class distinction; and if anyone is found to deprecate such a basis, I would reply that it is neither an ignoble nor a strange distinction, that it is familiar in all countries, that it is founded upon sentiment inherent in human nature, that it is congenial to the East, and that it is compatible with the finest fruits of enlightenment and civilisation. Neither do I want to see these Colleges reduced to the dull drab uniformity of the Board School, with an English Principal and a cricket ground thrown in to give a dash of colour. Let us keep them as what they were intended to be, and not turn them into a composite construction that is neither one thing nor the other.

Next let us try to make the education businesslike and practical, and, where we have not got them, let us secure the teachers, and let us adopt the courses that will tend to that result. If I am to come to you for my Imperial Cadets, I must have reasonable security that you will give me not a callow and backward fledgling, but a young man with the capabilities of an officer, and the instincts, the manners, and the education of a gentleman. Similarly, let us make clear that the *thakors* and *jagirdars* and *zemindars* of the future,

to which class the majority of your boys belong, are sent away to their future careers with a training in the elements of agricultural science, in Civil Engineering, in Land records and measurement, and in knowledge of stock and plants, that will be useful to them. If it is a future ruler that is being shaped for the responsibilities of his life, then let him be given that all-round education in history, geography, mathematics, political economy, and political science which will save him from degenerating into either a dilettante or a sluggard. I am sure that if even the most old-fashioned of Chiefs were to see his boy come back to him, turned from an idler into a man of business, his heart would warm towards the institution which had effected such a change.

Among the subjects that we must examine is the question whether, in relation to the figures that I have previously given, any greater concentration of Chiefs' Colleges is desirable. We shall probably all agree that an expansion in the number of pupils in each College is desirable; but what is the case as regards the expansion or contraction of the number of Colleges themselves? Have we sufficient, or too many, or too few?

Finally, I would like to ask you whether we cannot do anything, apart from a rise in the number of students, to promote an interchange of relations between the various Colleges. Each lives its own little life by itself. Attempts at intercourse have been made in respect of sports and games. But I suspect that we could do a good deal more. An exchange of teachers, or lecturers, or examiners, even a system of common examinations, are suggestions that may, at least, be worthy of discussion.

Reconstruction, reform, or expansion of any kind, I know well, means money, and I have not proceeded as far as this without realizing that my hearers will ask me whether all these suggestions, presuming them to be acceptable, are to be backed by any more solid support. My answer is 'Yes.'

Conference on Chiefs' Colleges.

I regard the reputation and duty of Government as directly interested in the future of these Colleges. I do not say, if they fail, that we shall be responsible for their failure; but I do say that we are bound to do what we can to ensure their success. If this can only be accomplished by giving more money, I will do my best to provide it; though I do not intend for one moment to make extravagance a cloak for future disappointment or further failure. But I realize that the resources of the Colleges are in some cases inadequate, and that, if additional machinery, or a re-adjustment of the existing mechanism, is required, we may reasonably be asked to contribute towards it.

If, however, I am willing to make this admission, then I have a corresponding claim to make upon the Chiefs. I have a right to ask them for their support, not merely in funds—for many have given, and continue to give, handsomely in that respect—but in personal sympathy and direct patronage. If the Chiefs' Colleges are to be kept going and to be reformed in their interests, they must deserve the boon. They must abandon the attitude of suspicion and hanging back. I am ready to do anything within reason to attract their confidence to these Colleges; and it will not be fair upon me, if they accept all these endeavours, and then continue to sit apart and to look askance. Let them contrast the healthy life of the school with the hot-house atmosphere of indulgence and adulation in which in bygone times too many of the native aristocracy have been brought up, and from which it has required real strength of character for a man to shake himself free. Let them remember that this education is offered to them to render their sons and relatives better and more useful men; not to stunt their liberties, but to invigorate their freedom. Let them recollect that it is probably the only education that these young men will get in their lives, and that the days are gone for ever when the ignorant and backward can sit in the seat of authority. The passionate cry of the twentieth century, which is re-echoing

through the Western world, is that it will not suffer dunces gladly. The prophets of the day are all inviting us to be strenuous and efficient. What is good for Europe is equally good for Asia; and what is preached in England will not suffer by being practised here. If the Chiefs ask me how they can help, the answer is simple. Where they have means, let them support or endow the Colleges. Where they have not means, but have families, let them send the boys. Let them visit the Colleges, attend the functions, take part in the management, show an interest in the entire concern. If this is the spirit in which they will meet me, I venture to think that we can soon make up the lost leeway, and that the Government and the Native aristocracy in combination—for neither can do it apart—will be able to convert the Rajkumar Colleges of India into something more worthy of the name.

LUNCHEON TO THE OFFICERS OF THE WARSHIPS *ASPERN* AND *THETIS*.

28th Jan. 1902

[On Tuesday, the 28th January, 1902, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon entertained at luncheon at Government House, Calcutta, the Officers of the Austro-Hungarian man-of-war *Aspern*, and of the German man-of-war *Thetis*, which were making a brief visit to Calcutta. There were about eighty guests, amongst whom were the Chief Justice of Bengal, the Members of the Viceroy's Council, the various Consuls-General in Calcutta, the guests of Their Excellencies at Government House, including Dr. Sven Hedin, and many ladies. At the conclusion of luncheon, the Viceroy rose and proposed the health of the King-Emperor. The toast having been duly honoured, His Excellency again rose and spoke as follows:—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will now ask you to fill your glasses and drink a combined toast. We are fortunate in having here at Calcutta at the same time the warships of two great European Powers connected by bonds of friendship and common interest with Great Britain. It is many

years since either an Austro-Hungarian or a German man-of-war came up the Hugli. Calcutta, I am afraid, lies a little outside of their ordinary track. On the present occasion they have visited us at an auspicious time. Yesterday was the Birthday of His Imperial Majesty the German Emperor (*cheers*), and I had contemplated asking the Officers of the good ship *Thetis* here, and inviting you all to meet them in order that we might drain a glass together in their honour and to the health of His Imperial Majesty, when I heard that the Austrian cruiser *Aspern*, almost treading upon the heels of its German cousin, was to arrive in the river the same afternoon. I therefore postponed the entertainment until to-day, in order that the Austrian Officers might have the pleasure of drinking a birthday toast to the German Emperor, that the German Officers might enjoy the opportunity of drinking to the health of the venerable Austrian Emperor, and that we Englishmen and others in Calcutta might give ourselves the unique gratification of pledging the health of both. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is with peculiar pleasure that we welcome the Naval Officers of these two Great Powers to this distant land. Austria and Great Britain have long been bound together by ties of intimate fellow-feeling and indissoluble regard. When an Englishman goes to Austria, he always feels at home. We esteem the gallant and chivalrous instincts of its inhabitants; and we join all the people of Austria-Hungary in their profound devotion to the person of their Sovereign, the most dignified and the best beloved occupant of a European Throne. (*Cheers.*)

With the German Sovereign and people we are united by links that are not less firm. We recognize in His Imperial Majesty the German Emperor not merely the nephew of our own King, but the great monarch of a great nation, a world-statesman of ceaseless energy and commanding force, and the friend and ally of the British people. (*Cheers.*) It is perhaps an opportune reflection, that whilst we are

paying this small mark of respect to his Officers here, he is entertaining with royal splendour our own Prince of Wales at Berlin. (*Cheers.*) Nor can we ever forget the noble act of generosity which induced His Imperial Majesty to remember the people of India in their suffering a year and-a-half ago, and to send us a munificent donation towards their relief from famine. (*Cheers.*)

With these sentiments in our hearts, I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the health of these two illustrious Sovereigns; and I associate with the toast the names of the two gallant Commanders whom we are fortunate enough to entertain as our guests to-day, Captain Heinrich, of the Austrian ship *Aspern*, and Commander Van Semmern, of the German ship *Thetis*.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now give you the toast of His Imperial and Royal Majesty Francis Joseph the First, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary.

[The toast was received with much cordiality, the Band playing the Austrian National Anthem. His Excellency continued :—]

Ladies and Gentlemen, now to His Imperial Majesty the German Emperor, William the Second.

[The toast was very warmly received, the Band playing the German National Anthem. Captain Heinrich, Commander of the *Aspern*, and Captain Van Semmern, Commander of the *Thetis*, then rose in turn, and in brief words warmly thanked His Excellency for his hospitality, and for the kind terms in which he had proposed the toast.]

DEATH OF THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA.

14th Feb. 1902. [At the Legislative Council held in Government House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 14th February, 1902, His Excellency the President addressed the Members as follows :—]

Before we proceed to the business of our meeting this morning, I should not like to let slip the occasion of paying

our share of the universal tribute to the memory of the distinguished Statesman, Lord Dufferin, who passed away full of years and honour two days ago, and a part of whose eminent career was so closely identified with this country. Coming here at a rather later period of life than most of his predecessors, Lord Dufferin brought to India an intelligence of the highest order, that had been ripened by experience in many parts of the world, a great knowledge of men, and a personal charm that endeared him to all.

This combination of gifts enabled him, in the short space of four years, to leave a lasting mark upon the administration and history of this country, where he will always be remembered as a Statesman who not merely extended the borders of the Indian Empire, but strengthened its foreign relations, and added to its internal peace and contentment. India will, I am sure, not wish to be left out of the crowd of mourners who, in every quarter of the globe, are offering their last meed of respect at this illustrious Englishman's grave.

CANTONMENTS (HOUSE-ACCOMMODATION) BILL.

[The Cantonments (House-Accommodation) Bill was discussed at a meeting of the Legislative Council held at Government House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 14th February, 1902. In putting the motion that the Bill be passed, His Excellency the President said :—] 14th Feb. 1902.

In putting this motion to the Council let me say that the Government of India cannot but be gratified at the general agreement amid which this Bill is being passed into law. It was a subject that raised many thorny and difficult questions respecting the rights, or the assumed rights, of individuals, and we all know how readily, when a question of property is concerned, the bristles of the Englishman,—and I think I may say the Indian too, who has perhaps learned a good deal from him—are apt to rise. Nevertheless,

as I listened this morning to the speeches of Hon'ble Members, a spirit of almost universal beatitude, marred by scarcely a discordant note, appeared to have settled upon the scene. For this result I think that we are largely indebted to the tactful and conciliatory manner in which my Hon'ble Colleague, Sir Edmond Elles, has conducted this measure; and I may say in passing that I listened with pleasure, and with gratitude, to the brief but eloquent tribute paid by the Hon'ble Sir A. Wingate, based perhaps upon a short experience of this Council, but upon a long experience of the administration of India, as to the spirit and manner in which the Government of India are anxious to meet their critics in legislative and other matters. Sir Edmond Elles has now the satisfaction of seeing this Bill, which he has conducted in the manner I have described, placed upon the Statute Book by what I anticipate will be the unanimous voice of this Council.

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

15th Feb. 1902. [The Annual Convocation of the University of Calcutta for conferring degrees took place on Saturday afternoon, the Chancellor presiding. His Excellency arrived at the Entrance Hall shortly after 3 o'clock, where he was received by the Vice-Chancellor (Mr. Raleigh) and the Fellows in academic costume. His Excellency having assumed his robe, a procession was formed and proceeded to the Hall, the Chancellor taking his seat on the daïs with the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir John Woodburn) seated on his right, and the Vice-Chancellor and the Chief Justice of Bengal (Sir Francis Maclean) on his left. The body of the Hall was occupied by an unusually large number of ladies and gentlemen, and natives. After the Vice-Chancellor had presented the numerous candidates for degrees with their diplomas, the Chancellor rose to address the assembly, and was very warmly received. His Excellency said :—]

I propose this afternoon to depart from the practice that is usually adopted by the Chancellor of your University

and that has hitherto been followed by myself at these annual Convocations. It is the custom to address the assembled Fellows, Graduates, and Students upon certain aspects of the problem of Higher Education in India. I refrain from doing so on the present occasion, partly because I have, during the past year, enjoyed more than one opportunity of making my views public on the matter, partly because we meet to-day in the interval immediately preceding an enquiry by Commission into the system of University Education in India, and partly again, because my Hon'ble Colleague, the Vice-Chancellor, who is to be the President of that Commission—an appointment which I consider that we may congratulate ourselves on his having consented to take (*cheers*)—will presently himself address a few words to you on the subject. In these circumstances, I think that I may fairly lay claim to the luxury of an academic holiday, and may seize the privilege of speaking to you on other topics.

I see before me a number of young men who have just taken their degrees and who are about to go out into the world, some to serve Government, some to practise the Law, some to be teachers, some to be journalists, some to follow other professional pursuits, some perhaps, but I hope not many, to do nothing at all. Yearly from the different Indian Universities a similar stream of the youth of the country pours forth, and is absorbed in the great whirlpool which we call life. How will they fare there, what fortune awaits them, will they rise to the surface by their character or their abilities, or will they get sucked under and submerged? Are the chances in their favour, or are there dangerous eddies and currents which are liable to draw them down? If the latter be the case, can the Chancellor of an Indian University, who, to a certain extent, is in the position of the master-navigator, under an obligation to study the chart and to be familiar with the movement of the winds and tides—can he offer them any friendly warning or

counsel which may assist them in the ordeal with which they are confronted? If I assume this prerogative on the present occasion, pray believe that it is not from any confidence in my own power to act as a prophet or a guide, but rather from the intense interest that one who has just passed his second youth—for I think that youth may be said to consist of two parts of twenty years each—cannot fail to take in those who are just passing the first.

It is an Indian audience that I am addressing, and it is therefore of Indian character, surroundings, and temptations that I propose to speak. Just as there are different storm-charts for different seas, so are there features inherent in physical and climatic surroundings, and characteristics associated with nationality or temperament, that differentiate the population of one country from that of another, and that suggest varieties of precept or admonition. For the moment I am an Englishman addressing Indians. If I were an Indian addressing Englishmen, I daresay I might have a number of remarks to make that would be equally pertinent, though they might not be identical. Nothing in either case is easier than for a speaker to flatter his audience. I think that I could, without difficulty, construct a catalogue of the Indian virtues, for I know them both by contact and by repute. You might applaud, but you would not go away any the wiser; while I should have gained nothing better than your ephemeral cheers. This is not what I want to do. I do not propose to-day to hold up a mirror to your merits. Let us accept them and put them in the background. I want rather to see the dangers to which in the several professions that I have named you are liable, and to put you on your guard against what seem to me to be the temptations and the weaknesses that lie athwart your future careers.

A good many of you, as I have said, will probably enter, and I daresay that still more aspire to enter, the service of Government. I do not say that this is not an honourable

ambition. Indeed if it is synonymous with a desire to serve your country, it is the most honourable of all; whereas, if it signifies no more than a desire to earn a comfortable billet, and there contentedly to rust, it is the most despicable. I will assume, however, as I think that I reasonably may, that those of you who propose to adopt this career desire to do so with the fullest intention of justifying your selection and of rendering public service. What are the chief perils against which you have to be on your guard? I think that they are two in number. The first of these is the mechanical and lifeless performance of duty, the doing a thing faithfully and diligently perhaps, but unintelligently, and therefore stupidly, just as a mechanical drill in a workshop will go on throughout the day, so long as the steam is in the boiler, punching an endless rotation of holes. This is a danger to which the Indian with his excellent memory, his mastery of rules and precedents, and his natural application, is peculiarly liable. He becomes an admirable automaton, a flawless machine. But when something happens that is not provided for by the regulations, or that defies all precedent, he is apt to find himself astray. He has not been taught to practise self-reliance, and therefore he is at a loss, and he turns to others for the guidance which ought to spring from himself. This is a fault against which you ought to struggle unceasingly, for there is no malady that grows so quickly as dependence upon others. Accuracy and fidelity may constitute a good subordinate, but by themselves they will never make a good administrator, and they will never carry you out of the ranks that follow into the ranks that lead.

The second danger that I would ask you to shun is the corollary of the first. You must not only learn to be self-reliant, but you must be thorough. You must do your work for the work's own sake, not for the grade, or the promotion, or the pension, or the pay. No man was ever a success in the world whose heart was not in his undertaking. Earnestness,

sincerity, devotion to duty, carry a man quickly to the front, while his comrade of perhaps superior mental accomplishments, but with deficient character, is left stumbling behind. Do not imagine for one moment that there is any desire on the part of the English governors of this country to keep native character and native ability in the background. I assert emphatically, after more than three years' experience of Indian administration, that wherever it is forthcoming, it receives unhesitating encouragement and prompt reward. An Indian who not only possesses the requisite attainments, but who has energy, a strong sense of duty, and who runs straight, must come to the front. He is indispensable to us in our administration. For, in addition to the virtues of his character, he already possesses the inestimable advantages, in which no foreigner can really cope with him, of familiarity with the language, the people, and the clime. If you look round the world and enquire why it is that in so many foreign countries the Englishman, without any of these native advantages, has yet been invited to undertake, and has successfully undertaken, the task of regeneration or reform, you will find that it has been because of the universal belief in his integrity, his sincerity, and his purpose. People know that his heart is in his task, and that, when the pinch comes, he will stick to his post. Therefore I cannot give to you, young Indians, better advice—and I give it, I can assure you, without a trace of national vanity—than to say, Go you and do likewise; avoid superficiality; put your soul into your work; be strenuous: and assuredly you will not fail of honour in your own time and country.

The same reflections apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to those among you who intend to embark upon a professional career, whether as engineers or doctors, or in whatever walk of life. The same shortcomings will keep you back. Similar standards are required to urge you on. The world is moving very fast: and the man who thinks he can stand still will presently tumble off into space. In the broad field of

professional activity, I hardly know one pursuit in India in which there exists any racial bar. There is nothing in the world to prevent an Indian from rising to the topmost rung of the ladder in the practical callings. Efficiency is the final test, and self-reliance is the golden rule.

Some of you, whom I am addressing to-day, will pass out of this Hall to the study or the practice of the law. You too have your advantages, for it cannot be doubted that the Indian intellect possesses unusual aptitudes for legal pursuits, and that the extent to which the principles as well as the practice of alien systems of law have been assimilated in this country is one of its most remarkable features. But here, too, there are certain pit-falls yawning in front of you which you must endeavour to escape. I do not say that they are not visible elsewhere, or that they are not to some extent common to every Law-court and every Bar. That may be a truism, but it is neither a palliation nor an excuse. The first temptation that you should avoid is that of letting words be your masters, instead of being masters of your words. In a Law-court the facts are the first thing; the law is the second; and the eloquence of the barrister or pleader upon the facts and the law is the third. Do not let your attention to the third subject obscure the importance of the first and second, and most of all the first. Words are required to express the facts, and to elucidate or to apply the law. But when they become the mere vehicle of prolix dissertation, they are both a weakness and a nuisance. The second danger of the Law-courts is the familiar forensic foible of over-subtlety, or as it is commonly called hair-splitting. We know what people mean when they say, That is a lawyer's argument: and, although the taunt may often be undeserved, there must be something in it to explain its popular acceptance. Try, therefore, to avoid that refining, and refining, and refining, which concentrates its entire attention upon a point—often only a pin-point—and which forgets that what convinces a Judge on the bench

or a jury in the box is not the adroitness that juggles with minutiæ, but the broad handling of a case in its larger aspects.

I turn to those young men who are going to be teachers of others. I pray them to recognize the gravity and the responsibility of their choice. Rightly viewed, theirs is the foremost of sciences, the noblest of professions, the most intellectual of arts. Some wise man said that he would sooner write the songs of a people than make its laws. He might have added that it is a prouder task to teach a people than to govern them. Moses is honoured by the world beyond David, Plato beyond Pericles, Aristotle beyond Alexander. Not that all teaching is great or all teachers famous. Far from it. Much teaching is drudgery, and many teachers are obscure. But in every case the work is important, and the workman should be serious. The first thing I would have you remember therefore is that you are not entering upon an easy or an idle profession. It is the most responsible of all.

When you have realized this guiding principle, the next thing to bear in mind is that the teacher should profit by his own previous experience as a student. He should not inflict upon his pupils the mistakes or the shortcomings by which his own education has suffered. For instance, if he has been artificially crammed himself, he should not proceed to revenge himself by artificially cramming others. Rather should he spare them a similar calamity. The great fault of education as pursued in this country is, as we all know, that knowledge is cultivated by the memory instead of by the mind, and that aids to the memory are mistaken for implements of the mind. This is all wrong. Books can no more be studied through keys than out-of-door games can be acquired through books. Knowledge is a very different thing from learning by rote, and in the same way education is a very different thing from instruction. Make your pupils, therefore, understand

the meaning of books, instead of committing to memory the sentences and lines. Teach them what the Roman Empire did for the world, in preference to the names and dates of the Cæsars. Explain to them the meaning of Government, and administration, and law, instead of making them repeat the names of battles or the populations of towns. Educate them to reason, and to understand reasoning, in preference to learning by heart the first three books of Euclid.

Remember, too, that knowledge is not a collection of neatly assorted facts like the specimens in glass-cases in a museum. The pupil whose mind you merely stock in this fashion will no more learn what knowledge is than a man can hope to speak a foreign language by poring over a dictionary. What you have to do is not to stuff the mind of your pupil with the mere thoughts of others, excellent as they may be, but to teach him to use his own. One correct generalization drawn with his own brain is worth a library full of second-hand knowledge. If the object of all teaching is the application to life of sound principles of thought and conduct, it is better for the ordinary man to be able to make one such successful application, than to have the brilliancy of a Macaulay, or the memory of a Mezzofanti.

Next I turn to those among you who are going to enter the honourable profession of journalism. I know something of journalism, and I am acquainted both with its privileges and its snares. In India I have made the closest study of the Native Press, since I have been in the country, partly because it tells me to some extent what the educated minority are thinking and saying, partly because I often learn from it things that I should otherwise never hear of at all. I am not, therefore, an ignorant or a prejudiced witness. On the contrary, I think that Native journalism in India is steadily advancing, and that it is gaining in sobriety and wisdom. But I am not here to-day to discuss merits. I have

undertaken the more venturesome task of pointing out weaknesses and errors.

The first of these that I would ask you young men to avoid is the insidious tendency to exaggeration. If I were asked to sum up in a single word the most notable characteristic of the East—physical, intellectual, and moral—as compared with the West, the word "exaggeration," or "extravagance," is the one that I should employ. It is particularly patent on the surface of the Native Press. If it is desired to point out that a public man is a deserving person, it is a common form to say that he deserves a statue of gold. If he has done something that is objected to, he is depicted in almost Mephistophelian colours. This sort of exaggeration is not only foolish in itself, for it weakens the force of writing; but it is often unfair as an interpretation of public sentiment. There is nothing more damaging to national reputation than a marked discrepancy between words and acts. If, for instance, a great Indian dies and is extolled in glowing language by the Native Press for his services and his virtues, and a subscription list is then opened to commemorate them—and if the response to this appeal turns out to be utterly inadequate—the reflection is suggested, either that the Press has been extravagant in its laudations, or that the national character prefers words to deeds. In either case, a bad impression is produced.

Then, again, do not impute the worst motives. Try to assume the best. If a thing has been done that you disapprove of, or that is not clear, do not jump to the conclusion that there is something sinister in the background. Assail the Government if you please—Governments, I suppose, are put into the world to be criticised—but do not credit them with a more than average share of human frailty; and, above all, make some allowance for good intentions on their part. From the selfish point of view, nothing can be worse in your own interests than to be always carping and railing. If you want to influence public opinion, you should aim at

attracting every class of reader, and not merely pander to one. If the impression gets abroad that a newspaper always attacks an individual, or a class, or an institution, or a Government, as the case may be, then the friends of the other party will never open the newspaper at all, and all its invective will be thrown away. I will give you an instance of hasty imputation. The other day I saw it insinuated in a newspaper that the Government had been guilty of a gross piece of jobbery. I may say in passing that there was not a word of truth in the charge. Then I took up a leading Native paper which remarked, "We have little hesitation in accepting this version." Exactly, but why did the writer have little hesitation? His hesitation ought to have been extreme. But he preferred to accept the worst instead of thinking the best; and if a black book of the sins of journalists is anywhere kept in another world, that phrase will be recorded against the transgressor. (*Laughter and cheers.*)

I have a few other words of advice to give you, but they must be brief, as I have not the time to expand. Do not employ words or phrases that you do not understand. Avoid ambitious metaphors. Do not attack in covert allegories, or calumniate in disguise. Remember, when you use the editorial "we," that "we" is, after all, only "I," and that the individual "I" is only one among three hundred millions. Recollect that your opponent or your victim very often cannot answer you; and that he is often just as good a man, perhaps even a better and wiser than yourself. Never descend to personalities; avoid that which is scurrilous and vulgar and low. There is always a stratum of society of depraved and prurient tastes. Do not write down to its level, but draw it up to your own. You, perhaps, have been told that the Press ought to be no respecter of persons. Yes, but that is a very different thing from respecting nobody. First learn to respect others, and you will find before long that you have learnt to respect yourself.

Do not sharpen your pen-point, and think that mere sharpness is wit. Remember the saying of Disraeli in the House of Commons that petulance is not sarcasm, and insolence is not invective. Above all, never forget that the Press has a mission: and that that mission is not to inflame the passions, or to cater to the lower instincts of your fellow-men, but to elevate the national character, to educate the national mind, and to purify the national taste. (*Cheers.*)

And now to all of you together let me address these concluding words. The spirit of nationality is moving in the world, and it is an increasing force in the lives and ideals of men. Founded upon race, and often cemented by language and religion, it makes small nations great, and great nations greater. It teaches men how to live, and, in emergencies, it teaches them how to die. But, for its full realisation, a spirit of unity, and not of disintegration, is required. There must be a sacrifice of the smaller to the larger interest, and a subordination of the unit to the system. In India it should not be a question of India for the Hindus, or India for the Musulmans, or, descending to minor fractions, of Bengal for the Bengalis, or the Deccan for the Mahratta Brahmans. That would be a retrograde and a dissolvent process. Neither can it be India for the Indians alone. The last two centuries during which the British have been in this country cannot be wiped out. They have profoundly affected the whole structure of national thought and existence. They have quickened the atrophied veins of the East with the life-blood of the West. They have modified old ideals and have created new ones.

> And not by Eastern windows only,
> When daylight comes, comes in the light;
> In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
> But Westward, look, the land is bright!

Out of this intermingling of the East and the West, a new patriotism, and a more refined and cosmopolitan sense of nationality, are emerging. It is one in which the Englishman may share with the Indian, for he has helped to create

it, and in which the Indian may share with the Englishman, since it is their common glory. When an Englishman says that he is proud of India, it is not of battlefields and sieges, nor of exploits in the Council Chamber or at the desk that he is principally thinking. He sees the rising standards of intelligence, of moral conduct, of comfort and prosperity, among the Native peoples, and he rejoices in their advancement. Similarly, when an Indian says that he is proud of India, it would be absurd for him to banish from his mind all that has been, and is being, done for the resuscitation of his country by the alien race to whom have been committed its destinies. Both are tillers in the same field, and both are concerned in the harvest. From their joint labours it is that this new and composite patriotism is springing into life. It is Asian, for its roots are embedded in the traditions and the aspirations of an Eastern people; and it is European, because it is aglow with the illumination of the West. In it are summed up all the best hopes for the future of this country, both for your race and for mine. We are ordained to walk here in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you. Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE DARJILING MUNICIPALITY.

17th Feb. 1902.

[Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon left Calcutta on Saturday afternoon, the 15th February, by special train for Darjiling, where they arrived on the following afternoon, and were received by Mr. Walsh, Deputy Commissioner, and a large number of the residents. The Viceroy rode to the "Shrubbery" (the official residence of the Lieutenant-Governor) escorted by the Northern Bengal

Address from the Darjiling Municipality.

Mounted Rifles; the roads were thronged with natives of every class who gave His Excellency a hearty welcome. On Monday, the 17th February, the Viceroy received an address from the Municipal Commissioners which, after cordially welcoming Their Excellencies, referred to the earthquake in 1897, and the cyclone in 1899, and to the great help they had received from the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in assisting them to repair the damage caused by these disasters: and they expressed the hope that public confidence in Darjiling had now been restored. They joined with all who had watched the Viceroy's administration of India in respect and admiration for his vigorous personality, and his firm, thoughtful, judicious, and yet fearless rule.

In reply His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to pay another visit to Darjiling. I say another, because it is nearly fifteen years since I last saw this unique and beautiful spot. As I rode through the town yesterday, I saw on all sides of me evidence of the remarkable progress which has been made in the intervening period. I noticed better streets, superior shops, more houses, and a larger population. But what struck me, perhaps, more than anything else, was the rapidity and success with which you have obliterated the traces of the terrible calamity that befell you two and-a-half years ago. It was one of those appalling visitations from which places situated on the Himalayan spurs, and subject to a very heavy rainfall, are never altogether immune. But while the tale of human suffering and loss of life was in your case unusually heavy, the disaster did not pass by without affording an opportunity for deeds of heroism and daring such as are not infrequently associated with similar catastrophes, and that soften the recollection even to the sufferers. Your rapid recovery from its effects has, as you say, been accelerated by the generous policy of your Lieutenant-Governor, who, as I know well, is greatly attached to this place. Gentlemen, these vicissitudes of fortune will be, I venture to assert, powerless to affect the future of Darjiling. The extraordinary advantages of your situation and climate as the sanitarium of Bengal, and

the unequalled beauty of the panorama which you offer to your visitors, and which I am patiently waiting for you to unfold to me, must assure to Darjiling an ever-increasing measure of prosperity. For fifteen years I have endeavoured in a small way to contribute to it myself by urging every visitor to India not to miss coming here in order to see what I have never failed to describe as the most wonderful natural spectacle in the world. Unless, therefore, Kinchinjunga either blows up or breaks down, I think that you ought to be safe. I must frankly confess that I am here on a holiday, and for no other purpose, but the fact that you have not thought the occasion inopportune to utter kind words about the work of the Administration with which I am connected, and from the cares of which I am seeking a temporary relief, will not render my holiday any the less pleasant or your welcome the less flattering. I am, indeed, most grateful for it, and for the happily chosen present which you have just been good enough to hand to me.

ADDRESS FROM THE PEOPLE OF MALDA.

[The Viceroy left Darjiling on the afternoon of the 23rd February, and, reaching Manihari Ghat on the following morning where the principal district officials were in attendance, proceeded to Malda, where he arrived at 5 P.M. and was received by Maharaja Suryya Kanta Acharyya, of Mymensingh, Maharaja Harballabh Narayan Singh, C.I.E., of Sonbarsa, and other leading Zemindars. Accompanied by the Commissioner and the Collector of the District, His Excellency after his arrival proceeded to a shamiana and was presented with an address by a deputation representing the people of Malda. They cordially welcomed His Excellency, and remarked that this was the first occasion on which a Viceroy had visited Malda since it ceased to be the capital of the Province; they thanked His Excellency for taking so keen an interest in the preservation of the ruins of Gaur and Pandua, and were happy to say that the district was free from 24th Feb. 1902.

Address from the People of Malda.

plague, famine, and all similar calamities. The Viceroy replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I am greatly obliged to you for your hearty welcome. My object in coming here is, as you have correctly inferred, to see the famous ruins of Gaur and Pandua. Who would now believe that an Afghan dynasty once ruled for some centuries in Bengal? Their name, and even their memory, have faded from the minds of men, and there remains only the melancholy epitaph of the ruined buildings, which I am about to visit in pursuance of a desire to see, while I am in India, as many as possible of the monuments of the past, which it should be a duty of the Government, where practicable, to cherish and conserve. At Gaur, one can penetrate into an even remoter past, for there was an old Hindu seat of rule before the Mahomedans had been heard of in the land. I fear that I cannot claim the distinction, which you have accorded me in your address, of being the first Governor General to visit this place, for I was reading the other day the journal of Lord Hastings, then Lord Moira, and I found that, in the same month of February, in 1817, he visited the ruins of Gaur, of which he did not carry away a very favourable impression, and halted on the way at English Bazar, the very spot where I am now staying, and where, more than 200 years ago, was erected the Factory of the Honourable East India Company that was pointed out to me just now as I drove in. I feel hopeful that the reception that you have accorded to me will induce some one of my successors, before another 85 years have passed, to repeat the experiment.

Gentlemen, apart from these antiquarian interests it gives me the greatest pleasure to find myself in a district that is so happily free from the scourges by which so many parts of India have in recent years been afflicted. I congratulate you upon your prosperity, which I hope may long continue unbroken, and I thank you cordially for your good wishes.

ADDRESS AT MURSHIDABAD.

[The Viceroy arrived at Murshidabad on Thursday evening, the 27th February, having been met at Azimgunge by the Commissioner and the Collector of the District, and other officials, and the eldest son of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad (who has been an invalid for years). In waiting to receive His Excellency at the Nizamat Palace were the second son and the brother of the Nawab Bahadur, and a large number of officials and non-officials, European and Native. Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi, of Cossimbazar, Chairman of the Berhampore Municipality, read an address of welcome on behalf of the local self-governing bodies of the Murshidabad District, of the Murshidabad Association, and of all classes of the community, the subject matter of which will be apparent from His Excellency's reply, which was as follows :—] 27th Feb. 1902.

Gentlemen,—I have often regarded it as one of the misfortunes attending the circumstances in which the Governor General, and, later on, the Viceroy of India, ceased to be the Governor of Bengal, that he has thereby to a large extent forfeited the opportunity of making himself acquainted with the sites, the conditions, and the people, of this historic province which he enjoyed in the early part of the last century. Bengal has now been so well served by a long series of capable and sympathetic Lieutenant-Governors, among whom the present incumbent of that post will always hold a high rank, that it has become the fashion for the head of the Government of India to delegate with complacency to his Lieutenants the task that was once laboriously performed by himself.

For my own part I do not see why a Viceroy should be less interested in Bengal than in any other part of the British possessions in India. On the contrary, in many respects this province has a superior claim upon his concern. For it was at this very place, as you have rightly reminded me in your address, that the British Empire in India started into being. On the confines of this district was fought the famous battle that gave the dominion of Bengal to the British; and here has been planted for more than a century and a half

the distinguished and loyal family, of the present eminent representative of which, the Nawab of Murshidabad, I am the guest on the present occasion. Again, your provincial capital, Calcutta, is for five months of the year the Imperial Capital also; and I can truthfully say that I feel in this province and in its principal city an interest as great as though I were still the head of its local administration, and an affection not inferior to that which may be entertained towards it by a son of the soil. You may judge, therefore, with what pleasure I am now spending a week amid sights that possess such historic associations and that cannot fail to recall to an Englishman so many exciting memories of the past. Amid these romantic recollections you have obtruded, Gentlemen, the stern features of business by recalling my attention to such concrete and matter of fact objects as a river, a railway, and a bridge. As regards the river, I am disposed to agree with you. The condition of the upper feeders of the Hugli, of which the Bhagirati is the principal, cannot fail to be a matter of much importance to those of us who live lower down, and are interested in the port of Calcutta, and I for one should like to see the channel of the Bhagirati re-opened to continuous navigation as it was a hundred years ago. Concerning the railway, it is certainly our hope that the lower section of the Ranaghat-Katihar line, which is about to be commenced, will bring Murshidabad into closer connection with the outside world and may develope the resources of this district. When the railway is built, a bridge at Azimgunge will enter the field of discussion; and I am informed that local enterprise is not unwilling to charge itself with the task.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, permit me to acknowledge the testimony of your unfailing allegiance to the throne and person of His Majesty the King, whose coronation, so shortly to take place in England, we hope to commemorate in a becoming fashion in India in the opening days of next year. In those celebrations Bengal, I am sure, will not be one whit behind her sister provinces in loyalty and enthusiasm.

BANQUET AT MURSHIDABAD.

[On the night of Friday, February 28th, 1902, the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad gave a State dinner in honour of the Viceroy, to which he invited a large number of guests to meet His Excellency. The sons and the brother of the Nawab were present, and after dinner the Viceroy's health was proposed in an eloquent speech by the Wasif Sahib, the eldest son of the Nawab, to which His Excellency replied as follows :—] 28th Feb. 1902.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to thank the Wasif Sahib for the kindly and complimentary terms in which he has proposed my health. I am sure that we were all equally struck with the gracefulness of his composition, and with his ease of delivery. Our only regret to-night is at the absence of his father from this feast. During the long time that the Nawab Bahadur has borne his present title, he has been a worthy representative of an ancient and illustrious family that once exercised an almost sovereign sway over Bengal, and that has been distinguished for a century and a half by its unswerving loyalty to the British Crown. In his capacity as a great landowner, and as the premier nobleman of this province, the Nawab Bahadur, in spite of the infirmity by which he has unhappily been afflicted, and which might have led him to an avoidance of the responsibilities of public life, has been conspicuous both for public beneficence, and for admirable management of his large estates. It has been the greatest pleasure to me to come here, the first Viceroy of India who has been the recipient of the hospitality of this stately palace, with its princely equipment and surroundings.

I have further to thank the Nawab Bahadur for the generous contributions which he has offered to make from his valuable collection to the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. A year ago when that scheme was first mooted, the Nawab Bahadur wrote to me unsolicited to offer some of the unique and beautiful historic objects that are in his possession, and I have to-day seen the articles which he

is prepared to contribute and which will in themselves provide the nucleus of a first rate collection. I trust that this spontaneous generosity on the part of our noble host may set an example which others will follow.

Finally, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been myself the bearer of a complimentary message to the Nawab; for I informed him this afternoon that I proposed to nominate his eldest son, the Wasif Sahib, to represent the province of Bengal at the forthcoming coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor in London. No one, I am sure, will more fitly represent the aristocracy of the province than the heir of its once ruling family, who has himself enjoyed the advantages of a European education, and who gives such excellent promise of carrying on the traditions of his historic and distinguished line.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the health of our host, the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.

UNVEILING THE QUEEN'S STATUE.

19th Mar. 1902. [The ceremony of unveiling the Statue of Her late Majesty the Queen-Empress, which stands on the northern edge of the Maidan, facing the grounds of Government House, was performed by His Excellency the Viceroy on Wednesday afternoon, the 19th March, in the presence of a great and representative gathering of the citizens of Calcutta. The whole of the troops of the Calcutta Garrison and the Calcutta Volunteer Corps were drawn up in review order near the site of the statue, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders forming the Guard of Honour. The Viceroy, driving in state with a full escort of the Body Guard and accompanied by his personal Staff, arrived at 5-30 P.M. and was received by Sir Francis Maclean, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Queen-Empress Commemoration Fund, and conducted to the daïs, on which were the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and his Staff, the Commander-in-Chief in India and his Staff, the Members of the Viceroy's Council, the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, and other native personages of rank. On His Excellency taking his seat

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Sir Francis Maclean introduced the Members of the Executive Committee to him, and then, in a brief speech, gave an account of the statue, and invited His Excellency to unveil it.

The Viceroy then rose and spoke as follows:—]

Your Honour, Your Excellency, Mr. Chief Justice, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is rather more than a year since we lost the Queen-Empress Victoria; and we are assembled here to-day to dedicate the first fruits of that Memorial to her which we hope will one day be the pride of Calcutta and one of the glories of the Eastern world. Though in India, where everything is intense, the years roll by quickly, and to-morrow is always treading on the heels of to-day, yet I think that not the least remarkable feature of the past year has been the degree to which the memory of the Queen remains among us, fresh and unforgotten. There are many who die and are effaced almost from the moment that they are laid in their graves. Perhaps this is more often, rather than less often, the fate of monarchs. For directly one disappears another takes his place; the titular succession is always kept up; and the movements of the living are, as a rule, more attractive to the popular mind than the memories of the dead. But no such fate has befallen, or is likely to befall, Queen Victoria. She fills no smaller place in our minds and hearts to-day—in some respects perhaps she fills a larger place—than a year ago. I am not speaking for the English only. I remember well seeing the whole of the vast space of the Maidan, behind the spot where I am now speaking, filled on that Saturday afternoon in January of last year with a sea of mourning white-robed Native humanity; and I am confident that among that enormous crowd there was scarcely a man who does not still cherish in his heart the recollection of the Queen as something very dear to him and very sacred. (*Applause.*)

Why should this hold true for both races? The Indian's answer to the question would, I expect, be very simple. To

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him Queen Victoria represented the Sovereign who had reigned for almost the longest period in history over the most powerful Empire that Asia has ever known; she was also the royal woman and wife and mother who had borne more than her due share of human sorrow and suffering; but, above all, she was the ruler who had loved all her people alike, and had bent over her Indian subjects with the mingled attributes of tenderness and majesty. (*Applause.*) To the Englishman she was even more. There were few Englishmen living at the time of her death who remembered any other Sovereign. Through all our lives she had been to all of us not merely the embodiment of gracious dignity and loving sympathy, and a pattern of every public and domestic virtue; but she was also the symbol of the nationality to which we rejoice to belong, and of the Empire whose citizens or instruments we are. This it was, I think, that brought the Queen home so closely to the heart of every Briton in both hemispheres. The Queen to them was England, and England was the Queen. Institutions may fill a people with pride; race may impel men to deeds of chivalry or daring. But neither institutions nor race by themselves will ever exercise the same influence over the hearts of men as will the living personality of one who typifies all that is best and noblest in both, and who clothes with flesh and blood what might otherwise be a phrase or an abstraction.

Such, in my judgment, was the service of Queen Victoria to the British Empire. It did not merely exist, or develope, or expand, by some hidden law of nature while she sat upon the throne. No, it breathed with her breath, and was instinct with her being. She was both the daughter and the mother of Empire, the daughter because her own life and character were profoundly affected by its evolution, the mother because she presided over the central hearth from which it sprang, and nursed and shaped its limbs for action. Every man who lived, or who died for the Empire, did it also

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and mainly for the Queen. If she knew nothing of his service, he was content; if she heard of it, he was flattered; if she rewarded it, he was overjoyed. So it came about that this single and simple girlish figure that gradually ripened, first into womanhood, then to maturity, and finally to a revered and venerable old age, will be known in history as one of the greatest empire-builders that the world has seen. For she laid the foundation-stones of her august dominion not only on the continents and oceans of the universe, but in the hearts of her devoted people (*applause*); and in death as well as in life she continues her immortal reign. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am one of those who are in sincere sympathy with the instinct that has led mankind from the earliest ages to commemorate the features, and to perpetuate the likeness, of the great ones of the earth. Let us honour great men and women who have gone before us. It is they who have moulded our ideas and elevated our race. If we read their histories, we discover what was the secret of their greatness. As we gaze upon their lineaments, even in marble or bronze, they are once again endowed with life in our imaginations, and their lips seem to tell their own tale. Every great Indian city should possess its statue of Queen Victoria. (*Applause.*) The majority have it already. Grave would have been our reproach had Calcutta, the capital of the Indian Empire, been without its special monument. Ordered here in honour of her second Jubilee in 1897, it will henceforward commemorate her entire reign, and later on will take its place in the great Pantheon which the people of India from all parts have subscribed so liberally to erect in the close neighbourhood of this very spot to her memory.

The sculptor's genius cannot bring her back to life, but it will show her as she was in life to millions who never saw her at all; and as she sits here in bronze through the centuries that lie before us, her figure will still breathe the

lessons of virtue and tolerance and wisdom, inspiring the Englishman in India with a sense of justice and of duty, and reminding the Indians that they were never more truly loved, or more benignly ruled, than during the 63 years of the reign of this British Queen. (*Applause.*) May the Indians be the gainers by the fruits of her teaching, and may we, Englishmen and Englishwomen, profit by her example. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

[His Excellency then unveiled the statue under a salute of 101 guns.]

UNVEILING THE LUMSDEN TABLET.

23rd Mar. 1902. [On Sunday evening, the 23rd March, His Excellency the Viceroy unveiled the brass Tablet which he had placed in the Cathedral as a memorial to such members of Lumsden's Horse as lost their lives in South Africa. The ceremony was strikingly simple. After the usual evening service, Canon Luckman delivered a brief exhortation from the pulpit, and then a procession was formed to the West Transept, the Choir leading, followed by the Clergy, the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Commander-in-Chief and their personal Staffs, the Executive Committee of Lumsden's Horse, and nineteen members of the Corps, including Colonel Lumsden himself. On arrival at the Tablet, which was covered by a veil of baize, the Choir, amid the deepest silence, recited the Lord's Prayer, and two special prayers were offered up by Canon Luckman. The latter then requested the Viceroy to unveil the Tablet, and in doing so His Excellency spoke as follows, his words being audible only to those to whom they were immediately addressed:—]

Canon Luckman,—This does not seem to me to be the occasion or the place for any but the briefest remarks. I have attended here to unveil this memorial, which, as Honorary Colonel of Lumsden's Horse, I have regarded it as a pleasure to erect in this Cathedral in honour of those brave fellows, members of the Corps, who, after taking part in that final service to Almighty God which we all remember

within these walls, went out to South Africa rather more than two years ago, and died there in the service of their Queen and their country. Though their lives were sacrificed, they were not wasted; and their names will live, not only in the hearts of their friends, but, with the aid of this Tablet, in the memories of their fellow-countrymen.

[The Viceroy then unveiled the Tablet.]

UNITED PROVINCES BILL.

[At a meeting of the Legislative Council, held at Government House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 26th March, 1902, the Hon'ble Mr. Ibbetson moved that the Bill to recognise and give effect to a change in the constitution and designation of the territories formerly known as the North-Western Provinces and Oudh be passed. The Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur objected to the Bill on the ground that the new name given to the provinces was not geographically correct, that it could not be of any great political significance, that popular feeling was not in favour of it, and that the dropping of the title of Chief Commissioner was not in consonance with the feelings of the people of Oudh.

26th Mar. 1902.

His Excellency the President said :—]

I understand the Hon'ble Member to have raised an objection to the institution of this new title. I should like to say, in reply, that I took the most careful steps, in consultation with the late Lieutenant-Governor, and the present Lieutenant-Governor, of the United Provinces, to ascertain what was the feeling of the Province on the matter, and the objections which I understand the Hon'ble Gentleman to put forward at the last moment are, I believe, not entertained in the Province itself. On the contrary, we were most scrupulous to consider the feelings of Oudh, which no one is more anxious to respect than myself, by the retention of the name of Oudh in the new title of the Province. That title stands as follows:—"United Provinces of Agra and Oudh." We were advised in some quarters that those

scruples might be disregarded, but I declined to do it. Oudh stands just as well off under the new system as she did under the old, and the advantage of the change is that for a cumbrous and unintelligible title, identical neither with geographical meaning nor with sense, we have substituted a title acceptable, I believe, in the Province itself, and which I think fairly answers all the requirements of the case. I do not know whether my remarks will remove the objections of the Hon'ble Member, but I can assure him that I have good reason to believe that those objections are not popularly shared.

[The motion was then put and the Bill was passed.]

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1902-3.

26th Mar. 1902. [The discussion of the Financial Statement for 1902-3 took place at a full meeting of the Legislative Council at Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 26th March, 1902, all the members, with the exception of two or three, taking part in it. On the Hon'ble Sir Edward Law moving that the Statement be taken into consideration, His Excellency the President, dealing with a question of procedure regarding the speeches of Hon'ble Members, made the following observations:—]

Before the Hon'ble Mr. Turner commences his remarks, I should like to add a word of qualification and caution to something that I said with reference to this debate last week. When I invited Hon'ble Members to lay upon the table such portions of their speeches as they did not propose to deliver, I clearly did not mean to extend to them a liberty greater than that which they enjoy under the existing rules of debate. It would never do for an Hon'ble Member to take advantage of this permission, which was given in the interests of economy of time, in order to lay upon the Table

and to secure the privilege of print for a dissertation or essay upon some subject which would have been pronounced out of order had it been delivered in debate; otherwise it might be in the power of any Hon'ble Member to escape the ruling of the Chair by presenting his speech instead of delivering it. It seems desirable, therefore, that in future Hon'ble Members should forward to the Secretary of the Council, in advance, any such portion of their speeches as they may desire to bring under this permission, in order that he may place the speech, or the extract, before the President, and secure his ruling as to whether it is in order. On the present occasion, as Hon'ble Members have not had notice of this intention, I trust that, in laying upon the Table any portion of their speeches, they will not present anything that would be likely to have been disallowed from the Chair. In this annual debate on the Budget, it is true that a very wide latitude is commonly allowed; but even this latitude has its limits, and unless checked in the manner I have described it might easily be open to abuse.

[The discussion then proceeded, and, after some hours, was brought to a close by His Excellency the President, who addressed the Council as follows:—]

We have had a somewhat discursive discussion; and as people are, as a rule, discursive only when they are in a good temper, I hope I may conclude that the second Budget of my Hon'ble friend the Financial Member is one that in its broad outlines has caused general satisfaction. There are several features of it which deserve to produce that result. The conversion of a modest into a handsome surplus in 1901-2, even if we have been assisted by good fortune, is itself gratifying. But, even eliminating the accidental element from this expansion, and allowing for the caution with which my Hon'ble friend framed his estimates a year ago, there remains in the elasticity exhibited by our main heads of revenue, and in the steady growth of receipts from those sources which indicate purchasing power and prosperity,

sufficient cause for temperate congratulation. It is a great thing, for instance, to know that after years of adversity and unfavourable criticism, we have finally turned the corner as regards our railways, and that in addition to the innumerable benefits which they have brought to all classes in the country, they are now a steady recurring source of profit to the Indian tax-payer. During the three years since I took over my present office, more than 3,000 miles of railroad have been opened in India. Over 2,000 additional miles are under actual or impending construction, and we are gradually filling up the blank spaces in the map, and the more obvious gaps in the public needs. The increased receipts, not merely from the main imports, such as cotton, sugar, silver, and mineral oils, but from Post Office, income-tax, stamps, excise—those sources in fact which I agree with Sir E. Law in regarding as evidence of an improving margin of wealth and comfort in the country—point in the same direction. I know that it does not do to be too cheerful in Indian finance, partly because of the vicissitudes to which we are liable, and still more because anyone who dares to be cheerful is at once described as an optimist; and an optimist in respect of Indian financial or economic progress appears to be regarded in some quarters as a dangerous character. No one, I think, can charge me with having been an offender in that respect. But in the Budget speeches which I have delivered from this chair, and of which this is now the fourth, I can point with satisfaction to the fact that the hopeful forecasts in which I have from time to time indulged have in no case been falsified, while, when I said last year that India was already beginning to tread upon a brighter and happier pathway, I could not have wished for a more ample vindication of my remark than the Budget Statement which twelve months later has been laid upon this table.

However, when a Government finds itself in possession of large balances, the world is always more interested to

know what they are going to do with them than how they got them: and I turn accordingly to the manner in which we have decided to dispose of our surplus funds. There are three methods of dealing with a surplus other than hoarding it. The first is to reduce taxation, the second is to increase administrative expenditure, and the third is to give relief to suffering classes or interests. Do not let it be supposed that, before deciding to adopt the second and third, we did not most carefully and exhaustively consider the first. Every Government, every Viceroy, and every Finance Minister, must wish to reduce taxation, if they honestly and conscientiously can. We are not above those feelings; and, for my own part, if the conditions of our finance continue to improve, I entertain reasonable hopes of being able to recommend such a reduction before I leave this country. The Hon'ble Mr. Charlu said that he had never known a tax imposed in this country and afterwards taken off. He forgot that only an hour or two earlier he himself and all of us had voted for the abolition of the Pandhari-tax in the Central Provinces. But the questions which we had to ask ourselves on the present occasion were these. Are the burdens imposed upon the community by existing taxation so heavy as to stand in urgent need of mitigation? Is our position sufficiently assured to enable us to make what must be a permanent sacrifice of revenue, and to make it on a sufficient scale to relieve the people upon whom it presses with greatest weight? After a period of exceptional distress that has been confined to distinct parts of the country, is a reduction of taxation which is bound to be general, rather than partial, in its application, the best method of setting the sufferers upon their legs again? We could not truthfully answer these questions in the affirmative. Though we have had surpluses now for three years, we could not say with absolute confidence that we have entered upon an era of assured annual surpluses. There is still a good deal of distress, and of conditions bordering upon famine, in

other parts of India, and we all felt that we should like to see the outcome of the next monsoon. Again, we convinced ourselves upon enquiry that, even if we had run the risk and had reduced taxation, we should not have brought our charity home to those who most need it with the directness that we desired. A good deal of the sacrifice would have been spent upon classes and persons who, though they would have welcomed the relief, and though we might have been glad to give it, do not stand in real want. I do not share the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's views on our taxation. I do not believe that its total burden presses with cruelty upon the people. If the Hon'ble Member were to transfer his residence to any European country, I expect that he would very soon be back again here, with altered views about fiscal matters. In the case of taxes affecting the entire community, it is further certain that unless the reduction were on a very large scale indeed, the benefit would never reach the consumers at all. Sir E. Law, in his reply, has given the figures of what a substantial reduction of the Salt tax would mean. I wonder if half the speakers and writers who so glibly recommended it have worked out what it would cost, and have paused to consider whether we could, in the present year, have afforded such a sacrifice. It is a question of capacity much more than of inclination. When the sacrifice entailed is to be reckoned not in lakhs but in crores, the critics of Government can afford to be generous, because they have no responsibility; but Government, which is responsible, is bound to be circumspect.

We did not, however, come to our decision without consulting the heads of Local Administrations, and we found that, without an exception, they were in favour of relief in preference to reduction. The point upon which we laid the greatest stress was that relief, if given, should be given to the needy. Now the neediest among the needy in British India are, as no one will dispute, the cultivators who in Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the

Financial Statement for 1902-3.

Central Provinces, and the British district of Ajmer, have, during the past two years, been so grievously smitten by famine. We ascertained that the total arrears of Land Revenue already suspended in these areas, was just short of 2 crores, or a sum of £1,320,000. We therefore resolved to wipe off the whole of these arrears by a stroke of the pen. It would have taken three or four years to collect this sum, and a good deal of it, no doubt, would have never been collected at all. We thought it better, however, to remove all doubt upon the matter by writing off the entire debt, and by compensating the Local Governments for the portion of it that would, in ordinary circumstances, have fallen to their share. I have not yet heard of anybody, and there has been no one in this debate, who has seriously questioned the propriety of this decision. Looking to all that we have gone through, and may perhaps have to go through again, I am not going to claim this as a Prosperity Budget. But I do emphatically claim it as a Poor Man's Budget and a Peasant's Budget, and it has been a source of the greatest pleasure to my Colleagues and myself to be able to evince our sympathy with those classes in this practical form. I was glad to hear from the Hon'ble Mr. Bose, who is such a firm friend of their interests, that our gift has been received with deep gratitude.

Our second object was to set going again, at a becoming rate of speed, the administrative machine in the various provinces. Owing to the strain of the past few years, the stokers have everywhere been stinting their fuel in the furnaces and the engines have not been going at much more than half speed. Every branch of administration has suffered in consequence—education, police, public works, sanitation. This gradual deterioration is, in the long run, fatal to efficiency, for the machine itself gets rusty and unequal to its maximum capacity, while the engineers become indifferent and slack. Our first proceeding was, out of the large realised surplus of the past year, to assign 40 lakhs, or

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£266,000, as grants-in-aid to those provinces, *viz.*, Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab, where the suspension of work had been most marked and most serious. This was for non-recurring expenditure, intended to restore the provincial administrations to the normal level of capacity and outturn. Our next step was to provide the provinces in general with the materials for the fresh burst of activity which we desire to press upon them, by grants from our anticipated surplus of the ensuing financial year. With this object we have given them a further 90 lakhs, or £600,000. Of this, 40 lakhs are to be devoted to education. A good deal of this will clearly be non-recurring expenditure. But we entertain such strong views about the need of a greater outlay upon Education, and the measures which we already have in hand, or are about to undertake, for the expansion of every branch of educational effort in India, must require such a continuous expenditure, that the charge is not likely to be reduced in succeeding years. The remaining 50 lakhs we have given to Public Works and Sanitation, in both of which respects progress has been arrested in many quarters, and to making up the deficiencies in provincial establishments; of these 50 lakhs it is estimated that 30 will be recurring. I have been glad to hear from the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal so frank a testimony to the wisdom as well as the generosity of our policy in this respect. It is quite a new sensation for the Government of India to be applauded as the fond parent of a large family of devoted though impecunious children. I only hope that the experience will not be a short-lived one, and that the Local Governments in their gratitude for our bounty will not fail to exercise the greatest vigilance and economy in its distribution.

Finally, we decided not to wait for the Report of the Irrigation Commission, but to devote an additional sum of 25 lakhs to minor works, such as tanks and wells, over and beyond the grant for larger works, which has been kept

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since I have been in India, at the annual figure of one crore. My Hon'ble Colleague pointed out in his opening statement that if we add to these the sum given from the Famine Insurance Grant for unproductive works, we shall be spending upon irrigation in the following year a total capital outlay of 139 lakhs, or £927,000—a sufficient answer, I hope, to any who may hitherto have suspected the Indian Government of indifference to this most pressing need.

I have now explained and defended the financial policy which has found expression in this Budget; and I claim for it, that though alternative methods of spending our money might have been forthcoming, no means could have been devised better calculated to diffuse its benefits through every part of the country or to carry the sorely-needed relief more swiftly to the necessitous spots. I pass to a consideration of the general policy which has been pursued by the Government of India during the past twelve months, and of the degree of advance that has been made on the path that we have chalked out for ourselves.

A year ago I gave an indication in outline of the various projects that we have in view. I should like, if I have time while in India, to place upon the anvil every branch of Indian policy and administration, to test its efficiency and durability, and, if possible, do something for its improvement; always bearing in mind that there is no finality in India or anywhere else, and that the utmost that any one Government or Head of a Government can effect is to hand over the administrative machine to the next comer with all its parts intact and in good working order, capable of answering the fullest requirements that the conditions of the time are likely to impose. We have, I think, made substantial progress in several directions.

The new Frontier Province has been started upon its career, and I am very hopeful that it will tend to unity and continuity of policy in respect of the Frontier. That it will result in the quicker despatch of business is quite

certain, and has already been demonstrated in connection with recent events in Waziristan. We have fortunately had peace for three years in Chitral, Dir, the Khyber, the Samana, and the Kurram. The Chitral reliefs, which now take place in the autumn, have been conducted without the firing of a single shot. I am presently going up to Peshawar to inspect things myself, and to see the Frontier Khans and *jirgas* who will be summoned to meet me in Durbar. Our policy of substituting tribal militia for the regular troops in advanced positions on the Frontier is slowly but surely coming into operation. It is now more than two years since the British garrison was able to leave the Khyber. The Samana Rifles are about to be entrusted with some of the Samana posts. The Military are on the eve of being withdrawn from the Kurram, where the Kurram Rifles have reached a high standard of efficiency. The Khushalgarh-Kohat Railway has already entered Kohat, and the line is being pushed on towards Thal. The Kohat Pass Road has been opened, and is in constant use. On this section of the Frontier we may certainly point to good work done, peace so far unbroken, and greater security obtained.

We have observed with pleasure that the death of that remarkable man, the late Amir of Afghanistan, during the last year, has been followed by the tranquil succession of his son, the Amir Habibulla, without any of those disturbances which had for long been predicted. The latest news from Kabul does not mention any uneasiness, and we earnestly trust that the present ruler may consolidate his position and continue on a larger scale the reforms which had been initiated by his father. The most friendly relations prevail between the British Government and His Highness; and our hope is that the alliance between the two Governments may become even firmer and more intimate as time passes on. Where the interests of two parties are identical, there exists a natural bond of union.

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Further down the Frontier we have been involved throughout the past year in a blockade of the Mahsud Waziris. This turbulent tribe—one of the most unruly of the Pathan clans—had carried their raids and offences upon British territory and British protected subjects to a point at which the arrears of fines had reached a formidable sum. We offered them the opportunity of clearing off this debt, and of starting afresh under a system of tribal subsidies, paid to the tribe, and distributed among themselves. They declined these terms, and a blockade was imposed and maintained with as much strictness and severity as were possible along a cordon many hundreds of miles in length, through a country of immense physical difficulty. I observe that the policy of a blockade arouses almost as conflicting emotions in the bosoms of frontier critics as used to do, for instance, the Frontier policies of Lord Lawrence and Lord Lytton. Those who prefer the drastic methods of an expedition denounce a blockade, and do their best to prove that it is either a failure or a sham. Those who, from the experience of past expeditions, with their shocking disproportion of cost to result, distrust that method of procedure, as strongly favour a blockade. For my own part, I regard the two as alternative methods of coercing a hostile or rebellious tribe, and the distinction between them as one of policy rather than of ethics. Of the two I would certainly prefer to try the blockade first, both because it is so far less costly, and because it is attended by so much less loss of life and acute suffering. But when, in the course of a blockade, the enemy persist in making a series of savage attacks upon our outposts and convoys and men, cutting up frequent parties and becoming possessed of a large number of long-range rifles, then I am not going to sit idle and allow these acts to be pursued with impunity. Therefore it was that towards the close of last year we decided, while still maintaining the blockade intact, to initiate a series of retaliatory sallies or reprisals upon those

who had provoked them. These reprisals were conducted with great gallantry and endurance by the soldiers, who were pushed forward from the cordon line. At no time were more than 5,500 men engaged in active operations, being split up into smaller columns, which scoured the valleys of the tribesmen, inflicting what damage they could, and conclusively proving the vulnerability of even the heart of the Mahsud country. These proceedings soon brought the tribe to their knees. The balance of the fine was paid up, the captured rifles were surrendered, security was given for the restitution of flocks and herds seized by the Mahsuds during the blockade, and for the expulsion of outlaws from the country; the principle of tribal responsibility for future offences has been explicitly accepted; and on these conditions the blockade has been finally raised, and a state of peace has been resumed. I said something just now about the relative cost of an expedition of the old-fashioned sort and a blockade. When I add that the former seldom costs less than a lakh a day, and when you see that my Hon'ble Military Colleague has entered in this Budget an estimate for our Mahsud proceedings of less than 16 lakhs, the bulk of which will have been incurred by the military movements at the end, I think it will be admitted that we chose the more economical course. If there be any one who argues that this is a large price to pay for the recovery of a fine originally fixed at one lakh of rupees, I would remind him that the tribe have lost very much more than the fine. They have lost in the forfeited allowances of 15 months a sum of 1½ lakhs, in the value of rifles surrendered by them ¼ lakh, in the value of property destroyed and live-stock captured by our troops 2½ lakhs: so that the total loss to the tribe, the fine included, has been in excess of 5 lakhs. If, therefore, the Government of India has disbursed a net sum of 10 lakhs, or even more, is that, I ask, a small price to pay for the restoration of peace along the most difficult and troubled section of our border? Whether the peace

will be lasting or not, I will not presume to foretell. The Waziristan problem is not of my creation, and I can but handle it to the best of my ability, and endeavour to evolve order and tranquillity out of one of the most complex and troublesome situations that even the North-Western Frontier has ever presented to the Government of India. I want nothing better than to live at peace with these people and, as far as possible, to leave them alone. But if they reject these overtures and persist in a policy of outrage and rapine and disorder, then I shall hit back and hit hard. While these events have been going on, the policy of the Frontier Militia in Waziristan has necessarily been somewhat in the air, though the South Waziri Militia, which included a good many Mahsuds who stood firm to us even through the conflict with their countrymen, covered themselves on more than one occasion with considerable credit. Now that peace is restored, the Militia will have a better chance, and it is notable that one of the principal demands put forward by the defeated clansmen at the recent *jirga* was that larger opportunities might be afforded to them of enlisting in the British service in future.

To resume my former narrative of political and administrative progress during the past year. In the interval, the Imperial Cadet Corps, which is a dear child of mine, has started into being. We have without difficulty selected over 20 young men from the princely and aristocratic families of all India, drawing them from districts as far apart as Hyderabad, Vizianagram, the Frontier, Rajputana, and Kathiawar. The Corps includes 4 Ruling Chiefs, who have come to us at their own wish. The discipline and training provided are in the main military, and the standard of living enforced is simple and strict. I am hopeful that in this institution we shall have found a means of providing honourable employment for selected scions of the Indian aristocracy, and of training the pick of their number so as to qualify for future military rank and service.

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Sir E. Elles in his Memorandum has given an account of the steady advance that is being made in the work of rendering our Indian Army, both European and Native, a more efficient machine. There are some who contend that its numbers are too small for the gigantic task with which they might one day be confronted. There are others who argue, like our Hon'ble Military critic from Madras, that they are more than sufficient for everyday needs. Both parties will admit the cardinal importance of making the existing army as fit for its task as the application of the latest results, whether of military invention or of experience in the field, render possible; and the present Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member have addressed themselves to this object with a business-like energy that finds its reflection in many notable reforms already achieved or in course of execution. The re-armament, both of infantry and cavalry, and of our batteries of artillery, which is being pursued with as much rapidity as the supply of weapons admits of, the reorganisation of the Madras Army by a bold infusion of the fighting blood of more northern races, the creation of a transport system with an existence other than on paper, the construction of light frontier railways, the endeavour to render India self-providing in respect of armaments and ammunition, large measures of administrative decentralisation, the reform of our horse-breeding establishments, the ventilation and lighting of our barracks by electricity, the settlement of the Cantonments difficulty by the legislation which has passed this Council; and, above all, the addition of a large number of officers to the Indian Staff Corps—for there can be no doubt that for a long time our regiments have been sadly under-officered, and that it has been found well nigh impossible to reconcile the standards of regimental efficiency with the numerous calls that are made upon the officers for service on the frontier, for non-military service in fighting famine and plague, and for service in other parts of the Empire (where

the authorities seem to fancy the Indian officer more than they do any one else)—all these plans and projects I say, which have taken, or are taking, shape, mark a policy of sustained and steadfast advance. That we have been assisted in carrying them out by the handsome savings that have accrued to us from the absence of our troops at the Imperial expense in South Africa and China is well known. But we have also had our set-back in the extra charge that seems likely to be imposed upon us in connection with the proposals of His Majesty's Government to raise the scale of pay of the British soldier. We had not anticipated, and we can hardly be expected to welcome, this charge, and we have placed our views upon it before His Majesty's Government.

I am happy to be able to record the fact that we have in the past year secured that reduction in the telegraphic rates between Europe and India for which I undertook to press three years ago. It is not as large a reduction as I should personally have liked or as will one day come. But we have secured a conditional promise of a further reduction from *2s. 6d.* to *2s.* a word, if the returns from traffic are found to justify it. I should like also to find time to consider the question raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Turner of telegraphic charges within this country, which seem to me to admit of some reform.

It is gratifying to find that the policy which we initiated here three years ago of combating by such means as lay in our power the inequitable system of sugar bounties, has not been without its effect upon public opinion elsewhere. I do not doubt that it has played its part in contributing towards the practical abolition of those bounties, which has been the result of the recent Brussels Conference, and which is one among many evidences of the shrewd and tactful diplomacy of Lord Lansdowne. The Convention has not yet been ratified by the Legislatures of Foreign Powers, and until it comes into operation, we must continue our precautions

here. We must also be on our guard that the real objects of the agreement are not evaded by indirect bounties in one or other of many forms.

Passing to the sphere of internal administration, there are many respects in which we can claim that distinct progress has been made. The singularly able report of Sir Antony MacDonnell and his Colleagues upon the Famine Commission of last year, has enabled us to frame definite rules upon many disputed points of famine policy and procedure; and we are, I hope, in process of evolving a Famine Code of general acceptance, which will guide our officers in future struggles.

In the course of last summer we completed a most careful and searching survey of the whole of our Land Revenue policy, and we endeavoured, in answer to our critics, to furnish to the world no mere departmental defence of our methods and objects, but a serious and conscientious examination of the subject of assessments in relation to the various parts of India, and to define the lines of broad and generous treatment in the future. Our pronouncement was not an academic treatise, meant to be read, or perhaps skipped, and then forgotten. We intend it to be a rule of guidance to the Local Administrations; and on points where doubt exists, or where the local practice does not appear to be in accordance with the principles laid down, we have addressed them with a view to ensuring conformity in the future. I am grateful for the reception that this document has met with from the public, which has more than repaid me for the months of labour that were devoted to the task. I hope that it has removed some misconceptions, and dissipated some doubts.

I have already mentioned the large grants that we are making in the forthcoming year to Education. These are the prelude to a policy of educational reform that was inaugurated with the deliberations of the Simla Conference last year, that is now being further investigated in respect

of University education—a most important branch of the subject—by the Commission that is sitting under the Presidency of the Legal Member, and that will not stop until it has embraced every branch of educational activity—secondary, primary, technical, industrial, and commercial. In all these respects money has been grudged in the past, and effort has been wasted or diffused, in the main from want of a definite plan. I conceive that a ruler could not bequeath to India a better legacy than the introduction of system, shape, and consistency into that which has hitherto been somewhat formless and void. Upon every one of the particulars that I have named, the Local Governments have been addressed: their opinions have been invited as to possitive suggestions and definite needs; and before another year has passed, I hope that we may appear before the Indian public with a concrete policy that will communicate to education in its various branches an impetus that will not quickly faint or fade away. A Director-General of Education has arrived from England to act as adviser to the Government of India, and to assure that continuous interest in the matter at head-quarters which has sometimes been lacking. There is only one consideration that I would ask the public to bear steadily in mind. Education, if it is to be reformed, must be reformed for education's sake, not for the sake of political interests, or racial interests, or class interests, or personal interests. If that golden rule be borne in mind, both by the Government and the public, we shall get through. If it be forgotten, then the most strenuous of efforts may be choked with disappointment, or may perish in recriminations.

Throughout the past cold weather, the most momentous of our recent Commissions has been taking evidence in different parts of India upon the question of future extensions of Irrigation in this country. The figures that I have previously quoted will have reflected the general sympathy with which the Government of India regard a policy of

unhesitating, even if it be sometimes experimental, advance in this direction. So vast is the field, so complex the subject, so enormously important may be the results, that a second cold weather will be required before the Commission has completed its labours. I warn the country that its report will mean the expenditure of money, perhaps of much money, in the future; and I invite those gentlemen who are so keen upon extensive reductions of taxation, and who are probably also among the foremost champions of a generous policy of irrigation, to pause a little, and think whether there is perfect consistency in their attitude. I say boldly that my policy in India involves the spending, though not, I hope, the waste, of money. You cannot have reforms, and not pay for them. I shall hope to leave administration in India more efficient than I found it. But I shall assuredly not do so unless I add, I do not say to the relative, but to the aggregate expense.

There are several questions which we have upon the stocks, and which we hope to carry forward during the ensuing year. There is the institution of Agricultural Banks, or Mutual Credit Societies, which has been alluded to by Sir E. Law. I am far from predicting confidently that this experiment will be suited to the conditions of Indian life. But at least let us try, and if we do not attain success, let it not be from failure to deserve it. Sir E. Law and I are very anxious to see a large development of steel and iron making industries in this country. India, with its great resources, ought to be far more self-sufficing than she is. One day, when we are gone, this will be a great industrial and manufacturing country, and we may be proud of having added our humble pebble to the cairn of her future prosperity. There is another respect in which we are desirous to bring our administrative mechanism more up to the level of modern requirements. This is by the institution of a Commercial Bureau, or Department of Government, which will take special charge of trade, customs, and

the like, and will both advise Government, and act as the intermediary between it and the mercantile public. In another direction I hope to communicate a definite stimulus, and to breathe fresh life into the dwindling and sometimes perishing art industries of India, by holding an Exhibition in connection with the Coronation Durbar at Delhi in January next. I should be very sorry if that great function, even though it be one of official ceremony and national rejoicing, were mainly limited to pageantry and pleasure. I should like it to be of permanent service to the people; and it occurred to me that a better way of securing that end could not be contrived than to assemble there a collection of all the best that the Indian artificer or handicraftsman is capable of producing, so as both to appeal to the taste of the immense audience that will be gathered together, and to encourage and revive the industries themselves.

Lastly, there is another subject that we are about to take in hand. I spoke last year of Police Reform as one of the most urgent needs of Indian administration. The matter has not been lost sight of since, and we have recently sent home proposals to the Secretary of State for the constitution of a Commission, to concentrate into final shape and conclude the independent enquiries that we have been making, but that are at present somewhat lacking in consistency and unity, because of the very varying aspect of the problem in the different provinces. This will, I hope, be the last big Commission for the appointment of which I shall be responsible, but the work that lies before it, and that touches every home, and almost every individual in every home, in the country will not be the least in importance. I agree with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that, in some respects, it will be the first.

Now I can quite believe that there will be some persons who will say that the present administration is earning a strange and abnormal repute, as one of Commissions, Committees, and enquiries. The charge is quite true. I do

not for one moment dispute it. We have had a Famine Commission, and a Horse-breeding Commission. We have got now at work an Irrigation Commission and a Universities Commission. We have a very alert and capable Special Commissioner who is examining into our Railways; and I started nearly three years ago the plan of a Travelling Railway Commission, that has already visited and conducted local enquiries in several parts of India. I have myself presided over Conferences to enquire into the question of Education at large, and into the teaching and system of the Chiefs' Colleges. We have had Committees to report upon Agricultural Banks, upon military decentralisation, upon Commissariat frauds, upon the starting of technical and industrial schools, and upon other and less important matters. And now there is the proposal of a Police Commission which I have just launched. What, it may be said, is the use of all these investigations? Are you not tending to obscure the issue, and to delay action? The answer to these questions is, in my opinion, very simple. The object of all these enquiries is in every case the same, *viz.*, to arrive at the truth. The truth ought, I suppose, theoretically to be lying about, like an exquisite shell on the sea shore, open to the eyes of men. But in practice it is apt to be overlaid by all manner of sea-weed and sand and slime, and it has to be dug out and extricated from its covering or its surroundings. If I have undertaken the policy of reform of which I have been speaking, I positively decline to accept the responsibility until we know where we are, what are the exact features of the problem that we have to deal with, and what, on the whole, is the best that it is open to us to do. A reform in India is a change applied not to a town, or a district, or a province, or a country, but to a continent. Conceive anyone proposing a new plan or a new policy for the whole of Europe—if such a thing were practicable—and doing it without the fullest enquiry in advance—enquiry both to ascertain the dimensions and

necessities of the case, and to let the various experts and authorities have their say. There is no country in which this is more essential than India, where there is always a danger that the executive authority may be out of touch with a constituency so scattered and so huge, and where, therefore, I am always insisting upon the necessity of building bridges between the Government and the people. I do not say that every Commission or Committee is everywhere invariably appointed with the objects that I have described. I have known the opposite. They may be said indeed to fall into two categories, Commissions to shelve, and Commissions to solve. If anyone thinks that any of the Indian enquiries to which I have alluded have belonged to the former class, he is greatly mistaken; and if any sleeping partner in the abuses or errors which we desire to correct is hugging to himself the illusion that these Commissions will pass by like a gust of wind, and leave no trace but a report behind, he will suffer a rude awakening. I am a disciple of the wise man who said that words are women, but deeds are men: and though I am far from anticipating that any of our investigators will show the slightest lack of virility in their reports—the Famine Commission certainly did not—yet it is to the action taken upon their reports, rather than to the reports themselves, that the final weight is to be attached. Perhaps I may also add that if anyone is disposed to think that the constitution of an Indian Commission, and its process from the cradle to the grave, are light and perfunctory operations, that can be airily undertaken by one who is either a dilettante or is inclined to be a shirk, he displays an extreme ignorance of the subject. There is the reference to be drawn up, involving long and anxious study, the Secretary of State to be consulted, the consent of his Council obtained, the members to be selected by a careful balance of the interests and merits, not merely of individuals, but of provinces, races, and even of creeds. Very often there is prolonged correspondence with Local

Governments. Then, when the work is started, references and intermediate reports are continually coming in, which the head of the Government is compelled to study. Later on there is the Report itself, which condenses the labours perhaps of a twelve month, and the intellectual precipitation of a multitude of minds. Then comes the detailed examination of the Report, the discussion of the extent to which it can or should be acted upon, further consultation with the Home Government, and perhaps with Local Governments and, finally, the orders of Government in a succinct form. I can assure Hon'ble Members that it needs, not indifference, but no small spirit, to start and to see through an Indian Commission from beginning to end, and I would earnestly recommend any Viceroy who desires to have a quiet and easy time to eschew my perilous example.

Before I close this long but not, I hope, unjustified speech, there is one subject to which I should like to make brief allusion. I daresay that Hon'ble Members are familiar with the view, to which I have often given public expression, of the part that is played by India in the Imperial system. I am myself by instinct, and by conviction, an Imperialist, and I regard the British Empire not merely as a source of honourable pride to Englishmen, but as a blessing to the world. In the picture of what the Empire is, and what it is capable of doing, India has always, in my eyes, assumed a predominant place. Her geographical position, her resources, and the part that she has played in history, are sufficient to explain this importance. But I often wonder if the outside public has any conception of the extent to which it is illustrated in the politics of the hour, or of the contributions that have been made by this great dependency to the cohesion and defence of the empire. I should like to give to this Council a few illustrations of my meaning, derived from the experiences of the past two years.

It is, I think, generally known that it was by the loan and prompt despatch of British troops from India that Natal

was saved from being overrun by the Boers at the beginning of the South African Campaign. It was the holding of Ladysmith that prevented them from sweeping down to the sea. That service has been publicly acknowledged by the Commander-in-Chief in England, and by the Secretary of State for War. It is also known that it was an Indian General commanding Native troops from India that relieved the Legations at Peking; and further that, in the absence of our European troops elsewhere, it has been by Native regiments that our garrisons in China have since been supplied. But the extent or value of our contribution in either case is perhaps imperfectly understood. Since the beginning of the war in South Africa, we have sent from India 13,200 British officers and men to that country, of whom 10,000 are still absent. Over 9,000 Natives, principally followers, have gone with them, of whom 5,600 are still away. To China we sent 1,300 British officers and men, nearly 20,000 Native troops, and 17,500 Native followers, of whom 10,000 Native soldiers and 3,500 followers are still away. I venture to say that these are very large and handsome contributions.

Then I would like to mention another respect in which we have been of service. This has been in the provision of ammunition, stores, and supplies. In these two wars we have sent out from India 21 million rounds of ammunition, and 114,000 projectiles and shells, 11,000 tents, 11,000 sets of saddlery, 315,000 helmets, 169,000 blankets, 290,000 pairs of boots, 42,000 tons of fodder and rations, and 940,000 garments of various descriptions. These articles have not been required either wholly or mainly for the Indian forces. They have been ordered for all the troops in the field. The whole of them have been manufactured in this country, and the benefit has not, of course, been altogether one-sided, since their manufacture has given employment and wages to thousands of Indian artisans. During the same period we have sent out 11,600 horses, 6,700 mules and ponies,

and 2,700 bullocks. We have also despatched small bodies of men to take part in minor campaigns that have been waged in Somaliland, Jubaland, and other parts of Africa; and we have undertaken to raise, for the Colonial Office, five Native regiments for service in the Asiatic Colonies or possessions of Great Britain.

But our services do not stop short at the loan of military resources and men. India is becoming a valuable nursery of public servants in every branch of administration, upon whom foreign Governments as well as the British Empire show an increasing inclination to indent. We have over a dozen officers from India in the service of Siam. We have Medical officers serving in Persia, Abyssinia, East Africa, and the Straits Settlements. We have Engineers in Egypt, Nigeria, Uganda, and China. We have postal and telegraphic officers at the sources of the Nile, on the Zambesi, and at the Cape. Scarcely a week passes but I do not receive a request for the loan or gift of the services of some officer with an Indian training. This is a tribute to our system, and a striking vindication of its value.

Now, when the Empire calls upon us to make these contributions or loans, I do not pretend that on our side of the ledger is to be written only loss. Very far from it. The entire expenses of the troops while they are out of India are, of course, borne by the Imperial Government, and everything ordered from us is paid for by them. Nay more, the absence of these large bodies of men in South Africa and China for so long a period of time has resulted in the present case in very great savings to ourselves, owing to the relief of all financial responsibility for the absent units. These savings have amounted to a sum of 3¼ crores, or £2,180,000, and without them we should not have been able to embark upon the policy of military reorganisation that I have before sketched.

We, therefore, have profited as well as the Empire, although our profit has been pecuniary, while hers has been

moral and material. Our gain has been due to the accident of the prolonged absence of our troops. But our contribution was made independently of any thought or prospect of gain, and was a service to the Empire. By reducing our garrisons, we were content to run a certain risk—for who knows what may happen on an Asiatic frontier—but we did it in the interests of the Empire, with whose stability our own is bound up. During the past three years it has been the constant duty of the Government of India to balance the Imperial and the Indian aspects of our obligations: and if we have been helpful to the Empire without detriment to the true interests of this country, then I am sure that there is no one who will not be willing to endorse and even to share our responsibility. We do not go upon our knees and supplicate for favours in return. But we beg that the part played by India in the Imperial system, and the services rendered by us in time of trouble, may not be forgotten by the British nation, and that they may find in it, when the occasion arises, good grounds for reciprocal generosity and help.

BANQUET AT HYDERABAD.

[Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon, accompanied by the members of their personal Staff, and Mr. H. S. Barnes, Foreign Secretary, arrived at Hyderabad at 9 A.M., on Saturday, 29th March. His Highness the Nizam, with the principal nobles of the State, and Colonel Barr, Resident of Hyderabad, and his Staff, received Their Excellencies at the Railway Station and accompanied them to the Residency. On Monday evening, the 31st March, the Nizam entertained Their Excellencies and 200 guests at a banquet at the Chow Mahala Palace, which was brilliantly illuminated. After dinner the Nizam, having proposed the health of the King-Emperor, again rose and spoke as follows:— 31st Mar. 1902.

"*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—It is with very great pleasure that I welcome Your Excellencies to my country and to my Capital. I have sought this pleasure ever since I visited Calcutta. My reception there was too kind and warm to be forgotten; and I

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naturally desired to return Your Excellencies' hospitality, and to renew your personal acquaintance here. My present happiness is none the less keen because it has not come sooner. (*Cheers.*)

"Ladies and Gentlemen, the toast I am going to propose does not require many words to recommend it to you. It is not for me to speak of Lord Curzon's versatile genius, broad sympathies, and energetic statesmanship. All the world knows and admires those qualities in His Excellency. (*Cheers.*) I would only take this opportunity to thank His Lordship for the deep interest he has always shown in the welfare of my State and myself. My sincere acknowledgments are due to His Lordship for the exceedingly kind advice and assistance he has extended to me, from time to time, both directly and through my friend, Colonel Barr. (*Cheers.*)

"I am sure all India feels grateful to Her Excellency Lady Curzon, whose activity in the sphere of charity and beneficence has been equal only to that of His Lordship in the sphere of politics and good Government. (*Cheers.*) I must especially thank Her Ladyship, for she has been so kind as to brave the heat of the season in order to spend a few days in my dominions. (*Cheers.*) I sincerely trust that Their Excellencies will carry away with them some pleasant recollections of their stay in my country.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I have now the great pleasure to propose to you the health of my distinguished guest Lord Curzon, and to couple with it the name of Lady Curzon."

The toast was very heartily received.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in replying to the toast, said:—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On the various occasions, of which this is I believe the fifth, on which His Highness has entertained a Viceroy of India in his capital, he has proposed the health of his guests in language of felicitous brevity. They have not always succeeded in being equally succinct in their replies, and I shall probably find myself erring in their company this evening. There are so many things that one would like to say, upon an occasion like the present, before such a gathering, and in the presence of such a host. (*Cheers.*) Nevertheless, I shall hope to place no great strain upon the attention of this large company whom His Highness has invited here to meet Lady Curzon and myself, and who have so cordially welcomed the toast that he has proposed. (*Cheers.*)

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I have mentioned that I am the fifth successive Viceroy to visit Hyderabad. In one respect I can claim an advantage which none of my predecessors has enjoyed, namely, in having previously made the acquaintance and had the honour of entertaining His Highness before coming here. (*Cheers.*) His Highness in his speech has alluded in complimentary terms to the visit that he paid to Calcutta as my guest more than two years ago: and I can assure him that the friendly recollections which he entertains of our meeting and our conversations on that occasion are fully reciprocated by myself. (*Cheers.*) I regarded his visit not merely as enabling me to testify to the unbroken continuance of the historic and hereditary friendship between the Government of India and the Hyderabad State (*cheers*), a friendship which rests upon identity of every practical interest, as well as upon ancient companionship in arms (*cheers*); but also as affording me an opportunity of making the acquaintance of His Highness, and of qualifying for inclusion among his personal friends. (*Cheers.*) This hope His Highness, upon that occasion and ever since, has allowed me to gratify in the fullest measure. I can truthfully say that I have never been brought into contact with His Highness without finding him ready to consider with the utmost courtesy and frankness any matter that might be under discussion (*cheers*), and to accept the advice that was proffered to him in the interests of his State and its administration. (*Cheers.*) I have further been struck by two things in the course of my relations with His Highness, which I hope that he will pardon me for mentioning in his presence. The first is his earnest desire to do that which is for the real benefit of his State and his people (*cheers*), independently of what interested or suspicious persons may think or say. (*Cheers.*) The second is the scrupulous fidelity with which His Highness discharges his obligations. If he says to me that he will do a thing, I know for certain that he will carry it through. (*Cheers.*) If

he enters into an engagement, that engagement is strictly observed. (*Cheers.*)

These experiences have led me to the conclusion that His Highness, by his character and his intelligence, has it in his power to render great service to his State. (*Cheers.*) The more he personally concerns himself in its administration, the better I am sure will it be for the State and for its inhabitants. (*Cheers.*) In Hyderabad, as elsewhere, there is often need for a watchful eye at the top. His Highness enjoys great authority and great prestige (*cheers*): and I pray him to be sparing of neither in the exercise of his responsibilities. Both are instruments which are capable of being turned to great advantage among the millions of people over whom he rules. (*Cheers.*) Hyderabad has in recent years suffered from the financial embarrassment which, under the strain of famine and other burdens, has befallen many Native States. Its finances will require very careful handling for a long time to come. The pruning knife is wanted in a good many quarters: debts have to be paid off: existing sources of revenue require to be husbanded: fresh sources require to be developed. His Highness has assured me of his intention to give the fullest measure of support to those who have been entrusted with this responsible task, and I wish them all success in their efforts. (*Cheers.*)

I have observed with pleasure the progress that is being made in the education of His Highness's son. (*Cheers.*) We all of us trust that the young Sahibzadah may fulfil the highest hopes that a father's ambition can frame for him, and that one day in the far distant future he may prove himself a not unworthy successor. (*Cheers.*)

His Highness has been good enough to include in his toast the name of Lady Curzon, and to allude in agreeable words to the charitable work in which she takes so deep an interest. It is one of the privileges attending the position of a Viceroy's wife that she has opportunities in connection

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with the Dufferin Fund and other organisations of doing something for the poor and suffering of her own sex in India. (*Cheers.*) That that privilege is greatly valued by her I know. That it is conscientiously discharged is, I think, equally well known to others. (*Cheers.*)

In conclusion, it is gratifying to me to think that the custody of the friendly relations prevailing between the Government of India and His Highness is in the accomplished hands of the present Resident, Colonel Barr. (*Loud cheers.*) Since I sent him here, he has done much to justify my confidence and to win that of His Highness. Neither of us could, I am sure, desire a more capable intermediary. (*Cheers.*)

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have to ask you to drink to the health of our illustrious host. Though it is 33 years since he succeeded, and 18 years since he was installed, he is still a young man, and has a long career of public opportunity and distinction before him. (*Cheers.*) May he never be less of a friend to the British Government than he is now, and may he live to be counted among the benefactors of his people.

I give you the health of His Highness the Nizam.

[The toast was very warmly received.]

UNVEILING THE MUTINY TELEGRAPH MEMORIAL, DELHI.

19th April 1902. [On Saturday morning, the 19th April, His Excellency the Viceroy, who was accompanied by Lady Curzon and his personal Staff, arrived at Delhi and unveiled the Mutiny Memorial erected to commemorate the services of the Delhi Telegraph Office Staff on the 11th May, 1857. His Excellency also formally presented the medal of the Victorian Order to William Brendish, the sole survivor of the Delhi Signallers, on duty that day. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the Director General of Telegraphs, the Commissioner of Delhi, the General Commanding the District, the Maharaja of Jaipur, and a large assembly of officials, non-officials, and ladies were present. A Guard of Honour of Telegraph Volunteers, and another of British Infantry, were drawn up near the Memorial. The Secretary of the Memorial Committee (Mr. Lees, of the Telegraph Department) gave a brief account of the episode about to be commemorated, and invited His Excellency to unveil the Monument.

The Viceroy then rose and spoke as follows :—]

Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are met here to-day to commemorate an incident that happened nearly half a century ago, before a good many of those whom I am addressing—and I am in the same position myself—were born. In a sense, indeed, we are repairing the omissions of our predecessors. For who can doubt that the telegraph signallers of Delhi, on that famous day of tragedy, May 11th, 1857, performed an act that was worthy of perpetuation, and that ought to be perpetuated, as is now tardily being done ? One of them, young Todd, was killed early in the morning by the Mutineers, while endeavouring to re-establish telegraphic communication with Meerut, from which direction the revolted troops were advancing. The second, Pilkington, died about 10 years later. But the third, Brendish, who sent off the historic message to Umballa that has been so often quoted, describing the arrival of the Mutineers and the events in Delhi, is still amongst us. (*Applause.*) He is here to-day to see this memorial erected to his bravery and to that of his comrades,

Unveiling the Mutiny Telegraph Memorial, Delhi.

and it must be a proud event to him to look back through the long vista of years, and in advanced life to see this public recognition of deeds in which he bore a share when a boy, and to be made the recipient of a special honour at the hands of his Sovereign. I shall have a word more to add on that point later on.

But I should like to say something else before I leave the general question. I was delighted when Mr. Pitman, then Director General of Telegraphs, consulted me during my first year in India as to the propriety of erecting this memorial. I enthusiastically supported the idea, because I hold that the brave and noble deeds of men ought to be publicly commemorated in honour to themselves and as an example to others. I do not mean that, should the situation recur—which God forbid—other men would be drawn to do similar deeds by the recollection that their forerunners had been honoured for doing the like before. For these heroic acts are not deliberately performed. They are done on the spur of the moment, without forethought, by those who are by instinct patriotic and courageous. But I do say that, whatever in life or in history lifts humanity above the ordinary level, and makes us forget the petty and the squalid, of which there is unfortunately so much in our midst, whatever shows human character in its higher aspect, namely, as resourceful, unselfish, and daring—that that is worthy of being held up to praise for the sake of posterity: and that its public commemoration cannot fail to leave its mark upon the minds of future generations. (*Applause.*) The bad and low in humanity is sufficiently prominent while it exists. Let us then bury it and put it out of sight. But the honourable and glorious—this let us seize hold of and identify, and let it live for ever. (*Applause.*)

My second reflection is this. I have heard it argued by some that incidents like the Black Hole of Calcutta, the Cawnpore massacre, the defence of the Residency at Lucknow, the fighting and siege of Delhi, in which the

Unveiling the Mutiny Telegraph Memorial, Delhi.

British and the Native races of India have been in conflict, ought not to be commemorated, but ought, so to speak, to be slurred over and wrapped up in oblivion. Indeed, one ingenious gentleman wrote a long work to prove that the Black Hole incident at Calcutta had never taken place, because some people who were not there had in their writings not said anything about it. I hold precisely the opposite view about all these cases. Tragedies, and horrors, and disasters, do occur in the history of men, and it is useless to pretend that they do not. In the history of India they have not been wanting: and, as in the case of the Mutiny, there have been instances where the racial element was introduced, and where there were deeds of blackness and shame. But that is no reason for ignoring them. Pass over them the sponge of forgiveness: blot them out with the finger of mercy and of reconciliation. But do not pretend that they did not take place, and do not, for the sake of a false and mawkish sentiment, forfeit your chance of honouring that which is worthy of honour. All these events are wayside marks in the onward stride of time. God Almighty placed them there; and if some of the stepping stones over which the English and the Indian people in this country have marched to a better understanding, and a truer union, have been slippery with human blood, do not ignore or cast them away. Rather let us wipe them clear of their stains, and preserve them intact for the teaching of those that come after. (*Applause.*)

I think that this view becomes even more important and true when we remember that, in many of these cases, it was not the white men on one side and the Indians on the other. In the Mutiny, as is well known, there was no such general division. In the Telegraph Department, as elsewhere, there were many of the Native clerks who stood loyally to their service and their masters in those terrible days. When I was in Lucknow I was delighted to see the memorial which Lord Northbrook, when Viceroy, had set

Unveiling the Mutiny Telegraph Memorial, Delhi.

up there to the Native troops who perished in the defence of the Residency. They merited equal honour with the white men who fell. Similarly, in the present case, I learn that among the subscribers to this memorial have been more than 300 Natives of India, at present connected with the Telegraph Department. This shows that their views are identical with those which I have expressed: and that they are as proud of the deeds of the Delhi European Telegraphic Staff of May, 1857, as any Europeans can be. Should the occasion ever arise, I doubt not that many of them, at the risk of life, would be ready to follow the same example. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have only two further observations to make. Though this obelisk commemorates in particular the services of the Delhi signallers, Pilkington, and Brendish, and the Assistant Todd, it also records the names of more than a dozen other members of the Telegraph Department who perished in the discharge of their duty in other parts of Northern India during the Mutiny. It was a mysterious dispensation of Providence that had allowed for the practical completion of a chain of electric telegraph throughout Northern India just before the Mutiny broke out. Where we should have been without it who can tell? The wires were constantly cut: and many brave officers were killed. But many others stuck to their posts unceasingly and unflinchingly; the work was every whit as important, and not less risky, than that of the military; and in the defeat of the rebels, and in the re-establishment of British power, the Indian Telegraph Department will always have the pride of remembering that it bore no mean or inconspicuous part. (*Applause.*)

Finally, it gives me great pleasure, as the representative of our illustrious Sovereign, to pin this medal of the Victorian Order on to the breast of William Brendish, the survivor of those immortal days. (*Applause.*) I felt that in his Coronation year His Majesty would like to honour this old

and faithful servant who had helped to save the British Empire in India nearly half a century gone by: and accordingly I wrote to His Majesty and placed before him the facts of the case. He sent me this medal in reply, and asked me to confer it, with an expression of his gracious interest and esteem, upon the retired veteran who earned fame as a young lad in those imperishable scenes that were enacted within a few hundred yards of this very spot 45 years ago. I now gladly comply with His Majesty's behest as regards Brendish, and I also proceed to unveil this Monument. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE PESHAWAR MUNICIPALITY.

25th April 1902. [Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon and Staff arrived at Peshawar on the 24th April, 1902, and, on the following day, drove through the city in the forenoon, the Viceroy being presented with an address of welcome by the Municipal Commissioners at the Gorkhatri in the presence of the chief Civil and Military officials and the leading Native officials. Captain Waterfield, the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, read the address, to which His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—It is true, as you point out, that I cannot pretend to any sensation of novelty in arriving at Peshawar. But I think that no one—be he a traveller eager to see the marches of the Empire, or a Viceroy coming to observe the progress of local administration, or to inspect Frontier defences, or to address the Frontier tribesmen—can ever visit this place without interest, both because of the importance of your city, and because of the picturesque and varied character of its scenes and inhabitants. Perhaps I may claim a more than usual interest in coming here on the present occasion, seeing that I am responsible for making you once more the Capital of a Province, a distinction that was enjoyed by Peshawar nearly 1,500 years ago, and at different periods since, but never before under British administration. I am glad to learn from your address that you are

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so sensible of the advantages that must accrue to you from this promotion, and to receive so satisfactory a description of your general condition and finances.

You could not give me better news than the intelligence that your prosperity is favourably affected by what you justly describe as the astonishing expansion of trade with Dir, Swat, and Bajaur, and the countries lying beyond. I truly believe that trade is the great pacificator of the Frontier, and that the railroad is the greatest instrument of trade. Men are not so anxious to fight those from whom they obtain the profits of subsistence, or to fall out with those with whom they mingle in the intercourse of the bazar and the market place. A day will one day arrive, even on the Peshawar Frontier, when these agencies will be too much for the natural perturbations of Frontier politics, and for the unsettled inclinations of Pathan character. In some parts it is already dawning.

The Nowshera-Dargai railroad, to which you refer and from which I have just returned, is an illustration in point. The Government of India built this line in the main as a strategic railway to support the position on the Malakand and the Swat river, and the Dir line of connection with Chitral. We did not despise, but we did not attach supreme value to, trading considerations. Now, while we have secured the strategic objects that we desired, the trade and intercourse have developed with such startling rapidity that we are going to bridge the Kabul river at Nowshera and to add to the equipment of the line to Dargai. I shall always quote this little railway as an object lesson to those who talk despairingly of pacification on the Frontier. Of course I do not pretend that it has scattered all anxiety, or converted every sword-blade into a ploughshare. That is too much to expect. But it has already in its short existence shown itself to be a useful implement of peace.

I am sorry to learn that commercial expansion in this direction is balanced by a falling-off of your trade with

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Kabul. The late Amir held very rooted ideas about his fiscal policy, which, during my visit to Kabul eight years ago, I vainly endeavoured to controvert. I cannot imagine anything better for Afghanistan than that it should pursue a more liberal policy in these respects. It would bring wealth into the country, and would add to the contentment of the people. Let us hope that the present ruler, who holds enlightened views, and with whom the Government of India is on most friendly terms, may adopt a more generous attitude, not for one moment in the interests of Peshawar, which would only be an indirect gainer, but in those of his own people, who would profit directly and immensely.

Your reference to the subjects of Sanitation, Education, Water-supply, and the rebuilding of the quarter of the city that was burnt in 1898—do not call for anything but congratulatory notice at my hands. Your speedy recovery from the effects of the fire indicates that the loan made to you by Government, at an easy rate of interest, to assist in the process of rebuilding, was well directed and has been prudently laid out.

When you ask that the city should be allowed to benefit by the proposed supply of electric light to the cantonment, I presume that you do not ask to escape from all contribution to the original cost of bringing it in. That would seem hardly fair. I believe that there is some talk of extending the Kabul River Canal in order to supply the requisite water-power; and this may facilitate the execution of your desires. It would certainly be a great advantage if the city could share in the benefit.

I accept with pleasure the concluding assurance of your gratitude for the safety and liberty which you enjoy under British rule, and of your intention to help the Chief Commissioner to the best of your ability in the responsible task that has been laid upon his shoulders; and I thank you, Gentlemen, for your friendly address and reception.

[His Excellency's reply was then read in Persian.]

DURBAR AT PESHAWAR.

[At 4·45 P.M., on Saturday, the 26th April, 1902, His Excellency the Viceroy held a public Durbar in the Shahi Bagh, at Peshawar, for the reception of the Chiefs, Native gentlemen, and representatives of the North-West Frontier Province and adjoining trans-border tracts. The Durbar was attended by the Agent to the Governor General and Chief Commissioner in the North-West Frontier Province, the General Officer Commanding the Punjab Frontier Force, the General Officer Commanding the Peshawar District, and by a large number of Civil and Military officers. Her Excellency Lady Curzon and Mrs. Deane occupied seats on the daïs. Amongst the Chiefs present were the Mehtar of Chitral, the Khan of Dir, Safdar Khan of Nawagai, the Chiefs of the Malakand Agency, the Chiefs of the Khaibar, the Chiefs of the Hazara Border, and a large number of Durbaris and native officers. In all some 3,000 persons were present. The Viceroy arrived at the Durbar tent with due ceremony, and after the principal Chiefs and Durbaris had been presented to him, delivered the following address, a translation of which into Pashtu was then read by a Native officer, while printed translations were afterwards distributed to those attending the Durbar. His Excellency said:—] 26th April 1902.

Chiefs, Khans, Maliks and Gentlemen,—I have come to the Frontier to speak to the men of the Frontier. I want to tell them with my own lips what is the policy of Government, and what I am desirous that our relations should be. It is 15 years since I first went up the Khyber, and nearly 8 years since, after visiting Chitral, I went up for the second time on my way to Kabul; and I have followed every stage of Frontier history throughout that period. I know the British side; I have been on the Afghan side; and I have always tried my best to understand the Pathan side. These are the three sides of the question; and a man must always look at these three faces, and must endeavour to bring them into harmony, if he wishes to do any good on the Frontier.

Now the great desire of the trans-border tribesman is, I take it, to maintain his religion and his independence,

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The British Government have not the smallest desire to interfere with either. Your religion is safe from attack at our hands, as every Mahomedan in India can tell you. But there are all sorts of dangerous spirits on the Frontier who are always trying to stir up religious strife; and we know of people who preach what is called a religious war. All I can say is that, as soon as it becomes a question of war, all religion in my eyes has gone out of it. I desire, not war of any description, but peace. We have had peace now for four years, and we have all been the gainers by it. I want no change, and, if you are wise, you will not want it either. But if war were ever forced upon me on the Frontier, I should not be frightened for one instant because people tried to call it *jehad* or anything else. I should carry it through to the end.

And next as regards your independence. There are plenty of firebrands always going up and down the border, telling the tribes that Government has designs upon your territory or your independence. More fabrications of this sort are started upon the Frontier than anywhere else in the world. It is a nursery-garden of inventions. I believe there has been a goodly crop during the past few weeks. If you came here to this Durbar, you were going to be seized and held as hostages; and I as Viceroy was going to make an announcement saying that the British Government was coming to take over your country. Now, have you not grown wise with years? Can you not see through this transparent nonsense? If we did not take Tirah, and Dir, and Swat, after the fighting in 1897, are we likely to try and take them now? The policy of the Government of India towards the trans-border men is very simple, and it is this. We have no wish to seize your territory or interfere with your independence. If you go on worrying and raiding and attacking, there comes a time when we say, This thing must be put an end to: and if the tribes will not help us to do it, then we must do it ourselves. The matter is thus almost entirely in your

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own hands. You are the keepers of your own house. We are ready enough to leave you in possession. But if you dart out from behind the shelter of the door to harass and pillage and slay, then you must not be surprised if we return quickly and batter the door in.

The second feature of our policy is the payment to you of tribal allowances for keeping open the roads and passes, such as the Khyber and Kohat Passes and the Chitral Road, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and for the punishment of crime. Here again the matter rests mainly with yourselves. We are ready to accept and deal with whatever form of Government or authority the particular tribe prefers. Sometimes it is an individual—be he a Mehtar, or a Nawab, or a Khan. Sometimes it is recognised Maliks or Sirdars. Sometimes it is the tribe as a whole. You can govern yourselves as you please: but when it comes to our handing over money to you in payment for services, there must be some person or persons to receive it: and they must be authorised and responsible, whether they are one man or a jirga of 1,000. I doubt if there would ever be a Government in India that would treat you with one half the generosity that is shown by the British Government in respect of these payments. Supposing that we stopped them all to-morrow, where would you be? I know that whenever we have been fighting, the first thing that the tribe presses for, when peace is concluded, is to get back its allowances: and it has been in my power during the 3½ years that I have been here as Viceroy, to restore a good many that had been forfeited or suspended.

The third feature in our policy is the extended military employment that we give you in the Local Levies and Militia. We have made great strides in this respect in recent years. Our policy has been one of liberality all along the border. On the northern part we have the Levies of Swat, and Dir, and Chitral. Lower down we have the Khyber Rifles, the Samana Rifles, the Kurram Militia, and the Waziristan

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Militia. In these corps we open to you a manly and a well paid career for your young men, several thousands of whom are thus provided for. They come in to us, they learn discipline, they get good wages for the maintenance of their wives and families, they have something to do instead of becoming *budmashes* and loafers; and we employ them in their own country, which they know well, and for whose continued independence their service is a guarantee. The better they behave in the Militia, and the more that experiment is a success, the wider also shall we be disposed to open to them the door of the army itself, where we already have so many good recruits from the Frontier. I say to you, Khans and Maliks, that this is a generous policy, and that you ought to be grateful for it. There are always people ready to whisper in my ear that it is a dangerous policy, and that it is putting weapons into an enemy's hand. But I say in reply, why should he be an enemy? What is there to fight about? And if I put a knife into the hands of a Pathan, why should he, more than anyone else, stab me with it in the back? The fact is we want some mutual trust in this matter. I have made a big step forward in the direction of trusting you. It is for you to make a return, by shutting your ears to the calumnies and the lies of those who want, for interested reasons, to have eternal strife upon the border, and by fulfilling, as honourable men, your part of an honourable bargain.

There is another consequence of peace, and the strategic preparations that make for peace; and this is security. As you know, since I have been Viceroy, we have been building railways to make the Frontier strong, and to enable us to support it at any point where it may be attacked. We have built the line to Dargai. We have continued the line from Peshawar to Jumrud. Of course the local mischief-makers did their best to make you believe that we were going to carry it on to Dacca, or Maidan, or somewhere else. But as usual they were found to be false prophets. Then I have

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opened the Kohat Pass by friendly arrangement with the tribes; and finally we have taken the railroad from Kushalgarh to Kohat, and are carrying it on from Kohat to Thal. These railroads are in British territory, and we required no man's permission to build them. Primarily they are intended to strengthen our position, and to enable us to move troops without delay in the event of trouble. But I will tell you why they should also be welcomed by you. They are supports to the Tribal Militia of which I have been speaking; and they will enable us to push troops forward at a moment's notice in reinforcement of the positions which we have committed, under British Officers, to their keeping. They will therefore make the local garrisons feel greater confidence in themselves. They will give them security in their loyalty, and will teach them that the hand of the Sirkar is not hidden away in his pocket, but that it is ready to spring forward to succour, to strike, or to avenge.

Observe, too, the effect that these railways have upon trade, and through trade upon a good understanding. The Pathan is a curious mixture. He is a man of war, but he is also a born trader. I see him conducting his business right away in the bazars of Bengal. I have come across him in Burma and Assam. The trade of Swat pours down the line to Nowshera. Some day the trade of Afghanistan will descend the other Frontier lines. As people trade together they get to know each other better, and every mile of Frontier railroad that we build will turn out in the long run to be a link in the chain of friendship as well as of peace.

There is another respect in which you can help forward the policy of Government, and at the same time do good to yourselves. Every man on the Frontier is keen about his personal sense of honour. He feels disgrace if it is lowered, and it is one of the chief objects of his life to keep it unstained. We appreciate this sentiment, and, where legitimate, we sympathise with its gratification. But what I say to you is this. Let your sense of honour be a true

and not a false sense; let it be measured by just standards; and let it have a worthy and not a selfish or contemptible aim. Let the qualities that go to make up your honour be truth, and fidelity to your word, and decent and upright conduct in life; and keep a control upon the passions of blood-spilling and revenge. You may rest assured that, as long as you maintain and act up to a high and proper standard of *izzat*, we shall uphold your position, and you will not be shamed in the eyes of your countrymen.

And now I turn to all the members of this Durbar, on whichever side of the Frontier they reside. I have come to Peshawar on the present occasion to show my interest in the new Frontier Province, and my sympathy with the work which I have entrusted to the capable hands of Colonel Deane I selected him for the post because he knows you all well, and has your confidence, and because his heart is in the task. Needless to say, when the province was started all the false rumours that I spoke about a little while ago were flying about, and a great many foolish things were said and believed. It was rumoured that we were going to be more severe towards the people, and to press upon them with a heavy hand. Now that nothing dreadful has happened, perhaps you have learned to esteem these predictions at their true worth. I can tell you in a sentence why the Government of India created this separate administration. It was because we thought that the peace and tranquillity and contentment of the Frontier were of such importance that they ought to be under the direct eye of the Government of India and of its head, instead of somebody else. Business will be better done and more quickly done; and there will not be long and vexatious delays. The system of rule will not be altered, but it will be more efficiently worked. Every man in the Frontier Districts ought to look upon it as a direct gain to himself that he has a Local Government on the spot, and that there is nobody above that Local Government but the Government of India.

Durbar at Peshawar.

He ought further to appreciate the fact that the head of the Local Government is an officer who can speak his language, who knows his affairs, and who has spent the best part of his life in the Frontier districts. Merit will be better known under the new system, service will be more quickly rewarded, abuses will be more promptly checked, responsibility will be more strictly enforced, and punishment, where punishment is needed, will be more swift.

It is for the leading men of the Province and the Frontier to show their sense of the greater importance of their position by assisting the Local Administration in its task. Particularly is this necessary in the detection and punishment of violent crime. The Peshawar and Kohat and Bannu Districts, as you know, have enjoyed for some time a bad reputation in this respect: and it is for the leaders of native opinion and society to purge it. Without their aid the Native Magistrates and Police can be of little avail. The leading men have not been given titles and jagirs simply in order to enable them to sit down and do nothing for the remainder of their lives. Each of them has a sphere of influence of his own: and all together have a collective sphere of influence that embraces the entire province. They are expected to surrender their own private feuds, and to co-operate with the Government in the suppression of crime and the discouragement of acts that lead to crime. They have a great responsibility, and I call upon them to exercise it. When they have quarrels with each other, let them abstain from civil litigation, with all its pitfalls and expenses and delays, and let them settle their differences by arbitration, as I believe that they are showing an increasing inclination to do: and when they see trouble brewing against Government let them throw their whole influence on to the side of law and order, and steadily discountenance treachery and wrong-doing.

I see no reason to doubt that a prosperous future awaits this province. I regard the new administration as already

firmly established: and as long as I am in India, and I hope for many years afterwards, it will be watched by the Government of India with a fond and parental eye. But I repeat that your destinies are mainly in your own hands, and I look to local pride and local patriotism to see that they are jealously guarded, and that the North-West Frontier Province shows itself ever more and more deserving of the interest that has secured for it a separate existence and an independent name.

ADDRESS FROM THE MUSSOORIE MUNICIPALITY.

1st May 1902. [The Viceroy, accompanied by a portion of his Staff, arrived at Mussoorie on Tuesday forenoon, the 1st May, and in the afternoon proceeded to the Municipal Hall, where in the presence of a large audience he was presented with an address of welcome by the members of the Municipal Board. The subjects referred to in the address will be apparent from His Excellency's reply, which was as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—You have taken me by surprise. I had no idea that I should see this large gathering or this well-filled hall. It makes me join all the more heartily in the regret expressed by the reader of the address that Lady Curzon is not with me. It is very good of you to have desired to signalise my short visit to Mussoorie by offering me an official welcome. (*Applause.*) I must, I think, attribute your kindness to the fact, which you have mentioned in your address, that none of my predecessors has ever been fortunate enough to halt here and make official acquaintance with the beauties of Mussoorie. These are beauties of situation, climate, and scenery. They are sufficient in combination to make this one of the most esteemed of hill stations. (*Applause.*) Indeed Mussoorie holds a somewhat unique position, since, unlike

Address from the Mussoorie Municipality.

some of its rivals, it is wholly independent of official patronage (*cheers and laughter*), a fact which seems to be the source of much gratification here (*renewed laughter*), and stands, so to speak, upon its own merits before the world. You have mentioned your breweries and your hotels. I do not quite know what induction you expect me to draw from the prosperous existence of the former. (*Loud laughter.*) As regards the hotels, they afford an additional evidence of the popularity of the place, which, now that the railway has reached Dehra and may possibly come even closer, is certain to advance in the future. From the large number of scholastic institutions that are gathered here, I may derive further inferences as to the attractiveness of the station, which I take it must leave a greater mark upon the education of certain very important classes of the population than any place of similar size in India.

The Imperial Cadet Corps, to which you have alluded, and which I came to inspect at Dehra Dun, is an attempt to provide military training and occupation for a limited number of the scions of the princely and aristocratic families of India. The idea has been received with avidity by them, and is already beginning to bear good fruit. (*Applause.*) In a sense it may be described as an extension of the educational radius of Mussoorie, though whether Mussoorie is entitled to regard Dehra, or Dehra to regard Mussoorie, as one of its suburbs, I do not know, and shall certainly not be so rash as to pronounce. (*Laughter.*)

The last subject to which you have alluded is the extension of the railway in this direction. This is a matter in which I have taken some interest. It falls into two different categories. The continuation of the existing broad-gauge line from Dehra to Rajpur at the foot of the hills is certainly a feasible undertaking, and is well worthy of consideration. Whether the Agents of the Hurdwar-Dehra Railway would be prepared to find the money for its construction will depend, I imagine, in the main, upon the degree of public

Address from the Mussoorie Municipality.

support that has been given to the existing line, and upon a calculation of the profits to be derived from its extension. The project of a railway up the hill to Mussoorie or Landour, or both, is in a different category. Being designed exclusively in local interests, rather than for any wide-spread public or commercial advantage, it does not belong to the class of undertaking for which the Government can offer a guarantee. I am too hurried a visitor here to offer any opinion of value as to its merits. But it is obvious that a line which would have to crawl along the side of the hill for 18 or 19 miles, in order to reach a destination that is now served by a bridle road only 6 or 7 miles in length, would have severe competition to face, and, if it is to be successful, to vanquish.

Gentlemen, I will not further detain you, but will conclude by thanking you warmly for your address, and for the handsome casket which you have just handed to me, and which, though I have not yet had time to examine it carefully, will, I see, take its place among my treasures to remind me of the short but happy day that I spent in Mussoorie. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

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