SPEECHES

BY

LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

VOL. III.

1902—1905.

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CALCUTTA:
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SPEECHES

BY

THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

1902-1904.

SUGAR DUTIES BILL.

[At a meeting of the Legislative Council held at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on Friday the 6th June, the Indian Tariff Amendment Bill, commonly known as the Sugar Duties Bill, was discussed and passed into law. An amendment by the Hon'ble Mr. M. C. Turner to increase the amount of the countervailing duties above the limit proposed by the Bill was negatived, the Hon'ble Mr. Finlay explaining that, according to present information, the rate proposed was already somewhat in excess of the advantage conferred upon Continental sugars by the Cartel system. The Government, he said, had no desire to impose a prohibitive duty, their sole object being to enable Indian sugar to compete with the Continental article on fair terms. On the motion that the Bill be passed His Excellency the President spoke as follows :—] 6th June 1902.

Before I had held my present office for three months, I was engaged in defending and in passing into law in this Council a Bill for imposing countervailing duties upon bounty-fed sugar imported into India. I remember saying that our legislation might have a far-reaching significance—as indeed has proved to be the case; but I personally defended it on the ground of its necessity for the protection of Indian industrial interests. It is on precisely the same grounds that the Government of India have introduced, and that I am now supporting, the present Bill, which, as Mr. Turner has justly said, is the logical complement of its predecessor.

Sugar Duties Bill.

It has been clearly explained how the necessity for this fresh legislation has arisen. In 1899 we legislated against State bounties; and for that purpose our Act was adequate. But we did not legislate against private trade bounties, because their existence was not fully suspected or known. Since the Brussels Conference, we have become thoroughly acquainted with their gravity; and it is to prevent the Indian markets, during the next year and-a-half, before the Convention, if it be ratified, comes into operation, from being swamped with foreign sugar, which the exporters are enabled by the aid of these indirect bounties to put down in our ports at prices said to be lower even than the cost of production, that we are now legislating again.

There are only two points upon which I desire to add to what has fallen from the Hon'ble Finance Member. I have said that what I am chiefly concerned with are the interests of the producer and the refiner in this country. Their interests are not exactly identical, though they are connected. Our means of ascertaining to what extent these classes have benefited by our former Act are not as complete or scientific as I should like, and any calculations that we may frame as to its effect upon the Indian sugar industry have necessarily been disturbed by the large importations of foreign sugar that have occurred under the Cartels since 1899. The total imports of refined sugar into British India in 1898-9 were 188,000 tons. In 1899, directly after our Bill, the total fell to 147,000 tons. But in 1900 it rose to 242,000 tons, and in 1901 to 271,000 tons, of which Austria-Hungary contributed no less than $\frac{2}{5}$ths. We did not anticipate such a rise when we were debating the matter in 1899; for, as I have said, we were not cognizant of the artificial system in Europe that rendered it possible; nor were we aware of the degree to which over-production on the Continent had been pushed. On the other hand, I certainly never said, and I am not aware that any Member of the Government said at that time, that our countervailing

duties were going to extinguish foreign importation altogether. They were never meant by us to be prohibitive. What we hoped they would do would be to save from extinction our own industry in this country, and to place the Indian refiner in a position in which he could hold his own, and perhaps more than hold his own, against his foreign competitor. And I think we may fairly claim that they have produced this result. Had it not been for our duties, India must have been simply overwhelmed. Nevertheless, in spite of these immense imports, and in spite of the fall in prices which has latterly occurred, in response, as it appears, to a corresponding fall at home, and which has of course not been without its prejudicial effect upon the refining industry in India, the latter has held its head above the water. Evidence has reached me that refineries which, but for our legislation, would have closed their doors, have kept them open, and that fresh refineries have started into existence. Further, the refineries have been affected by conditions entirely independent of foreign competition. Their output depends largely upon the area under sugarcane cultivation, and this depends upon the seasons. Unquestionably the conditions of drought that have prevailed during the past few years have been reflected in a scarcity of the raw material, and consequently in a diminution of supply. But the general result of my enquiry into the position of the refineries in this country in connection with the present and with past legislation is this. I do not think that they are on a level with the times. I have tried to ascertain what becomes of the imported beet from Germany and Austria. I understand that it is landed at Karachi and Bombay, and that $\frac{7}{10}$ths of it supply an area where the growth of sugarcane is relatively insignificant, and where refineries do not exist. No countervailing duties will keep out the beet sugar from this area so long as there is no competition to satisfy its requirements from elsewhere. It is an ordinary case of demand and supply. But I say to

the refiners—When you have the whole of the rest of India at your feet, when you have the finest market in Asia at your doors, can you not profit to a greater degree by this advantage? It constitutes a bounty in itself. Am I to be told that refined sugar cannot be manufactured in India of as good a quality, and that it cannot be sold with the aid of a countervailing duty at equal or lower prices than the article that has come all the way from Hamburg or Trieste? Is it indispensable that India should import, as it has done during the past two years, from 90,000 to 100,000 tons a year of refined sugar from Mauritius, where there are no bounties at all? I feel inclined to say to the sugar refiners here—We legislated to save you from extermination in 1899. We are giving you a fresh lease of life now. Prove yourselves deserving of the favour. Reform your methods, modernise your machinery, improve the manufactured article. It would be a lasting reproach to Indian industry if, while the figures prove conclusively the enormous demand for refined sugar that exists in this country, and while the Government are doing their utmost to prevent the foreign bounty-fed article from competing unfairly with the indigenous product, the Indian refiner did not take advantage of the splendid opportunities and the almost unique market that are open to him. If he allows himself to be cut out by Trieste or even by Mauritius, there must, I think, be something deficient in his enterprise or mistaken in his methods.

I have tried to estimate the effect of our legislation of 1899, and the probable effect of the legislation that we are now introducing, upon the native sugar production in this country. Here we must again distinguish between two very different aspects of the question. The refining or manufacturing industry in India is one thing. Its outcome is the refined sugar, which is consumed by the well-to-do classes. The producing industry is another; and its product is, for the most part, the raw or unrefined sugar, which is

consumed in so many and various forms by the poor. There are, of course, points of contact between the two. As a rule, imported beet sugar competes only with native refined sugar; but where the imported beet is capable of being sold at a very low rate, it may expel from the market even the raw material with which the native is familiar. Thus it may come about that unrestricted importation of refined sugar may prejudicially affect the local production of raw sugar. In another way there is an obvious connection between the two industries. Refineries, as I have pointed out, have to get their material from the cane plantations: and if the number of factories diminishes, the area under cultivation tends to diminish also.

As far as I can ascertain, the area under sugarcane has remained almost stationary during the past few years. If anything, it has been slightly decreasing. This, however, has been due neither to foreign competition, nor to any failure of the market supplied by the Indian refineries, but to the conditions of scarcity that have prevailed in so many parts of the country, and that have equally affected every class of agricultural production. But for my own part, I cannot see why in the future the area of production should not be greatly increased. The outturn of raw sugar a year in India is about 3,000,000 tons, and the imports of refined sugar are less than $\frac{1}{10}$th of this total. There is, therefore, at present no real or serious competition between the two classes of sugar, unless the foreign refined material is at the same time so superior and so cheap as to oust the indigenous raw material from its market. If this is to happen, I confess that I think it will be due to the fault of the indigenous article quite as much as to the privilege of the foreigner. I address therefore the owners of the native cane, as well as the refiners. I remind them that they have a market of nearly 300 million persons, who, if they consume the raw article, at any rate like it good; and I invite them to realise that primitiveness of method can be pushed

too far, and that there is scope even in their simple industry for enterprise and reform.

The only other point that I am concerned to mention is whether the extra countervailing duty that we are about to impose is adequate, or whether it will be too low. The Hon'ble Mr. Turner has given expression to doubts in this respect to which Mr. Finlay has replied. I should be reluctant to express myself with confidence in a matter so technical and so obscure. Our object—and Mr. Turner, on behalf of the mercantile community, has not asked for more—has been so to arrange that our countervailing duty shall, as far as possible, equal the actual bounty conferred. Neither they nor we desire the imposition of a prohibitive or even a protective duty. All we are anxious for is that the Cartels shall be fairly countervailed. There is no small difficulty in estimating what the exact value of these bounties is. They have been calculated both by the Convention, and by other authorities. The rates that we propose are in accordance with the higher, not with the lower, of these estimates. We consulted the Secretary of State on the matter, and he strongly advised us to adhere for the present to the Convention formula, which is the basis of the rate that we have proposed. This is the explanation of our procedure. If it should be demonstrated later on that our basis of calculation has been too modest, and that our legislation is therefore failing of its effect, we can ask the Secretary of State to allow us to amend the law, and to secure to our duties the full consequences that we desire. But to justify any such step, a strong case would have to be made out.

I hope that these remarks will convince Hon'ble Members that in this legislation we have no other object in view than the public interest; but also that, if the Government is to help the sugar industry in this country, it is possible for the latter to do a good deal more than at present to justify the help for which it pleads.

ILLNESS OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

[At the meeting of the Legislative Council, which was held at Viceregal Lodge on Friday, the 27th June, the President, on taking his seat in the Council Chamber, addressed Hon'ble Members regarding the illness of His Majesty the King. His Excellency said :—] 27th June 1902.

At the opening of this Council to-day, I may perhaps be allowed to say with what profound feelings of distress and horror we in India heard only three days ago of the sudden illness, on the very eve of the Coronation, of His Majesty the King Emperor. The entire British Empire, including India, had assembled, in the person of its representatives, to attend at this great ceremony, when in a moment the scenes of joy were turned into those of anxiety and mourning. Since then we have had the spectacle of an Empire engaged in fervent intercession; and from all parts of this country, where the news is only just spreading, I receive hourly telegrams that reveal the intense apprehensions and sympathy of the people. I am not sure that this spectacle has not been as impressive, both in its unanimity and its solemnity, as any celebrations of public rejoicing could have been.

The wave of sorrow that has swept like a torrent through the Empire has had its advantages in testifying to the unique popularity of the monarch whose illness has evoked it, and to the part that is played by the Throne, and by its occupant, in the unity and stability of the British Empire. The citizens of that Empire throughout the world have been of one heart and voice in their recent prayers of thanksgiving for the conclusion of peace. But, if it be possible, they are still more one at this moment in their prayers for the recovery of their Sovereign. Most fortunately the latest news is of a thoroughly reassuring character, and we may proceed to our labours this morning in the sanguine hope that, by the mercy of Almighty God, this invaluable life will be spared; and that the King may before long be restored, in the enjoyment of full health and strength, to the service of his grateful people.

INSTALLATION OF THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

8th Aug. 1902. [His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by a portion of his Staff and the Under Secretary in the Foreign Department, left Simla on the morning of the 1st August, and, after a brief stay at Bangalore, and a drive from Maddur to Sivasamudram to see the electric installation at the Falls of the Cauvery, arrived at Mysore on the afternoon of the 7th August, the object of His Excellency's visit being to instal the young Maharaja. The ceremony of installation, which took place in the Durbar Hall of the Jagan Mohan Palace on the following morning at 10 o'clock, was throughout most impressive. His Excellency drove in state from Government House to the Durbar Hall, where he was received by the Maharaja, the Resident, the principal Nobles of the State, and the Viceroy's personal Staff. A procession was formed, and His Excellency proceeded to the front of the daïs, where he took his seat with the Maharaja on his right. The Hall itself, which was brilliantly decorated in Oriental style, was filled in every part by Civil and Military Officers, Nobles and officials of Mysore, one of the galleries being screened off for Native ladies, and the other occupied by European ladies. The Durbar having been declared open, His Excellency rose and delivered the following address :—]

Your Highness and Gentlemen,—This is the first time since I have been in India that I have been called upon personally to instal a Ruling Chief. It gives me the greatest pleasure that the Chief in whose case I am about to discharge these agreeable functions should be one whose career I have had such close opportunities of watching, and for whom I entertain so sincere a regard as the young Maharaja of Mysore. Indeed, I think I may add that I should not have come all the way from Simla at this season of the year had I not felt the keenest personal interest both in this State and in its future Ruler. About the latter I shall have a word to say presently. But first let me explain how it is that the fortunes of the Mysore State occupy such a place in the concern and regard of the Government of India.

We can never forget that for fifty years this State was under British administration, during which time it enjoyed the full benefits of the discipline and method and experience

that are associated with the British system. At the end of that period a great experiment was made. The famous Rendition took place, and the State was given back to its Native rulers. It is interesting to recollect that the statesman who was mainly responsible for that act was the veteran Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, who only three weeks ago resigned the helm of affairs in England after half a century of unsurpassed service to the State. It was a just and magnanimous act, but it was also, as I have said, a great experiment. For, if the result had been failure, then a cruel rebuff would have been administered to the generosity which dictated the proceeding, and the cause of Native States and of Native administration throughout India must have suffered a lasting recoil. The eyes of everyone, therefore, were directed upon Mysore to see how the venture would result, and how far the State would justify the confidence reposed in it. I will not pretend that there have never been shades in the picture, or that an unassailable standard has everywhere been maintained. In this world we talk about ideals more often than we realise them. But this I can unhesitatingly say. The State has been well served by the members of its ruling family and by faithful and patriotic ministers. The first Dewan, Mr. Ranga Charlu, did not long survive the Rendition; but his successor, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, for eighteen years wielded an authority that was a reflex of his powerful character and abilities, and that left its mark upon every branch of the administration. The late Maharaja, whose amiability and excellence of disposition endeared him to all, was unfortunately removed by a premature death while still in the prime of life; and since then Sir Sheshadri Iyer has died also. Thus the old order has passed away, and we stand on the threshold of a new era. For nearly eight years there has been a minority, during which the Regency has been in the hands of Her Highness the Maharani-Regent, assisted by a Dewan and Council, and relying upon the firm and constant support of the British Resident. As the Head

of the Government of India, I have pleasure in stating that the smooth progress of events during the minority has been largely due to the unfailing tact and discretion of Her Highness. If I may be allowed to say so, she has set an example of public and domestic virtue which has been of equal value to her people and to her family, and which has earned for her the admiration and respect of all.

It gives me pleasure to announce that, in recognition of these services, I submitted to His Majesty the King-Emperor the request that he would allow Her Highness's salute of 19 guns to be continued to her for life, and that His Majesty gladly consented to bestow upon Her Highness this exceptional mark of favour. It is our hope, now that she is retiring from the responsible position which she has so long and successfully filled, that she may observe the fruits of her sagacious example, and may meet with the rewards of her motherly devotion, in the conduct and career of her son.

I am thus brought to the circumstances that have led up to the ceremony of to-day. The young Maharaja whom I am about to instal has recently attained his eighteenth birthday. He has passed through a minority of nearly eight years. They have not been empty or vapid years, spent in enjoyment or dissipated in idleness. They have been years of careful preparation for the duties that lay before him, and of laborious training for his exalted state. It is no light thing to assume the charge of five millions of people, and it is no perfunctory training that is required for such a task. In Mr. Fraser we were fortunate enough to discover a tutor and governor, thoroughly alive to the duties of his onerous position, and well qualified to win the confidence as well as to waken the energies of his pupil. In Colonel Robertson the young Chief has met with a mentor as sympathetic as he was wise; and under this combined influence, assisted by those happy domestic associations to which I have before referred, we have seen the natural good judgment and sound sense of the Maharaja develop by steady degrees, until we feel satisfied of his

capacity to assume the full and final responsibility of the government of men.

He has made frequent tours among his people. He has studied their wants and needs at first hand. He has thereby acquired the knowledge which will enable him to understand the problems with which he will be confronted. Fortified by this knowledge, his naturally business-like habits and his instinctive self-reliance should enable him to steer a straight course. He will be assisted by a Dewan, who has already earned confirmation in his responsible office, and by two capable Councillors of State. He will have the advice of a Private Secretary, whose abilities have specially recommended him for selection. The time I hope will never come when the Maharaja may not also be able to rely upon the support and counsel of the British Resident, to whom he should turn, not as a schoolmaster, but as a protector and friend. Youth is his, and health, and strength. He enters upon a splendid heritage at an early age. May God guide him in this great undertaking, and speed him on the straight path.

And now, Maharaja, I turn to you, and I venture to address to you a few words. Pray do not think that I am going to read you a lecture. Rulers are not made virtuous by installation homilies, but by the instincts of their nature, by a diligent training, and by a willingness to profit by the wisdom and experience of others. There was a learned French priest named Fénélon, who was especially engaged to give lectures in the art of rule to the grandson of Louis XIV of France: but I am sorry to say that the young man was no better at the end than at the beginning. Similarly, we know that all the precepts of the wisest of men, King Solomon, left no impression upon his son. I am not going, therefore, to give you a text-book of moral maxims. I will only ask you to remember this. The young man of eighteen who becomes a ruler enjoys one of the noblest opportunities, but also one of the greatest responsibilities, in the world. Upon you, to a large extent, will depend the happiness and comfort of several

millions of your fellow-creatures, who already look up to you with reverence, who, if you rule well, will regard you with devotion, but, if you rule badly, with indifference and despair. You are put in this place not for your own sake—to think that is the greatest of all human errors—but for theirs. If you act conscientiously and dutifully, you may leave a name that will live for generations in the memory of your people. If you throw away your chances and become a sluggard or worse, your name will be written in water, and your memory will pass like a puff of smoke from the minds of men. Therefore, I beg of you, at this turning point in your life, to remember these things. Put your heart into your work, be just, be courageous, be merciful to the lowly, be considerate to all. Work as though you were going to live not for 50 years but for 5; for duty, believe me, cannot afford to loiter, and there ought to be no blank spaces in a Ruler's diary. For my own part, I shall always look back upon having installed you as one of the pleasantest memories of my term of office. While I am here you know that you can count upon my confidence and support; and when I am gone and other Viceroys come here to visit you in Mysore, I shall hope to hear from them that you have fulfilled the bright expectations of your youth, and that you are yearly marching forward from strength to strength.

[A translation of the Viceroy's speech was then read in Canarese, after which the Viceroy, leading the Maharaja by the hand, ascended the daïs, where were placed two chairs of state, that on the right representing the *masnad*. To this the Viceroy conducted the Maharaja, and declared him to be invested in the following words: "I hereby invest you with full powers of administration in the State of Mysore." The Under Secretary then proclaimed the Maharaja by his titles, and, after some further ceremonies, the Maharaja rose and replied to the Viceroy in a remarkably well-delivered speech in English. The Nobles and officials were then presented to His Excellency, *attar* and *pān* were distributed, and the Durbar was declared closed.]

ADDRESS FROM THE COORG PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION.

[On the afternoon of the day on which the Viceroy installed the Maharaja of Mysore, His Excellency received, at Government House, Mysore, a deputation of the Coorg Planters' Association, who presented him with an address on the subject of the construction of a line to connect the Mysore plateau, *viâ* Coorg, with the West Coast at Tellicherry. His Excellency, in reply, spoke as follows :—] 8th Aug. 1902.

Gentlemen,—When I was last in Mysore nearly two years ago, you refrained from addressing me, as there was nothing that you particularly desired to bring forward. I was very glad, however, to learn from Colonel Robertson that you wished to meet me on the present occasion, since, though I could not be aware of the circumstances about which you proposed to address me, I was yet anxious not to lose the opportunity of indicating my sympathy with a body of gentlemen possessing so large a stake in the industrial welfare of a British possession, though not perhaps in recent times so fortunate as one might wish.

Your address, which I have studied carefully, is an admirable encyclopædia, within moderate compass, of the small but interesting British Dependency of Coorg. As I said in 1900, I greatly wish that I had time to visit it myself ; but, in the absence of leisure or facilities for such an excursion, I feel that I possess in your statement a sufficient and accurate *vade mecum* of its main features.

Gentlemen, you have concentrated your petition upon one issue, namely, the construction of a line to connect the Mysore plateau, *viâ* Coorg, with the West Coast at Tellicherry, and you have marshalled your arguments with great skill, so as to exhibit, in the most favourable perspective, the advantages that such a railway might be expected to confer.

Now, when I go round on tour, I am rather in the habit of looking up what was said to my predecessors or replied by them at the different localities which I visit : and accordingly, when I find that you addressed identically the same

request to Lord Lansdowne ten years ago as you have now made to me, while I am led to form a high opinion of your consistency and perseverance, I am also inclined to think that there must be some good reason why it has not hitherto been found possible to accede to your petition.

That you are much nearer in Coorg to the West than to the East Coast, that it would be an advantage to be placed in direct railway connection with your factories and with your seaport at Tellicherry, that some of the resources of Coorg would thereby be more rapidly developed—all these are propositions which I readily endorse. They bring us, however, only to the door-step of the main question, which is this. Will the Mysore-Tellicherry railroad be the best means of effecting your objects? If it be so, how is the railway to be financed? I should add that the railway project, or final result of the survey of the line, has only just reached the Government of India, and that I might quite fairly have put you off by saying that it was under examination and that I could make no pronouncement for the present. I think, however, that it will be more practical and useful to dwell for a moment on the wider considerations to which I have referred.

Gentlemen, we have in the Government of India what we call a Railway Programme, the limits of which are fixed annually by the Secretary of State, within which all railway projects involving either direct expenditure or any financial liability to Indian revenues are included, and which is made up from year to year upon a careful comparison of the railway needs of the whole country and of the remunerative aspects of the different undertakings. Now, the most sanguine estimates of the Tellicherry line do not lead us to expect an initial return of more than three per cent. on the capital spent in construction. There are many unexecuted railroads in other parts of India that promise better returns than this; and there are many that, without any disparagement to Coorg, are far more urgently required. I do not

think, therefore, that the line which you advocate, is likely to work its way up into the Government programme for some little time to come.

But, of course, this is not the sole method of constructing railroads in India, and, in cases where Government is unable to find the money, we adopt a very sympathetic attitude towards any independent proposals for constructing lines that will meet the needs of important sections of the population. I do not know if any such outside assistance is to be expected in the present case. The Mysore-Tellicherry line would run through three separate administrations, through Mysore territory, through Coorg, and through the Coast District of Malabar. Whether the Mysore Durbar would be likely to help in the undertaking I cannot say. I have heard that, if it is a question of connecting the Mysore plateau with the West Coast, they might be more likely to favour the northern line from Arsikere to Mangalore. As regards Malabar, I do not know enough of the locality to be aware whether the District Boards would be at all likely to undertake their section of the line. Finally, as regards Coorg, it may be that the planters themselves attach so much value to this line, and are so confident of its success, that they would be prepared to tax themselves in order to provide a special guarantee to hasten its construction. I daresay this is a point which you have not yet considered, and which I, therefore, do no more than submit to you on the present occasion.

It enables me, however, to invest my reply with something of a practical nature: since what I have said comes to this, that, if you wait for the line to take its place in the Government programme, there will probably be some delay; but that, if you want to hurry on the construction, then it is for the various interested administrations or communities to give a practical proof of their confidence in the commercial character of the undertaking by offering to back it in whole or in part themselves.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, allow me to express my warmest

sympathy with the courageous manner in which many of your number have in recent years maintained an up-hill fight against vicissitudes of seasons, of markets, and of external competition, that must have placed a great strain both upon your patience and your resources. I wish you better times in the future.

ADDRESS FROM THE OOTACAMUND MUNICIPALITY.

16th Aug. 1902.

[The Viceroy and party arrived at Ootacamund on Wednesday, the 13th August, and were the guests of Lord and Lady Ampthill till Saturday afternoon, the 16th, when His Excellency left *en route* for Simla. Shortly before his departure the Ootacamund Municipality presented an address, in which they expressed a hope that the beauties of their station had sufficiently impressed His Excellency, and that the growing importance of the town would lead the Government of India to lend a willing ear to the representation for the improvement scheme, which would be submitted to it through the Government of Madras.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—Ever since I have been in this country I have heard such repeated asseverations of the superiority of Ootacamund over every other place in India, or, I believe some would say, on the face of the earth, that I have felt an irresistible impulse to come here and judge for myself. Now that I have come, and seen, and been conquered, I am not going to commit the indiscretion of Paris by a public award of the apple, lest I might suffer on my return to more northern latitudes. I will merely say that it has been a great delight to me to visit, even for so short a time, this exceptional spot, and to observe the public spirit and enterprise that have been applied to its development. I believe that only one previous Viceroy, Lord Lytton, has ever been to Ootacamund, and that he came here to discuss famine problems with the Duke of Buckingham. I congratulate you as well as myself that no such anxious responsibilities

have drawn me hither on the present occasion, and that no clouds (save those of nature) have for a moment obscured the horizon of my stay. I believe that some people were afraid that my visit might portend a descent of the Government of India in full and permanent panoply upon Ootacamund. Gentlemen, let me reassure you. No such audacious speculation has crossed my mind. I dare not expose the Government of India to the temptations that would beset it in this favoured locality. We shall continue to cling to the sterner surroundings of our Himalayan home.

Gentlemen, I have only been able to pay a hurried visit to this part of the world at the close of a tour primarily undertaken for another object. Personally, I find in these tours, which I think that I have undertaken on a wider scale than any of my predecessors, not an opportunity of recreation or mere change of scene—for I can assure you that a Viceroy's tour is one of the most exhausting and laborious experiences that can be imagined—nor an occasion for pomp or display—since the ceremonial aspect of touring, if it ever constitutes an attraction, is one that soon palls—but a means of acquiring an insight into the circumstances, needs, and feelings of all the different parts and populations of this great Continent. From this point of view I believe that tours are of immense value, since a Viceroy or a Governor returns from them equipped with personal knowledge, inspired with a fresh and first-hand sympathy, better able to redress grievances, to render justice, and to expedite the solution of administrative problems, than he would ever have been had he remained glued to his desk. I hope the day may never come when Viceroys or Governors or Lieutenant-Governors will bury themselves in the seclusion of head-quarters and fail to go abroad among the people. I have been the more tempted to make your address the occasion of this brief digression because of the very pertinent illustration of the theory of Government which I have just expounded that is afforded by the present ruler of this great Presidency. I

have followed Lord Ampthill's tours with increasing admiration for the conscientious and sympathetic solicitude which he devotes, while thus engaged, to the welfare even of the humblest of the people; and I am convinced that the entire Presidency will be the gainer by the diligent and untiring initiative of the Governor to whom its destinies have been so fortunately confided.

Gentlemen, I thank you for your address and bid you farewell.

DELHI CORONATION DURBAR.

5th Sept. 1902.

[A meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council was held at Viceregal Lodge on Friday, the 5th September, 1902. Before proceeding with the business of the Council, His Excellency the President addressed Hon'ble Members on the subject of the Coronation Durbar to be held at Delhi on the 1st January, 1903. He said :—]

I desire to take advantage of the present occasion to say a few words about the great function, or combination of functions, at Delhi, which will fill so large a part of our attention during the next few months, and which will bring together so immense, and probably unprecedented, a concourse of the Indian peoples at the old Mogul capital in January next. His Majesty the King has already been happily crowned in England; and he is as much already our King and Emperor as he was the day after the death of the late Queen-Empress. No ceremony can increase his titles or add to the legality of his position. Why then, it may be asked, should we have in India a celebration of his Coronation at all? Public opinion has, I think, already answered this question to its own satisfaction. But, perhaps, I may also be permitted to contribute a few words to the reply. To the East, there is nothing strange, but something familiar and even sacred, in the practice that brings sovereigns into

communion with their people in a ceremony of public solemnity and rejoicing, after they have succeeded to their high estate. Every sovereign of India, or of parts of India, did it in the old days. Every Chief in India—the illustration may even be carried as far as the titled noblemen and *zemindars*—does it now; and the installation durbar is an accepted and acceptable feature of ceremonial life from one end of the country to the other. If this is so in all the grades of our social hierarchy, how much more important and desirable it is that it should obtain in the highest. I find, for my part, in such a ceremony much more than a mere official recognition of the fact that one monarch has died and another succeeded. To millions of the people in their remote and contracted lives this can make but little difference. But the community of interest between a sovereign and his people—to which such a function testifies, and which it serves to keep alive—is most vital and most important. Society in all ages has sought a head to whom it has been prepared to pay reverence, and kingship is the popular form that has been assumed by this almost universal instinct. But it is in proportion as the superiority thus willingly acknowledged by the subject ceases to be merely official and titular, and as the King becomes the representative as well as the figure-head of his people, that the relationship is of value to both of them. The life and vigour of a nation are summed up before the world in the person of its sovereign. He symbolises its unity, and speaks for it in the gate. Here, in India, it is for the first time under the British Crown that this unity has been attained, and that the entire Continent has acknowledged a single ruler. The political force and the moral grandeur of the nation are indisputably increased by this form of cohesion, and both are raised in the estimation of the world by a demonstration of its reality. There is another point of view from which I regard such a display as having far more than a superficial value. In all our various divisions in this country—divisions

of race and class and custom and creed—the one thing that holds us together, and subordinates the things that make for separation to the compelling force of union, is loyalty to a common head, membership of the same body politic, fellow-citizenship of the same Empire. The more we realise this, the happier will be our individual lives, and the more assured our national destinies. It is, therefore, as an act of supreme public solemnity, demonstrating to ourselves our union and to the world our strength, that I regard the Delhi ceremonial, and certainly as no mere pageant, intended to dazzle the senses for a few hours or days, and then to be forgotten. To my mind Lord Lytton, who was the first in British times to inaugurate such an Imperial Durbar as we propose to hold, though in different circumstances and on a smaller scale, set an example characterised both by statesmanship and imagination. I have not a doubt that much good flowed from the Imperial Assemblage of January 1st, 1877; and, under the blessing of Providence, I firmly believe that similar and even larger results will follow from the ceremony of January 1st, 1903.

Of course the occasion would be made both more solemn and more historic if the King-Emperor were able to be present in person and could place the Crown of all the Indias upon his own brow. Long ago, when we were first formulating our plans, I ventured to present this aspect of the case to His Majesty. The idea was most agreeable to him, and he would have greatly rejoiced to be able to carry it out. His love for this country has always been great, and I venture to affirm that he is as proud to be the first Emperor of all India as the late Queen Victoria was to be its first Empress. But the duties of State are too absorbing to permit His Majesty to be absent from England for so many weeks as would have been required, and he was compelled to desist from gratifying a wish that would otherwise have had for him the greatest attractions. In these circumstances, the news will be received with delight that His Majesty has

deputed his brother, the Duke of Connaught, to represent the Royal Family at the approaching Durbar. The presence of the Duke and Duchess, who have already spent so many happy years in this country, and who are so universally loved by all classes of the people, will lend to our proceedings a distinction that they would otherwise have lacked, and will bring home more directly to all India the vivid personal interest of the Sovereign. We shall feel that the King is in a certain sense with us in the person of his brother, and that, as it was not in his power either to attend himself, or to depute the Heir-Apparent, whom we all hope to welcome at a later date, His Majesty has taken the best means of testifying to India his profound sympathy and regard.

There is another point of view from which I think that such a gathering as that which will take place at Delhi will be of value. The weak spot of India is what I may call its water-tight compartment system. Each Province, each Native State, is more or less shut off by solid bulkheads even from its neighbour. The spread of railways and the relaxation of social restrictions are tending to break these down. But they are still very strong. Princes who live in the South have rarely, if ever, in their lives, seen or visited the States of the North. Perhaps among the latter there are Chiefs who have rarely left their homes. It cannot but be a good thing that they should meet and get to know each other and exchange ideas: and yet no opportunity of meeting on a large scale is possible, unless it be afforded by a State occasion such as this. If we look at the Continent of Europe, we shall see what immense strides have been made in the development of common interests and in the cause of peace since the European rulers have taken to meeting each other on important occasions. Where they used, in the old days, to set their armies in motion upon the slightest breath of suspicion, they now have a talk and exchange toasts at official banquets. Greece did the same thing in ancient times, and in a way peculiar to herself: for it cannot be

doubted that the national spirit, which held all those little States together and enabled them to stand up against the greatest military empires of the old world, was largely bred and nurtured at the Pan-Hellenic gatherings known as the Olympic Games.

Again, in this country I think that it is an equal benefit to the British administrators from different provinces to meet. There is many a man in Madras who has never seen the Punjab, or even in Bombay who is wholly ignorant of Bengal. The Viceroy is almost the only man in India who has the chance of knowing the whole country and of applying the comparative test. People are apt to complain of uniformity in Government. I can assure them that the differentiations of system and plan in India are amazing. I am not the person to wish to blot them out; but I do say confidently that an occasion like the Delhi Durbar, when soldiers and civilians from all parts of India will meet, not for a few hours or a day, but for a fortnight, and can compare notes and exchange ideas with each other, will be fraught with incalculable advantage both to the participants and to the administration which they serve.

These appear to me, apart from the act of homage to the Sovereign, to be the principal benefits that will accrue to India as a whole from the Durbar. I have, as is known, endeavoured still further to utilise the opportunity in a practical spirit by arranging for a great Exhibition of Indian Art Manufactures to be held at Delhi at the same time. I confidently assure the public that they will be greatly astonished at the range, the variety, and the beauty of this Exhibition. Whether it is true that the old Indian arts are being killed by European competition—a charge that is frequently brought by those who do not make the smallest effort to keep them alive themselves—or whether they are perishing from this apathy, or whether India merely provides, as I suspect, an illustration of a world-wide law, the fact remains that the process of extinction has not been carried nearly so far as

many suppose, and that the artificers still exist in India, even in these days of commercial ideals and debauched taste, who are capable of satisfying the demand for the artistic and beautiful and rare, if such a demand there be. I cannot pretend by a single exhibition to create it; but if it already be in existence—as I cannot but think—though perhaps dormant and abashed, then we may do a good deal by an opportunity such as this to revive and stimulate it; for we shall, I hope, both advertise to the world what we are capable of turning out, and also—which is much more important—encourage the aptitudes and educate the taste of our own people.

And now I wish to say a few words about an even more practical aspect of the case, *viz.*, the charge that will thereby be imposed upon the revenues of India. I have seen statements made about this subject that have startled even my hardened mind. It seems to be quite a popular thing to allege, in certain quarters, that the Durbar is going to cost India at least a crore: while in one responsible organ I read that Lord Curzon was going to throw away upon senseless pomp and show a sum of two millions sterling. Of course, too, our old friend Nero, who is alleged to have fiddled while Rome burned, has often been brought out for my special delectation. Personally, I deprecate the tendency to apply to every act of State, great or small, the sordid test of its actual equivalent in pice, and annas, and rupees. There are some things for which no expenditure can be too great, just as there are others for which none can be too small. But I quite recognize that these abstract considerations will not appeal to everybody, and that there are both seriousness and sincerity in the contention that, desirable and even necessary as the function may be, the public money should not be needlessly squandered upon it. This plea seems to me to be so reasonable that I propose to give to it the answer that it deserves.

It emanates, I think, from two classes of persons—from those who think that no money ought to be spent at Delhi

at all, while parts of India are suffering from drought or scarcity, and from those who are anxious that, while some money is spent, it should not be too much. I will deal with the first class first.

A few weeks ago it is true that we were in the greatest anxiety and trepidation as to what might be in store for us in Guzerat, in parts of the Deccan, in Ajmer, and in portions of the Central Provinces and the Punjab. But I can truthfully say that the past three weeks have been, on the whole, the happiest that I have spent since I came to India; for, by the merciful and continuous fall of rain in those tracts where it was most needed, we have, I believe, escaped all chance of real or wide-spread famine in the forthcoming winter; and though here and there we may be confronted with distress, yet nothing in the shape of a national calamity is to be feared. But even supposing that this rain had not fallen, or that I am all wrong in my prognostications now, does anyone suppose for a moment that, because we are going to expend a certain number of lakhs of rupees at Delhi, one penny less would have been devoted to the relief and sustenance of the destitute in other parts of India? At the beginning of the Famine of 1899, I gave the assurance on behalf of Government that not one rupee would be stinted or spared that could be devoted to the alleviation of distress and the saving of human life. That promise we faithfully fulfilled; and even if famine burst upon us now, or while the Durbar was proceeding, we should not take from the public purse a single anna that would otherwise be consecrated to the service of the poor. They have the first claim upon our consideration; and that claim we should regard it as an obligation of honour to discharge.

Then there is the second class of critics, who recognize that the Durbar must cost something, but are apprehensive lest it should be run on too exorbitant a scale. I am old enough to remember that the same criticism was rife at the time of Lord Lytton's Assemblage in the autumn of 1876.

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Famine was at that time abroad in the land, and loud were the denunciations, both in the Indian Press and even in Parliament at home, of his alleged extravagance and folly. And yet I have seen calculations made by Lord Lytton which show that, when all recoveries had been made, the net cost to India of the Delhi Assemblage was only £50,000, and of the entire rejoicings throughout India, Delhi included, £100,000.

In one respect we are in a somewhat different position now. The Assemblage of 1877 was an almost exclusively Official Assemblage. I have tried to gather, at the impending Durbar, representatives of all the leading classes of the community from every part of India. I want to make it a celebration, not of officials alone, but of the public. This means that we shall have at Delhi, in the forthcoming winter, larger camps, more guests, and, as a consequence, greater outlay than in 1877. Quite apart from our own arrangements, the improvement in communications and the social progress that have taken place in the last twenty-five years will bring together a much larger concourse of persons. Nearly everyone would like to be present; and the number who will actually be present will be very large. All these features will tend to increase the scale of the proceedings.

Notwithstanding these considerations, I desire to assure the public, who have a right to know, that the proposed arrangements are being run on strictly business-like and economical lines. I remember hearing Lord Salisbury, in a speech at the Guildhall before I left England, eulogise our future Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, for his ability to run a campaign on commercial principles. I think that in respect of the Durbar we may lay a similar flattering unction to our souls. The whole of the buildings and structures at Delhi that are being erected for the special purposes of the gathering are being made of materials that will retain their value after their preliminary use, and will be offered for public sale. In many cases recoveries of from 60 to 80 per cent. of the initial

outlay are thus expected. The tents, and carriages, and horses, which have had to be made or collected in such enormous numbers for the convenience of visitors, will be similarly disposed of; and here in many cases I expect that we shall retrieve 100 per cent. of the value. The entire electric plant for lighting the camps and the Fort is part of the machinery that has been ordered by the Military Department for instituting the great experiment of ventilating and lighting the barracks in India by electricity. Down to the smallest detail, we are so arranging that the money will not be thrown away, but in some form or other will come back. Then I take another form of recovery. As we all know, railways are, for the most part, Government property in this country; and whether we work them ourselves or through others, the whole or a considerable proportion of the profits come into our hands. I think that the critics may be invited to pause and wait to see the traffic receipts of December, January, and February next before they continue their lamentations. I shall be very much surprised if these returns do not put back into the pocket of Government the major portion of what it has spent. There are also the Postal and Telegraphic services, the profits of which pass into the Government chest, and from which we shall receive largely increased returns. Finally, I would invite those who are so fearful of an unremunerative outlay to open their eyes to what is going on, and has been going on for months past, in all parts of India. I assert that hundreds of thousands of Indian workmen and artisans are receiving full employment and good wages in preparing for this Durbar. Go to the cotton mills of Cawnpore and Jubbulpore and Lahore, where the tents are made, to the factories, where the harness and saddlery are turned out, to the carriage builders, where the landaus and victorias are being built by the hundred, to the carpet-factories, where the durries and rugs are being woven, to the furniture makers, where the camp equipage is manufactured. Go to every Native

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State, where the durzis and embroiderers will be found working double time. Go to any town or even village in India where a Native art industry exists, and has perhaps hitherto languished, but where you will find the coppersmiths and silversmiths, the carvers in wood and ivory and stone, the enamellers and painters and lacquerers, hard at work. Go to all these places, and then form an opinion as to the effect upon Indian labour of the Delhi Durbar. Supposing we were to follow the advice of some of our friends and to issue a proclamation suspending the entire proceedings to-morrow, I predict that a cry of protest and of appeal would be heard from one end of the country to the other, and that, without benefiting a single individual, we should deprive the Indian artisan of one of the greatest opportunities that he has enjoyed for generations, and inflict upon him a cruel and senseless injury.

I have thus argued that a large portion of the expenditure to be incurred at Delhi will be nominal only, and that we shall take back or give back to India with one hand what we expend with the other. Let me deal with the actual figures. In the Budget of last March we provided for an outlay of 26½ lakhs upon the Durbar. This is the sum that, in the fertile imagination of some writers, has been magnified to one crore, and even to two millions sterling. I do not include in this outlay the sum of 4 lakhs which have been devoted to the Arts Exhibition, because I do not suppose that anyone will be found to argue that that is an expenditure of public money upon the Coronation. The greater part of it will be recovered, and in any year, Coronation or otherwise, it would have been a prudent and remunerative expenditure of the public money. Neither do I take the 8½ lakhs provided for the troops. For we should not of course have expended that sum in bringing so large a number of troops to Delhi for the Durbar alone. It is being expended, in the main, upon the great military manœuvres that are an inseparable feature of modern military training, and that will

take place during the month preceding the Durbar, in the same way as the manœuvres held by Lord Dufferin in the same neighbourhood, independently either of Durbar or of Coronation, in the year 1886. There remain, then, the 26½ lakhs, supplemented by such local expenditure as may be imposed upon Local Governments by their preparations: and of the total sum, as I have pointed out, the greater part will most certainly be reimbursed. The actual net cost of the proceedings at Delhi it is of course impossible at this date to calculate or forecast, but I hope I have said enough to show that it will be almost immeasurably less than the dimensions which a too tropical imagination has allowed it to assume; and that a great State ceremonial will never have been conducted in India upon more economical lines.

I cannot help thinking that the sensitiveness about expenditure here, which I hope that I may have succeeded in allaying, has been to some extent fomented by the impression that prevailed, till a little while ago, that India might also be called upon to pay for a portion of the entertainment of the Indian visitors and Military Contingent, who recently proceeded to England to take part in the Coronation festivities there. This was a subject upon which the Government of India placed themselves some time ago in communication with the Home Government; and, as a sequel to this exchange of opinion, it was with pleasure that we heard that the Secretary of State had persuaded the Imperial Exchequer to assume the entire cost of all charges that had been incurred in England in connection with the Indian visitors. These include the entertainment of the Indian Chiefs and representatives, and of the Contingent representing the Army and Volunteers, as well as the entire cost of the India Office ceremony. The principle that each country should pay for its own guests is, in my opinion, incontestably right; and it will, I hope, be accepted and acted upon in the future.

I have now said enough, I hope, to show that, neither is

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Rome burning—on the contrary I believe that she stands on the threshold of an era of great prosperity—nor, most certainly, is Nero fiddling. I do not indulge much in prophecy in India; and I cannot say what unforeseen vicissitudes, internal or external, may lie in store for us. But, humanly speaking, we need not anticipate anything that is likely, during the few months that intervene between now and January next, to prevent us from joining in the Delhi gathering with clear consciences and joyous hearts. It only now remains for us to endeavour to make our celebration in India not less successful than that which has just been carried through in England. A good many eyes in a good many parts of the globe will be directed upon Delhi in January next; and we shall have an opportunity, not merely of testifying the enthusiastic loyalty of India to the King-Emperor, in the presence of his brother, but also of demonstrating to the world that India is not sunk in torpor or stagnation, but is alive with an ever-expanding force and energy. That all India should approach these ceremonies with one heart and mind and voice is my most earnest prayer; and that those who cannot take part in them at Delhi should hold similar rejoicings and be similarly entertained in the neighbourhood of their own homes, it is our hope and desire to arrange.

There is one small matter, personal to myself, which I may perhaps be allowed to mention before I conclude, because it also has a wider bearing. I have seen it assumed in many quarters that, as soon as the Durbar is over, and this anxiety has been removed, I am likely to resign my office and to flit away to England, in the pursuit of personal or political ambitions there. Indeed, I scarcely know how many times during the past two years similar stories have been flying about. Both the authors of these rumours and those who give credit to them do me an unconscious injustice in assuming that I could think of taking my hand off the plough before the end of the furrow is in sight. Not once since I have been in India has any such idea entered

my mind. Barring contingencies which cannot be foreseen, I have no intention whatever of so acting. Much of the work to which my Colleagues and myself have set our hands is still incomplete. So long as I receive from them an assistance which has never swerved or abated, and so long as health and strength are given to me to pursue the task, I should regard it as an abnegation of duty to lay it down. Whether the work be worth doing for the sake of the country, it is not for me to say. But I may be permitted to add that to me, at any rate, it appeals as the highest and most sacred of trusts.

DINNER TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND LADY PALMER.

16th Oct. 1902. [On Thursday evening, the 16th October, the Viceroy and Lady Curzon entertained Sir Power and Lady Palmer at dinner at Viceregal Lodge prior to their departure from Simla. A large number of guests were invited by Their Excellencies to meet them, including the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and Lady Rivaz, the Members of the Viceroy's Council, the Secretaries to Government, and other leading Military and Civil officials, besides many ladies. After the health of the King had been drunk, His Excellency the Viceroy rose and proposed the health of Sir Power and Lady Palmer in the following speech :—]

Your Honour, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise to propose the health of our guest of this evening, Sir Power Palmer, the retiring Commander-in-Chief, and of Lady Palmer. I believe it is a sad day to all of us, whether we are birds of passage, or whether we are here for a lifetime, when we turn our backs on India and bid adieu to this so-called Land of Regrets. Some there may be, though not, I think, many, who grumble and lament while they are here. But we all yield to the sensation of regret when we are finally called upon to go. But if there is any individual who is likely to feel this more than another, it is, I think, the soldier, to whom this country has been not

merely the home of his residence or the field of his employment for many years of his life, but the school of a profession to which he is deeply attached, and which has brought to him interest, excitement, knowledge of men, participation in public affairs, and very possibly fame. And if there is any one soldier to whom these sentiments are more permissible than another, it is he who has risen through all the grades of promotion, from the lowest to the highest, and who retires as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. To me, who am a mere Civilian, it always appears that that post is one of the finest, if not the finest, that a British soldier can fill, and perhaps if I think so, still more will the soldier think the same. (*Cheers.*) For it is not merely the size of the country, or the numerical strength of the Army, that makes the post so great. It is the air of stern reality and business about the whole thing, and the consciousness that the Army moves on a great field, and may be called upon to do great things. (*Cheers.*) Nobody can say that soldiering in India is a mere pastime (*applause*), or that the Staff Corps officer is a carpet knight. The lessons that he learns here are practised on distant fields, and he carries the name and reputation of the Indian Army on to the battlegrounds of South Africa and up to the walls of Peking. (*Loud cheers.*) I make these remarks because I am sure that it is from this point of view that our distinguished guest of this evening has always regarded the Army, and that, next to those family connections which have so happily grouped themselves around him during his concluding years in India, nothing is, or has been, so dear to his heart as the profession to which he belongs, and of which he has risen to be the head. (*Cheers.*)

I do not add to the many functions which I am called upon to perform in this country that of a military biographer (*laughter*); and therefore I do not feel competent to trace the various stages of Sir Power Palmer's career, from the time when he was a dashing subaltern to the

hour when he retires as a veteran Commander. But if I merely mention the successive names of the Mutiny, Abyssinia, Sumatra, Afghanistan, Suakim, the Chin Hills, and Tirah, I shall give a very fair idea of how varied and distinguished that career has been. (*Loud applause.*) We remember how the Jewish historians, after giving a rather perfunctory account of the life of a Hebrew monarch, disposed of all the remainder by saying "Now, the rest of his acts and all that he did, and his might and his wars, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings?" (*Laughter.*) In the same way, are not the records of our illustrious guest's career enshrined in those vast red volumes that break down our book-shelves (*laughter*), and that are understood to provide every good soldier with light reading in the few moments of leisure that he is able to snatch from a life of toil? (*Loud laughter.*) It seems a natural transition from the Indian Army List to poetry (*laughter*), so perhaps I may be allowed to condense what is there written with regard to Sir Power Palmer in Byron's familiar lines —

> "Thy days are done, thy fame begun,
> Thy country's strains record
> The triumphs of her chosen son,
> The slaughters of his sword,
> The deeds he did, the fields he won,
> The freedom he restored."

I saw the Commander-in-Chief raise his eyebrows when I quoted the words "Thy days are done" in the first line, and I should hasten to explain that these are purely metaphorical (*laughter*), for, when we speak of our guest's days being done, we are not, I hope, uttering a requiem upon anything more than a career of active service which has been unusually varied, honourable, and long. In all other respects we trust that many more days of happiness and health lie before him in the home land to which he is about to return. (*Applause.*)

Dinner to the Commander-in-Chief and Lady Palmer.

Perhaps, however, though I am ill qualified to deal with the earlier stages of Sir Power Palmer's career, I have some right to speak about the period of the last two and-a-half years during which he has been the head of the Indian Army and a Colleague of my own. I believe an impression prevails in outside circles either that the Commander-in-Chief in India leads the Viceroy by the nose, or, more rarely, that the Viceroy leads the Commander-in-Chief. (*Laughter.*) But there is a third alternative which, after all, is more likely, and which my experience of two Commanders-in-Chief leads me unhesitatingly to endorse. It is that the nose of neither party is ahead of the other (*laughter*), but that both are abreast. I am confident that Sir Power Palmer will support me when I say that this has been the happy and unbroken nature of our collaboration. (*Applause.*) We have been called upon to co-operate during an eventful epoch; for simultaneously the Indian Army has enjoyed unusual opportunities of service and distinction in foreign lands, and the improving nature of our finances has enabled us to do a great deal towards strengthening its efficiency and organisation in India itself. (*Cheers.*) The Commander-in-Chief has taken, as was to be expected, a leading part in both these branches of labour. It fell to him to organise and despatch the Indian force that effected the relief of Peking. (*Cheers.*) His discriminating choice has enabled many an Indian officer to add to his laurels in South Africa. (*Cheers.*) We have not, it is true, supplied him with any wider field of warfare in India itself, or on its borders, than a brush with the Mahsud Waziris: but I dare say that he has not been sorry to escape another Tirah, and the energies which might have been dissipated on that most unprofitable of all undertakings, a frontier campaign, he has accordingly been able to devote to the more satisfying work of internal reform. (*Cheers.*) He may look back, as he retires, upon an Army almost entirely re-armed with a modern

quick-firing rifle, supplied with a large increase of officers, and equipped, in respect of transport, with a *bonâ fide* organisation. He may contemplate a system of frontier defence worked out upon a scientific plan, and almost immeasurably superior to that of a few years ago. Mobilisation, coast defence, artillery re-armament, Madras reconstruction, Indian factories for the supply of materials and munitions of war—all of these will flit through his dreams in retirement, and will enable him to congratulate himself upon good work done in each of these lines. (*Applause.*) As he hands over the Indian Army to the control of the foremost English soldier of the time, he may confidently feel that it is a better and more finely equipped force than when he received the command of it in the spring of 1900. In his successor's hands we may be sure that the good work will continue, and that we may look forward to an era of uninterrupted and practical reform.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have hitherto spoken of the Cavalry officer, the soldier, and the Commander. In the present company, and in this place, we cannot also forget the Simla friend and neighbour, and the genial host of Snowdon. (*Cheers.*) Sir Power Palmer has shared our recreations as well as our labours; and the Masonic Hall, the polo ground, and football ground, and the ball room, will equally miss his commanding presence and lament his departure. (*Cheers.*) Where, too, shall we be without the charming lady (*loud cheers*) who has presided over his board and divided his triumphs? Somebody in writing to me the other day conveyed a compliment to my better three-quarters. (*Laughter.*) I am sure that no one will more heartily applaud me than our guest of this evening, if I say that a similar compliment may equally be transmitted to Lady Palmer. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to fill your glasses and to join me in drinking my toast, which is this—health and happiness, pleasant memories, and, as we all hope, opportu-

Dinner to the Commander-in-Chief and Lady Palmer.

nities of further distinction, to our retiring Commander-in-Chief, Sir Power Palmer, and to Lady Palmer. (*Loud cheers.*)

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief then rose and said :—

" *Your Excellency, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I find it difficult to reply suitably to the kind words that Your Excellency has said about Lady Palmer and myself, and to the eulogistic manner in which you have spoken of my career in the Army. When I joined the service at the tender age of sixteen, I, of course, never expected that I should climb from the bottom of the ladder to the topmost rung, and be the recipient of Your Excellency's hospitality to-night in my present position as Commander-in-Chief. My rather varied employment during a long career has given me somewhat exceptional opportunities, and it is most gratifying that such poor services as I have been able to render are so highly appreciated. (*Cheers.*) It would be as much out of place for me here to dilate on the brilliancy with which Your Lordship has tackled nearly every department of Government administration as to allude to the masterly manner in which various intricate problems of internal and external policy have been dealt with. (*Cheers.*) In fact, I feel that I am skating on rather thin ice to touch on such sacred subjects at all ; but I would like to take this opportunity of not only tendering Your Excellencies our heartfelt thanks for the many acts of personal kindness extended to the members of my family and myself, but to express my appreciation of the consideration which Your Lordship has always shown me when, as Commander-in-Chief, I have had to submit many complicated schemes of Army reform and measures which I trust will, in the fulness of time, work out to the best interests of the grand Army which I am so proud to command. (*Cheers.*) I consider it a high privilege to have been a Member of Your Lordship's Council, and wish that I could have been appointed to it at the age of twenty-five, as I look on its teaching as a most liberal education. (*Laughter.*) Any intolerance of a diversity of opinion that a man may feel on first joining it soon gives place to a beautiful Christian feeling of commiseration for those who are unable to see things through one's own spectacles. (*Laughter.*) It is a special privilege to have served on a Council in which such peace and harmony prevail. If one looks round the row of portraits of Your Excellency's distinguished predecessors that adorn the Council Room, it is impossible not to recollect that, if history can be believed, internecine war raged within the walls of the Chamber in the days of Warren Hastings, and much later, during contemporary history, it has leaked out that the Finance

Dinner to the Commander-in-Chief and Lady Palmer.

Member did not always repose on a bed of roses; but what is the case now? It is a sort of pocket millennium. (*Laughter.*) The lion of finance and the military lambs lie down together in peace and harmony; and the lion, instead of demolishing the lambs, cannot find it in his heart to deny them the necessaries of life to enable them to eventually develop into fine efficient fighting rams. (*Loud laughter.*) A witty official once described the Government of India as a 'Despotism of despatch boxes tempered by the occasional loss of the keys.' If the Military Member and myself have found the key to the adamantine hearts of our Honourable Colleagues, it must be that we have advanced nothing that has not appealed to their highest sense of justice, and I would also like to take the opportunity of thanking them for the statesmanlike manner in which our proposals have been dealt with, and for the patience displayed when matters, which, I am afraid, must have been as dry as dust to some of them, have been under discussion. (*Applause.*)

His Excellency has kindly referred to the part that Lady Palmer and myself have been able to take in social affairs at Simla. I think I can speak for my wife as well as myself in saying that we were never better pleased than when the Snowdon Ball Room was as full as it would comfortably hold. (*Cheers.*) I can assure you all that we shall always look back to the three seasons passed in this beautiful place as a very pleasant episode in our lives, and shall not forget the many acts of sympathy and kindness that we have received and the hospitality of our kind hosts to-night, which we have so frequently enjoyed. I thank Your Excellency on behalf of Lady Palmer and myself for the generous terms in which you have proposed our health, and my kind friends for the hearty manner in which you have received the toast. (*Loud cheers.*)"

BANQUET AT DATIA.

[The Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Curzon and His Excellency's Staff, left Simla on his annual autumn tour at 12 o'clock on Saturday, the 25th October. After spending a day at Delhi, Their Excellencies proceeded to Datia, where they arrived on the morning of the 27th October, and were entertained in the evening at a State banquet by the Maharaja of Datia. At the conclusion of dinner His Highness proposed the Viceroy's health in a brief speech, expressing his pleasure at His Excellency's visit and the gratification that he felt in receiving in his State the representative of the King. 27th Oct. 1902.

The Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have listened with great pleasure to the kind words of His Highness; and I hope that his health, which I know is not very strong, will not suffer by the exertions that he has undertaken in our interests to-day. More than once, as I have travelled along the railroad that passes this place, I have looked out of the window and noted the picturesque site of Datia, with the massive and sombre castle of Bir Singh Deo rising above its roof-tops. My desire to make a closer acquaintance with the place has been enhanced by my anxiety to meet the Maharaja, who is the senior in length of chieftainship of the Chiefs of Central India, and the representative of a ruling house that has been linked by nearly a century of friendship and alliance with the Government of India. His Highness is one of the few surviving Chiefs who were present at the Delhi Proclamation Assemblage in 1877, and it will be a great pleasure to me to welcome him at the forthcoming Durbar in a few weeks' time, at which we are about to celebrate on an even grander scale the Coronation of the King-Emperor. (*Applause.*)

The Maharaja told me this morning that no Governor General has been to Datia since Lord Moira more than 80 years ago. I am sure that Lord Moira could not have received from the ruler of that day a more cordial welcome or more gracious hospitality than His Highness has tendered to me to-day. (*Applause.*)

Address from the Municipality of Jhansi.

I should like to congratulate him upon undertaking the conversion of the depreciated currency of his State—a reform in which he has set an excellent example to his neighbours. I hope that as time passes he and his people may profit to an even greater degree than at present by the benefits of the Betwa Canal, which has been constructed at the expense of Government in the interests of this part of Bundelkhund and which is capable, by a proper utilisation of its distributary channels, of adding considerably to the fertility of the Datia State.

His Highness claims my sympathy as a devoted adherent of those field sports and active exercises that tend to promote manliness and health; and I hope that for many years to come he may continue to occupy the *gadi* of his State and to rule for the welfare of his people.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for having drunk my health at the instance of our noble host; and I ask you to join with me in reciprocating his courtesy by drinking a second toast to the health of His Highness the Maharaja of Datia. (*Applause.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF JHANSI.

28th Oct. 1902. [His Excellency the Viceroy and party left Datia on the morning of the 28th October and arrived soon after at Jhansi, where he was received by the principal Civil and Military officials of the city and district. A deputation of the Municipality was also present and presented an address, which, after welcoming the Viceroy as the first representative to visit Jhansi, expressed the gratitude of the people of Bundelkhund at the timely succour received from Government during the last two visitations of drought and famine. Reference was made to the slow progress of education, which it was hoped the introduction of the railway would remedy, and to the rapid improvement of trade and the development of the products of the district.

The Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—It surprises me to learn from your address

Address from the Municipality of Jhansi.

that, since the visit of Lord William Bentinck in 1832, no other representative of the Sovereign has halted at this celebrated spot. My own visit is due partly to the desire to see a place so conspicuous in ancient and even in more recent history, but still more to seize the opportunity of testifying the warm interest that is taken by the Government of India in your district and province.

In your address you have given rather a pathetic account of the physical and climatic misfortunes of Bundelkhund; and I do not think that you have at all exaggerated the adverse influences with which you have been compelled to contend. Your soil either yields in abundance or but little, your harvests are proverbially uncertain, you suffer equally whether the rainfall be heavy or deficient, you are liable to the ravages of the horrible weed known as *kans*, and perhaps these unfavourable circumstances have not been without their effect upon the courage and resistance of the people. In the last ten years there has been an accumulation of these calamities; and the famine of 1896-97, and in a lesser degree that of 1899-1900, fell upon a tract already enfeebled and depressed.

You have spoken of the gratitude which is felt by the people of Bundelkhund for the timely succour afforded to them on both these occasions by the British Government. It is true that we have done our best to help you in more ways than one. Between 1897 and 1900 arrears of 33½ lakhs of land revenue were remitted in Bundelkhund. In the present year, when we made large remissions in our Budget of March last, Bundelkhund was let off a further 2½ lakhs, of which one-half was in your district, the total remissions to Jhansi alone within the period named having amounted to more than 6½ lakhs. At the same time *takavi* has been given to the extent of nearly 10 lakhs. These measures have not exhausted either our willingness to help you or our sense of responsibility. In the present year we have ordered a further reduction in the revenue demand of

Address from the Municipality of Jhansi.

over six lakhs for a period of five years, out of which the Jhansi District will profit by a reduction of nearly one lakh. These, however, are palliatives rather than remedies; and Government would greatly like, if it be found possible, to strike at the root of the evil and to do something to relieve the agricultural indebtedness by which the loyal proprietors of this tract are becoming increasingly weighed down, and so to save them from the dangers of ultimate expropriation. In the immense expanse of the Indian continent Bundelkhund does not perhaps excite a wide attention. Its vicissitudes and its treatment are submerged in the fate of a larger whole. But if your sufferings and hardships have been out of proportion to your area or your numbers, so also I would desire the attitude of Government to be exceptional in its consideration, since I would sooner give much to those who have little, than more to those who have much.

Your address contains one cheering piece of news, namely, that in the present autumn you are enjoying a bumper crop. It seems particularly opportune that this good luck should befall you in the year of the Coronation of the Sovereign to whom you have expressed your fervent loyalty and devotion; while I regard it as a happy omen also that the first official visit of his representative to Jhansi should have coincided with these brighter prospects.

Gentlemen, allow me to thank you sincerely for your eloquent assurances of attachment to the Throne, and for the friendly eagerness which you have displayed to take advantage of my short stay here to express your good wishes to Lady Curzon and myself.

BANQUET AT KOTA.

[Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon and Staff arrived at Kota, on Thursday, the 6th November, 1902. The following day the Maharao of Kota entertained the Viceregal Party at a State dinner in the Palace. In proposing Their Excellencies' health after dinner, His Highness spoke as follows :— 7th Nov. 1902.

"*Your Excellency*,—No words of mine can express the joy and pride with which I welcome Your Excellency and Lady Curzon as my guests to Kota. I am happy to think that I am the first of all the Chiefs of Kota to receive this honour, and that Kota is the first of all the States in Rajputana to receive Your Excellency on this occasion. The memory of this good fortune will ever remain with me and with my people. The Viceroy's visits to a Native State are rightly valued. They enable the ruler to show his loyalty to the Throne, and to seek advice from the Viceroy regarding matters of most importance to his people. They afford an occasion for looking into the affairs of the State and putting them into order. On the other hand, they offer the Governor General an opportunity of noting the manner in which the Chief fulfils his trust, and of giving him advice and help should he need it.

"Your Excellency has shown most kind and practical sympathy with the Native States in India which have been affected by scarcity and famine. I am most grateful to Your Excellency for the generous aid which you have given to me and to my people. Your Excellency will, I know, be glad to hear that my State is recovering, though slowly, from the calamity of 1900, which carried off nearly two lakhs of my people. There is no doubt that the railway saved us from even greater misfortune. A matter of first importance to my State is the extension of the Bina-Baran Railway. I am very hopeful that Your Excellency will be good enough to order the extension of the new line until it joins the Rajputana-Malwa Railway in the west. The value of the railway is shown by the fact that in the famine the price of food grains was twice as high at Kota as it was at Baran only 45 miles away.

"I am well aware that Her Majesty the Queen has the welfare of the women of India at heart, and that Her Excellency Lady Curzon is doing all in her power to give medical aid to women of all classes in this country. In memory of Her Excellency's visit to Kota I intend to appoint a Lady Doctor to my Victoria Jubilee Hospital. This visit to a distant place like Kota must have cost Your Excellencies no little inconvenience and fatigue. I trust that it has given Your Excellencies some part of the pleasure which it has brought to me and to my people, and that you will carry away some happy memories of it.

Banquet at Kota.

I wish that you could have stayed here longer and that I could have done more to make your visit pleasant.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to join me in drinking most heartily to the health of our illustrious guests, Lord and Lady Curzon, and in wishing them many years of happiness and honour."

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

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad that my tour in Rajputana, the classic ground of Indian bravery and romance, should commence at a State that is ruled over by a young prince of so excellent a record and so good a promise as the Maharao of Kota: and I am pleased to learn from his speech that His Highness shares this feeling. It is six years since His Highness, then a very young man, received full powers of administration, and from that date until now his progress has been uninterrupted. In 1899, the partition of Jhalawar added a large slice to his territory. In 1900 I had myself the satisfaction of conferring upon him a K.C.S.I., and in January of the present year I invited him to attend the Conference at Calcutta which I convened to discuss the future of the Chiefs' Colleges, and the results of which are now in course of being carried into practical effect. His Highness, who is an old and devoted pupil of the Mayo College at Ajmer, was able to give us useful information and advice.

It is quite true, as the Maharao has remarked, that Kota suffered severely in the last famine; and the State has in consequence been temporarily embarrassed by debt. His Highness, however, though he did not say this, has set the best of examples by reducing his personal expenditure, and by postponing certain forms of outlay upon which he would otherwise have embarked. (*Cheers.*) He has converted the old-fashioned and depreciated Native currency, and, as he has just told us, he is intensely keen for the arrival of the Baran-Ajmer-Marwar Railway, which will cheapen prices in the next period of scarcity, and will otherwise develop the prosperity of the State and its people.

Banquet at Bundi.

I must thank His Highness most warmly for the ample hospitality which Lady Curzon and I are receiving at his hands, for the kind words in which he has proposed our healths, and for the practical manner in which he proposes to commemorate Lady Curzon's visit to the Women's Hospital at Kota. It is a source of the greatest pleasure to me to visit a State which has so historic a past as Kota, and which is in the hands of so capable and patriotic a Chief. I wish him all success in his career, and I ask the present company to join me in drinking cordially to His Highness's health. (*Applause.*)

BANQUET AT BUNDI.

[The Viceregal Party arrived at Bundi on the 9th November, and on the evening of the following day the Maharao Raja gave a State dinner in honour of Their Excellencies in camp. In proposing Their Excellencies' health after dinner, His Highness made the following remarks:— 10th Nov. 1902.

"*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—With all my heart I welcome Your Excellencies here; and it is a matter of special delight to me to think that, though Bundi is far from the railway, yet Your Excellencies have graciously done my State and myself the great honour of your kind visit even at much personal inconvenience to you. This shows Your Excellencies' great kindness to me; and the event will, no doubt, ever remain memorable, My Lord, in the history of Bundi, for which we are all much indebted to Your Excellencies. I now ask all my friends assembled here to enthusiastically drink to the health of Their Most Gracious Majesties, the Emperor and the Empress, and of my patrons, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon, with the hearty prayer that God may grant every success and prosperity to the rule of the British."

His Excellency the Viceroy spoke as follows:—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Nearly eighty years ago, in 1823, Mr. John Adam, while officiating as Governor General pending the arrival in India of Lord Amherst, paid a visit to Bundi and was received with great honour by the then Maharao Raja, as the representative of the British Crown. Perhaps the fact which the Maharao has mentioned, namely, that the State is so far from

the railway, is the real explanation why no Governor General has been to Bundi since those days. It gives me much pleasure to be the first to break this long spell of absence, and to see the Chief of this old-world and conservative State in the picturesque surroundings of his ancestral home. (*Cheers.*) Even the most out-of-the-way places are now brought into contact with civilisation, and parts of India hitherto isolated and remote are being drawn together by forces which none can resist. For instance, the late famine in 1899-1900, which hit Bundi very hard, and for his services in connection with which I had the gratification of recommending the Maharao Raja for a G.C.I.E. in 1901, has taught the State the advantages of a railway, and His Highness pointed out to me yesterday what he hopes will be the site of the Bundi station on the future Baran-Marwar line.

I am very much obliged to His Highness for his kindness in proposing our healths, and both Lady Curzon and I will always retain agreeable recollections of his gracious entertainment of us at his capital city, unique and famous even among the many beauties and marvels of Rajputana. I ask you now, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join me in drinking the health of our illustrious host, His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi. (*Cheers.*)

BANQUET AT UDAIPUR.

15th Nov. 1902. [The Viceregal Party reached Udaipur by train from Nasirabad on Saturday morning, the 15th November, 1902. During the day there was an exchange of visits between the Viceroy and the Maharana, a garden party at Sahelika-Bagh, and a State dinner at the Palace in the evening. After dinner the Maharana, with his principal Sirdars, joined the Viceroy and the other guests at the dinner table, when Major Pinhey, on behalf of the Maharana, read the following speech :—

"*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—With Your Excellencies' permission, I rise to express, on behalf of His Highness

Banquet at Udaipur.

the Maharana, the great pleasure it has afforded him to welcome Your Excellencies to Udaipur.

"Ever since Your Excellencies arrived in India, His Highness has been looking forward to this event, and he was much disappointed when, owing to the late severe famine in Rajputana, the pleasure of making your acquaintance was unavoidably postponed.

"It is a source of great joy that the desire of his heart has at length been fulfilled, under the happiest circumstances, and he thanks you most sincerely for having undertaken this long journey to his capital when your time must be fully occupied with so many important matters of State. Since Lord Elgin's visit, the Udaipur-Chitor Railway has been completed, and His Highness is glad to think that Your Excellencies have been spared the long and fatiguing drive from the former terminus at Debari.

"His Highness is especially gratified at the presence of Lady Curzon on this auspicious occasion, being well aware of the great interest Her Excellency takes in the welfare of the women of India, and he trusts that she will find an opportunity during her stay in Udaipur of visiting the Walter Hospital for Women.

"I now ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of His Highness the Maharana, to drink to the health of his honoured guests the Viceroy and Lady Curzon."

His Excellency the Viceroy then rose and spoke as follows :—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is the object of every traveller in India to visit a place so renowned for its natural features, its historic past, and the courtesy of the reception that it offers to all newcomers, as Udaipur. Equally, and I think still more, is it the desire of every Viceroy of India to pay an official visit to a State so distinguished for its loyalty as Mewar, and to make the acquaintance of its illustrious and hospitable Chief. His Highness is always adding to the comforts of his Viceregal guests. For whereas Lord Lansdowne only accomplished his journey to Udaipur by driving all the way from Chitor, Lord Elgin was brought here by the railway as far as Debari, and now His Highness has completed the line to the gates of his capital, so that the visit of a Viceroy to this place is not merely a source of unmixed pleasure but is accomplished with equal rapidity and ease. (*Applause.*)

Banquet at Udaipur.

His Highness has been good enough to say that ever since my arrival in India he has been looking forward to making my acquaintance, and that he regretted the abandonment of the Rajputana tour which I had projected three years ago, but which I gave up in consequence of the famine. That change of plan, which I greatly deplored at the time because of its cause, has had its compensations. For it has enabled me in the interval to learn more of the States and Chiefs whom I am now visiting than would have been possible for me to acquire had my tour taken place during my first year of office: and it has taught me that the Maharana is a conscientious and hard-working ruler, who lives a simple and exemplary life, and devotes himself assiduously to the interests of his people. (*Applause.*) Perhaps, if anything, His Highness taxes himself too severely, and might allow himself a little respite and a little outside assistance.

As I proceed from one State to another in Rajputana, I note the terrible ravages that were left by the great famine of nearly three years ago. His Highness told me to-day of the woeful diminution that it has made in the population of his State. But he also told me—which was good news—that with better crops and brighter times his people are making rapid recovery. It will take Mewar long to make up all the leeway that has been lost: but I earnestly hope that there may be no check or set back in the progress of recuperation.

His Highness has, in the course of his remarks, offered a courteous compliment to Lady Curzon, and I am sure that it will give her the utmost pleasure to visit the Walter Hospital for Women in Udaipur, where is being carried on the good work which she has done her best to foster while in India, and which she has so much at heart.

And now must I not add a tribute of homage to the fairy surroundings in which we find ourselves, and to the hospitality of which we are the recipients? Most beautiful among the beauties, grandest even amid all the grandeur, of Rajputana, Udaipur, as I have seen it to-day, and as we see it

to-night, will leave an impression on our minds which nothing can efface. With its snow-white palaces and pavilions, with its flower gardens and shady groves, with its wooded islands and its exquisite lakes, it seems to the visitor a fitting framework for a dynasty of immemorial age, for incidents of romance and daring, and for a Chief who is himself an embodiment of the pride, the dignity, and the patriotism of his race. (*Loud cheers.*) Mewar will not perhaps always retain the primitive simplicity of the ancient model. Slowly but surely it will yield to the advancing spirit of the times. It is even desirable that it should do so. But as it moves forwards and onwards, we hope that its rulers may always be animated by the same nobility of character and sentiment that characterises its present Chief. (*Applause.*)

His Highness concluded his speech by inviting the present company to drink to our health; and they have most kindly responded to the appeal. With a pleasure that I cannot exaggerate, I now return the compliment by asking you all, Ladies and Gentlemen, to pledge an answering toast to our princely host, the Maharana of Udaipur. (*Loud cheers.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE AJMER MUNICIPALITY.

[On the arrival of the Viceregal Party at Ajmer on the 18th November, 1902, an address of welcome was presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Municipal Committee, which was read at the railway station by Colonel Loch, the President. The address referred to the fact that His Excellency had had to postpone his projected tour in Rajputana in 1899 on account of the famine then existing and expressed great appreciation of his present visit. It conveyed assurances of loyalty and attachment to the King-Emperor, and congratulated the Viceroy on the many valuable reforms which he had introduced, mentioning particularly the efforts made by His Excellency in connection with local archæological conservation and restoration. Passing on to local matters, the need for improvement in the sanitation of the city and in the water-supply was mentioned. Reference was made to Lady Curzon's scheme for

18th Nov. 1902.

Address from the Ajmer Municipality.

the education and provision of competent midwives on behalf of the women of India, and a hope was expressed that certain local railway extension schemes would secure His Excellency's support.

The Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—When I spent a couple of days here in the late autumn of 1899, this district was suffering so severely from famine that I preferred not to associate my tour with any official receptions or with demonstrations of a public character. I accordingly did not have the pleasure of meeting the members of the Ajmer Municipality on that occasion. Now, however, I find myself in Ajmer under brighter and more prosperous conditions ; and I gratefully avail myself of the opportunity to receive your expressions of loyalty and attachment to the Throne, which are offered with peculiar appropriateness in the Coronation year of His Majesty, and also your kindly welcome to Lady Curzon and myself.

You have spoken with sympathy of the very considerable works of archæological restoration in this place which I ordered on the occasion of my former visit. I have been fortunate in finding a most faithful and enthusiastic instrument for their execution in the person of your Commissioner, Mr. Tucker, and I am about to inspect the results of his labours during my present stay in Ajmer. When I was here before, the Anasagar Lake had not a drop of water in it ; the marble embankment had been disfigured, partly by vandalism, partly by decay ; and the buildings upon it had either been converted into European dwelling-houses or were in ruins. Now we have restored all these beauties as far as possible to their pristine state, and Shah Jehan's "Garden of Splendour," with its marble terrace and fairy pavilions, shining reflected in the waters, once more deserves, at least to some extent, its ancient name. We have also done a good deal for the proper preservation of the exquisite Arhai-din-ka-Jhonpra Mosque ; and if our restorations have not been accomplished within the "Two and-a-half days," which are supposed in the legend to have

sufficed for the original erection of the building, I hope we may urge that, though doubtless less skilful, we have also shown ourselves less hurried, workmen than our predecessors. The policy of archæological conservation and restoration with which I charged myself soon after I came to India is now, I am glad to say, bearing its first-fruits in all parts of the country: and when the time comes for me to go, I not only hope that the Government of India may be able to point to good work already achieved, but that the principle of State responsibility, State interest, and State outlay on these objects may have taken such deep root that never again will it be ignored. India not only possesses what is in my opinion by far the most wonderful and varied collection of ancient monuments in the world: I want them also to be the best looked after, the most respectfully handled, the most tenderly restored. One of the first duties of the present is reverence for whatever was beautiful or noble in the past.

Gentlemen, you have been good enough in your address to express a similar interest in the future of other reforms which my Colleagues and I have undertaken, and to say that you believe that they will be for the lasting good of India. That is the hope of every reformer: indeed, it is the main, if not the sole, justification for reform. Whether it will be realised in the present case will depend more upon others than upon myself. The sweat of my brow has gone into the foundations; but whether they have been well and truly laid, or whether they will support a worthy superstructure, will be determined by those who come after.

To pass to local matters. You have in your address spoken of the urgent need that exists in this city for sanitary and other improvements. I believe that what you say is true; but are you quite sure that you have not within your own hands the power of advancing some of these measures that you so earnestly desire? I expect that, if you set yourselves seriously to devise fresh sources of

revenue, these would before long be found; and I commend to the Ajmer Municipality as a sound principle of Municipal finance, the aphorism that if you want to fill your pockets you must also sometimes harden your hearts.

I will not pass an opinion upon the local railway projects to which you have called my attention, since they are of a character that will be more dependent for execution upon the agency of Native States or of private enterprise than upon Government aid.

I must add a word of gratitude for your recognition of Lady Curzon's scheme to provide and educate competent Native midwives for Indian women. Nothing would give her greater pleasure than to bring Ajmer within the range of this project, and to connect it with the contemplated Female Hospital here.

You are about to lose a Chairman in Colonel Loch who has for many years devoted to your service the combined attributes of patience, industry, and sound judgment. The best wish that I can offer to you, and perhaps not the least complimentary *vale* that I can tender to him, is that you may find an equally competent successor to take his place.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT THE MAYO COLLEGE, AJMER.

19th Nov. 1902. [On the afternoon following his arrival at Ajmer, the Viceroy visited the Mayo College and distributed the prizes to the students in the presence of a large assembly. Colonel Loch, the Principal of the College, read a report on the progress of the students. He said that six out of the eighteen Ruling Chiefs of Rajputana had been educated at it, and in addition a large percentage of those serving in the Imperial Cadet Corps had been recruited from the College.

At the close of Colonel Loch's report the Viceroy distributed the prizes, after which he addressed the assembly as follows:—]

Colonel Loch, Pupils of the Mayo College, Ladies and

Distribution of Prizes at the Mayo College, Ajmer.

Gentlemen,—Two of my predecessors, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elgin, have distributed prizes at the Mayo College. A third and earlier Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, opened it. I come here as the fourth in this unbroken line of succession to testify my interest in the College, and to speak to you a few words about the manner in which it has been in my power to demonstrate it. Had the College been in session and had I presided in this Hall when first I visited Ajmer three years ago, my sympathies would have been not less warm than they are now. But I should not have enjoyed the same opportunities of vindicating them, and I should not have been able to state to you so unreservedly what the new and, as I hope, liberal policy of the Government of India towards this and similar institutions is to be.

As Viceroy of India I feel an intense responsibility for these Chiefs' Colleges. They were founded upon an English model which was itself an innovation in this country, and which threw upon the authors of it either the credit for success or the blame for failure; and they were instituted for the sake of the Indian Chiefs and their sons, who are the special interest of the Viceroy, because he manages all relations with them, and is, so far as the need for it arises, their patron and protector and friend. I felt all the greater responsibility when I recognized that these Colleges, in spite of the good results which they have produced and the admirable pupils whom they have turned out, had not won the entire confidence of the Chiefs to the extent that the Government of India have always desired, and had not therefore completely fulfilled the conception of their founders. It was to discuss these matters that I held the Conference at Calcutta in January last, at which Colonel Loch and Mr. Sherring among others were present, and at which we threshed out pretty well every question, great and small, connected with the future of the Mayo and other Rajkumar Colleges. Our views have now been circulated for reference to the various local authorities and to

the Chiefs, and it is about them that I desire to say a few words this afternoon.

First let me state the principles upon which I proceed. In my view it is essential to the welfare of a nation that its aristocracy should not be divorced from its public life. Those countries in which the nobility have detached themselves or have been separated by circumstances from the current of the national existence, where they have ceased to be actors and become merely spectators, are either in a state of suspended progress, or are like a man with his right arm bandaged and in a sling. He is badly handicapped when he finds himself in a tight place. Whether the aristocracy of birth and descent be in principle a sound or an unsound thing, there can be no question of its popularity, its wide range of influence, and its efficacy as an instrument of rule. In India the aristocracy has a stronger position than in almost any European country that I know. For it has behind it the records of ancient lineage and brave deeds, it is respected and even beloved by the people, and under the system of adoption that has been sanctioned by the British Government, it is practically incapable of extinction. With all these advantages in its favour there ought to be no country where the aristocratic principle should so easily and thoroughly justify itself. But the Chiefs and Nobles in India have to fight against a double danger. On the one side is the survival of the archaic and obsolete idea that rank is a dispensation from work instead of a call to it, and that a Chief need do nothing in the world beyond spend the money drawn from his people and enjoy himself. This old-fashioned idea is dying fast. But there are always a certain number of persons, either fossils or parasites, who are concerned in trying to keep it alive; and so long as it continues to exist, the Indian aristocracy cannot put forth the full measure of its great influence and strength. Then there is the second danger, which is in my judgment much more alarming. This is the danger that in

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our desire to train up the rising generation to a wider conception of their duties, we may allow their training to run ahead of their opportunities, and may produce in them inclinations or capacities which are unsuited to their surroundings, or for which there is afterwards an insufficient field.

This is the chief preoccupation that has been present in my mind in considering the future of the Chiefs' Colleges ever since I have been in India. It is of no use to bring the boys here, and then to teach them things which will not be of service to them in after life. Neither is it of any use to turn out a perfect type of a polo-player or a gentleman and then find nothing for him to do. We cannot go on playing polo all our lives: while even a gentleman is better when he is doing something than when he is idle. These Colleges must not be forcing houses which stimulate an artificial growth or produce a precocious bloom, but open air gardens where the plant can follow a healthy and organic development. Hence it is that at the Calcutta Conference and ever since, we have been working out our plans, firstly to make the training that we give here more practical, and secondly to connect it more directly with the duties and demands of the life that we want to provide for the young man when he has left the College. (*Applause.*)

With the first of these objects in view we propose to make considerable changes both in the teaching staff and in the curriculum of the Chiefs' Colleges. We mean to have more masters and the highest type of them: and we propose for all of the Colleges what you have here already, *viz.*, a separate course of studies for the pupils distinct from the prescribed courses of the Education Department—which were instituted for other purposes and are not always suitable. We also hope to arrange for separate systems of examination and inspection. Our idea is that we do not want to turn out from the Chiefs' Colleges precisely the same type of educational product that is manufactured by

the thousand elsewhere; but that, if a boy is to be a Ruling Chief or a Minister or a Magistrate, we want to give him the education that will make him a good ruler or administrator or judge; if he is to be a *thakor* or *zemindar*, the education that will make him a good landowner; if an Imperial Cadet or an officer of the Imperial Service Troops, the education that will make him a good officer and leader of men. Then as regards opportunities, we shall, I hope, as time proceeds, find no lack of opening for the activities of those whom we shall have thus trained. I have deliberately organised the Imperial Cadet Corps upon the basis of the Rajkumar Colleges; and the bulk of the Cadetships will be given to their pupils. Thus there is a direct object in view to which the best boys will always aspire and which will be the goal of their collegiate ambitions. I hope, as time goes on, that even further openings may be found for the abilities of boys who pass through these Colleges: and that the Kumar, instead of beginning his education when he enters these walls, and finishing it when he leaves them, may regard his College career here as only one stage—though not the least important—in a life of public industry and usefulness. (*Applause.*)

In carrying out the programme of reform which I have sketched, Government are not going to stint their own liberality. We are prepared to spend an additional sum of nearly a lakh a year in improving the system. It is not money which we shall be spending upon ourselves, or from which Government will reap a direct return. But it will be money devoted to the cause of the Indian aristocracy, which in my view is bound up with the British Government in this country, and stands or falls with it; and it will be money devoted to making better citizens and more valuable public servants of those who are by birth and inheritance the natural pillars of the State. (*Applause.*)

Now, as I said at Calcutta, if Government is thus bestirring itself and loosening its purse strings for the sake of

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the class for whom this and the other Chiefs' Colleges were founded, then I think that the leaders of that class, in other words the Indian Chiefs, must play their part in return. We are not going to force down their throats anything distasteful or repugnant to them. I have already consulted many upon the changes that we propose to introduce, and this College was represented at the Conference by one of the best of its former pupils who is now a ruling Chief, *viz.*, the Maharao of Kota. I have further issued a circular letter inviting the opinions of all of the Chiefs as to the manner and degree in which we shall be wise in introducing the projected reforms; and I shall lose no opportunity of inviting their co-operation. To what extent that co-operation is required may be shown by the fact that though the Mayo College can accommodate 100 boys, there are at present only 52 on the rolls.

Udaipur ought to be one of your chief supporters, but I have heard that there is at present only one boy in the College from that important State. In my recent visit to its just and capable ruler, I asked him whether he could not encourage a more friendly attitude in his State; and he assured me that he would freely and gladly give me his aid. I am sanguine that this will produce good results: and I shall hope to evoke a similar response elsewhere.

Colonel Loch in his speech has told us of the satisfactory results of the last examination, which certainly could not have been conducted by anyone possessing greater experience, sympathy, or authority than Mr. Waddington: and he has further brought to my notice the insufficiency of the water supply in the summer. I will look into this matter and see if anything can be done to help you.

Pupils of the College, I have been kept so busy with the various things that I wanted to say upon the present occasion about the future of this and the other Chiefs' Colleges, that I have had no time to utter any words of sympathy or encouragement to yourselves. After all I do

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not think that they are necessary. Boys listen to homilies with great earnestness, but I think that they also forget them with great ease. Anyhow, you know for certain that I must feel a keen interest in your welfare, from the manner in which I have taken up the question of the future of the Colleges, and from other opportunities that I have enjoyed during the past four years of showing a warm and sincere concern. If I could leave India feeling that I had really done something to place these institutions upon a more assured basis, to win the confidence of the fathers, and to spur the sense of duty of the sons, I should feel that I had not laboured entirely in vain. (*Applause.*)

There is now no time for me to speak to you at greater length. But there is one pleasant office which no pressure of time must permit me to ignore. This is the last Prize Day upon which the pupils of the Mayo College will have been addressed by their present Principal, Colonel Loch. Twenty-four years of his life has that officer devoted to the service of this College: and his name will always be inseparably associated with its early history, its steadily growing successes, and its established reputation. He regards the College with all and more than the affection of a parent; and in many a State in India, both in Rajputana and much farther afield, are there to be found "old boys," as we call them in England, now administering properties or ruling States, who entertain toward him an almost filial affection and esteem. As the present head of the Government which he has so long and faithfully served, and as President of this College, I have the greatest pleasure in publicly thanking him for his eminent and distinguished service, which the Mayo College, its pupils, its well-wishers, and its friends, are never likely to forget. (*Loud applause.*)

BANQUET AT JODHPUR.

[The Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Curzon, and His Excellency's Staff, arrived at Jodhpur on the morning of the 22nd November and were received by the Maharaja, the Agent to the Governor-General, the Resident, and the principal European and Native officials of the State. The customary ceremonial visits took place after the Viceroy's arrival and His Excellency reviewed the Imperial Service Cavalry in the course of the day. In the evening the Maharaja entertained Their Excellencies and Party at a State banquet. His Highness joined the guests after dinner and in proposing Their Excellencies' health spoke as follows :— 22nd Nov. 1902.

"*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—With Your Excellencies' permission, I rise to express the unbounded joy and pleasure it has afforded me to welcome Your Excellencies to Marwar. It is an especially auspicious occasion because Lady Curzon has been pleased to grace my capital with a visit and to inspect the Jaswant Hospital founded by my beloved father for the benefit of the female population of Marwar. Words fail me to give sufficient expression to the grateful emotions of my mind, and I beg to tender my respectful thanks for the great honour Your Excellencies have done me. It is needless for me to say that myself, my family, and my State will always be found ready to place all their resources at the service of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor. It was indeed my great ambition to have taken part in the late China Expedition; but ill-health unfortunately prevented me from fulfilling the desire of my heart. I have, however, taken the liberty of communicating to His Excellency the Viceroy my earnest desire that I may be accorded the high honour of serving under the British Flag in the Somaliland Expedition. Now that I have so far recovered as to be fit for active service in any part of the Empire, I would like very much to be found useful. I already owe His Excellency a deep debt of gratitude for the great honour he has done me by associating my name with the Imperial Cadet Corps. Among the innumerable blessings and benefits conferred on the Chiefs and people of India by His Excellency's enlightened and sympathetic Government during the last four years, the scheme initiated by His Excellency for the formation of the Imperial Cadet Corps commands our greatest admiration and respect, as this institution, regarded from every point of view, is, I think, calculated to prove of immense value and to make its mark in the future. I am also deeply indebted to His Excellency for the timely and generous help, both material and moral, accorded to me during the last great famine. The relief thereby afforded to suffering

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humanity and dumb cattle has saved the country to a no mean extent, and His Excellency will, I know, feel greatly interested to hear that Marwar has been gradually recovering from the effects of that famine. The policy of railway extension inaugurated by my father, of beloved memory, has never failed to receive my earnest attention, and during the last seven years, 135 miles have been added to the Jodhpur line. Again, by linking the Marwar Railway with the Kota-Baran line, a shorter connection to Calcutta with Karachi than any at present existing will be established.

"I must not trespass longer on your kindness. Indeed I feel very nervous in speaking at greater length before such a commanding personality as Lord Curzon, and so content myself with requesting you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join with me in drinking the health of our illustrious guests, Lord and Lady Curzon."

His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In some of the States that I have visited, and by whose Chiefs I have been entertained, I have been able to congratulate my hosts upon good work achieved and a reputation earned. The future of our host of this evening, His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur, lies before him, and it is for him to sustain the traditions of the noble Rahtor clan of Rajputs, of which he is the head, of his predecessor and father under whose rule the people prospered, and of the State itself, which has a record of loyalty and chivalry second to none. All these traditions it is possible for His Highness, by a life of devotion to duty and of self-restraint, worthily to uphold; and I hope that while still a young man he will remember that a two-fold reputation is in his hands, *viz.*, that of the State of which he is the head, as well as his own.

For a year past His Highness has been a member of the Imperial Cadet Corps, to which I am glad to hear from him that he esteems it a privilege to belong and where he has been keen and painstaking in his duties. I hope that this experience, if further prolonged, may supply His Highness with a zest and a discipline that he may be able to turn to good use in later years.

In one respect I have been fortunate in my dealings

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with the Marwar State. Predecessors of mine, as they have been to Jodhpur and have replied to the toast of their healths, have commented upon the two splendid regiments of Imperial Service Cavalry, the Sirdar Risala, that were raised by this State at the inception of the Imperial Service Troops movement, and that were brought to so high a pitch of smartness and efficiency by their first Commandant, Sir Pertab Singh. It has been reserved for me, as I said this afternoon on the parade ground, not merely to praise them but to employ them, and this not in local service or in frontier warfare, but in an Imperial campaign on a distant field. I found when I came to this country that though primarily organised for the defence of India, the Imperial Service Contingents here and elsewhere were burning to distinguish themselves on a wider ground of action: and I deliberately, and as an act of State policy, recommended that this desire should be gratified. (*Applause.*) It was with the greatest pleasure that I obtained permission to send one of the Jodhpur regiments, most generously offered by the Chief, to China: and there, as we all know, it comported itself with credit and discipline. I believe that this action may in time come to be regarded as the first step in a policy of military co-operation which will place the forces of the great feudatories of the British Crown in India alongside of their British and Indian comrades of the regular army, upon many a battle ground, should battles have to be fought, for the sake of the common Empire. In such a case Marwar is one of those States upon the loyalty of which the British Government knows that it can always most firmly reckon, and which may be depended upon to seize any opportunity for an advance to the front, wherever that front may be. I also believe that His Highness spoke with perfect sincerity when he volunteered his personal services in Somaliland or in any other part of the Empire: and I acknowledge the loyal and manly spirit of his offer. (*Loud applause.*)

Banquet at Bikaner.

Meanwhile the State, as the Chief has told us, is developing its resources in other directions: and the completion of the railway through Bikanir on the one side to Bhatinda on the Punjab lines, and westwards to Hyderabad in Sind on the other side, will bring Jodhpur into a closer connection with the outer world than it has ever previously enjoyed, and must favourably affect the prosperity and welfare of its people.

I cannot lay any claim to the compliments which His Highness has bestowed upon me. But I am more than grateful for his courtesy in entertaining Lady Curzon and myself and in proposing our healths: and with these feelings I cordially propose his health. (*Applause.*)

BANQUET AT BIKANER.

25th Nov. 1902. [The Viceregal Party arrived at Bikaner on Monday morning, the 24th November, 1902, and on the following evening His Highness the Maharaja entertained Their Excellencies at a State banquet, a number of guests having been asked to meet them. At the conclusion of dinner, the Maharaja, having joined his guests, proposed the health of Their Excellencies in a long speech. He expressed the special pleasure he felt at the visit having taken place at last, and under such happy circumstances; though, owing first to the famine and now to the approaching Durbar at Delhi, he had feared that it might not take place at all. Lord Curzon was the first Viceroy to be received in Bikaner by its Maharaja since he received full ruling powers. He went on to say that he could conscientiously state that he had done his best to fulfil the promise given to Lord Elgin to carry on the Bikaner administration in an honest and straightforward manner and in the best interests of the State and its subjects; and, in acknowledging the encouragement from the Viceroy, he gave a brief review of his administration since he assumed charge of the State on December 16th, 1898, especially dealing with the famine of 1899-1900 and the measures taken to cope with it: expressing his indebtedness to the Viceroy for allowing him to go in command of his Imperial Service Troops to China: touching on the subject of irrigation, his visit to England to be present at the King's Coronation, the recent opening of the Bikaner-

Banquet at Bikaner.

Bhatinda Section of the railway, the prospects of the Palana Colliery, and the financial condition of the State. His Highness also stated that he had lately received permission to introduce, tentatively, a revised scheme of administration which he hoped would bring him into closer touch with the working of the State: he acknowledged the help he had received from Mr. Martindale, Agent to the Governor General, Major Manners Smith, Major Minchin, and especially from his late tutor, Mr. Brian Egerton: he brought to the notice of His Excellency that, in commemoration of the King's Coronation, he was remitting a considerable amount of arrears of land revenue; and in assuring His Excellency of his loyalty to His Majesty, he said that his Camel Corps are always at His Majesty's disposal, and begged that their services should be utilized in Somaliland. His Excellency had earned the undying gratitude of the Rajputs by accepting the offers of Imperial Service Troops for service outside India and in the formation of the Cadet Corps. His Highness concluded by proposing the health of Lord and Lady Curzon of Kedleston.

The Viceroy, in responding to the toast, spoke as follows:—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to thank His Highness very sincerely for the toast that he has proposed, as also for the truly admirable arrangements that he has made for our reception and entertainment since we arrived in his State yesterday morning. I am revealing no secret when I say that the personality and career of no ruling Chief in India have excited in me a warmer interest since I have been out here as Viceroy than those of His Highness. (*Cheers.*) For he possesses such keen capabilities, such excellent chances, so splendid an opening. (*Cheers.*) In England, where we are on the whole a long-lived people, an eldest son or heir very frequently does not succeed to his rank or estate until he is in middle life, and has lost something of the zest and spring of youth. In India, on the other hand, I have in my tours over and over again come across the spectacle of a State in the hands of a young Chief, in the fresh morning of manhood, with all life before him, and the world, so to speak, at his feet. Just think of the opportunities that await such a man. If he has had the advantage of the best English education, as His Highness has had, he can introduce all manner of reforms and enlightenment

into the administration of his State. If he is at the same time a true Indian, by which I mean a man devoted to the interests of his own creed and caste and country, then he can obtain an almost unmeasured influence over his subjects. Thus he can combine the merits of the East and the West in a single blend; and can be at the same time a Liberal and a Conservative, each in the best sense of the term. Above all, he can see the work of his hands fructify around him in his lifetime, and can read his own epitaph before he dies in the affection and gratitude of his people. (*Cheers.*)

These are the opportunities, and this is the sort of future, that I fondly hope lie before His Highness, and which it rests exclusively with him to shape for good or for ill. I am glad to say that he has started on the right lines; and the four years that have passed since he received full powers have been packed full with industry and experience of many kinds and in many different lands. I have had the good fortune as Viceroy to be more or less responsible for a good many of these experiences; since I had the pleasure of sending His Highness in command of his Imperial Service Troops to China in 1900, and of putting forward his name as one of the Indian Chiefs selected for the honour of attending His Majesty's Coronation in London. He came back from China to be made a K.C.I.E., and from England with the aiguillettes on his breast that mark him an A. D. C. to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

But there was another honour that I had the pleasure of conferring upon the Maharaja, and the circumstances of which render it in my opinion an equal cause of congratulation. This is the Gold Kaisar-i-Hind Medal, which was awarded to His Highness for his great personal activity in the sad famine of 1899-1900. His Highness was his own Famine Officer throughout that fearful time: and he conducted his campaign with indefatigable energy and skill. (*Cheers.*)

Banquet at Jaipur.

One may almost conjecture that a fairy godmother must have presided over His Highness's birth, for he had no sooner returned from England the other day than the highest wish of a father and ruler was gratified in the birth of a son and heir. (*Applause*). He now has the double stimulus to exertion supplied by his own sense of responsibility and by the legacy that he will one day bequeath to his own son.

I was glad to hear His Highness allude in his remarks to the condition and the vitality of his people. That is the great thing. A good Indian prince must live for his people. He must know them, go in and out among them, be one with them, typify all that is best in their national character and traditions. Thus if His Highness continues to remember, as I am sure he will, that he is not merely Maharaja in rank, but Maharaja of Bikaner in particular, then he will not merely add to his personal reputation, which is right and well, but he will bring happiness and credit to his people, which is much better. (*Applause.*)

There is not one of us at this table who does not join in wishing His Highness health and strength, long life and prosperity, to enable him to fulfil the task which I have ventured to sketch in these observations. Let me ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to fill your glasses and to drink to his honour. I give you the health of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. (*Loud cheers.*)

BANQUET AT JAIPUR.

28th Nov. 1902.

[The Viceregal Party arrived at Jaipur on the afternoon of Thursday, the 27th November, 1902, and on the following evening the Maharaja gave a banquet at the Palace in honour of Their Excellencies to which a large number of guests were invited. After dinner the Maharaja, accompanied by his principal Sirdars, joined the guests and proposed Their Excellencies' health in a speech which was read by a Member of His Highness's Council as follows :—

Banquet at Jaipur.

"*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—Since my accession to the *gadi* in September 1880, I have had the good fortune to receive and entertain many Viceroys, who have honoured me and my State by their visits, but I am especially delighted to welcome Your Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Curzon to my capital; as for the last four years I have been privileged to enjoy frequent interviews, which have been accorded to me by Your Excellency in spite of your heavy work and engagements.

"It is just three years to a day since Your Excellency made a memorable speech at Gwalior, in which you claimed us Chiefs as your colleagues and partners in the work of administration. This I felt to be a very high compliment to all Chiefs who work hard to keep their States prosperous and their people happy.

"With the permission of Your Excellency, I would beg to say that I have a great partiality for the old customs and the religious traditions of my country, on which are based the very foundations of the Hindu religion. I always prefer to tread in the footsteps of my forefathers; and this I think tends to bind me more and more closely to my people and country. At the same time my Rajput instincts and religious teaching have always inspired me with unfeigned loyalty to the Paramount Power. My leanings to the old institutions of my country have led people to consider me old fashioned, and as I grow older and see the changes around me even in Rajputana, the land of India's ancient glory, I sometimes feel sad and despondent, and feel like a man living in a thatched shed, when his neighbours' sheds have caught fire. But, the reading of Your Excellency's speech quite cheered me, and I know it must have cheered my brother Chiefs too to realise that Your Excellency looked on us as something more than interesting historical institutions. It showed us that we had our place in this great Indian land, and that we should be encouraged and helped to keep our place in spite of our conservative tendencies. I cannot sufficiently thank you for this and other wise and true things which Your Excellency has told us about being loyal to our religion, traditions, and people. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few words from Your Excellency's speech at Rajkot to the assembled Chiefs and pupils of the Rajkumar College in November 1900. Your Excellency said, '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.' I am thoroughly in accord with these wise remarks, and I think it would be well if they were taken to heart by all the Nobles and Princes of India. Though I do not know English, I have had all Your Excellency's speeches translated to me and have derived from them both encouragement and strength.

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I cannot omit mentioning that I have recently received further encouragement by my visit to England, where I went as a Hindu and Rajput Chief determined to observe all my own customs and ways even in a foreign country. It was a keen pleasure to me to observe that the good and kind people of England liked me none the worse for clinging closely to the ways of my fathers.

Your Excellency's words, and still more Your Excellency's deeds, in founding the Cadet Corps and in improving the education given at the Mayo College and other similar institutions in India, and your many acts of kindness and consideration towards us, prove that Your Excellency is one of the best friends of the Ruling Chiefs of India, and I can only say, and say it from my heart, that I would do anything to deserve such a friendship.

I cannot close my speech without referring to the great ceremony that is going to take place at Delhi a few weeks hence. I had the honour of witnessing the Coronation of His Majesty, King Edward VII, Emperor of India, and of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra. The solemn and imposing ceremony made the deepest impression on my mind and, I can safely say, on the minds of all my brother Chiefs who were present there. The great gathering at Delhi will celebrate the same occasion and I feel it would be a great mistake were so important an event to be ignored or only superficially honoured in my own dear country. Moreover, the ceremonies now contemplated at Delhi are entirely in accordance with Hindu ideas both from the State and religious standpoints. Our own ancient books contain many graphic and interesting accounts of the pomp and pageantry attending upon the Coronation of the Kings of those days.

Since the British rule became paramount in India no such opportunity as the present has ever occurred, and it is our duty as well as our pleasure to participate in the ceremonies proposed which should be devised on a scale befitting so great an occasion. In this way alone can our King-Emperor understand the deep and real feeling of loyalty which inspires the Chiefs of India and their peoples. Few study ceremonials more carefully than myself, and I say, after a close consideration of the programme which has been ordained for the Coronation Durbar at Delhi, that in view of the unique nature of the occasion—the crowning of a King-Emperor—of the vastness of the gathering, and of the many changes wrought by railways and other agencies, no more sensible and considerate programme could have been devised. It is for a special occasion, and it in no wise detracts from our privileges and honours. We are all looking forward to meeting Your Excellency there as the representative of the Sovereign to whom we unite in loyalty and devotion. In my view the Princes of India will derive great benefit from taking part in such a ceremony.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, I have one more request to make to you, that you will all drink the health of His Excellency the Viceroy and Her Excellency Lady Curzon whose presence here to-night is a great joy to me personally and I make no doubt to all of you also.

[His Excellency the Viceroy then rose and spoke as follows :—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It seems to me a not unbecoming thing that the last visit that I should pay upon this tour in Rajputana should be to this celebrated State, that the last of the Rajput Chiefs by whom I should have the honour of being entertained should be one so imbued with the highest traditions and aspirations of his race as the Maharaja of Jaipur, and that the concluding speech of my tour should be delivered in reply to remarks of so striking a character and so notable an importance as those to which we have just listened. (*Applause.*) At the end of my fourth year of office I now have the pleasure of knowing the large majority of the Princes and Chiefs of India; and I rejoice to learn from the lips of one so well qualified to speak on their behalf that they recognise in me a devoted well-wisher and friend. I do not merely say this as the representative of the Sovereign to whom their loyalty is so warm, and whom they vie with each other in honouring in the person of his deputy. I speak as the head of the Indian Administration, and as the champion of the interests of India itself—in which the welfare and security of its Chiefs are wrapped up and involved. (*Cheers.*)

Your Highness has reminded me that three years ago I claimed the Indian Chiefs as my colleagues and partners in the task of Indian Administration. It is as such, as fellow workers in their several exalted stations, that I have ever since continued to treat and to regard them. On many occasions I have discussed with them the conditions and circumstances of their own Government, and on others, as Your Highness knows full well, I have sought and obtained their co-operation and advice. I have often recapitulated the benefits which in my view the continued existence of

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the Native States confers upon Indian society. Amid the levelling tendencies of the age and the inevitable monotony of Government conducted upon scientific lines, they keep alive the traditions and customs, they sustain the virility, and they save from extinction the picturesqueness of ancient and noble races. They have that indefinable quality, endearing them to the people, that arises from their being born of the soil. They provide scope for the activities of the hereditary aristocracy of the country, and employment for native intellect and ambition. Above all, I realise, more perhaps in Rajputana than anywhere else, that they constitute a school of manners, valuable to the Indian and not less valuable to the European, showing in the person of their Chiefs that illustrious lineage has not ceased to implant noble and chivalrous ideas, and maintaining those old-fashioned and punctilious standards of public spirit and private courtesy which have always been instinctive in the Indian aristocracy, and with the loss of which, if ever they be allowed to disappear, Indian society will go to pieces like a dismasted vessel in a storm. (*Loud applause.*)

It sometimes seems to be thought, because the British Government exercises political control over these States—which is the reverse side of the security that we guarantee to them—that we desire of a deliberate purpose to Anglicise the Feudatory States in India. That is no part of my idea, and it has most certainly been no feature of my practice. We want their administration to be conducted upon business principles and with economy. We want public works to be developed and the education and welfare of the poorer classes considered. We want to diminish the openings for money-grabbing, corruption, or oppression. We want a Native State, when famine comes, to treat it both with method and with generosity. In so far as these standards have been developed by British rule in this country, may they be called English. But if anyone thinks that we want to overrun Native States with Englishmen, or to stamp out

the idiosyncrasies of Native thought and custom, then he is strangely mistaken. Englishmen are often required to start some public undertaking or to introduce some essential reform. In industrial and mineral development, and in scientific work in general, outside enterprise is in many cases absolutely indispensable, since the resources of the State might otherwise remain unutilised and unexplored. What good work is capable of being done by an Englishman in a Native State may be illustrated by the career of an officer present at this table to-night, whom I had the pleasure of recommending recently for the title that he now bears, namely, Sir Swinton Jacob. (*Cheers.*) Such work—modest, unobtrusive, characterised by fidelity to the highest traditions of the British public service, and yet also by perfect loyalty to the State—is a model that may anywhere be held up for example. But we cannot always be sure of a succession of Sir Swinton Jacobs; and accordingly, whenever I lend a British officer administratively to a Native State, one of his main functions in my view should be to train up Natives of the State to succeed him: for there is no spectacle which finds less favour in my eyes, or which I have done more to discourage, than that of a cluster of Europeans settling down upon a Native State and sucking from it the moisture which ought to give sustenance to its own people. (*Cheers.*)

Similarly, if a Native State is ruled well in its own way I would not insist that it should be ruled a little better in the English way. A natural organism that has grown by slow degrees to an advanced stage of development has probably a healthier flow of life blood in its veins than one which is of artificial growth or foreign importation. Therefore it gives me pleasure to visit a part of India where these old fashions still survive as in Rajputana, and still more to be the guest of a Chief like Your Highness, whose State is ruled efficiently and well, but ruled upon Native lines. The British in this country have already rendered a great service to Rajputana in the past; for it was by their interven-

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tion in the first twenty years of the last century that the Rajput principalities were saved from ruin just when they were in danger of being overwhelmed by the mercenary hordes of the Mahrattas and the Pathans. But for the action of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings and for the treaties that they made, Rajputana, as a distinct political unit, would have been wiped out of existence. For that service the Rajput Chiefs have always been profoundly grateful, and they have repaid it by unswerving loyalty to the British Crown. But it would be a thousand pities if, having thus saved Rajputana from the break up of war and rapine, we were now to see this aristocratic structure and these ancient institutions go to pieces under the scarcely less disintegrating influences of prosperity and peace. I would fain hope that this ancient society, which was never absorbed by the Mogul and which has stood the strain of centuries of conflict and siege, may learn so to adapt itself to the conditions of the age as to find in the British sovereignty the sure guarantee of its liberties and traditions, as well as a trustworthy guide on the pathway of administrative progress and reform. (*Loud applause.*)

Your Highness knows also that I have made no concealment of what are my views as to the character and duty of Native Chiefs. Those views have not always been popular, and I have often seen them misrepresented or misunderstood. My ideal has never been the butterfly that flits aimlessly from flower to flower, but the working bee that builds its own hive and makes its own honey. To such a man all my heart goes out in sympathy and admiration. He is dear to his own people, and dear to the Government whom I represent. Sometimes I cast my eyes into the future; and I picture a state of society in which the Indian Princes, trained to all the advantages of Western culture, but yet not divorced in instinct or in mode of life from their own people, will fill an even ampler part than at present in the administration of this Empire. (*Cheers.*) I would dearly like to

see that day. But it will not come if an Indian Chief is at liberty to be a spendthrift or an idler or an absentee. It can only come if, as Your Highness has said, he remains true to his religion, his traditions, and his people. (*Cheers.*)

Your Highness, if I may say so, has set a noble example of what such a ruler may be and do. We know your princely munificence in respect of the Famine Trust and many other good works; and we are aware of your single-hearted devotion to the interests of your State. When I persuaded Your Highness to go to England as the chosen representative of Rajputana at the Coronation of the King, you felt some hesitation as to the sharp separation from your home and from the duties and practices of your previous life. But you have returned fortified with the conviction that dignity and simplicity of character, and uprightness and magnanimity of conduct, are esteemed by the nobility and people in England not less than they are here. I hope that Your Highness's example may be followed by those who come after you, and that it may leave an enduring mark in Indian history. (*Loud applause.*)

In the concluding observations of your speech, Your Highness alluded to the forthcoming Durbar at Delhi to celebrate the Coronation of His Majesty the King: and I was beyond measure gratified when I heard you say, on behalf of the princely class whom you represent, that after a close consideration of the proposals that have been made for the participation of the Indian Chiefs, you entirely approve of their nature. I can scarcely describe to Your Highness the anxious labour that I have devoted to these arrangements. My one desire, as Your Highness knows, since I have explained it by circular letter to all the Chiefs, has been that the Indian Princes, instead of being mere spectators of the ceremony, as they were in 1877, should be actors in it. It is their King-Emperor, as well as mine and ours, whose Coronation is being celebrated; and it seemed to me entirely wrong that the Chiefs should sit or stand

outside, as though it were a function that only affected the Viceroy or the British officials in this country but had no concern for them. The Durbar is not the Viceroy's Durbar. It is held for the Sovereign, and the Sovereign alone; and it is to mark the feelings that are entertained towards him by all the Princes of India without exception that I have invited their personal participation in these great and imposing events. So far should I be from seeking to detract from the honour of the Chiefs that my one preoccupation has been to add to it. I am glad that Your Highness has so thoroughly understood and so generously appreciated my desires: and I have every reason to hope that a successful realisation will lie before them. (*Applause.*)

Your Highness has concluded by proposing the healths of Lady Curzon and myself: and this toast has met with a reception at the hands of the present company for which we return them our thanks. I am confident that I shall only be expressing their sentiments of gratitude for Your Highness's hospitality, as well as my own of respect and admiration for your character, and of hope for your continued enjoyment of health and strength in order that you may continue to do good to your people and your State, when I ask all my fellow guests at this table to join with me in drinking to the health of our princely host, His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

MEMORIAL TO SIR JOHN WOODBURN.

[A public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta was held at the Town Hall on the evening of the 12th December, 1902, to consider the question of a memorial to the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir John Woodburn, who died on the 21st instant. The Hall was crowded with an immense audience, both European and Native. After the Viceroy's arrival the Sheriff, Mr. H. M. Rustomjee, declared the meeting open, and it was proposed and seconded that His Excellency take the chair. The Viceroy then addressed the meeting as follows:—] 12th Dec. 1902.

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Your Honour and Gentlemen,—It is a sorrowful reflection to me that the occasions on which I have been invited to take the chair in this hall have been more often those of sadness than of joy. I would so much sooner preside here on some occasion of public rejoicing. At the same time, if there is a duty which carries with it a special and solemn responsibility that cannot be cast on one side, it is that of speaking for a great community when it is in mourning, and when its representative members are met together to do honour to the illustrious dead.

When I was last in Calcutta, there was no figure amongst us more cheerful, more vigorous, or apparently in the enjoyment of more radiant health, than Sir John Woodburn. He was my companion the last time that I visited this hall. He seemed the incarnation of buoyant spirits and ruddy bloom; and looking at him, and counting his close upon sixty years, one felt tempted to say that here was a man to whom India had been more than kind, and who would go home blessing her himself as well as blessed by her people. But he was never to go home at all; and now he lies, not a temporary but an eternal exile in a foreign land. He told us that for four generations he and his had eaten the salt of India. Little he knew, and little we thought at the time, that in return he was to give her his life, and by this supreme act of fidelity to bring this long and faithful connection to a close. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, when a man is just dead, our epitaphs upon him are necessarily more of a personal than of a historical or critical nature. It is no part of our business to estimate the exact effect of his career upon his surroundings, or to indicate the precise niche that will be assigned to him in the Temple of Fame. We are too near to him to do that: the requisite perspective will only come with distance and time. Within a little more than a year four Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal have passed away, though Sir John Woodburn is the only one of these who has died at his post.

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While history is still busy with its verdicts upon his predecessors, it would be premature to anticipate its judgment upon himself. But what we can do, and what the later historian perhaps will not be able, from lack of personal knowledge, to do as well, is to call attention to the features and qualities which impressed the contemporaries of the departed and seemed to them to be the salient features in his character and life. (*Hear, hear.*)

My acquaintance with Sir John Woodburn was limited to the last four years of his life during which I have been in India. The first time that I ever saw him was as he stood on the historic steps of Government House to greet me on the day of my arrival. But during the interval I was brought into close and frequent contact with him, personal when we were together in Calcutta, by regular correspondence at other seasons of the year, and I quickly came to regard him as one of my most trusted coadjutors and friends.

I think that the quality which struck one most in him was that he was emphatically a good man—I do not mean merely a man of kindly disposition, or even a devout worshipper in the church of his religion, though he was both; but a man who, in all that he thought and did and said, was inspired by the highest motives of conscientiousness and duty. (*Cheers.*) One could see this from his attitude both in public and private affairs. He was never thinking of what was the expedient thing to do, but what was the right thing. It is quite a mistake to suppose that because he had such wonderful urbanity and charm of manner, he was therefore lacking in resolution or strength. On the contrary, those who knew him best will be the first to acknowledge that he had extraordinary tenacity of purpose; and never did he show this more than in the long and courageous struggle that he waged against the illness that ultimately struck him down. (*Applause.*)

Then, who can doubt that he genuinely loved the country

and the people? I believe that the test of an administrator in India who is to leave his mark, is not so much capacity, though of course he must have that, nor character, though that is even more essential, but a true and unaffected liking for his work and for the people among whom it is done. (*Cheers.*) Everybody is not born in the world with an instinctive liking for foreign races; and this reflection applies just as much to them and to their feelings towards us as to ours towards them. I think it should never be forgotten in India that we English come here to do the work that has been laid upon us, in a foreign land and amid peoples whose ideas and language and customs are not our own. We are as much strangers and sojourners as Joseph was in the land of Egypt. This is our great difficulty and trial. But it is also the supreme touchstone of our success or failure. For the man who throws himself into his surroundings, who sees the best points of the people among or over whom he is placed, and who takes them, so to speak, to his heart, is the man who will find his way quickest to theirs, and who becomes a powerful influence in the land. Such a man pre-eminently was Sir John Woodburn. (*Cheers.*) Earlier in his career in Oudh, and later in Bengal, he showed clearly that for him the racial barriers between East and West did not exist, but that the Indians, whether they belonged to the aristocratic or professional or cultivating classes, were equally dear to him with his own countrymen. This was the secret of his popularity and power, and this it was that made his career in India one of unbroken success from the time that he was a young District Officer to the day when he died as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. (*Applause.*)

There was one symptom of this interest in India and its people which always struck me with especial force. Sir John was, as we all know, an exceptionally good speaker, fluent, dignified, and sometimes even eloquent. No part of his duties did he discharge more efficiently than his visits of patronage or encouragement to this or that place or this

or that institution. He always said the right thing on the platform and said it well. But he could not only do this in English. He could do it in the language of the country equally as well. I am no judge of these matters; but I have always heard that he could get up and address an audience of Indian gentlemen with perfect facility and in admirable Urdu. I wish that all the members of the service could do the same. It is a great source of influence and strength; and Sir John Woodburn in this respect set an example which his juniors and successors might well follow. (*Cheers.*)

I have purposely refrained from saying much about the administrative aspect of the late Lieutenant-Governor's work in Bengal, partly for the reason that I have already given, and partly because there are other speakers coming after me, who were either his colleagues or subordinates, and who can speak with greater weight on that subject than I could do. But I may say that my own experience brought me into close contact with certain features of his work which it is permissible for me to mention. He was a true friend of the titled classes and *zemindars* of this Presidency, and was always considering how he could confirm their loyalty and add to their honour. (*Cheers.*) He was a devoted son of Calcutta, though adopted comparatively late in life, and he always showed pride in his citizenship of no mean city. Finally, he was a man of most philanthropic and generous disposition, and discharged all, and more than all, the obligations imposed upon him by his high station with openhanded liberality. (*Cheers.*)

There is something, to my mind, inexpressibly tragic in the fate of the man, and particularly such a man, who on the eve of honourable retirement from the work of a lifetime, dies at his post and leaves his bones to moulder in an alien soil. It is the horse breaking down between the shafts just as he is within sight of home; the soldier shot as he leaps from the last trench, and scales the rampart. It is sometimes said in these cases that the best part of a man's

work has been done; and that he can afford to lay down the burden. I do not think that was altogether true of Sir John Woodburn. Though he sometimes talked and wrote to me longingly about going home, yet it always seemed to me that he had reservoirs of strength and vitality untapped; and I believed in his capacity to continue, here or elsewhere, to render true and valuable service to his country. However, all such speculations are now vain, and we are left with but one sad though grateful office still to perform, *viz.*, to meet here, as we are doing to-day, to testify our admiring recollection of one of the most stainless careers that the brilliant records of the Indian Civil Service have shown, our sense of the great loss that has befallen India and its Government, and our desire to perpetuate, in a becoming manner, the memory of our recent colleague and friend. May I not also add, before I sit down, that our hearts go out to the widowed lady and to the fatherless daughter journeying westwards to an empty home beyond the seas, poor because they have left behind them all that both held most dear, but rich in the knowledge that the name they bear will occupy an abiding place in the memories of India and the Indian people? (*Loud applause.*)

[At the conclusion of His Excellency's speech the following Resolutions were put to the meeting:—

1. That the Residents of Bengal and citizens of Calcutta in public meeting assembled desire to express their deep regret at the sad death of Sir John Woodburn, K.C.S.I., the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and their appreciation of his high qualities, his eminent services to the country, and his unflagging devotion to duty.

2. That with a view to perpetuate the memory of the late Sir John Woodburn, K.C.S.I., a fund be opened and subscriptions invited in Calcutta and throughout the Province of Bengal for the purpose of erecting a statue, or such other suitable memorial as may be decided, on a suitable site in Calcutta.

3. That this meeting desires to express its sympathy with Lady Woodburn and their family in their great bereavement.

4. That a General Committee be appointed to carry into effect the objects of this meeting, to consist of the following gentlemen with power to add to their number (the list was here read).

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5. That an Executive Committee, to consist of the following gentlemen (the list was read out) be also appointed.

6. That a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to His Excellency the Viceroy for presiding on this occasion.

These Resolutions were carried unanimously, and His Excellency then made the following concluding remarks :—]

I am much obliged to you for carrying the vote of thanks. It has been a source of melancholy pleasure to me to preside on this occasion. Listening to the speeches for the last hour and-a-half, I can truthfully say that a more succinct and feeling set of speeches, or more suitable to such an occasion, I have never heard. If anything in the world can bring consolation to the bereaved hearts which Sir John Woodburn has left behind him, it will be when they read an account of this meeting. A most generous response has been made to the appeal for subscriptions, short as the time has been in which the lists have been in circulation. The following are the principal subscribers up to now: The Maharaja of Durbhunga, R6,000; the Nawab Salimollah of Dacca, R5,000; the Maharaja of Burdwan, R3,000; His Highness the Raja of Hill Tippera, R2,500; Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohun Tagore, R2,000; the Maharani of Dumraon, R2,000; the Trades Association, R1,850; Bijoy Singh of Dudharia, R1,500; the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, G.C.I.E., R1,000; His Honour the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, R1,000; Maharaja Durga Charan Law and the Hon'ble Babu Joy Gobind Law, R1,000; the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Prosad Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Gidhaur, R1,000. The total sum already received is R48,500. This is a very satisfactory contribution, and it proves better than anything else could do the reality and truth of the words that we have listened to from so many lips this afternoon. (*Applause.*)

[His Excellency then left and the gathering separated.]

UNVEILING THE HOLWELL MONUMENT.

19th Dec. 1902. [At 4·15 on the afternoon of the 19th December, the Viceroy performed the ceremony of unveiling the marble reproduction of the Holwell Monument, which he had presented to the City of Calcutta in memory of the Europeans who perished on the 20th June, 1756, in the adjoining prison of old Fort William, known as the Black Hole. The original monument stood at the north-west corner of Tank Square, now known as Dalhousie Square, between what are now the Custom House and Writers' Buildings, and it was erected by Holwell, one of the survivors of the Black Hole, over the bodies of those who had died, which were thrown on the next morning into the ditch outside the East gate of the Fort. The new monument erected by His Excellency is on the same site, and is a reproduction of the old design. There was a large and representative attendance of Calcutta society; and the Bengal Secretariat offices, the Post, Custom House, East Indian Railway, and Revenue offices, were literally crammed with spectators. An enormous crowd of natives filled the adjoining streets and garden. The Viceroy spoke as follows:—]

Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I daresay that the worthy citizens of Calcutta may have been a good deal puzzled on many occasions during the past four years to see me rummaging about this neighbourhood and that of the adjoining Post Office in the afternoons, poking my nose into all sorts of obscure corners, measuring, marking, and finally ordering the erection of marble memorials and slabs. This big pillar which I am now about to unveil and the numerous tablets on the other side of the street are the final outcome of these labours. But let me explain how it is that they have come about and what they mean.

When I came out to India in this very month four years ago, one of the companions of my voyage was that delightful book "Echoes of Old Calcutta" by Mr. Busteed, formerly well known as an officer in the Calcutta Mint, and now living in retirement at home. There I read the full account of the tragic circumstances under which old Fort William, which stood between the site where I am now speaking and the river, was besieged and taken by the

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forces of Siraj-ud-Dowlah in 1756; and of the heroism and sufferings of the small band of survivors who were shut up for an awful summer's night in June in the tiny prison known as the Black Hole, with the shocking result that of the 146 who went in only 23 came out alive. I also read that the monument which had been erected shortly after the disaster by Mr. Holwell, one of the survivors, who wrote a detailed account of that night of horror, and who was afterwards Governor of Fort William, in order to commemorate his fellow-sufferers who had perished in the prison, had been taken down, no one quite knows why, in or about the year 1821; and Mr. Busteed went on to lament, as I think very rightly, that whereas for 60 years after their death Calcutta had preserved the memory of these unhappy victims, ever since that time, now 80 years ago, there had been no monument, not even a slab or an inscription, to record their names and their untimely fate.

It was Mr. Busteed's writings accordingly that first called my attention to this spot, and that induced me to make a careful personal study of the entire question of the site and surroundings of old Fort William. The whole thing is now so vivid in my mind's eye that I never pass this way, without the Post Office and Custom House and the modern aspect of Writers' Buildings fading out of my sight, while instead of them I see the walls and bastions of the old Fort exactly behind the spot where I now stand, with its Eastern gate, and the unfinished ravelin in front of the gate, and the ditch in front of the ravelin, into which the bodies of those who had died in the Black Hole were thrown the next morning, and over which Holwell erected his monument a few years later.

Nearly twenty years ago Mr. Roskell Bayne, of the East Indian Railway, made a number of diggings and measurements that brought to light the dimensions of the old Fort, now almost entirely covered with modern buildings; and I was fortunate enough when I came here to find a worthy

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successor to him and coadjutor to myself in the person of Mr. C. R. Wilson, of the Indian Education Department, who had carried Mr. Bayne's enquiries a good deal further, cleared up some doubtful points, corrected some errors, and fixed with accuracy the exact site of the Black Hole and other features of the Fort. All of these sites I set to work to commemorate while the knowledge was still fresh in our minds. Wherever the outer or inner line of the curtain and bastions of old Fort William had not been built over I had them traced on the ground with brass lines let into stone—you will see some of them on the main steps of the Post Office—and I caused white marble tablets to be inserted in the walls of the adjoining buildings with inscriptions stating what was the part of the old building that originally stood there. I think that there are some dozen of these tablets in all, each of which tells its own tale.

I further turned my attention to the site of the Black Hole, which was in the premises of the Post Office, and could not be seen from the street, being shut off by a great brick and plaster gateway. I had this obstruction pulled down, and an open iron gate and railings erected in its place. I had the site of the Black Hole paved with polished black marble, and surrounded with a neat iron railing, and, finally, I placed a black marble tablet with an inscription above it, explaining the memorable and historic nature of the site that lies below. I do not know if cold-weather visitors to Calcutta, or even the residents of the city itself, have yet found out the existence of these memorials. But I venture to think that they are a permanent and valuable addition to the possessions and sights of the Capital of British rule in India.

At the same time I proceeded to look into the question of the almost forgotten monument of Holwell. I found a number of illustrations and descriptions of it in the writings of the period, and though these did not in every case precisely tally with each other, yet they left no doubt whatever

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as to the general character of the monument, which consisted of a tall pillar or obelisk rising from an octagonal pedestal, on the two main faces of which were inscriptions written by Holwell, with the names of a number of the slain. Holwell's monument was built of brick covered over with plaster, like all the monuments of the period in the old Calcutta cemeteries; and I expect that it must have been crumbling when it was taken down in 1821, for I have seen a print in which it was represented with a great crack running down the side, from the top to the base, as though it had been struck by lightning. I determined to reproduce this memorial with as much fidelity as possible in white marble, to reerect it on the same site, and to present it as my personal gift to the city of Calcutta in memory of a never-to-be-forgotten episode in her history and in honour of the brave men whose life-blood had cemented the foundations of the British Empire in India. This pillar accordingly, which I am about to unveil, is the restoration to Calcutta of one of its most famous land-marks of the past, with some slight alterations of proportion, since the exact dimensions of Holwell's original pillar were found to be rather stunted when placed in juxtaposition to the tall buildings by which it is now surrounded. There is some reason to think, from the evidence of old maps, that the ditch in which the bodies were interred and the earlier monument above them were situated a few yards to the eastwards of the site of the new monument: and I had excavations made last summer to see whether we could discover either the foundations of Holwell's obelisk, or any traces of the burial below them. The edge of the old Ditch was clearly found, but nothing more. However, that we are within a few feet of the spot where those 123 corpses were cast on the morning of the 21st of June, 1756, there can be no shadow of a doubt, and their memory is now preserved, I hope for ever, within a few yards of the spot where they suffered and laid down their lives.

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There are, however, two very material alterations that I have made in the external features of the monument. Holwell's inscriptions, written by himself with the memory of that awful experience still fresh in his mind, contained a bitter reference to the personal responsibility for the tragedy of Siraj-ud-Dowlah, which I think is not wholly justified by our fuller knowledge of the facts, gathered from a great variety of sources, and which I have therefore struck out as calculated to keep alive feelings that we would all wish to see die. Further, though Holwell's record contained less than 50 names out of the 123 who had been suffocated in the Black Hole, I have, by means of careful search into the records both here and in England, recovered not only the Christian names of the whole of these persons, but also more than 20 fresh names of those who also died in the prison. So that the new monument records the names of no fewer than 60 of the victims of that terrible night.

In the course of my studies, in which I have been ably assisted by the labours of Mr. S. C. Hill, of the Record Department, who is engaged in bringing out a separate work on the subject, I have also recovered the names of more than 20 other Europeans who, though they did not actually die in the Black Hole, yet were either killed at an earlier stage of the Siege, or having come out of the Black Hole alive, afterwards succumbed to its effects. These persons seem to me equally to deserve commemoration with those who were smothered to death in the prison, and accordingly I have entered their names on the remaining panels of this monument. We therefore have inscribed on this memorial the names of some 80 persons who took part in those historic events which established the British dominion in Bengal nearly a century and a half ago. They were the pioneers of a great movement, the authors of a wonderful chapter in the history of mankind: and I am proud that it has fallen to my lot to preserve their simple and humble names from oblivion, and to restore them to the grateful remembrance of their countrymen.

Unveiling the Holwell Monument.

Gentlemen, in carrying out this scheme I have been pursuing one branch of a policy to which I have deliberately set myself in India, namely, that of preserving, in a breathless and often thoughtless age, the relics and memorials of the past. To me the past is sacred. It is often a chronicle of errors and blunders and crimes, but it also abounds in the records of virtue and heroism and valour. Anyhow, for good or evil, it is finished and written, and has become part of the history of the race, part of that which makes us what we are. Though human life is blown out as easily as the flame of a candle, yet it is something to keep alive the memory of what it has wrought and been, for the sake of those who come after; and I daresay it would solace our own despatch into the unknown, if we could feel sure that we too were likely to be remembered by our successors, and that our name was not going to vanish altogether from the earth when the last breath has fled from our lips.

I have been strictly impartial in carrying out this policy, for I have been equally keen about preserving the relics of Hindu and Musulman, of Brahman and Buddhist, of Dravidian and Pathan. European and Indian, Christian and non-Christian are to me absolutely alike in the execution of this solemn duty. I draw no distinction between their claims. And, therefore, I am doing no more here than I have done elsewhere, if I turn to the memories of my own countrymen, and if I set up in the capital of the Indian Empire this tardy tribute to their sacrifice and suffering.

Gentlemen, how few of us ever pause to think about the past, and our duty to it, in the rush and scurry of our modern lives. How few of us who tread the streets of Calcutta from day to day ever turn a thought to the Calcutta past. And yet Calcutta is one great graveyard of memories. Shades of departed Governors-General hover about the marble halls and corridors of Government House, where I do my daily work. Forgotten worthies in ancient costumes haunt the precincts of this historic square. Strange figures, in guise

Unveiling the Holwell Monument.

of peace or war, pass in and out of the vanished gateways of the vanished fort. If we think only of those whose bones are mingled with the soil underneath our feet, we have but to walk a couple of furlongs from this place to the churchyard where lies the dust of Job Charnock, of Surgeon William Hamilton, and of Admiral Watson, the founder, the extender, and the saviour of the British dominion in Bengal. A short drive of two miles will take us to the most pathetic site in Calcutta, those dismal and decaying Park Street Cemeteries where generations of by-gone Englishmen and Englishwomen, who struggled and laboured on this stage of exile for a brief span, lie unnamed, unremembered, and unknown. But if among these forerunners of our own, if among these ancient and unconscious builders of Empire, there are any who especially deserve commemoration, surely it is the martyr band whose fate I recall and whose names I resuscitate on this site; and if there be a spot that should be dear to the Englishman in India, it is that below our feet which was stained with the blood and which closed over the remains of the victims of that night of destiny, the 20th of June, 1756. It is with these sentiments in my heart that I have erected this monument, and that I now hand it over to the citizens of Calcutta, to be kept by them in perpetual remembrance of the past.

[At the conclusion of his speech His Excellency ascended the highest step of the platform on which the monument stands, and drew a cord which released the covering of Union Jacks by which the pedestal had been draped. These fell to the ground, and the entire memorial was exposed to view. After a brief inspection of the monument, His Excellency returned to his seat, whereupon His Honour the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, C.S.I.) thanked the Viceroy on behalf of the people of Calcutta for the gift that he had presented to the city, and undertook that it should be carefully preserved in the future.]

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPAL BOARD OF HARDWAR.

26th Dec. 1902.

[The Viceroy arrived at Dehra Dun from Calcutta on the 21st December, and on Friday, the 24th idem, His Excellency visited Hardwar, leaving by special train in the morning and returning in the afternoon, and saw the head-works of the Ganges Canal and the sacred bathing-places of the Hindus. At the Hardwar Railway Station the District officials were in attendance to receive His Excellency, and the Municipal Board of the Hardwar Union presented an address of welcome, the gist of which will be gathered from His Excellency's reply, which was as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—My desire to visit Hardwar has been exclusively due to its fame as a holy place, laved by the waters of the sacred Ganges while it is still fresh, and, at this point of its exit from the hills, possessing sites that are associated with the religious history of the Hindus, and attracting the annual visits of hundreds of thousands of your countrymen. To me there is always something interesting and even inspiring in the sight of places which, for some good reason or other, have appealed to the reverence and inflamed the piety of mankind: and since I have been in India, I have never missed an opportunity of journeying to the spots that either are now, or have been in the past, the centres of human pilgrimage and devotion. I wish I could have come here at the time of your great Kumbh Festival, when I believe that Hardwar is seen at its best.

It is characteristic of the modern spirit which is always preaching the gospel of utility and beneficence even in the shrines where sentiment or sanctity has hitherto held undisputed sway, that Hardwar, to which the pilgrims flock in order to dip in the sacred stream, should also be the spot at which that stream is taken off into the great canal that carries with its life-giving waters the means of subsistence and the seeds of fertility and wealth to so many districts and communities far and wide through Northern India. I shall inspect the head-works of the canal with the utmost interest.

Opening of the Indian Art Exhibition at Delhi.

You have called my attention in your address to two matters that concern the Local Government more than they do myself, namely, the abolition of the Plague Segregation Camp before the next Fair, and the encroachment of the river upon the neighbouring town of Kankhal. In both cases the Lieutenant-Governor has expressed his personal interest, and in the case of the Plague Camp he has promised to meet your views, provided that the local conditions in the three towns that constitute your Union justify it.

Gentlemen, I am, as you know, on the eve of starting for the historic celebration that we are about to solemnise at Delhi. When on January 1st next we are all offering our heartfelt tribute of homage to the King, our Emperor, I hope and feel sure that the citizens of these three towns, though they will be absent from the great display, will not be behindhand in the sentiments of loyalty and devotion with which they will commemorate that great and unique occasion.

OPENING OF THE INDIAN ART EXHIBITION AT DELHI.

30th Dec. 1902. [The public ceremonies and rejoicings in India to commemorate the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII as King of England and Emperor of India commenced on Monday the 29th December, 1902, when His Excellency the Viceroy made a public entry into Delhi. The Viceroy, who was accompanied by Lady Curzon, arrived at the Railway Station by special train from Dehra Dun at 11 A.M., being shortly afterwards followed by Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught in a special train from Bombay. His Excellency was received on the platform by a brilliant assemblage, consisting of the Governors of Bombay and Madras; the Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab, Bengal, the United Provinces, and Burma; the Commander-in-Chief in India; the members of the Viceroy's Council; the heads of local administrations and officials of high rank; together with all the principal Ruling Chiefs of India who had come

Opening of the Indian Art Exhibition at Delhi.

to Delhi to take part in the celebration. The procession of elephants, troops, and carriages through the crowded streets of Delhi, which formed at the Railway Station and was the principal event of the day, was unanimously described by the Press as the most magnificent ceremony of the kind that had ever taken place in India. On the following morning at 11 o'clock, the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Curzon, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and the Grand Duke of Hesse, drove in State from his Camp to the Art Exhibition Building, which he opened in the presence of a large and distinguished assembly of officials and Chiefs. His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Your Royal Highnesses, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is now my pleasant duty to proceed to the first of the functions of the present fortnight, and to declare open the Delhi Art Exhibition. A good many of our visitors would scarcely believe that almost everything that we see before us except the trees, is the creation of the last eight months. When I came here in April last to select the site, there was not a trace of this great building, of these terraces, and of all the amenities that we now see around. They have all sprung into existence for the sake of this Exhibition, and though the effects of the Exhibition will, I hope, not be so quickly wiped out, the *mise-en-scène* is, I am sorry to say, destined to disappear.

Perhaps you will expect me to say a few words about the circumstances in which this Exhibition started into being. Ever since I have been in India I have made a careful study of the art industries and handicrafts of this country, once so famous and beautiful, and I have lamented, as many others have done, their progressive deterioration and decline. When it was settled that we were to hold this great gathering at Delhi, at which there would be assembled representatives of every Province and State in India, Indian Princes and Chiefs and Nobles, high officials, Native gentlemen, and visitors from all parts of the globe, it struck me that here at last was the long-sought opportunity of doing something to resuscitate these threatened handicrafts, to show to the world of what India is still capable, and, if

possible, to arrest the process of decay. (*Cheers.*) I accordingly sent for Dr. Watt, and I appointed him my right hand for the purpose. Far and wide throughout India have he and his Assistant, Mr. Percy Brown, proceeded, travelling thousands of miles, everywhere interviewing the artisans, selecting specimens, giving orders, where necessary supplying models, and advancing money to those who needed it. Three conditions I laid down to be observed like the laws of the Medes and Persians.

First, I stipulated that this must be an Art Exhibition, and nothing else. We could easily have given you a wonderful show illustrating the industrial and economic development of India. Dr. Watt has such an exhibition, and a very good one too, at Calcutta. We could have shown you timbers, and minerals, and raw stuffs, and hides, and manufactured articles, to any extent that you pleased. It would all have been very satisfying, but also very ugly. But I did not want that. I did not mean this to be an industrial or economic Exhibition. I meant it to be an Art Exhibition, and that only.

My second condition was that I would not have anything European or quasi-European in it. I declined to admit any of those horrible objects, such as lamps on gorgeous pedestals, coloured glass lustres, or fantastic statuettes, that find such a surprising vogue among certain classes in this country, but that are bad anywhere in the world, and worst of all in India, which has an art of its own. (*Cheers.*) I laid down that I wanted only the work that represented the ideas, the traditions, the instincts, and the beliefs of the people. It is possible that a few articles that do not answer to my definition may have crept in, because the process of Europeanisation is going on apace in this country, and the number of teapots, cream jugs, napkin rings, salt cellars, and cigarette cases that the Indian artisan is called upon to turn out is appalling. But, generally speaking, my condition has been observed.

Opening of the Indian Art Exhibition at Delhi.

Then my third condition was that I would only have the best. I did not want cheap cottons and wax-cloths, vulgar lacquer, trinkets and tinsel, brass gods and bowls made to order in Birmingham, or perhaps made in Birmingham itself. What I desired was an exhibition of all that is rare, characteristic, or beautiful in Indian art, our gold and silver ware, our metal work, and enamels, and jewellery, our carving in wood, and ivory, and stone, our best pottery and tiles, our carpets of old Oriental patterns, our muslins and silks and embroideries, and the incomparable Indian brocades. All of these you will see inside this building. But please remember it is not a bazaar, but an exhibition. Our object has been to encourage and revive good work, not to satisfy the requirements of the thinly lined purse.

Such is the general character of the Exhibition. But we have added to it something much more important. Conscious that taste is declining and that many of our modern models are debased and bad, we have endeavoured to set up alongside the products of the present the standards and samples of the past. This is the meaning of the Loan Collection, which has a hall to itself, in which you will see many beautiful specimens of old Indian artware, lent to us by the generosity of Indian Chiefs and connoisseurs, some of it coming from our own Indian Museums, and some from the unrivalled collection in the South Kensington Museum in London. Many of these objects are beautiful in themselves: but we hope that the Indian workmen who are here, and also the patrons who employ them, will study them not merely as objects of antiquarian or even artistic interest, but as supplying them with fresh or rather resuscitated ideas which may be useful to them in inspiring their own work in the future. For this may be laid down as a truism, that Indian art will never be revived by borrowing foreign ideals, but only by fidelity to its own. (*Cheers.*)

And now I may be asked, What is the object of this Exhibition, and what good do I expect to result from it?

Opening of the Indian Art Exhibition at Delhi.

I will answer in a very few words. In so far as the decline of the Indian arts represents the ascendancy of commercialism, the superiority of steam power to hand power, the triumph of the test of utility over that of taste, then I have not much hope. We are witnessing in India only one aspect of a process that is going on throughout the world, that has long ago extinguished the old manual industries of England, and that is rapidly extinguishing those of China and Japan. Nothing can stop it. The power loom will drive out the hand loom, and the factory will get the better of the workshop, just as surely as the steam car is superseding the horsed carriage, and as the hand-pulled punkah is being replaced by the electric fan. All that is inevitable, and in an age which wants things cheap and does not mind their being ugly, which cares a good deal for comfort, and not much for beauty, and which is never happy unless it is deserting its own models and traditions, and running about in quest of something foreign and strange, we may be certain that a great many of the old arts and handicrafts are doomed.

There is another symptom that to my mind is even more ominous. I am one of those, as I have said, who believe that no national art is capable of continued existence unless it satisfies the ideals, and expresses the wants, of the nation that has produced it. No art can be kept alive by globe-trotters or curio-hunters alone. If it has got to that point, it becomes a mere mechanical reproduction of certain fashionable patterns: and when fashion changes, and they cease to be popular, it dies. If Indian art, therefore, is to continue to flourish, or is to be revived, it can only be if the Indian Chiefs and aristocracy, and people of culture and high degree, undertake to patronise it. So long as they prefer to fill their palaces with flaming Brussels carpets, with Tottenham Court Road furniture, with cheap Italian mosaics, with French oleographs, with Austrian lustres, and with German tissues and cheap brocades, I fear there is not much hope

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I speak in no terms of reproach, because I think that in England we are just as bad in our pursuit of anything that takes our fancy in foreign lands. But I do say that if Indian arts and handicrafts are to be kept alive, it can never be by outside patronage alone. It can only be because they find a market within the country and express the ideas and culture of its people. I should like to see a movement spring up among the Indian Chiefs and nobility for the expurgation, or at any rate the purification, of modern tastes, and for a reversion to the old-fashioned but exquisite styles and patterns of their own country. (*Cheers.*) Some day I have not a doubt that it will come. But it may then be too late.

If these are the omens, what then is the aim of this Exhibition, and what purpose do I think that it will serve? I can answer in a word. The Exhibition is intended as an object lesson. It is meant to show what India can still imagine, and create, and do. It is meant to show that the artistic sense is not dead among its workmen, but that all they want is a little stimulus and encouragement. It is meant to show that for the beautification of an Indian house or the furniture of an Indian home, there is no need to rush to the European shops at Calcutta or Bombay, but that in almost every Indian State and Province, in most Indian towns, and in many Indian villages, there still survives the art, and there still exist the artificers who can satisfy the artistic, as well as the utilitarian, tastes of their countrymen, and who are competent to keep alive this precious inheritance that we have received from the past. It is with this object that Dr. Watt and I have laboured in creating this Exhibition; and in now declaring it open, it only remains for me to express the earnest hope that it may in some measure fulfil the strictly patriotic purpose for which it has been designed. (*Loud cheers.*)

DURBAR AT DELHI.

1st Jan. 1903.

[At half-past twelve o'clock on Thursday, the 1st of January 1903, His Excellency the Viceroy held a Durbar at Delhi for the purpose of proclaiming the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India.

The number of spectators present on the occasion was about 13,000, and included their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, all the officials of the highest rank in India, and all the principal Ruling Chiefs with their retinues; it was the largest and most brilliant assemblage of the kind ever witnessed in India; and for the splendour which characterised its surroundings, and the impressiveness which marked the proceedings throughout, it was unequalled in the history of similar ceremonies. The Durbar took place in a magnificent amphitheatre 3 miles beyond the Ridge at Delhi, the route from the Viceroy's Camp to it being closely lined with troops. On the plain opposite the entrance to the amphitheatre whence they could be seen by the spectators were drawn up about 40,000 troops in dazzling array; while massed bands in the centre of the arena performed selections of music during the interval of waiting. The details of the ceremonies connected with this great Durbar are fully described in the official record and are not entered into here. The Viceroy, with whom was Lady Curzon, drove from his Camp with a brilliant escort of British and Native Cavalry, the Imperial Cadet Corps, and His Excellency's Body Guard; having been preceded by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. Their Excellencies and their Royal Highnesses being seated on the Daïs, the Foreign Secretary with the Viceroy's permission declared the Durbar to be open. The ceremony of Proclamation was then proceeded with, the Herald at the command of the Viceroy reading the Proclamation announcing the Coronation of His Majesty the King Emperor of India. At its conclusion the Viceroy rose, and in tones clear and distinct, which were audible in every part of the great amphitheatre, addressed the Durbar as follows:—]

Your Royal Highnesses, Princes, and Peoples of India,—Five months ago in London His Majesty King Edward VII, King of England and Emperor of India, was invested with the crown and sceptre of the English Kings. Only a few representatives of the Indian Empire had the good fortune to be present at that ceremony. To-day His Majesty has by his royal favour afforded an opportunity to all his Indian

people to take part in similar rejoicings, and here, and elsewhere throughout India, are gathered together in honour of the event the Princes and Chiefs and Nobles, who are the pillars of his throne, the European and Indian officials, who conduct his administration with an integrity and devotion to duty beyond compare, the Army, British and Native, which with such pre-eminent bravery defends his frontiers and fights his wars, and the vast body of the loyal inhabitants of India of all races, who, amid a thousand varieties of circumstance and feeling and custom, are united in their spontaneous allegiance to the Imperial Crown. It was with the special object of thus solemnising his Coronation in India that His Majesty commanded me, as his Viceroy, to convene this great Durbar, and it is to signify the supreme value that he attaches to the occasion that he has honoured us by deputing his own brother, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, to join in this celebration. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

It is 26 years since, on the anniversary of this day, in this city of Imperial memories and traditions, and on this very spot, Queen Victoria was proclaimed the first Empress of India. That act was a vindication of her profound interest in her Indian subjects, and of the accomplished unity of her Indian dominions under the paramountcy of the British Crown. To-day, a quarter of a century later, that Empire is not less but more united. The Sovereign to whom we are met to render homage is not less dear to his Indian people, for they have seen his features, and heard his voice. He has succeeded to a throne not only the most illustrious, but the most stable in the world; and ill-informed would be the critic who would deny that not the least of the bases of its security—nay, I think a principal condition of its strength—is the possession of the Indian Empire, and the faithful attachment and service of His Majesty's Indian people. (*Cheers.*) Rich in her ancient traditions, India is also rich in the loyalty which has been kindled anew in her

by the West. Amid the crowd of noble suitors who, through all the centuries, have sought her hand, she has given it only to the one who has also gained her trust.

Nowhere else in the world would such a spectacle be possible as that which we witness here to-day. I do not speak of this great and imposing assemblage, unparalleled as I believe it to be. I refer to that which this gathering symbolises, and those to whose feelings it gives expression. Over 100 rulers of separate States, whose united population amounts to 60 millions of people, and whose territories extend over 55 degrees of longitude, have come here to testify their allegiance to their common Sovereign. We greatly esteem the sentiments of loyalty that have brought them to Delhi from such great distances, and often at considerable sacrifice; and I shall presently be honoured by receiving from their own lips their message of personal congratulation to the King. The officers and soldiers present are drawn from a force in India of nearly 230,000 men, whose pride it is that they are the King's Army. The leaders of Indian society, official and unofficial, who are here, are the mouthpieces of a community of over 230 million souls. In spirit therefore, and one may almost say, through their rulers and deputies, in person, there is represented in this arena nearly one-fifth of the entire human race. (*Cheers.*) All are animated by a single feeling, and all bow before a single throne. And should it be asked how it is that any one sentiment can draw together these vast and scattered forces and make them one, the answer is that loyalty to the Sovereign is synonymous with confidence in the equity and benignity of his rule. (*Cheers.*) It is not merely the expression of an emotion, but the record of an experience and the declaration of a belief. For to the majority of these millions the King's Government has given freedom from invasion and anarchy; to others it has guaranteed their rights and privileges; to others it opens ever widening avenues of honourable employment; to the masses it dispenses mercy in the hour of

suffering; and to all it endeavours to give equal justice, immunity from oppression, and the blessings of enlightenment and peace. To have won such a dominion is a great achievement. To hold it by fair and righteous dealing is a greater. To weld it by prudent statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be and is the greatest of all. (*Cheers.*)

Such are the ideas and aims that are embodied in the summoning of this Coronation Durbar. It is now my duty to read to you the gracious message which His Majesty has desired me to convey to his Indian people :—

"It gives me much pleasure to send a message of greeting to my Indian people, on the solemn occasion when they are celebrating my Coronation. Only a small number of the Indian Princes and representatives were able to be present at the Ceremony which took place in London; and I accordingly instructed my Viceroy and Governor-General to hold a great Durbar at Delhi, in order to afford an opportunity to all the Indian Princes, Chiefs, and Peoples, and to the Officials of my Government, to commemorate this auspicious event. Ever since my visit to India in 1875, I have regarded that Country and its Peoples with deep affection: and I am conscious of their earnest and loyal devotion to my House and Throne. During recent years many evidences of their attachment have reached me: and my Indian Troops have rendered conspicuous services in the Wars and Victories of my Empire.

"I confidently hope that my beloved Son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, may before long be able to make themselves personally acquainted with India (*cheers*) and the Country which I have always desired that they should see, and which they are equally anxious to visit. Gladly would I have come to India upon this eventful occasion myself had this been found possible. (*Cheers.*) I have, however, sent my dear brother, the Duke of Connaught (*loud cheers*), who is already so well known in India, in

order that my Family may be represented at the Ceremony held to celebrate my Coronation.

"My desire, since I succeeded to the Throne of my revered Mother, the late Queen Victoria, the First Empress of India, has been to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration which secured for her in so wonderful a degree the veneration and affection of her Indian Subjects. To all my Feudatories and Subjects throughout India, I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule (*cheers*), and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire, and the greater happiness of its People." (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

Princes and Peoples of India, these are the words of the Sovereign whose Coronation we are assembled to celebrate. They provide a stimulus and an inspiration to the officers who serve him, and they breathe the lessons of magnanimity and goodwill to all. To those of us who, like my colleagues and myself, are the direct instruments of His Majesty's Government, they suggest the spirit that should guide our conduct and infuse our administration. Never was there a time when we were more desirous that that administration should be characterised by generosity and lenience. Those who have suffered much deserve much; and those who have wrought well deserve well. The Princes of India have offered us their soldiers and their own swords in the recent campaigns of the Empire; and in other struggles, such as those against drought and famine, they have conducted themselves with equal gallantry and credit. (*Cheers.*) It is difficult to give to them more than they already enjoy, and impossible to add to a security whose inviolability is beyond dispute. Nevertheless, it has been a pleasure to us to propose that Government shall cease to

exact any interest for a period of three years upon all loans that have been made or guaranteed by the Government of India to Native States in connection with the last famine; and we hope that this benefaction may be acceptable to those to whom it is offered. (*Cheers.*) Other and more numerous classes there are in this great country to whom we would gladly extend, and to whom we hope before long to be in a position to announce relief. In the midst of a financial year it is not always expedient to make announcements, or easy to frame calculations. If, however, the present conditions continue, and if, as we have good reason to believe, we have entered upon a period of prosperity in Indian finance, then I trust that these early years of His Majesty's reign may not pass by without the Government of India being able to demonstrate their feelings of sympathy and regard for the Indian population by measures of financial relief, which their patient and loyal conduct in years of depression and distress renders it especially gratifying to me to contemplate. (*Cheers.*) I need not now refer to other acts of consideration or favour which we have associated with the present occasion, since they are recorded elsewhere. But it is my privilege to make the announcement to the officers of the Army that henceforward the name of the Indian Staff Corps will cease to exist, and that they will belong to the single and homogeneous Indian Army of the King. (*Cheers.*)

Princes and Peoples, if we turn our gaze for a moment to the future, a great development appears with little doubt to lie before this country. There is no Indian problem, be it of population or education or labour or subsistence, which it is not in the power of statesmanship to solve. The solution of many is even now proceeding before our eyes. If the combined arms of Great Britain and India can secure continued peace upon our borders, if unity prevails within them, between princes and people, between European and Indian, and between rulers and ruled, and if the seasons fail

not in their bounty, then nothing can arrest the march of progress. The India of the future will, under Providence, not be an India of diminishing plenty, of empty prospect, or of justifiable discontent; but one of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely distributed comfort and wealth. I have faith in the conscience and the purpose of my own country; and I believe in the almost illimitable capacities of this. But under no other conditions can this future be realised than the unchallenged supremacy of the Paramount Power, and under no other controlling authority is this capable of being maintained, than that of the British Crown. (*Cheers.*)

And now I will bring these remarks to a close. It is my earnest hope that this great assemblage may long be remembered by the peoples of India as having brought them into contact at a moment of great solemnity with the personality and the sentiments of their Sovereign. I hope that its memories will be those of happiness and rejoicing, and that the reign of King Edward VII, so auspiciously begun, will live in the annals of India and in the hearts of its people. (*Cheers.*) We pray that, under the blessing of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, his sovereignty and power may last for long years, that the well-being of his subjects may grow from day to day, that the administration of his officers may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, and that the security and beneficence of his dominion may endure for ever.

Long live the King, Emperor of India!

[Loud and continued cheers followed the close of His Excellency's address: some further ceremonies were then proceeded with; the Ruling Chiefs were presented in turn to the Viceroy and the Duke of Connaught, briefly offering their congratulations to the King-Emperor through His Excellency, after which the Durbar was closed.]

STATE BANQUET AT DELHI.

[On the evening of Thursday the 1st January 1903, His Excellency the Viceroy entertained at a State Banquet in his Camp at Delhi His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and a large and distinguished Company. His Excellency in proposing the toast of the King-Emperor after dinner spoke as follows :—] 1st Jan. 1903.

Your Royal Highnesses, Your Excellencies, My Lords, and Gentlemen,—I rise to propose the health of His Majesty the King, Emperor of India. This afternoon we carried through, I hope with success (*cheers*), the great ceremony that had been devised for the celebration of His Majesty's Coronation in this country, and the spectacle was one that must have stirred the heart of every beholder. (*Cheers.*) It brought home to every European or Indian inhabitant of this land the vivid reality of the constitution under which we live, and by which a far away and invisible mainspring guides with resistless energy and power every movement of this vast political machine ; and I hope that it may also have impressed our various illustrious visitors and guests with the conviction that this Indian possession of His Majesty is no mere dead-weight tied on to the heels of the British Empire, but a Dominion, a Continent, an Empire by itself, rich in its own personality and memories, self-confident in its own strength, and aglow with abundant potentialities for the future. (*Loud cheers.*) To be King of the United Kingdom and of the British possessions beyond the Seas is a great and noble title. But to be Emperor of India is in no respect less, and is in some respects greater. (*Cheers.*) For powerful Empires existed and flourished here, while Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods, and when the British Colonies were wilderness and jungle; and India has left a deeper mark upon the history, the philosophy, and the religion of mankind than any other territorial unit in the universe. (*Cheers.*) That a British Sovereign should in the

fulness of time have been able to do what no predecessor of his ever accomplished, what Alexander never dreamed of, what Akbar never performed, namely, to pacify, unify, and consolidate this great mass into a single homogeneous whole, is, in my judgment, the most impressive phenomenon in history, and the greatest wonder of the modern world. (*Cheers.*)

Your Royal Highnesses, Your Excellencies, and Gentlemen, I venture to say that but one regret has filled all our minds here to-day. It is that His Majesty the King-Emperor has not been able to be present here in person to receive the homage of his loyal Feudatories, and the acclamations of his Indian people. (*Cheers.*) There is, indeed, no necessity for an Emperor of India to come out here to be crowned. His Majesty was our acknowledged and sovereign lord as soon as the throne was vacant nearly two years ago. But India would dearly have loved to see the face of her Emperor and to listen to his voice: and some day we may hope that, as time and distance continue to dwindle under the magic finger of science, it may be found possible for the Viceroy on some future occasion like the present to be eliminated as a superfluous phantom (*laughter*), and for the real figure to appear upon the scene. (*Cheers.*)

However that may be, we are met here in honour of a sovereign who, though he may be absent in person, is with us in spirit, and whose royal message, which I had the privilege of reading this afternoon, shows how proud he is of the allegiance, and how devoted to the interests, of his Indian people. (*Cheers.*) At the Durbar it was my duty to address more particularly the various classes of His Majesty's Feudatories and subjects who had assembled to render him their homage and to listen to his words. But the presence at this table here to-night of so many illustrious representatives of foreign Powers and of eminent persons from all quarters of the globe, enables me to point to the fact that the possession of India draws with it other and outside

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responsibilities, and brings us into relation, I am glad to say peaceful and amicable relation, with all the Powers and Principalities of the East. We are honoured here by the company of a distinguished representative of the great and allied Empire of Japan (*loud cheers*), and by an Envoy from that enlightened monarch the King of Siam (*cheers*); and at our Durbar there were present to-day the Envoys or representatives of our friend and ally the Amir of Afghanistan (*cheers*), of the friendly Kingdom of Nepal, and of the Sultan of Muscat. Among our guests are the Governors-General of the Indian possessions of two powerful and allied nations, France and Portugal, with whom our relations are those of unbroken peacefulness and concord. (*Cheers.*) Further, there have appeared for the first time at a gathering such as this, representatives of those great British Colonies beyond the seas, Australia and South Africa, whose star is destined to rise ever higher and higher, and whose Governments, as time passes on, must be brought into still closer connection with our own. (*Cheers.*) Finally, we have here prominent Members of the Imperial Legislature, of the British Lords and Commons, who have journeyed across the ocean to join hands with us in this great ceremonial. (*Applause.*) I think I am entitled, therefore, to claim that it is no mere local celebration, but a great and imperial solemnity of far-reaching interest and application that we have been enacting to-day, and it is before an audience that is typical of all that is best in the British Empire, of our established dominion in Asia, of the friendly sentiments of our neighbours, and of the sympathetic regard of our own kith and kin across the seas, that I now propose my toast. (*Loud cheers.*)

I give you all, Gentlemen, with feelings of profound respect, of devotion, and of enthusiasm, the health of His Majesty the King, Emperor of India. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

[The toast was drunk with all honours. The Viceroy then rose

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to propose the health of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. His Excellency said :—]

Your Royal Highnesses, Your Excellencies, My Lords, and Gentlemen,—There is only one other toast that I shall present to you this evening. I said just now how greatly His Majesty the King-Emperor had regretted that he could not be present here in person at the celebration of his own Coronation. But as this was impossible, His Majesty took the one step that, had there been a plebiscite on the subject in India, we should all have voted for unanimously (*loud applause*)—namely, he deputed a member of the Royal Family, a near relative of his own, to represent his family on this occasion; and—the Prince and Princess of Wales finding it impossible to visit India in the present winter, though we hope that that is an honour only for a little while delayed—His Majesty's choice fell upon his Royal brother, the Duke of Connaught (*loud cheers*), whose presence at the ceremony to-day, and here again to-night, is regarded by all of us with quite exceptional pleasure and delight. (*Cheers.*) These are our feelings, both because we regard His Royal Highness's visit as testifying in the most unmistakable way to the attitude and interest of the Sovereign, and also because there is no Prince, I might go further and say no officer—for after all His Royal Highness has been one of ourselves, and has served the Crown in India (*cheers*)—who has more endeared himself to the people of all classes in this country, to soldiers and civilians, to Europeans and Natives, than His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. (*Loud cheers.*) He comes back to us, therefore, not merely as the delegate of our illustrious Sovereign, but as the old friend whom all India reveres and loves (*cheers*) ; and, if I may be permitted to diverge for one moment from the strict track of my toast, I would add that these sentiments on our part are enhanced by the knowledge that His Royal Highness has brought with him the gracious Princess whose popularity in India is not second even to his

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own. May I also say, though it is not perhaps absolutely germane to my toast, with what pleasure we see here another member of the Royal Family, His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse, himself a reigning sovereign, and a grandson of our late Queen, who has honoured us by joining our company, and whose presence is a compliment and a delight to us all. (*Loud cheers.*)

And now, to revert to the subject of my toast, I hope that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught will carry away to His Majesty the King a favourable impression of the prosperity and loyalty of his great Indian dominion. I can assure him that we regard it as the highest honour that he should have come out to be with us on this momentous occasion. (*Cheers.*) When our Delhi functions are over, we hope to arrange for him a pleasant tour through the scenes and among the people to whom he is so much attached; and when he sails away from our shores, I hope that India will always keep the firm and agreeable resting-place in his memory that the Duchess and he already occupy, and will by their present visit confirm, in the affections of Europeans and Indians alike in this country. (*Loud cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking the good health, pleasant journey, and safe return of our illustrious guest, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. (*Loud applause.*)

[The toast was drunk with enthusiasm.

His Royal Highness, who, on rising to respond to the toast, was very warmly received, said :—]

Your Excellencies, Your Royal Highness, My Lords, and Gentlemen,—I am indeed very sensible of the very kind manner in which you have proposed my health on this great and auspicious day. I can assure you that it was a great pleasure and satisfaction to myself when His Majesty the King informed me that it was his wish to send me out to India for the Coronation Durbar to represent his own family.

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(*Cheers.*) I never expected that I should have such good fortune. My soldiering days now are cast in a very different climate. Ireland is a very different place from India, and Dublin is a very different place from Delhi (*laughter*), and I was never more astonished than I was on being told that I should come out to India again. It is a great pleasure to me to come—a pleasure to come again to a country to which anybody at all interested and having served the Crown in it, must feel deeply attached.

There is also the feeling—I must say a somewhat sorrowful one—that when I was here before I had the good fortune to serve under three Viceroys and two Commanders-in-Chief, and that now I am no longer connected with India, except in my heart. (*Loud cheers.*) But I think it requires very little assurance from me that I do, and always shall, take the very deepest interest in everything that affects the happiness and prosperity and the greatness of His Majesty's Indian Empire. (*Cheers.*)

I have many friends here, both British and Native (*cheers*), and to see them again—to see them well and getting on in the world—is a great satisfaction to me; and what especially gives me pleasure is to meet the Native Army once again. (*Cheers.*) As you know, Sir, I was first connected with the Bengal Army, as it was then, in this Command—the Meerut Division—and with that of the Rawal Pindi Division; after that for nearly four years, I had the Command of the Bombay Army; and, therefore, I may say that my interests are Indian, and not confined to one Presidency or another. But, during the twelve years since I was in India, the Indian troops have taken their share in the defence of our frontiers and of our interests both in India and beyond the seas, and I am happy to think that whether it was in Africa, whether it was in China, or whether it was on the frontiers of India, every branch of the Indian Army has known how to maintain its reputation, and I can say with confidence that the Indian Army is respected

by the armies of all other nations. (*Loud cheers.*) It is a bad day for any Army when it does not get the chance of active service, and it would be especially so for the Indian Army if they were to be locked up year after year in their own country. However, this is a slight digression from the toast. May I be allowed to say for the Duchess of Connaught that she, equally with myself, rejoices to be again in India, and that she was very proud to be present at the ceremony of to-day; and may I also, with reference to Your Excellency's remarks about my nephew, the Grand Duke of Hesse, say how highly he appreciates the pleasure of visiting India and of being your guest, and further may I, on this New Year's Day, tell you, Lord Curzon, how grateful we all are for your great hospitality and for the very kind and cordial welcome you have given us.

I thank you all, Gentlemen, for the kind manner in which you have drunk my health. (*Loud cheers.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE GAYA MUNICIPALITY.

[On the morning of the 10th January, 1903, at the conclusion of the Durbar ceremonies, the Viceroy, accompanied by Sir Walter Lawrence (Private Secretary), and Captains Baker-Carr and Adam (Aides-de-Camp), left Delhi for a short tour in Bengal *en route* to Calcutta. After visiting Jaunpur, Chunar, and Rhotasgarh, His Excellency reached Gaya on the evening of the 14th January, being received at the railway station by Mr. Hare, Commissioner of Patna, Mr. Oldham, Collector of Gaya, and other officials and residents. On the morning of the 15th the Viceroy visited Buddh-Gaya, and in the afternoon was presented with an address of welcome by the Gaya Municipality. The address contained an expression of appreciation of the sympathetic policy of Government in dealing with plague in 1900-1; it referred to the peaceful relations which had been established between the Hindu and Mahomedan inhabitants of the town, and also between the Shiah and Sunni sects of the Mahomedans—a cordiality which was evidenced by the united address now presented to the Viceroy; and it stated that a comprehensive scheme of water-works was in contemplation, for which 15th Jan. 1903.

Address from the Gaya Municipality.

object Rs. 5 lakhs were required, of which, however, only Rs. 1,40,000 had been collected. The address concluded with expressions of loyalty to His Majesty and of good wishes for the Viceroy. His Excellency replied to it as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—A notable feature of your address is the composite character of the community by which it has been presented. It is a pleasure to me to learn from your own lips that it gives expression to the views of all classes and creeds in the town and district of Gaya. This harmony might be thought to be due to the special circumstance of your address being delivered to the representative of a Sovereign, whose greatest claim to the affection of his subjects is the sense of unity and fellow-interest that his rule has diffused among all classes of the Indian population. But, as you have informed me, it illustrates something more than a common tribute of devotion to the Throne: for it is typical of a peace and concord that, after many trials and some positive shocks, have now settled down upon the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood.

You have alluded to certain of these vicissitudes. Some of them occurred before I came to India as Viceroy; others have happened within my own recollection. The cow-killing disturbances took place before my time, but have now fortunately been allayed by the exercise of self-restraint and respect for the religious convictions of others. So long as due regard is paid to these paramount considerations, and no encouragement is given to evil-minded agitators, there is no reason why they should be revived.

Then there was the ill-feeling that was aroused between the two sections of the Mahomedan community in connection with the Alam procession. This too has been happily composed by the exercise of patience, discretion, and good temper. It is bad enough for disciples of opposite religions to fall out; but for followers of the same creed to come to blows is worse; though I am afraid that intestine quarrels are sometimes those that excite the warmest passions.

Address from the Gaya Municipality.

Finally came the great visitation of the Plague, that struck you in the winter of 1900-1, and which carried off over 5,000 persons in Gaya alone, and more than double that number in the district. I think it speaks volumes for the good sense and the spirit of patriotism that were shown at that trying time, that though the pestilence smote you unexpectedly and with such tremendous force, yet the local community co-operated so heartily under the guidance of its leading members, that effective measures of disinfection and inoculation were carried out without a single disturbance, and in less than six months' time the disease had been stamped out. I agree with you in thinking that these results were largely due to the sympathetic policy of your late lamented Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Woodburn, and to the combined tact and energy of your Collector, Mr. Oldham, whom it was a pleasure to me to reward during the past summer.

You have referred in your address to the financial difficulties that attend the execution of your scheme for new water-works. The progress of science, while it renders great works of this description comparatively easy of execution, and in the long run remunerative, tends to make them expensive at the moment of inception. I hope that you may succeed in overcoming these impediments.

Your message of loyalty and congratulation to the King-Emperor is offered with peculiar appropriateness at the present juncture, and by the inhabitants of a district which, as you have reminded me, was once a part of the premier kingdom of India. At Delhi, which I have just left, there stands one of the venerable monuments of your great ruler of olden times, Asoka. But Asoka, in the height of his power, never saw such a sight as that from which I am fresh, nor was he ever acclaimed by nations and people so numerous and so vast as those which have just celebrated the Coronation of the first Emperor of all India. But in one respect a positive identity may be traced across the gulf of

more than 2,000 years. For it was the pride of Asoka's administration, just as it is the aspiration of ours, that it was characterised by liberality, toleration, justice, and humanity. His memorials are enduring, not because they are inscribed on rock and stone, but because they record the rule of principles that will live as long as the world lives. If our Durbar is to be remembered, and if the dominion which it has commemorated is also to endure, it will only be because the same causes have ensured for it a similar destiny.

Gentlemen, I am engaged, as you know, in a too brief study of the interesting remains that render this locality one of such widespread renown throughout the Eastern world. Anything that I could do to foster the sentiments of piety and devotion with which millions of human beings regard these sites, would be done with a willing hand and a warm heart. For I am never so immersed in the present as to forget our unpayable debt to the past.

Gentlemen, allow me, in conclusion, to thank you for your address and for the singularly handsome casket in which you have presented it, and to express my grateful recognition of the tasteful decorations that I have everywhere seen and of the friendly welcome that you have given me to Gaya.

ADDRESSES AT PATNA.

17th Jan. 1903. [His Excellency the Viceroy and party arrived at Bankipore on the evening of the 16th January. At 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th, there was a large gathering in a splendid shamiana which had been erected on the maidan, and three addresses were presented to His Excellency, namely, from the Municipal Committee of Patna, from the District Board, and from the Behar Landholders' Association. After each address had been read the members of the respective deputations were presented to His Excellency. The principal points of these addresses will be apparent from the Viceroy's reply, which was as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I will, with your permission, return a con-

joint answer to the three addresses which have just been read, from the Municipal Corporation, from the District Board, and from the Behar Landholders' Association. The two former addresses are, if I may say so, of a severely practical character; for both are confined almost exclusively to those subjects of local sanitation, administration, and finance, which are after all the chief business of local authorities, and the real aim and end of local government. It is gratifying to me to learn that your members are so keenly alive to the responsibilities of their position, even if I do not, from my lack of local knowledge, find myself in a position to follow your footsteps minutely through all the bypaths of local policy and finance.

Patna, as you have somewhat sadly hinted, is not quite what it once was. The accidents of history, the fluctuations of industry, and the advent of the railway—which always has such an effect upon river-borne commerce—have all left their mark upon it, and have to some extent impaired its high estate. But as a great city of 180,000 inhabitants, as the capital of an area which almost attains to the dignity of a province, and as the centre of one of the great industries of Northern India, it cannot lose its importance, or its concern, to anyone who is responsibly connected with the central administration.

There are three projects of local interest to which you have particularly called my attention. The first of these is your scheme for a new hospital, which seems to be designed on large and adequate lines. I was glad to see so substantial a building rising from the ground when I visited the site this morning. You have been good enough to ask me to allow the hospital to bear my name. I am grateful for the compliment, but I would prefer to defer the acceptance of it until you have succeeded in raising the extra Rs. 30,000 that are required to complete the project and to start the institution on its way. I observe that, while the Local Government and the public bodies who are concerned have

played their part by handsome contributions, private subscribers, with one or two generous exceptions, do not seem as yet to have realised what it is open to them to do. I should have thought that no object was more likely to appeal to the sentiments of local patriotism and public spirit; and I hope that before long the deficit may be accounted for by the requisite generosity on the part of your citizens.

The second project is that of the Light Railway from Bukhtiarpur to Behar, which is being built by the District Board and is now approaching completion. I welcome this scheme very warmly, presuming it to have been started on sound financial lines. For I believe that railways of this character, costing in many cases comparatively small sums, opening up congested or inaccessible tracts, and likely to produce handsome profits, are capable of being constructed in many parts of India by local authorities, where you might have to wait for years for Government to find a place for the enterprise in its programme, or for outside capital to come in. I know of no fewer than eight cases in which such railways have been or are being successfully undertaken in Southern India; and to such schemes, if financially sound and if organised on business principles, I think that Government should always extend its sympathy.

Lastly, you have mentioned your desire to build a hostel or hostels for the Patna College and the Behar School of Engineering. Where the students have to come for long distances from their homes, and to reside in a great city, exposed to its risks, and almost defenceless against its temptations, I am the strongest believer in the wisdom of the hostel system, subject to one condition, namely, that the hostel itself is under proper and efficient management, and is not a magnified lodging-house in disguise. I hope, as the result of the Educational reforms which the Government of India are now engaged in maturing, to see a great development of hostels in the future, and Patna is a place which might very properly and reasonably be the pioneer in such a

movement. The College and the School, both of which I saw in the course of my drive this morning, are handsome institutions, and fully deserve to be supplemented in the manner that is proposed.

The address from the Behar Landholders' Association has dealt less with subjects of local politics, and has confined its reference to wider generalisations. Your allusion to the visit of the present King-Emperor to Patna more than a quarter of a century ago, shows how deeply such an incident sinks into the memory of the locality that is thus honoured. I hope that it may not be long before another Prince of Wales is seen in India, and has an opportunity of visiting the principal centres of interest and population. When we speak of loyalty to the throne and person of the Sovereign, we perhaps hardly appreciate what a powerful support respect for the institution receives in attachment to the individual. I had an opportunity of realising how great the personal factor is when I saw the reception that was everywhere accorded in Delhi in our recent celebrations to the brother of the King. There was not a person present who did not feel that the ceremonies gained in significance and actuality by the attendance of a prince and princess beloved for their own sakes, and rightly regarded as symbolising by their presence the intense and vivid interest of the Sovereign.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, let me thank you all for the sentiments of loyalty and devotion which have characterised your addresses, and also for the kindly wishes which you have expressed towards myself. I am often sorry that I am only able to spend so short a time in places which merit a longer visit. But this is an unfortunate necessity of Viceregal tours, and if I cannot stay long in a place, at least I can carry away pleasant recollections of it. This your kindness to me in Patna, culminating in the tastefully arranged reception of this afternoon, will certainly enable me to do.

ADDRESS AT MONGHYR.

19th Jan. 1903.

[The Viceroy arrived at Monghyr on the evening of the 18th January, having travelled by river from Bankipore. The town and fort of Monghyr were brilliantly illuminated. His Excellency landed at 9-30 on the following morning and was received by Mr. Williams, Commissioner of Bhagalpore, and Mr. Marriott, Collector of Monghyr. After driving round the old fort and the town, escorted by the Behar Light Horse, His Excellency was presented with a joint address by the Monghyr Municipality, the Monghyr District Board, and the Anjuman Islam. His Excellency in his reply dealt with the various points in the address, speaking as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—In the old days when travellers from Calcutta used to ascend the Ganges by boat as far as Benares, or at any rate for a greater part of the way, Monghyr was visited by Governors-General in the ordinary course. Now, when we all take the shortest route by train, it lies rather off the beaten track, and people are less aware of its antiquities and charms. You are correct in supposing that among the reasons for my coming this way is the desire to see a place that has played so prominent a part in the combats and struggles of the past, although, as you have pointed out in your address, no stronger evidence of the disappearance of the old order can be forthcoming than that from the crumbling walls of your Fort one can look out upon the chimneys of the Jamalpur Railway workshops, where are constructed the implements that have been partially responsible for the decline of Monghyr.

You have alluded in your joint address to several topics of local interest to which I will devote a word in passing. I believe that the estimate of the project for the Mansi-Baptiahi Railway is now before the Government of India, though, not having seen the papers, I can as yet offer no opinion as to its chances. I will, however, bear in mind your recommendation.

I am very sorry that plague is again in your midst. As you say, the remedy for these recurring visitations is that which gradually but surely drives them out of places where

they have established even the firmest foothold, which has already expelled the plague as a regular visitor from Europe, and which will one day expel it from Asia. I refer of course to sanitary reform. As funds permit, you will doubtless pursue the system of scientific drainage upon which I understand that you have already embarked; while I hope that it may not be long before the scheme of new water-works at Monghyr, inaugurated in memory of the late Queen, may also be definitely taken in hand.

I am afraid that the appearance of the railway upon the scene has diminished your revenue from the Ganges ferry. The Local Government, however, has stepped in to your rescue, and has generously compensated you for a considerable portion at any rate of the loss. I hope that I may claim to have shown a reasonable impartiality in my choice of means of communication; for I have arrived by river, even if I am to depart by rail.

Gentlemen, I have been gratified to receive from the various bodies who have combined to present this address, an acknowledgment of the blessings which they unite in testifying that you enjoy under the rule of the King-Emperor. The consciousness of these benefits is, I believe, so deeply impressed upon the minds of the inhabitants of this country, that they would not willingly exchange the British for any other sceptre. Evidence of their contented and trustful loyalty crowds in upon me every day. In this fact we English should find an incentive not less than a justification. For it is a prouder feat to retain than to win, and the rulers of India, whoever they may be, can never successfully rest their title upon what they have done in the past, but must always be strengthening the foundations of the present, and laying fresh ones for the future.

Gentlemen, I thank you for your friendly sentiments and reception. From what I have seen during my drive round the Fort and town this morning, I can quite understand how it was that this picturesque place attracted so many

visitors in former times, serving as a sort of substitute for a hill-station to the people of Lower Bengal, and how it is that even now so many families, European and otherwise, have settled down here to pass in retirement the evening of their days. Short as is my stay, it has been long enough to enable me to form a more than favourable impression of Monghyr.

VISIT TO THE JHERRIA COAL-FIELD.

20th Jan. 1903. [On the 19th January 1903, the Viceroy inspected the East Indian Railway workshops at Jamalpur, and the next day paid a visit to the Jherria Coal-field. Mr. Carstairs, Commissioner of Burdwan, Mr. Clark, Collector of Purulia, Mr. Cable, Mr. Agabeg, and about forty gentlemen interested in the coal industry, including Sir Patrick Playfair, Sir Acquin Martin, and Mr. Siddons, met His Excellency at Katras in the morning and accompanied him in his inspection of the Nowagar Colliery, Messrs. Agabeg's Colliery at Jugta, and the Loyabad Colliery. On the Loyabad Estate the Viceroy descended a coal-mine. Afterwards at Sijua His Excellency's party and these gentlemen were entertained at lunch by Messrs. Bird & Co., whose representative, Mr. Cable, presided, and the Viceroy, in responding to the toast of his health proposed by Mr. Cable, said :—]

Gentlemen,—There was one remark in Mr. Cable's interesting and complimentary speech with which I entirely agreed, namely, that in which he claimed me as a friend of undertakings similar to that in which you are engaged. (*Cheers.*) Among the subjects which have attracted my keenest attention since I have been in India has been the development of Indian industrial enterprise, in which, in my view, lies one great hope for India in the future (*cheers*); and among those enterprises none is more important, or should in my opinion be more closely watched and diligently developed, than the coal-mining industry. (*Cheers.*) It fell to my lot to carry through the Legislative Council a Bill for the regulation of labour in Indian mines nearly two years ago, and in the course of my studies connected with that

Visit to the Jherria Coal-field.

Bill I necessarily learned something of the conditions under which Indian coal is produced, of the markets which it already finds or hopes to gain, and of the circumstances that point either to curtailment or to expansion of the trade in the future. To these experiences I have to-day added the perhaps more practical test of going down an Indian coal-mine, and seeing what it looks like and feels like down below. I should say that I am not altogether a novice in this line of business. Eighteen years ago I was a candidate for a Parliamentary seat in England; and an important part of the Constituency which I was wooing, but which, I may say, rejected my suit without the faintest hesitation (*laughter*), was inhabited by miners. They were all, or nearly all, Radicals, and I was a Conservative. As they would not come to my meetings in the evening, I had to go down their mines in the day (*laughter*); and many an hour did I pass creeping along the galleries and tunnels, which were much deeper and narrower than yours (*cheers and laughter*), and exchanging observations with the men at their work. I do not think that my visits had the smallest effect upon their political convictions. (*Laughter.*) The situation was perhaps a little unfavourable for sustained argument (*laughter*); and as soon as I got to the point, the miner had a disconcerting habit of reduplicating the energy with which he applied his pick to the seam and resumed his toil. (*Loud laughter.*) But however fruitless from other points of view, this experience taught me something about mining: and therefore I have not felt that I was doing anything very novel in going down your mines to-day. (*Cheers.*)

Now I want to give a little advertisement to the coal industry in India, because I fancy that a good many of our friends outside this country hardly know what we are doing inside it, or what our capabilities are. (*Applause.*) Of course no one pretends that India has yet become a great mining country. The industry is still in its infancy. We have not yet got 500 working mines in the whole of this

vast continent. But we have made a substantial beginning and we are going ahead fast. Had Lord Lytton come here on his way back from the Delhi Durbar of 1877, he could only have pointed to a total output of Indian coal in the year of less than one million tons. A quarter of a century has passed, and I am able to-day to point to an annual output of over seven million tons. Over 100,000 persons are already employed in this industry in different parts of the country; and if ever there is another Delhi Durbar, and you entertain the Viceroy of that day afterwards, I hope and expect that my figures will shrink into insignificance as compared with his. (*Loud cheers.*)

Now the coal trade in India has two great markets, the external and the internal—the requirements of foreign ports and the demands of internal consumption. Opinions seem to differ somewhat as to the opportunities of external expansion, or rather, I should say, as to the degree of rapidity which may be expected to attend it. Indian coal can hardly be expected to get beyond Suez on the west, or Singapore on the east. At those points you come up against English coal on the one side and Japanese coal on the other. But I wish to point out that there is a pretty extensive market between, and I think that Indian coal should make a most determined effort to capture it. (*Cheers.*) I believe there has been rather a set-back in the export trade during the past year: but the figures show that it has increased twenty-fold since 1890, and I believe myself that it will recover and show a steady progress for years to come.

But I think I shall not be far wrong if I say that the main opening for Indian coal in the future ought to be in India itself. (*Cheers.*) I am not speaking of the increase that must necessarily follow upon the extension of railways. Already the railways are your chief consumers, taking about one-third of the present output; and as more railways are built, and there is more traffic on existing lines, they will of course take more. But we must look a little beyond the railways,

good customers as they will always be. Nor am I going to pin my faith to the private consumer. He will probably not help us very much for the present, for in a country like India he burns a relatively small amount of coal, and other forms of fuel are very cheap. No, if a great future is to lie before the internal coal trade of India, it will be because great workshops spring up and are multiplied, because mills and factories are built, because the agencies of steam and electricity are called upon to render hitherto undreamed of services, and because coal is required to set them in motion. (*Loud applause.*) The coal trade and the industrial exploitation of India are in reality two facets of the same problem. Develop the industries, and there will then be a field for the coal. (*Cheers.*) I am one of those who are sanguine about the industrial future that lies before this country. I think that the capacities of India, either hidden beneath the soil or latent in the industry and ingenuity of its artisans, deserve and will attain a great development. (*Cheers.*) I do not say that we shall ever become a great manufacturing country, in the sense in which many European countries merit that name. The conditions preclude it. But I do hope that India will become much more of a self-providing country than she now is, manufacturing out of her own materials, and with her own workmen, a great deal that she now imports from abroad. (*Cheers.*) And if I am right, and if any such future lies before her, then assuredly one of the first conditions of success is already at her hand in the possession of extensive and accessible coal-fields such as those which I am visiting to-day, and which in so short a time have attained so wide a fame. (*Loud applause.*)

I am deeply grateful to Mr. Cable for the opportunity that he has thus afforded to me of adding a fresh paragraph to my ever-growing chapter of Indian experiences, and for the sumptuous hospitality of which I have been the recipient at his hands. (*Cheers.*) I have before now said that work such as that in which you are engaged appeals most strongly

to my sympathies. (*Cheers.*) Government cannot stand aloof from any project that is concerned with the development of this country. (*Cheers.*) My work lies in administration, yours in exploitation. (*Cheers.*) But both are aspects of the same question and the same duty (*cheers*); and I gladly welcome any occasion of testifying my interest in an undertaking which seems to me to promise so well for the future of India. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

OPENING THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY, CALCUTTA.

30th Jan. 1903. [On Friday, the 30th January, at 4-30 P.M., the Viceroy opened the New Imperial Library in the Metcalfe Hall, in the presence of a large and representative assembly. The ceremony took place in the general reading room. After Mr. Risley, the officiating Home Secretary, had read the regulations of the Library, His Excellency, who on rising was received with applause, spoke as follows:—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Resolution which has been read out by Mr. Risley will have given you all a general idea of the object that I have had in view in creating, or rather in recreating, this Library in its present form. But I may perhaps fill in a few details, so as to make the general effect of the picture more clear. When I came out to Calcutta four years ago, one of my first undertakings was to visit the Government offices and public buildings of this city in order to see what they were like, and how the work was conducted inside them. In the course of four years I have now seen them nearly all, except the Jail, which by an accident I seem to have reserved for the end. I heard that there was a Public Library, and that it was located in a building known as the Metcalfe Hall. So one afternoon I paid this place a visit. I found that the lower storey was occupied by an institution known as the Agri-Horticultural Society, which had collected there a number of glass bottles and jars on shelves containing seeds and specimens, and some rusty implements and ploughs. I daresay they were very useful in

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their own way and place. But it seemed to me that they were singularly out of place in the Metcalfe Hall, while I heard that their somewhat dismal appearance found its reflex in the financial position of the Society itself, which was also in a state of what is sometimes described as genteel decay. Then I walked upstairs to this floor which belonged to the Calcutta Public Library, and I found the shelves in these rooms—not I may say the present shelves, which are entirely new—filled with books, the majority of which had parted company with their bindings, while the room in which we are now met was occupied by a few readers of newspapers and light fiction, whose tenancy of the library was freely disputed by the pigeons who were flying about the inside of the room, and evidently treated it as their permanent habitation. Both of these experiences had a rather disquieting effect upon me. Then at about the same time I visited the Home Department, and I found stacked there, in a crowded and unsuitable building, the large library of books belonging to the Government of India and known as the Imperial Library, practically accessible to none but officials, useless for purposes of local study or reference, and unknown to the public at large. Putting together these various experiences, it seemed to me an obvious duty to work for some sort of amalgamation, and thereby to give to Calcutta what the chief city of a great province, with a population of a million of people, itself also the capital of the British Empire in India, ought most certainly to possess, namely, a Library worthy of the name. It also seemed to me that this building, erected in memory of a distinguished British Statesman, and situated in the heart of the business quarter of the town and in close proximity to the public offices, was the very place for such an institution, and that it was a pity to see it given up to pigeons, plants, and ploughs. I therefore, through the medium of the late Sir John Woodburn, who helped me very warmly in my project, approached the Council of the Agri-Horticultural Society and

the shareholders of the Public Library, to ascertain whether they would be willing to part with their interests, such as they were, in the building, and to allow Government to resume full possession. After prolonged negotiation, this was satisfactorily arranged. The rights of both parties were acquired by purchase by the Government of India, and an Act was subsequently passed to validate the transfer; the Metcalfe Hall was taken over; a Librarian was procured from England; and arrangements for the constitution of the new Library were seriously taken in hand. These have now been in progress for nearly two years. The building has been entirely renovated and refurnished, the collection of books from the Government Library has been brought over and placed in its new habitation, and the enormous number of books in the old Public Library has been examined, weeded out, and rearranged. The total number of books in the Library is now a little short of 100,000. The Government of India has created a staff, and provided an annual sum for their payment, for the upkeep of the building, and the purchase of new books; and now at last, after two years of incessant work here, we are introducing our child, I hope a robust as well as a learned child, to the Calcutta public, and inviting them to take notice of her and patronise her now that she has made her bow to the world. (*Applause.*)

Next let me say a few words as to the Library in the form in which we have arranged it and the manner in which we hope that it will be used. The lower floor, which is rather dark and obscure, we have utilised exclusively for purposes of storage, and there will be kept all the books not in ordinary use, with ample room for adding to their number for many years to come. The whole of this upper floor we have devoted to the current uses of the Library. We have a room for the Librarian, another for his staff and attendants, another for private students who want to study or to write by themselves, and finally we have the room in which we are assembled, which has been fitted up as the Reading Room of the

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Library. It has been organised on the same lines as the Reading Room of the British Museum, in which I have spent, not many happy days alone, but many happy months of my life; that is to say, all around the walls is arranged a good Library of Reference Books, which visitors will be able to take down and study at their leisure, while an application to the attendants will procure them any other work in the Library that they may desire. The general idea of the whole Library is that it should contain all the books that have been written about India in popular tongues, with such additions as are required to make it a good all round library of standard works of reference. At this stage I want to make clear that it is not intended to be, and cannot from the nature of things be, a Lending Library or a Public Library in the sense that the London Library is the former, or the English Free Libraries the latter. In the first place, we have not the resources or the space to convert it to such an object. Secondly, there are already other libraries in Calcutta in the Clubs and elsewhere which largely satisfy those particular requirements. Thirdly, it is the experience of Lending Libraries in India that books are taken very little care of by the borrowers, that they suffer very much from the climatic conditions, and are frequently returned in the last stage of debility or decay; and, lastly, the experience of all Free and Lending Libraries, which was entirely borne out by that of the former Public Library here, is that 70 per cent. of the books that are taken out are fiction, and fiction alone. Now it has never been my object to create a library of fiction in Calcutta. Such a library tends to provide a desultory pastime rather than a serious incentive and helpmate, and admirable as are the merits and uses of fiction, I should not have thought myself justified in spending the money of Government on the maintenance of an institution for the propagation of that form of literature exclusively, or in the main. Our rules, which Mr. Risley has read out, do not prohibit the taking out of books. Apart from the right of the proprietors of the old Metcalfe

Library, which have been safeguarded in the Deed of Transfer, we have also provided for the borrowing of books under conditions to be laid down by the Council. But we regard the Library in the main as a place to which people will resort as they do to the British Museum in London, or the Bodleian in Oxford, to pursue their studies under agreeable conditions, with every assistance that pleasant surroundings and a polite and competent staff can place at their disposal.

We have tried as far as possible to meet the convenience of the busy world of Calcutta. We realise that there are many inhabitants of the city, both European and Indian, who will not be able to get here during the business hours of the day, and who may perhaps even not be able to get here during the working days of the week at all. For the convenience of these classes we have arranged that the Library shall be kept open every day up till 7 P.M., and have provided electric light accordingly, and that it shall also be opened on Sundays and other holidays from 2 P.M. to 5 P.M. I hope that these arrangements will prove suitable to the public. If they are found to be inadequate or inappropriate in practice, we shall be ready to modify them, since the whole venture upon which we are embarking is somewhat in the nature of an experiment in Calcutta, and we must learn as we proceed.

It only remains for me to commend this enterprise to the favourable attention of residents in and visitors to this place. To the former I hope to have furnished a well equipped and comfortable resort to which they may turn for any information about India that is contained in printed books. The latter will, I hope, come to regard this Library as one of the most interesting and creditable institutions of our metropolis, while I further propose to show, for the edification of both classes, historical objects and documents in glass-cases in the entrance hall and galleries. For myself I may add that it will be a proud and happy reflection if I am able to say that I found Calcutta without a library worthy of the name and

left it with a first-class and well organised institution. (*Applause.*) In the scurry of modern life people do not seem to find much time to read, and sometimes none at all to think. But in this peaceful retreat let me provide a spot where the student may explore the records of the past, where the business man or official may furbish up his knowledge of the present, and where the speculative intellect may perhaps divine the secrets of the future. Just as many a reader in the Bodleian Library at Oxford has, I am sure, blessed the name of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, its original founder, and of Thomas Bodley, its restorer and second parent, so possibly some day will some future scholar, as his *magnum opus* takes shape at these tables, rejoice that the opening years of the twentieth century attempted to do for literature and learning in the capital of India what the nineteenth century had too long ignored. With these words I will now declare this Library open. (*Applause.*)

[The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Viceroy, said :—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasing duty for the second time within a few weeks to express, on behalf of those present here, and on behalf of the people of Calcutta, our cordial thanks for what Your Excellency has been pleased to do for this city. (*Applause.*)

Little more than a month ago His Excellency gave material proof of the interest which he feels in the city of Calcutta and its past history by presenting to the community the stately monument which commemorates one of the most tragic incidents in the eventful story of the British in India. To-day he has declared open this noble Library, under auspices so entirely new, and conditions so altered, that it may with perfect justice be considered a new institution.

Those who knew the Calcutta Public Library in its old days before the magic wand of the reformer had been waved over it, will hardly recognise the institution to-day. Dirt and disorder indescribable reigned supreme : it was almost impossible to find a book or to read it in comfort when found ; the surroundings were sordid beyond measure, and birds nested in all the rooms. Now all this is changed—the quiet order and comfort of these halls invite to study, and bring back to our recollection memories of happy hours spent in College or

University libraries or in that paradise of the student, the Reading Room at the British Museum.

Both these monuments—the new Public Library and the Holwell Obelisk—bear eloquent testimony to the catholicity of His Excellency's interests, and to the vigour and energy in carrying to conclusion projects for the public good which we have learnt to associate with the name of Lord Curzon. (*Applause.*)

We believe that both will endure long after all here have passed from the scene, and I now tender once more to Your Excellency the grateful thanks of those who are here to-day, of the present citizens of Calcutta, and of the many generations of students yet to come, who will throng these cool halls and bless the name of their founder. (*Applause.*)]

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BANQUET.

12th Feb. 1903.

[On Thursday evening, the 12th February, the members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce gave a banquet at the Town Hall, Calcutta, to commemorate the fiftieth Anniversary of the formation of the Chamber. The Viceroy was the guest of the evening, and the Hon'ble Sir Montagu Turner, President of the Chamber, occupied the Chair. Over 250 members and guests were present, including the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Chief Justice of Bengal, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the Members of the Viceroy's Council, and many other leading officials. Sir Montagu Turner proposed the toast of 'His Excellency the Viceroy,' which was drunk with an enthusiasm rare on such occasions. The Viceroy, in rising to reply to the toast, and to propose that of the 'Bengal Chamber of Commerce,' was received with loud and prolonged cheering. His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, Your Excellency, and Gentlemen,—It is the greatest pleasure to me to be with you this evening on the fiftieth Anniversary of the foundation of this Chamber; and if the vitality of the Chamber may be fairly estimated from that of its President, who broke a collar-bone on Monday, and is here making an admirable speech on Thursday, then I think that there need be no alarm as to your physical vigour for the future. (*Loud cheers.*)

Chamber of Commerce Banquet.

Gentlemen, Chambers of Commerce are very much to the fore nowadays. The second body that addressed me, after I had landed in Bombay more than four years ago, was a Chamber of Commerce. Among the first to address me in Calcutta was the Chamber by which I have now the honour of being entertained. On several occasions too, in the case of my predecessors, you have sped the parting, as well as welcomed the incoming, guest. I regard this form of contact, which is marked by absolute equality, and in which I have never known the smallest sacrifice of independence on either side, as a relation of mutual advantage. (*Hear, hear.*) It is well for the entire mercantile community that its views should be expressed by a body of its most prominent members, and that a competent Committee should act as the mouthpiece of the whole; and it is also well for Government that a machinery should exist by which it can ascertain the views of the business world upon the many matters connected with business and trade with which it is called upon to deal. (*Cheers.*) I have therefore never regarded Chambers of Commerce as a fortuitous concourse of individuals banded together for the exclusive object of protecting their own interests. (*Cheers.*) They have always seemed to me to be an important factor in the body politic, constituted for the formation and representation of expert opinion upon mercantile subjects. I do not know whether it is these views that may have accounted for a saying that I saw repeated in some newspaper the other day that I was supposed to be under the thumb of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. (*Laughter.*) This was news to me, Gentlemen, and I expect that it was equally news to you. (*Hear, hear.*) I cannot remember the occasions on which you have behaved as the despotic master or I as the pliant victim (*laughter*): nor am I quite sure that it tallies with the picture of myself as ordinarily drawn. (*Laughter.*) However that may be, Sir, the charge of being under your thumb has, I am glad to say, not prevented me from being present at your table: and

Chamber of Commerce Banquet.

I hope it does not disable me from thanking you for the courteous and complimentary terms in which you have proposed my health, or this large and representative company for the manner in which they have received it. (*Cheers.*)

Now, Gentlemen, there are many subjects upon which I should like, before an audience such as this, to say something this evening. You, Sir, have told us something in your speech about the trade of Calcutta and the port of Calcutta. May I, in my fifth season of residence in Calcutta, dare to say something about the city itself? (*Cheers.*) Of course I know that my view can only be a partial one, for I am never here to see Calcutta when I fancy that she is at her best (*laughter*), namely, when she is enjoying the cool luxury of the monsoon, and when the members of the Chamber of Commerce only suppress their superfluous vitality by riding races on the Maidan. (*Laughter.*) But, subject to that disqualification, I may claim that I am a true and devoted citizen of Calcutta. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) The interest and fascination of this great city have grown upon me with each advancing year. To me Calcutta is the capital, not merely of a province, great as that province is, but of the Indian Empire. (*Hear, hear.*) As such, it appears to me fitly to symbolise the work that the English have done, and are doing, in this country. For though, of the enormous population of over 1,100,000 souls that make up the city on both banks of the river, not much more than 30,000 are returned as Europeans and Eurasians, yet a glance at the buildings of the town, at the river and the roar and the smoke, is sufficient to show that Calcutta is in reality a European city set down on Asiatic soil, and that it is a monument—in my opinion one of the most striking extant monuments, for it is the second city to London in the entire British Empire (*cheers*)—to the energy and the achievements of our race. (*Cheers.*) Had Job Charnock not planted his humble tenement on the banks of the Hughli close to this spot more than two centuries ago, and persisted there in

the face of every discouragement and hardship, and had not other Englishmen—I beg to say that I do not exclude Scotchmen and Irishmen (*laughter and cheers*)—equally bold and courageous come after him, there might never have been a great capital here at all. Now Calcutta has grown to mature stature and every visitor from the old country, every foreigner from afar, comes to see what she is like. (*Cheers.*) They see the river with its crowded shipping, the quays with the jostle and clamour of their busy life, the Howrah bridge, so useful and so inadequate (*laughter*), the jute mills and cotton mills drawing their sooty finger-marks across the sky (*cheers*), the Government buildings and the law courts, where we dispense an administration and a justice whose rapidity is perhaps not quite in equal proportion to its virtue (*loud laughter and cheers*), the business houses, where the old men do not see visions—because I am told there are no old men to see them (*laughter*)—and the young men are too occupied to dream dreams, the teeming native quarters, packed with a dense population, drawn hither for security, employment, or trade; and, finally, the glorious and health-giving expanse of the Maidan—they see all these things, and I doubt if there is a man among them who does not feel that here is the settlement of an imperial race (*hear, hear*), and the fitting habitation of a world-wide rule. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, I do not know whether most to be grateful for the advantages of the geographical position that Calcutta enjoys, or to admire the intrepidity and enterprise which has turned them to such advantage. It is more than 15 years since first I visited this place, and even within that time the change is amazing. It is going on every day before our eyes. Great buildings are springing up, new shops are being opened, the suburbs stretch out further and further into the country, the river is no longer a physical boundary to Calcutta, but is a link connecting its two sections; and I see no limit to the destinies which, but for some sudden and not to be expected convulsion of nature,

will await you in the future. (*Cheers.*) In my own small way I have tried to contribute to the historic interest and to the external beauties of this city. (*Cheers.*) My view is well known that no place and no country can afford to be so absorbed in the pursuit of its future as to forget its past. But in remembering the past I have also had one eye fixed on the present, and another on the future. (*Laughter and cheers.*) The restored Holwell Monument and the commemoration by tablets and brass lines of Old Fort William will keep alive certain records and memories that should never die. (*Hear, hear.*) The Imperial Library will, I hope, prove a genuine and permanent boon. (*Cheers.*) I have bought, as you know, and renovated the old country-house of Warren Hastings at Alipore (*cheers*) as a State Guest House, where the Viceroy may return the abundant hospitality of the Indian Chiefs; and I wish you would drive out there some afternoon, when the house is not occupied, and see what an addition it is to the sights of Calcutta. (*Cheers.*) Next year I hope to have completed the handsome building of the new Foreign and Military Departments facing the Maidan in Esplanade Row. In a few years' time there will rise the snow-white fabric of the Victoria Memorial Hall (*cheers*), surrounded by a spacious garden, between the Lawrence Statue and the Fort, and I have other ideas about the beautification of this part of Calcutta which are gradually taking shape, and which, I hope, will be realised before I go. (*Loud cheers.*) Some of you may have noticed the great improvement that has taken place in the heart of the business quarter of Calcutta which is bounded by Writers' Buildings on the north, Old Court House Street on the east, and the river on the west. Ever since I have been here, I have thought that the appearance of this quarter of the town was a disgrace to the city. The roads were shocking, the footpaths uneven, the lighting defective, the conservancy bad. (*Hear, hear.*) The Government of India therefore said that, if the Corporation would undertake to bring up this

part of the town to a satisfactory standard in all these respects, we would assume one-half of the initial charge, and would contribute R5,000 a year towards the upkeep. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) These terms were accepted, and you may see the results. I do not know whether the change that has been made is approved or disapproved by public opinion; but I do know that it has made quite a different place of the heart of the city; and it has set a standard which cannot fail to spread and gradually to affect the whole of the surrounding area. (*Cheers.*) But, Gentlemen, there is one superficial feature of Calcutta that has greatly distressed me. It is a tribute to your enterprise; and I doubt not that it also ministers to your wealth. But it is neither necessary, nor beautiful, nor even sanitary. I allude to the Calcutta smoke, which sometimes almost makes one forget that this is an Asiatic capital, which besmirches the midday sky with its vulgar tar brush (*laughter*) and turns our sunsets into a murky gloom. (*Hear, hear.*) I am reluctant to see Calcutta, which has risen like a flame, perish in soot and smoke; and I may inform you that we have an expert from England, even now on the seas, coming out here to advise us as to how we may combat this insidious and growing danger. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) I hope, when he comes, that all those who are concerned in the enterprises that result in such excellent financial dividends (*laughter*) at the expense of so much fuliginous deposit, will join hands with us in the attempt to curtail a mischief which, if unarrested, I do not hesitate to say, will before long destroy one-half of the amenities of Calcutta, and will permanently injure its incomparable beauty and charm. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

But, Gentlemen, you will tell me that there are other and larger problems attending the future of Calcutta than are indicated by monuments and chimneys and gardens. (*Hear, hear.*) I agree with you. There is the vast and unsettled problem of the interior of this city, the congested areas that skulk behind a fringe of palaces, the huge and palpitating

slums. (*Loud cheers.*) What are we going to do for them? How are we going to provide the Calcutta of the future with the streets that she needs, the air and open spaces that she needs, the improved and sanitary dwellings? This is the greatest problem of all. (*Cheers.*) Do not imagine for a moment that we have overlooked it. For three years the correspondence with the Local Government and the Government at home has been going on. It has not been an easy matter to settle; for great plans and large sums of money have been involved. We have had to discuss the resources of the city, the credit of the Corporation, the interest of the Local Government, and the responsibility of the supreme administration. We have had to produce a scheme that would be beneficial and adequate from the public point of view, financially sound, and equitable in its distribution of the necessary burdens. It was as far back as June last that we sent our project home to the Secretary of State. I may say at once that the Government of India did not fail to realise their interest in so great an undertaking, for we offered to make a grant of 50 lakhs from the Imperial revenues (*cheers*) and to guarantee the loan that will require to be raised by the Corporation. (*Cheers.*) I am not sure that the Secretary of State does not think that the Government is ready to give too much, and that the local taxpayer is called upon to contribute too little. Anyhow he has sent the scheme back to us, and has instructed us to revise it in consultation with the local bodies such as the Corporation, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Trades Association, who are most concerned. In a few days, therefore, you will have the full plan before you. (*Cheers.*) I am not without hopes that a remodelled scheme may be devised which will satisfy the Secretary of State's requirements: and if that be so, then, before any long time has elapsed, we shall proceed with the great project for bringing the interior of Calcutta up to the level of its exterior, and for making this great capital truly worthy of its name. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

Chamber of Commerce Banquet.

Gentlemen, sometimes when I contemplate the possibilities, the enormous possibilities, of this place, I almost feel—you may regard it as a strange ambition—as if when I laid down the post of Viceroy I should like to become Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation. (*Cheers and laughter.*) Those who talk about Municipal Government in Calcutta as having received its death knell, because an overswollen body of 75 was turned into a compact and businesslike body of 50, may not understand this feeling. But those who look at facts, and who realise that a body has been constituted, infinitely better fitted for its work, and demanding not the slurs or the sneers, but the hearty encouragement and support of all patriotic citizens (*cheers*), they will perhaps follow my meaning. I cannot imagine a higher duty or a more beneficent aim. Perhaps if I were Chairman, I should exact rather large conditions. I should require ten years of office, sufficient cash, and a free hand. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Give me those commodities, and I would undertake to make this city the pride of Asia, and a model for the Eastern World. (*Loud cheers.*) I would open out all your crowded quarters and slums. I would have electricity as the universal illuminant. I would have a splendid service of river steam-boats and ferries—for it is astonishing to me how little use is made of the river by the ordinary residents of Calcutta. I would have all the quarters of the town connected by a service of suburban railways or electric trams. Already I see that positive advances are being made in this direction, and that the reformed Corporation is setting itself, under the able Chairmanship of Mr. Greer (*cheers*), to justify those who called it into being. I rejoice, Sir, that gentlemen like yourself are willing to devote their gratuitous energies and abilities to the task. (*Cheers.*) I regard such service as the highest form of civic duty, and I commend the example to all those who are interested, as I am, and can never fail to be, in the fortunes of Calcutta. (*Cheers.*) Long after I have gone, I shall study the records

of your proceedings, and shall never cease to regard it as a pride that for a number of the hardest working years of my life I was a citizen and a son of this great and imperial city. (*Cheers.*)

And now, Gentlemen, will you bear with me while I turn to an examination for a few minutes of those subjects with which you are most concerned, and with which I have endeavoured to acquire such familiarity as is possible in the midst of a life of many duties? I allude to the economic position and future of India, and to the part in it that is played or ought to be played by Government. Perhaps I may state my own credentials, modest as they are. My view of every question is that the way to deal with it is to understand it, and the way to understand is to dig down to the bed-rock of concrete fact and experience, or, as it may otherwise be put, to hear with one's own ears and to see with one's own eyes. (*Hear, hear.*) People sometimes talk and write of a Viceroy's tours as though they were a ceremonial procession attended by little but pomp and show. I should like to take some of these arm-chair critics with me and to make the condition that they should never leave my side during a tour of six weeks or two months. I expect that after a week or two of being out from 8 in the morning till sundown, inspecting, questioning, noting, addressing others, being addressed by them, everywhere probing, probing, probing for the truth, the critic would be ready enough to slink back to his arm-chair (*laughter*) and to resume the irresponsible cultivation of the pen. (*Loud laughter and cheers.*) I cannot recall much fuss or pomp when I visited the oil-wells of Assam and Burma, the coal-mines of Umaria, Jherria, and Makum, the gold mines of Kolar, the tea plantations and rubber plantations, the cotton mills and jute mills, the factories and workshops, that I have now seen in so many parts of India. (*Cheers.*) All I know is that, when I have visited these scenes of industrial enterprise, I have met with nothing but kindness from

the proprietors or managers of these undertakings, and with an earnest desire to acquaint me with the facts; and I speak nothing but the truth when I say that any right that I may have acquired to deal with such matters has been in the main derived from these experiences, and that they have enormously stimulated my interest in the industrial and economic side of the national existence. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) Gentlemen, I need not repeat here what I have said on previous occasions as to my belief in the economic future of this country. We have a continent of immense and as yet almost unexplored natural resources, existing under a settled Government, and inhabited by an industrious and orderly population. Though the vast majority of them have been trained to agriculture, are only physically fitted for agriculture, and will never practise anything but agriculture, yet in many parts of the country there is a substantial residuum, well qualified by intelligence and bodily aptitude for a life of mechanical or industrial toil. And yet, Gentlemen, it cannot be denied that in many respects we are still backward, and that we are only at the beginning of the race. I have often set myself to ponder over the causes that have hitherto retarded our development, and that make it to some eyes appear so slow; and I should like to say what I think they are.

It is a truism that there can be no economic or industrial development without capital, and it is round the attraction of capital to India that the whole question turns. (*Cheers.*) Now there are two kinds of capital in this country, foreign and native, and I have a word or two to say about each. In the first place, let us realise what is borne in upon me every day—that there is a good deal of ignorance in England about India. (*Hear, hear.*) If this ignorance affects Parliament, and sometimes causes extraordinary questions to be put by well-meaning persons (*laughter*), equally does it affect the business world. Our securities, our fields for investment, our openings for enterprise, are in many cases

both unsuspected and unknown. Capital has not learned to flow hither. It has been diverted into other channels. Many of our securities do not find a place in the London stock market: they are not even accessible here. I sometimes think that those who have got their nose into the Indian manger, and have found out what good grain is to be found there, are also a little jealous about disseminating the information, or sharing the spoils. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Perhaps this is not surprising, for commerce is not, after all, a very altruistic pursuit. (*Laughter.*) However that may be, I believe that this condition of affairs is drawing to an end, and my reason for thinking so is that the other channels of investment, outside of India, are gradually being filled up, not merely by British capital, but by the capital of all the wealth-producing countries of the world; and, if this be so, then a time must soon come when the current of British capital, extruded from the banks between which it has long been content to meander, will want to pour over into fresh channels, and will, by the law of economic gravitation, find its way to India, to which it should be additionally attracted by the security of British institutions and British laws. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

Then there is another factor that has long retarded the movement in this direction, that is the uncertainty and want of confidence in our currency, the acrobatic and disconcerting movements of our old friend the rupee. (*Cheers.*) Well, Gentlemen, we have been busy for more than three years in curtailing the agility and in repressing the freaks of that dangerous mountebank (*laughter*): and I really begin to think that we have reduced him to proper subjection, and made him a fit subject for complimentary reference even at the table of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. (*Laughter.*) I feel tempted to say with some confidence that we have given to India that which is the first condition of economic and industrial advance, namely, a currency possessing fixity of value and steadiness of exchange. (*Cheers.*) I do not

say that this policy has everywhere been attended with equal benefit, or that there are not some industries that did not profit, or appear to profit, more by a steadily declining rupee. But I do say that, whether you regard the credit of the Government, the trade of the country, the public growth of confidence, or even the material test of individual gains, our currency policy, based upon the gold standard, has justified itself, and is continuing to justify itself, all along the line. (*Loud cheers.*) I may put it in two ways. Memories of financiers and business men are almost as short as those of politicians. (*Laughter.*) I cannot put it higher, or shall I say lower? (*Laughter.*) And yet is there one among you that can forget the cries of anguish that used to echo (*laughter*) from every counting-house in India, and the daily expletives of the press, in the old days before 1898? I was not in India at that time, but I used to study the Indian papers: and I remember well that while everyone had his own remedy—a characteristic of financiers as well as of politicians—all were agreed that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark, and that the condition of the currency, with its consequent reaction on business and trade, was deplorably and almost irredeemably bad. But now all those memories have passed away like a hideous nightmare, and are forgotten as swiftly as we forget the dentist's chair the moment that we have escaped from its terrifying clutches. (*Laughter.*) Then the other way in which I would put it is this. Supposing the Government were now to announce its intention to go back again, to abolish the Gold standard, to re-open the Mints to the free coinage of silver, and to allow the rupee to resume its ancient tricks, would you invite the head of that Government to a dinner at this hospitable board? (*Laughter.*) Would you toast him in the language of compliment? Is there a Chamber of Commerce in this country that would not buckle on its armour and sharpen its sword for the fray? Is there a Secretary to a Chamber that would not at once sit down

and begin to indite one of those formidable letters to Government (*laughter*) that bring home to us in such moving terms the extremity of our ignorance, the gravity of our offences, and the superior wisdom of our critics? (*Loud laughter and cheers.*) No, Gentlemen, I believe that our currency policy has the confidence of the country. (*Cheers.*) I grant that it must be watched, that it must be fortified by every conceivable security, like the Gold Reserve Fund, so wisely conceived by my Financial Colleague, Sir Edward Law. (*Cheers.*) But I believe that it is safely started, and I look to its successful continuance to attract to India the confidence and the capital that are required for our future. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

But, Sir, there is one obstacle to the progress I am predicating which you will tell me that I have forgotten, that is the Government of India itself. (*Laughter.*) I saw the other day that one of our cold weather visitors to India, before he had thawed under the genial influences of the Delhi Durbar—to which let me thank you, Sir, in passing, for your graceful allusion—ventured upon the polite remark that the Government of India stinks in the nostrils of the city world in London. (*Laughter.*) Poor, unpopular, and odoriferous Government of India! (*Laughter.*) I have been wondering if there is anything that I could say or do to render ourselves more fragrant (*laughter*), if there is any sort of scented handkerchief that I could offer to the gentlemen possessed of these delicate organs. (*Laughter.*) First let me make an admission. I think that there is something, or at any rate has been something, in the charge. Capitalists and promoters are persons who want to do their business quickly, to get a swift and, if possible, a substantial return. They do not always quite realise the difficulties of a complex and many-headed administration like ours. The Government of India, though the supreme, is not an autocratic, power in India; and outside of India we are not the supreme power at all. In this country there are

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numerous departments to be consulted, there are Local Governments, there are often Native States and Durbars. We ourselves are commonly ill-equipped with expert advice. Then when the ground has been cleared here, we have to go home to the India Office, and sometimes the whole thing begins again. These are some of our difficulties, inevitable and very hard to overcome. The alert business man no doubt thinks that we are haggling with insufficient cause, and he attributes the delay to an inherent and malignant passion for obstruction. I will not retaliate upon him by saying, as I might, that he very frequently changes his own ground, and, when we are getting to a direct issue, fails to come up to time at all, or that he sometimes thinks himself at liberty to treat a Government in a manner that he would not presume to apply to any private firm or institution in the world. (*Cheers.*) I say I will not reply in this spirit, because I do not want to indulge in any sort of *tu quoque* argument. I would rather admit that our procedure is sometimes very slow and ponderous; and I would prefer in any case that is brought before me to do what I can to accelerate its pace. You have yourself, Sir, generously acknowledged in your speech that delay finds no place in the present policy of the Government of India. That I can assure this company is no more than the truth. (*Cheers.*) I speak for the whole of my colleagues when I say that no effort has been wanting, or will be wanting, on our part to purge the administration from the reproach of dilatoriness or indifference to the commercial development of the country, if such reproach is still thought to appertain to it. (*Cheers.*) There is no object that is more constantly in our minds than the desire to deal both with promptitude and sympathy with every reasonable mercantile or industrial claim. (*Cheers.*)

But, Gentlemen, there are two obstacles to the expansion of which I have been speaking that I have yet to name. I hinted at the first just now. It is the inadequacy of our

trained staff. After an experience of four years in this country, I do not hesitate to say that we are trying to run this Empire with a staff that would be considered inadequate in a second class European kingdom. (*Cheers.*) We came here as traders, we developed into conquerors, and long since we were turned into administrators. But now the Government of India are expected to be much more. We are required to be up-to-date and to know everything about agriculture, commerce, emigration, labour, shipping, customs, the application of science to every form of production, the secrets of coal, iron, steel, salt, oil, tea, cotton, indigo, and jute. (*Laughter and cheers.*) The fact is that we have not yet expanded to the needs of the new situation. You cannot in a moment take a race of specially trained administrators and expect them to develope the capacities of the merchant. Gradually, but surely, we shall make things right. I am the last man to propose the multiplication of posts or the creation of sinecures. But it is clear to me that we must systematise and specialise our work far more than we have hitherto done. (*Cheers.*) We must have special departments and special men over them to deal with special jobs; instead of allowing technical subjects to be dealt with at the end of a day's work by a tired-out civilian. (*Cheers.*) Already in my time we have done a good deal in this respect. We have placed Education and Archæology under expert heads. We have brought out mining experts to inspect our mines. We have imported a Government architect to purify our egregious taste. (*Laughter.*) We have created a Department of Agriculture with an Inspector-General at its head, and we now propose with the aid of the munificent donation that I recently received from a wealthy American gentleman, Mr. Phipps (*loud cheers*), to unify in one place all the various departments of scientific investigation in connection with agriculture.

I have long had my eye on Railways, and it has always

been my hope, before I leave India, to do something to introduce a more commercial and a less purely departmental element into their administration, though I might be speaking here at midnight were I to embark upon that discussion now. Finally there is the proposal about which we have been in consultation with your Chamber, namely, the creation of the Commercial Bureau. I saw somewhere or the other that I was expected to make a pronouncement on the subject to-night. I am sorry to say that that is not in my power; for the case is now with the Secretary of State, who has not yet replied, but whose acceptance of the general principle of the scheme may, I think, be taken for certain. But, Sir, there is one thing to my mind even more important than the scheme itself, and that is the man who is to be its head. (*Cheers.*) You will add very materially to the services that you have already rendered both to the commercial world and to Government, and which have so recently met with a most popular recognition in the title that you now wear (*cheers*)—if you can enable me to put my finger on the man. I want the very best individual in India for the job: and I have no prejudices whatever as to the source from which I take him. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I said a little while back that there was another obstacle to rapid progress with which I yet had to deal. It is connected with the subject of native capital to which I also promised to refer. The other day I was preaching to a very different audience at Delhi from the text that, if Indian Art is to be regenerated, it must be by Indian patronage. I think I might deliver a sermon from a similar text here, and might plead to the natives of India that, if the industrial and economic development of this country is to proceed at the pace that they with us desire, it can only be by the employment of Indian capital for the purpose. (*Cheers.*) I have seen calculations to the effect that the hoarded wealth of this country amounts to over 825 crores of

rupees. Whether these figures are correct or not, they represent an approximation to the truth. Think of all this money lying idle, or at most put out to usury and to relatively unproductive forms of investment. It makes one almost shudder to think of the opportunities lost. But what astonishes me still more is that those who hoard this wealth, who tie up their talents in a napkin and bury them under ground, are never so vocal as when they are denouncing the introduction of English capital into India to fill the gap which their own timidity or indifference has left open. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, to me the argument that the influx of foreign capital into India is a source of impoverishment, and that it drains away the wealth of the country, has always seemed to be a foolish and a dangerous illusion: foolish, because it ignores the rudiments of economic science; dangerous, because it is calculated to retard the development which it affects to have in view. (*Cheers.*) Even assuming it to be true, then why do not those who plead for the use of native capital employ it? There is not an Englishman in this country who would not welcome the help. It is with positive delight that I witness the efforts of the small group of enlightened Indians, who have risen superior to the out-of-date alarms of their countrymen, and who in Bombay, in Nagpur, in other places, and to some extent in Calcutta and Bengal, are devoting their wealth to the regeneration of their own country, and, instead of girding at the English for having got the start, or talking copy-book fallacies about the economic drain, are endeavouring to keep the interest of capital in the country by providing and sinking the capital itself. (*Loud cheers.*) When I hear the employment of British capital in India deplored, I feel tempted to ask where without it would have been Calcutta? Where would have been Bombay? Where would have been our railways, our shipping, our river navigation, our immense and prosperous trade? And why should a different argument be applied to India from any other country in the world? When Great

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Britain poured her wealth into South America and China, I have never heard those countries complain that they were being ruined. No one pities Egypt when a foreign nation resuscitates her industries and dams the Nile. It was foreign capital and foreign brains that exploited the industries of Russia, which are now beginning to be a source of such profit to that country. When America floods England, as she is doing, with the resources of her accumulated capital, her amazing inventiveness, and her commercial genius, none of us at home sits down and bewails our cruel lot at being bled by a foreign drain. (*Cheers.*) I therefore would say to the people of this country—if my words could have the slightest effect—look facts in the face. Recognize that capital does not wrap itself in the flag of any one country. It is international. It is like the wind which bloweth where it listeth, and comes and goes as it will. The whole industrial and mercantile world is one great field for the tiller to till: and if the man who lives on the spot will not cultivate it with his own spade, then he has no right to blame the outsider, who enters it with his plough. (*Loud and continued cheers.*) Of course the country is in the strongest position whose capital is self-generated and self-employed; and it is for this reason that I say that the first duty of the patriotic Indian instead of carping at those who have profited by his neglect, is to enter the field, though late in the day, himself, and to utilise the wealth that he has inherited or acquired for the benefit and the development of his own people. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I have detained you a very long time (*no, no*), and I may now bring these over-lengthy remarks to a close. You have said, Sir, that it is my endeavour to see things through. Yes, I confess that I like the *res gesta*, the thing done. While others are preaching efficiency, I think more highly of the man who practises it. (*Hear, hear.*) I have never claimed the merit of the first discovery in anything that I have attempted in this country. Wiser brains have

started the ideas long ago. More prudent hands have sped them on their way. But at least let me drive the machine a few laps forward in my time.

> Not in vain the distance beacons,
> Forward, forward let us range.
> Let the great world spin for ever
> Down the ringing grooves of change.

If I thought it were all for nothing, and that you and I, Englishmen and Scotchmen and Irishmen in this country, were simply writing inscriptions on the sand to be washed out by the next tide, if I felt that we were not working here for the good of India in obedience to a higher law and to a nobler aim, then I would see the link that holds England and India together severed without a sigh. But it is because I believe in the future of this country, and in the capacity of our own race to guide it to goals that it has never hitherto attained, that I keep courage and press forward. You and I, Gentlemen, may not live to see the day when these hopes are fulfilled. But 50 years hence, when the Bengal Chamber of Commerce is celebrating its centenary, and when a still more powerful and more numerous body entertains the Viceroy of that day at an even larger banquet in a more commodious hall, I am sanguine enough to believe that it will be in his power to point to the realisation of some at least of the predictions in which I have indulged this evening, and to congratulate your successors upon the ever expanding range of your influence and the fruition of your toil.

Gentlemen, I give you the toast of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

[His Excellency resumed his seat amid loud and prolonged cheers.]

UNVEILING LADY LANSDOWNE'S PORTRAIT.

21st March 1903.

[The ceremony of unveiling the portrait of Lady Lansdowne, which was obtained by the balance of the Fund remaining in the hands of the Committee after meeting the cost of the statue of Lord Lansdowne erected on the Maidan, was performed by the Viceroy at the Town Hall, on Saturday afternoon, the 21st March, in the presence of a number of ladies and gentlemen representing the Executive Committee of the Fund and the general community of Calcutta. Sir P. Playfair, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, in inviting His Excellency to unveil the portrait, referred in graceful terms to the popularity of Lady Lansdowne in India and the esteem in which she was held by all classes. He also expressed regret at the sudden death of Maharaja Sir Narendra Krishna who was to have seconded the vote of thanks to the Viceroy on the present occasion. His Excellency then rose and spoke as follows:—]

Sir Patrick Playfair, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to me to be invited to take part in this ceremony. I think I may even claim some slight qualification for the task, seeing that I am privileged to know Lady Lansdowne very well. It seems to me a happy idea on the part of those who are responsible for collecting funds to perpetuate the memory of a retired Viceroy, that, if any surplus be available, whether it be due to the interesting reasons mentioned by Sir Patrick Playfair or to other causes, they should devote it to commemorating the services that are capable of being rendered both to the Viceroy and to the public by his wife. (*Hear, hear.*)

Perhaps I have as good a right as any man to form an estimate of what those services may be. (*Applause.*) The wife of a Viceroy is, for the time being, the head of a society which imposes many duties and cares. Under her patronage fall naturally many philanthropic and charitable interests, which could hardly find a place in the crowded life of her husband, and which are all the better for the ministering hand and the gentle genius of a woman. (*Applause.*) Above all, she is, by virtue of her position, the natural leader of any movement that may be devised to elevate the

condition or to promote the welfare of her own sex among the inhabitants of this country, those millions of persons, of whom we know so little and see so little, but who in the background are silently shaping the lives and characters of future generations of Indians. (*Hear, hear.*)

In every one of these respects, Lady Lansdowne set a model which any successor may be proud to follow. She was a most gifted and popular head of society, having that rare combination of gracious gaiety and intuitive tact, which are never so fascinating as when they set off the gifts of high lineage and personal charm. (*Hear, hear.*) They rendered her equally beloved in her own household, and by the wider ranks of European society at Calcutta and Simla. At the same time she relaxed nothing of her interest in the inhabitants of this country, carrying on with unflagging energy and zeal the great undertaking that had been initiated on their behalf by her predecessor, Lady Dufferin. (*Applause.*)

It seems to me a very fitting thing that just as the public career of Lord Lansdowne has found its proper commemoration on the Maidan, so the part that was played in it by Lady Lansdowne should meet with a similar recognition on these walls; and I regard myself as fortunate in having been invited during my term of office to assist in both these ceremonies, interesting to me because they are so closely concerned with two of my own friends, and also as adding two striking memorials to the possessions of Calcutta. (*Applause.*)

I will now proceed to unveil the portrait.

[The Viceroy then unveiled the portrait, after which Mr. A. A. Apcar proposed a vote of thanks to His Excellency on behalf of the subscribers to the fund which was seconded by Nawab Syed Ameer Hossein, C.I.E. His Excellency then said :—]

In acknowledging the vote of thanks, I should like to take the opportunity of saying how sincerely I join in the regret expressed by Sir Patrick Playfair at the loss that we have all suffered in the death of Maharaja Sir Narendra Krishna. Only yesterday I learned from Sir Patrick that he was to

second the vote of thanks to me this afternoon; and now, instead of being with us and speaking here, he is already lying in his grave. Nothing could bring home to us more clearly the conditions under which we all live in India, or the suddenness of the vicissitudes to which we are exposed. I venture to say that we shall long remember dear old Sir Narendra Krishna, as the finest type of an upright and public-spirited Indian gentleman, prominent in all good works and devoted to the interests of this place; and that I am only giving utterance to what will be a feeling of public and universal mourning when I deplore his sad and sudden end. (*Applause.*)

DEBATE ON THE BUDGET FOR 1902-3.

25th March 1903.

[The Hon'ble Sir Edward Law, Financial Member of Council, introduced and explained the Budget Statement for 1902-3 in the Governor-General's Legislative Council on Wednesday, the 18th March, and the debate upon it took place on the following Wednesday, the 25th. The occasion excited more than usual interest and so large a number of applications by the public for admission to the Council Chamber were received that it was decided to hold the meeting in the Throne Room, a proceeding which had not been found necessary for many years. The Council met at 11 A.M. and did not rise till 6 P.M. The debate was closed by His Excellency the President, who spoke as follows:—]

Among the objects that I have set before myself ever since I have been in India, and high up among the tasks of which I have sometimes spoken, has been a reduction of the burdens that rest upon the shoulders of the people. In my first Budget speech in 1899, I discussed the question of remission of taxation, and showed that the time was not yet. Then we found ourselves caught in a cyclone of famine and general suffering, and all such ideas had to be

postponed. In my third Budget speech, I again cautiously alluded to the matter; but, as we were still in the wood and had not got out into the open, I dared neither to be sanguine nor prophetic. Last year we had a large surplus, and I discussed in my Budget remarks the different ways in which we might have spent it. We decided to make a substantial gift to those classes of the population who had been hardest hit in the recent visitations, and we wiped off arrears of Land Revenue amounting to nearly 2 crores, or a sum of £1,320,000. Now at last in my fifth year we are able to take the further step that has all along been in our minds; and my present Budget speech is the pleasantest that I have yet been called upon to deliver, since it is associated with the first serious reduction of taxation that has been made in India for 20 years.

My view about taxation in this country has all along been this. I have never believed that, judged by any or all of the tests that are commonly and fairly applied, it is excessive or even high. I believe, on the whole, that so long as a liberal policy of remissions and suspensions of Land Revenue is pursued in bad times, it presses very lightly upon the people. But the material condition, or the relative acquiescence, of a people is not the sole measure of what taxation should be. Otherwise there would be a good argument for squeezing everybody up to the point at which he can give forth moisture without an audible groan. Another test which a just and liberal-minded Government cannot fail to apply is the observance of a due proportion between the revenues that are drawn from the people, and the calls that are made upon them by a reasonably progressive standard of administration. When it is found that for a series of years, including years of misfortune, the revenues of a country produce a considerable annual surplus over and above what is required by administrative needs, even interpreting these in the most generous spirit, then I think that the time has arrived for taking from the people somewhat less: and it

is these considerations that have led my Colleagues and myself to give this relief, added to the fact that it has been long promised, and that the patience of the community has itself enhanced the case for remission. Sir Edward Law, whom I must take leave to congratulate both upon the results that he has achieved, and upon the modesty with which he has announced them, has shown in his statement that we have endeavoured to bring our bounty home to those classes of the community that most require it, through the relief of the income-tax to the struggling members of the middle class, through the reduction in the salt duty to the cultivating millions. The total annual sacrifice of revenue which we have thus accepted amounts to nearly 210 lakhs, or £1,400,000, and it will not, I hope, henceforward be in the power of anyone to say that we have refused to the people a due share in the improving prosperity of the country, or that Government has either selfishly absorbed or unwisely dissipated the fruits of the national industry. Some fear has been expressed that the benefits of the reduction on the salt-tax may be frittered away before they reach the consumer. But if we examine the result of what happened at the last reduction in 1882, and again when the duty was reimposed in 1888, we find good reason for thinking that a difference of 8 annas per maund does filter down to the people, and is reflected both in the price of the commodity and in an increase or decrease of consumption. I am glad to see that this view was endorsed by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who made a speech to-day, characterised by the great ability which we have learned to associate with his utterances. Of course the reduction of taxation now does not carry with it any promise that it will never at any time be reimposed. The income-tax in England, which is the great national reserve, goes up and down according to the financial position; and every civilized Government must have at its disposal the means of meeting an emergency, whether caused by war or anything else. The utmost that

the community can demand is that taxation which has been taken off upon its own merits, shall not be lightly reimposed, and that the financial emergency which is held to justify its reimposition shall be proportionate in degree to the prosperity which was responsible for the original relief. I hope myself that the consumption of salt may increase steadily under the lowered rate of duty, and that Government will gradually reap its reward in a recovery of revenue as well as in the gratitude of the people.

One thing it may interest Hon'ble Members to know, namely, that since the salt duties were equalised throughout India, there has never been a period, except the six years between 1882 and 1888, at which the duty anywhere in India has stood so low as the rate to which we have now reduced it, and that since India was taken over by the Crown in the middle of the last century, the duty in Northern India and Bengal was never lower than two rupees eight annas except during the period above mentioned. These facts are, I think, of importance as tending to show the genuine and exceptional character of the present boon, and also the desire of Government, so far from making increasing expenditure an excuse for increasing calls upon the poorer classes of the population, to allow them to be the first to profit by an all-round improvement in the national resources. There is one consequence that I hope may ensue from these measures of financial relief. I hope they may give the public at large, both in India and outside of it, a little greater confidence in the position and prospects of this country. Year after year we have put forward at this table statements of figures and facts tending irresistibly to show that there is a great reserve of economic vitality in India, which not even plague and famine and the expenditure entailed thereby have availed to subdue. We have shown steadily improving revenues, large and increasing surpluses, advances in all the tests that indicate material prosperity. We have even been able from time to time to

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confer, as we did last year, very large and substantial boons. But there has always remained a school of thought that declined to be convinced. With them the poverty of the Indian peasant, the decline of the country, and I may almost say its ultimate ruin, have almost become an article of political belief, based upon sentiment rather than reason, and impervious to the evidence of facts. And the final argument that has always been used by critics of this class is the following:—"We are not impressed by your figures; we do not believe in your surpluses; we are not even convinced by your occasional doles. Not until you give a permanent relief of taxation, shall we be persuaded, either of the sympathy of Government, or of the prosperity of the country. That is the sure and final test of the condition of India and of the statesmanship of its rulers." Well, I feel inclined to take these critics at their own word, and to invite them, now that we have subscribed to their test, to abate their melancholy, and to be a little more generous and less sceptical in the future.

I do not wish it for a moment to be thought that, because we have been able to remit the best part of 1½ million sterling per annum in taxation, therefore there is no poverty in India. Far from it. There is enough, and far more than enough. There is a great deal more than anyone of us can contemplate with equanimity or satisfaction. The size and growth of the population, the character of their livelihood, and to some extent their own traditions and inclinations, render this inevitable. But I do not believe that the people are getting poorer. On the contrary, I hold that they are making slow but sure advances, and that in normal conditions this progress is certain to continue. But in my view this can only be achieved, if all those who are concerned with the problem, whether as administrators or critics, do so in a spirit not of pessimism but of cheerfulness. As little by little we get forward, I would crown every milestone on the path with roses instead of wetting it with tears.

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There is another point of view from which I would for a moment invite the Council and the outside public to regard the relief which has been announced in this Budget; since I think that here again we may find a useful corrective to some of the dangers of premature criticism. How often have we not been told in certain quarters in the past three months that the Delhi Durbar was a foolish and even wicked extravagance, because we spent the money of the people—how much or how little I shall presently show—without announcing to them a substantial benefit in return. I am not sure that my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Charlu, is not a little unsound on this point himself: for he generously offered to let bygones be bygones, as though there was something that we would rather like to forget. That is not at all our view. I may remark that I should have been glad enough to make the announcement at the Durbar, but that it is the usual practice of modern Governments to connect relief of taxation with Budget Statements, and with the beginning or end of the financial year. I should have thought that this was tolerably clear from my Durbar speech. However, our eager and incredulous friends would not wait even for three months. In their view the golden opportunity had been thrown away, and the Government that had sacrificed it had proved its indifference to the public interest. I feel tempted to wonder whether the Durbar, which I firmly believe that $\frac{9}{10}$ths, I think I might say $\frac{99}{100}$ths of those who either saw it, or know anything about it, regard as having been a unique success, will be relieved from the charge of failure at the hands of the minority who have hitherto so represented it, now that the solitary cause which was alleged to have been responsible for that failure has disappeared by the announcement in March of the bounty which they would have preferred to secure in January. When the Durbar is cited in the history of the future, even from the narrow point of view of material result alone, will

it be quoted by the class of opinion of which I am speaking as a success because it heralded the present relief, or as a failure because it fell short by three months of anticipating it? I do not fancy that there can be much doubt as to the response.

These remarks lead me by a natural transition to say something about the Durbar itself. And first I must devote a few words to the cost. As I said in my speech in September last, though this is not the test which I would dream of applying myself as the final or crucial touchstone to a ceremony which I at any rate regard as having had a profound political significance, and an almost immeasurable political effect, yet I have no right to object to its being applied by others, and I realise that even symbolism presents itself to many minds in terms of rupees and pies. If, however, we apply this standard, then I do not hesitate to claim an absolute vindication for all that I said last autumn. I remarked then that of the 26½ lakhs estimated for Imperial Expenditure, we should recover the greater part, and I added that a great State ceremonial would never have been conducted in India upon more economical lines. These prophecies were not universally accepted at the time, but they have turned out to be scrupulously correct. And indeed they overestimated, rather than understated, the actual outlay. The net charge against Imperial Revenues for the entire Durbar works out at little more than 12½ lakhs, or £84,000. If to this we add the expenses incurred by Local Governments for their Provincial Camps, over which, from the circumstances of the case, the Government of India could exercise little control, and which amounted to a net total of a little over 14¾ lakhs, or £99,000, we get a net final charge, Imperial and Provincial, of about £180,000 for the Durbar. Is there anyone who will tell me that this is an excessive charge upon a population of over 230 millions in British India, exclusive of the Native States, for celebrating the Coronation of their Sovereign? In Great Britain,

with a population of 41 millions of people, they voted, I believe, £100,000 for a similar purpose, or a charge of less than ½*d.* per head of the people. They also spent £70,000 in entertaining the representatives who came from India to attend the ceremony. In India we have spent £180,000 with a population of nearly 300 millions in all, or about ⅙th of a penny per head of the entire community. Is this too heavy a price for the people to pay for the Coronation of their Emperor? Has a similar sum never been spent upon an Indian marriage or upon an Indian accession? Why, the sum is only about one-seventh part of the relief which we are going to give, not once, but in each succeeding year, to the Indian people by our relief of taxation. Each one of them paid in January a great deal less than a farthing for the Coronation of his Emperor. But he goes away in March with nearly eight times that sum in his pocket per annum. Spread over such enormous masses, the bounty may, in individual cases, seem small, but the recipient, I am sure, would be the first to recognise the degree to which he has gained; and I expect, if we could consult him, that he would at once respond by a request to have a Durbar every year, if only it was likely to be attended with similar results. There are, I know, some who say that this is all very well, but that we must look at what the Durbar cost the Princes and their people. Well, I do not know what it cost them, nor does anybody else, though I have seen a good many extravagant and random calculations. But I do know that these sums were voluntarily spent, that they were all spent in the country, that they diffused employment and radiated contentment far and wide, and that it would be impossible to get up a protest or a petition against them in a single Native State or in any part of the Indian Continent.

But I would ask whether we may not leave this somewhat sordid field of controversy, and pause for a moment to enquire what was the effect of the Durbar itself. I have

deprecated the financial criterion. Here let me deprecate the ceremonial criterion also. I have read a great deal since January about pomp and pageantry, and the idea of some persons seems to be that the Durbar was intended only to show the magnificence of the Empire and the trappings of the East. How strangely we often misread each other in the world. I suppose that reams of paper and gallons of ink have been expended upon the delineation of the splendours of the Durbar. May I make a confession? I have never read these accounts without a positive pang. For all the while I have been thinking about something else. I hope I am not a rhapsodist or a dreamer. But to me, and I hope to the majority of us, the Durbar meant not a panorama or a procession. It was a landmark in the history of the people, and a chapter in the ritual of the State. What was it intended for? It was meant to remind all the princes and peoples of the Asiatic Empire of the British Crown that they had passed under the dominion of a new and single sovereign, to enable them to solemnise that great and momentous event, and to receive the Royal assurance and greeting. And what was its effect? They learned that under that benign influence they were one, that they were not scattered atoms in a heterogeneous and cumbersome mass, but co-ordinate units in a harmonious and majestic whole. The scales of isolation and prejudice and distrust fell from their eyes, and from the Arab Sheikhs of Aden on the west to the Shan Chiefs of the Mekong on the borders of China, they felt the thrill of a common loyalty and the inspiration of a single aim. Was there nothing in this? Is it nothing that the Sovereign at his Coronation should exchange pledges with his assembled lieges, of protection and respect on the one side, of spontaneous allegiance on the other? Is it nothing that the citizens of the Empire should learn what that Empire means? Even if we take the rest of India, which could not be present at Delhi, but held its own rejoicings in its own place, is it nothing to

lift an entire people for a little space out of the rut of their narrow and parochial lives, and to let them catch a glimpse of a higher ideal, an appreciation of the hidden laws that regulate the march of nations and the destinies of men? I believe that the Durbar, more than any event in modern history, showed to the Indian people the path which, under the guidance of Providence, they are treading, taught the Indian Empire its unity, and impressed the world with its moral as well as material force. It will not be forgotten. The sound of the trumpets has already died away. The Captains and the Kings have departed. But the effect produced by this overwhelming display of unity and patriotism is still alive and will not perish. Everywhere it is known that upon the throne of the East is seated a power that has made of the sentiments, the aspirations, and the interests of 300 millions of Asiatics a living thing, and the units in that great aggregation have learned that in their incorporation lies their strength. As a disinterested spectator of the Durbar remarked, Not until to-day did I realise that the destinies of the East still lie, as they always have done, in the hollow of India's hand. I think too that the Durbar taught the lesson not only of power but of duty. There was not an officer of Government there present, there was not a Ruling Prince, nor a thoughtful spectator, who must not at one moment or other have felt that participation in so great a conception carried with it responsibility as well as pride, and that he owed something in return for whatever of dignity or security or opportunity the Empire had given to him.

Passing from the Durbar, Hon'ble Members may like to hear something of the results of the Art Exhibition which we held at Delhi at the same time, and which was designed exclusively in the interests of the indigenous arts and industries of this country. What effect the Exhibition will have upon the future of Indian Art, it is of course impossible as yet to determine. But that it had a wonderful success in

calling the attention of the outside public, foreign as well as Native, to the still vital capacities of Indian Art, is, I think, certain. Though the Exhibition was open but a short time, no fewer than 48,000 persons paid for admission, the cash sales amounted to over 3 lakhs of rupees, and the total receipts to more than 4 lakhs. The building cost something more than 1½ lakhs; and apart from that, the net cost of the Exhibition was only ½ lakh. I think, therefore, that we may fairly claim, for a very moderate outlay, to have given an impetus to Indian Art, which ought not to fade away, while the presence in so many museums and private collections of the beautiful objects that were purchased from the Exhibition ought to act as a timely advertisement to the still unexhausted skill of our craftsmen and artisans.

Among the most contented of the participators at Delhi were the Ruling Chiefs of India, and not the least contented of them, I venture to say, was the Chief of premier rank, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. I have had no previous opportunity of alluding to the agreement that I was fortunate enough to be able to conclude with him a little while before the Durbar. I may perhaps indulge in a brief reference to it now.

It was an agreement regulating the future of the districts hitherto designated the Assigned Districts of Hyderabad, and more popularly known as Berar. The papers concerning that agreement have been made public; and it is open to anyone to form his opinion of the arrangement arrived at, and of the steps by which it was attained. I believe that it has generally been accepted as an agreement honourable to both parties, and bringing to a satisfactory termination a state of affairs that had for half a century been neither satisfactory nor profitable to either. I will only add here, as the correspondence has shown, that the agreement, following upon a friendly exchange of views between His Highness the Nizam and myself, represented the free and unfettered disposition of both parties, and that no trace of any opposite influence

entered at any moment into its negotiation. His Highness is not less gratified with the agreement than we are, and if both parties are equally content, then I think that there is nothing unreasonable in asking the public to join in our felicitations. There are few questions of delicacy or difficulty connected with Native States in which it has not been my experience that the Chief is ready to discuss them in the most frank and courteous spirit with the head of the Government of India.

I now pass to the wider range of subjects that is apt to be opened up by a Budget Debate. In some of these discussions I have spoken of the duties with which Government has charged itself, and of the manner in which they are being fulfilled. I do not propose to-day to say much of the labours that lie behind us. I will merely allude to a few that are in a state of transitional development, and the course of which we watch with natural anxiety from year to year. Our Currency Policy is working well, and is bringing back confidence to every branch of Indian finance and trade. Our Frontier Policy has so far been fortunate. The new Province is prospering, and we are gradually extending the application of the principles upon which our Frontier Policy depends. The Punjab Land Alienation Act is reported to be succeeding beyond expectation, and encourages us to approach with greater confidence attempts to arrest the evils of indebtedness and expropriation of the agricultural population elsewhere. You have heard Sir Denzil Ibbetson speak about these, and I have nothing to add to what he has so well said. The industrial legislation that we have passed during the past two years is bearing good fruit: and the increased wage for the coolie in the tea gardens of Assam will come into operation in the ensuing year. Rearmament has been completed in the regular Army, and only remains to be extended to the Volunteers, and we are proceeding to the organisation of internal factories so as to render ourselves self-sufficing

in the future. There is one matter which I have before now mentioned at this table, and to which I have attached an importance that has not always been recognized. I allude to the orders that we passed for a reduction in the number and length of official Reports—that time-honoured foible and snare of Indian administration. Some people said that the idea was excellent, but that the orders would be nugatory, and the difference *nil*: others applauded conciseness in the abstract, but deplored it in the case of every report to which it was applied. Of course we could not expect all in a moment to hit off the exact mean between prolixity and undue contraction, or to teach every officer straight away how to frame the ideal report. But that our orders have not only not been abortive, but have produced very material results, will, I think, be evident from the following figures. The total number of obligatory reports to Government has been reduced from nearly 1,300 to a little over 1,000. But the difference in their contents is more notable still. Before the issue of the new orders, the number of pages of letter-press submitted and printed was 18,000; it is now 8,600. The number of pages of statistics was 17,400; it is now 11,300, or a total reduction of pages of contents from 35,400 to less than 20,000. I do not think that this reduction has been achieved at any cost whatever to administrative efficiency. What it has meant in relief to the compiling officers, and in the release of energy for other and more important branches of work, will be patent to anyone who has the smallest experience of Indian administration.

I do not now propose to dwell further upon the past. I prefer, in what I have to say, to look ahead, and to form an estimate of the work that still awaits my Colleagues and myself, before we can say that the work of reform and reconstruction that we assumed has been duly started on its way, or before we can afford to rest a little on our oars. Sometimes I confess that I get a little appalled at the magnitude

of the undertaking, and disappointed at the reception that appears to await reform. The very people who applaud reform and cry for the reformer are apt to express immense surprise at the one, and no small resentment at the other, when they are forthcoming. There are so many excellent arguments for doing nothing, such a reposeful fascination in just scraping along. I have even learned in this country a new and captivating doctrine, namely that it is considered a mistake in some quarters to enquire at all. I came here with the idea that no sphere of administrative work in the world admits less of hasty generalisation or abrupt action than India: that the features of race, religion, and locality are so divergent, the needs of different provinces so opposite, the general lack of uniformity so striking, that before any organic changes could be introduced, profound and careful investigation was required, and a consultation of local authority and opinion, however bewildering the differences might be, was essential. If I held these views four years ago, still more do I hold them now. They are the commonplaces of Oriental administration. They seem to me the A B C of Indian politics. I cannot conscientiously recede from them in any respect. And yet how familiar I now am with the charge that it is a waste of time and a proof of insincerity to enquire, that Commissions are an expensive extravagance, and that the problems which we are engaged in laboriously investigating are so well known that only the meanest capacity is required to solve them without further ado. I do not think that the withers of my Colleagues or myself have been wrung by these remarks. Indeed I have a shrewd suspicion that the very persons who protest against enquiry before action as a superfluity, would equally denounce action without enquiry as an outrage. I am afraid, therefore, that we shall obstinately continue our policy of ascertaining the data before we proceed to act upon them, although it will be gratifying to those who are so impatient for deeds to know that, in the case of the whole of our

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Commissions, the stage of investigation is now almost at an end, and that there lies immediately in front of us the onerous and responsible task of translating so much of their recommendations as we may decide to accept into practice. Who knows that before long we shall not have the charge brought against us of acting too much after having enquired too little? Perhaps we shall even be told, as we have been in a well-known case, that it was not necessary either to enquire or to act at all.

There is one respect in which we have just taken the final steps in dealing with the policy recommended by one of the most important Commissions that have sat and reported during my time. I allude to Sir A. MacDonnell's Famine Commission. Soon after the Report first reached us, we issued orders to the Local Governments upon so much of the Report as we accepted ourselves without demur, and as we knew to be similarly acceptable to them. Since then we have conducted an exhaustive correspondence with the Local Governments and with the Secretary of State upon the more disputed aspects of the case; and we are now about to issue a Resolution, embodying final orders on the subject. A revised code of Famine procedure, based upon the latest experience, will then be at hand throughout India, which will regulate the operations of the next campaign as soon as it has to be undertaken. I do not assume for a moment that the last word on Famine Relief has been spoken, or that later experience may not guide us to even further improvements of system. The utmost that we can do at each stage is to profit by the lessons hitherto learned and to translate our experience with as little delay as possible into executive orders and action, so that when the next calamity comes, Governments and individuals may go calmly to their task, instead of rushing into all sorts of experiments, and making all kinds of blunders which have to be paid for at a heavy cost later on.

The Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur addressed to me

to-day a personal appeal to do something before I go, to strike at the root of the evil, by preventing the recurrence of famine in the future in this country. If there was one accessible root, and if the axe of Government could be laid to it, who can doubt that, not this Government alone, but every one of its predecessors, would long ago have discerned the seat of the evil, and have applied the instrument of destruction to it? We are cutting at the subsidiary roots. Extended irrigation, improved education, attempts to relieve the indebtedness and to increase the material prosperity of the people, crop experiments, scientific research, and a careful overhauling of the machinery with which we meet drought when it comes—all these are efforts which will gradually diminish the severity and, I hope, contract the area of famines in India. But to ask any Government to prevent the occurrence of famine in a country, the meteorological conditions of which are what they are here and the population of which is growing at its present rate, is to ask us to wrest the keys of the universe from the hands of the Almighty. I cannot furnish a better illustration of this than that which was given by the Hon'ble Member himself. In the autumn of the past year, it was by the dispensation of Providence alone, when the monsoon suddenly revived in the months of August and September, that what might have been famine conditions were turned into prosperity conditions during the present winter. The best Government in the world could not have accelerated that change by a single second; the worst Government could not have retarded it. The Hon'ble Member seems to think that famines in this country used not to be so bad in former years, and that similar calamities do not occur under similar conditions elsewhere. If he will study the Reports of the various Famine Commissions, he will find a good deal to throw doubt upon the former statement. If he turns to the history of Russia, he will find good reason for changing his opinion upon the latter. Govern-

ment should never slacken for one moment in its peace-campaign, just as much as in its war-campaign, against famine. Thus we shall render it less formidable and shall gradually gain the upper hand. But we are not, in my judgment, as yet within measurable distance of the time when the word prevention can be much upon our lips.

As to the work that still lies before us, it falls under eight headings, concerning each of which I have a few words to say. It must not be thought that the order in which I happen to name them is the order of their importance. All are equally important, and all are simultaneously being taken up. Neither must it be thought, when I speak of them in the future, that we are now about to start work upon any of them for the first time. Throughout the past four years there is not one among them that has not been almost continuously under our notice. In every case we have reached an advanced stage of enquiry and in some cases of action, and it only remains for us to carry these proceedings to the final stage, and to present to the Secretary of State and to the country the bases of a definite policy to be consistently pursued in the future.

The first of these is Education. Do not let any one suppose that in any aspect of education we shrink from the duty that we have undertaken, which is that of formulating for the country a revised scheme of education in all its branches, University, Secondary, Primary, Technical, and Commercial. But we must postulate a little patience and ask for a little time. The proposals are so multiform, the needs so different, the guidance that we receive from the public so perplexing, that sometimes one scarcely sees light through the trunks of the trees. The subject of Education, however, and particularly of University Education in India, illustrates very forcibly what I said a little while back. More than a year and a half ago, I presided over a Conference of leading educational authorities, official and unofficial, at Simla, in order to assure

myself of the trend of expert knowledge and opinion on these subjects. I remember at that time that the prevailing apprehension was lest the Government should suddenly spring a new educational policy upon the country, without giving to the interested parties an opportunity of having their say, and that the Simla decrees would be issued as a mandate to the nation. Nobody, I may say, ever entertained such a notion in the Government itself. On the contrary, we meant from the start to give to the qualified public the fullest opportunity for expressing its views. Accordingly we appointed a Commission, under my Hon'ble Colleague, Mr. Raleigh, to examine into the question of the Universities, and we consulted the Local Governments upon every other feature of our plans. Since then the public has had the best part of a year in which to expend its energies upon discussion—an opportunity by which no one can say that it has not profited. Whether Government has profited equally by these proceedings is open to doubt, for I observe that whereas a year and a half ago every one was agreed that education in India stood most urgently in need of reform, that it had got entirely into the wrong groove, and was going steadily down hill, dispensing an imperfect education through imperfect instruments to imperfect products with imperfect results—a great many of the interested parties now meet together, and proclaim in injured tones that they stand in no need of reformation at all. Now let me say at once that this is not good business. I lay down as an absolute and unassailable proposition that our Educational systems in India are faulty in the extreme; and that unless they are reformed, posterity will reproach us for the lost opportunity for generations to come. I remind the public that that proposition was most cordially endorsed by every shade of opinion 1½ years ago. Since then we have shown a consideration for the interests of all concerned and a reluctance to act with precipitation that have been pushed almost to extremes, and

have exposed us to the charge of timidity and irresolution My object throughout has been to carry the public with us in our reforms, and to base them upon the popular assent. I am still hopeful that better counsels will prevail, and I shall spare no effort to attain this result. But if every reform proposed is to be overwhelmed with obloquy and criticism, because it touches some vested interest or affects some individual concern, if change of any kind is to be proscribed merely because it is change, if the appetite for reform, so strong two years ago, has now entirely died down, then I must point out that the educated community will have forfeited the greatest chance ever presented to them of assisting the Government to place the future education of this country upon a better footing, and Government will be left to pursue its task alone. I should be most reluctant to be driven to this course. I want to reform education in India, I will not say *omnium consensu*, because that may be an impossible aspiration, but with the good will and assent of reasonable and experienced men, and I have a right to ask that, in so far as they are dissatisfied with the *status quo*, they shall render our course not more difficult, but more easy.

I am well aware that University Education does not exhaust the field or the requirements of education in this country. There are many other aspects of the problem scarcely less important which we also have under examination—Secondary Education, or education in the High Schools leading up to the Colleges, Primary Education or the education of the masses in the vernacular, Commercial Education, or the provision of a training that shall qualify young men for a business career, Agricultural Education, *i. e.*, a practical as well as a theoretical instruction in the staple industry of the country, Technical and Industrial Education, or the application of scientific methods and principles to the practice of national industries and handicrafts—all of these have come under review, and we are

little by little shaping the principles that will presently form the basis of a policy and a programme. I would only say to the public—Do not be impatient, and do not be censorious. Do not impute dark conspiracies or assume that all the misguided men in the country are inside the Government and all the enlightened outside it. What could be easier than for Government not to have taken up educational reform at all, or even now to drop it altogether? All the wild talk about killing Higher Education and putting education under the heel of Government merely obscures the issue, and paralyses action. Surely there are enough of us on both sides who care for education for education's sake, who are thinking not of party triumphs, but of the future of unborn generations, to combine together and carry the requisite changes through. I cannot imagine a worse reflection upon the educated classes in India, or a more crushing condemnation of the training that we have given them, than that they should band themselves together to stereotype existing conditions, or to defeat the first genuine attempt at reform that has been made for a quarter of a century. I agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale that Education is one of the most solemn duties of the State. But the State, I venture to point out, is the aggregate of its own citizens, and not a mere governing organisation alone; and in the latter capacity, the State cannot discharge its educational responsibility without the cordial co-operation of the community at large. Before I leave the subject of Education, I will only add one word upon the subject of Scientific Research. This is of course the apex of educational advancement; and in relaying the foundations, nothing would give the Government greater pleasure than to contribute to the possibility of adding the crown. I hope that Mr. Tata's splendid benefaction will shortly take practical shape. I have seen all sorts of assertions that it has languished for want of sympathy in official quarters. There is not an atom of truth in this insinuation, and when the history is published, as it

shortly will be, no further misapprehension need arise. On the contrary, I hope that the scheme may then move rapidly towards realization.

The second subject that awaits our treatment, and that will occupy us in the forthcoming year, is Irrigation. For two cold weathers has the Irrigation Commission been pursuing its energetic researches; and soon after we get to Simla, the report will be in our hands. It will give us an exhaustive review of the capabilities for water storage or water utilisation of every part of the Indian Continent; and then we shall have to set to work to provide for every province its reasoned programme of tanks, or reservoirs, or wells, or canals, mapped out over a long series of years, and devised with strict regard to the experiences or the exigencies of drought. Much money will be required; many experiments will have to be made; some failures will be registered. But at least it will not be possible to say that the Government of India has ignored this aspect of the agricultural and industrial problem, or that we are wasting our water, because we do not know how to use it.

Then we have the impending Report of the Police Commission and the impending reform of the Indian Police. I know no more of the proceedings of the Commission than has appeared in the newspapers, and I am unaware what our Commissioners will say. But if anyone had any doubt as to the need of enquiry, I should think that this must have been dissipated by the nature of the evidence that has been forthcoming; and if anyone questions the need of reform, he cannot, I think, be a resident in this land. Upon this subject, however, I should like to add one word of caution. Reform we must, and reform we shall. But the main improvement that is required, which is a moral improvement, cannot come all in a galop. Men are on the whole what their surroundings make them, and men do what their opportunities permit. It is not all in a moment that you can take one section of a society and create in it a different standard

from that which prevails in another, even if you pay the former to look after the morals of the latter. We shall, I hope, get a better and a purer Police as a consequence of the changes that we shall introduce, but we shall not straightway found a new Jerusalem until we have educated the people who are to build and to inhabit it.

I have often before spoken of my desire to introduce a more commercial element into the management of Indian Railways: and already we have made some progress in this direction. From our published Histories of Projects, from our Railway Conferences, and from our Travelling Commissions—all initiated during the past four years—the public, I think, know more than they used to do of our policy and aims. But I have never thought that this was enough. Railways in India have now climbed out of the cradle. They provide us with a recurring annual surplus. Before I came out here as Viceroy, I made a speech in London, at which I was thought rather sanguine for saying that while less than 21,000 miles were then open, I hoped that the total would exceed 25,000 miles in my time. It has already reached 26,500. But it is not mileage that impresses me, nor receipts. I am more concerned with up-to-date management and efficiency, and I hope that the Report of our Special Commissioner, Mr. Robertson, which is on the eve of being submitted, may give us the clue that will guide us to far-reaching reforms, intended to place Indian Railways and their administration on a level with the most progressive achievements of other and more developed countries.

There is a subject long under our notice, which we hope to deal with in the ensuing year. This is that of the union or separation of Judicial and Executive functions. If anyone could stand in my shoes, and with his 10 hours' work a day, could cast a glance at that file, the best part of a foot high, with its mass of opinions from Local Governments, High Courts, officials, and private persons, all waiting to be read and digested, and most of them saying different things, he

would probably understand how it is that everything cannot be pushed forward at the same time. But the question is of great importance, and whatever our ultimate decision may be, I should like it to be taken up and dealt with in my time.

I should have been tempted to say something about Agriculture to-day—the sixth subject in my present category—were it not that I have been so ably anticipated by my Hon'ble Colleague in the Revenue and Agriculture Department, Sir Denzil Ibbetson. When he is the inspiring genius and the spokesman of a Department, it seems superfluous for anyone else to add a word. I can, however, supplement what he has said by tracing the logical as well as chronological sequence of our labours. First let me say what we have attempted so far to do. We have endeavoured to deal with the indebtedness of the agricultural classes by the Punjab legislation which I before mentioned, and now by the Bundelkhund legislation which he has defended to-day. We have laid down broad and liberal principles explaining and regulating our policy of Land Revenue Assessments in India. We have created an Inspector-General of Agriculture at the head of an expert department, and we have constituted a Board of Scientific Advice. But before us lies the much bigger experiment of combined agricultural research, agricultural experiment, and agricultural education, which Sir Denzil Ibbetson has outlined, and which, if we can carry it through, ought to be of incalculable service to the country. If we can simultaneously train teachers, provide estate managers and agents, and foster research, we shall really have done some good in our time.

Then behind these proposals lies a scheme which we have greatly at heart, and about which I should like to add a word—I mean the institution of Co-operative Credit Societies or, as they are often called, Agricultural Banks. I have seen some disappointment expressed that we have not moved more quickly in this matter. If anyone had studied,

as I have had to do, the replies of all the Local Governments and their officers on the subject, he would begin to wonder when and how we are to move at all. Of course it is easy enough to express an abstract approval of Agricultural Banks, to denounce everybody who does not share your views, and to rush into experiments foredoomed to failure. But that is exactly what Government does not want to do, and what the replies of its advisers would render it suicidal to do. When there are many who say that the co-operative spirit does not exist in the rural community, that it is unsuited to the conditions of Indian character and life, that the Savings Banks are not patronised as it is, and that the requisite capital will not be forthcoming, it is impossible to pooh-pooh all these assertions as idle fancy. But even when we get beyond them, and justify the desirability of making the experiment on a moderate and cautious scale, we are still confronted with all manner of questions. Is the experiment to be made with village or urban societies, or with both, and which first? Should Government aid these societies, and if so, to what extent, and for how long? What restrictions should be placed upon them, and should loans be permitted for unproductive as well as productive expenditure? What privileges or concessions should be granted to them by Government, and what restrictions should be imposed? All these are questions which have called for a good deal of thinking over before they could be answered. All the same, I think that we are beginning to see our way. Certain broad principles seem to stand out crisp and clear. The difference between rural organisation in one part of India and another is so great that no one rule can apply to all. Different systems will have to be tried in different places. The one common feature must be simplicity. We must go slowly and surely, learning as we proceed. The people must be the final workers out of their own salvation, but we, *i.e.*, Government, may give them such assistance as we properly can. We can bestow certain advantages, and we

can remove certain disabilities. But, in the main, the venture must depend on the people themselves. These are the broad general outlines that emerge from our study, and I believe that my Hon'ble Colleague, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, is prepared to advise us to legislate in this direction. I hope, therefore, that the matter may not be much longer delayed.

I have upon another occasion spoken of projects that we have before us for improving and strengthening the position of Commerce in this country. Sir Edward Law is a firm friend of these interests, and I share his desire to do what we can. I wish that we had been in a position to-day to say something about the Commercial Bureau which excites so much interest. But we have not as yet had a reply from the India Office. Some persons, I believe, have even larger ideas afloat. I would venture to say to them—Let us get our Bureau and make a success of it before we begin to agitate about a separate Department and a separate Minister. Even Great Britain has not yet secured a Minister of Commerce. Let us begin, as I hope we shall shortly be in a position to do, with a more modest ambition, and let the official and mercantile communities put their heads together to make it a success. Connected with Commerce is the question of a reduction in internal telegraphic rates. Sir Edward Law has made a few observations on this point. The matter has been under our study for many months. *Primâ facie* we should all like to increase the facilities enjoyed by the public, and I hope we may discover some means of doing so. But the question is not free from difficulty or financial risk.

Lastly, I come to the heading of Finance, and by Finance I do not mean those calculations which must inevitably lurk in the background of all the proposals that I have hitherto discussed, but the principles that regulate our control and dispensation of the Indian revenues. Here I will mention two matters only that have always seemed to me matters of the deepest importance, and of which I should like, if it

were possible, to advance the solution in my time. The first of these is the constitution and employment of the present so-called Famine Insurance Fund. I have never been quite satisfied as to the position of this feature in our Accounts; and for two years we have been in correspondence with the Secretary of State on the matter. There is a good deal to be said upon both sides; and for the present we have not been able to arrive at a solution. The second question is that of the Provincial Settlements, which, though they have had their obvious merits, have not been unattended with friction and with drawbacks in operation. My Colleagues and I would greatly like, if we can, to invest these agreements between the Supreme and the Local Governments with a more permanent character, that would stimulate the energies of Local Governments and give them a greater interest in economy and good administration, while retaining for the Imperial Government the necessary measure of ultimate control. I do not know whether we shall be successful in these efforts. But we are about, with the assent of the Secretary of State, to take them in hand.

I have now covered the entire field of administrative work that appears to me to lie before the Government of India in the immediate future. We may, to use a slang phrase, be thought by some to have bitten off more than we can chew. We may be diverted from our laborions meal by other and unforeseen pre-occupations. I hope myself that neither apprehension will turn out to be genuine. The work that I have indicated is waiting to be done, and ought most certainly to be attempted. Whatever of time and energy remains to me, I hope to devote to the prosecution of the task, and my dearest ambition is to see it carried safely through.

There is one final subject that is rarely mentioned in these debates, and that finds little place in the many utterances which the head of the Government is called upon to make in the course of the year, and yet in a sense it is

the most important of all. I allude to Foreign Affairs; and it must be remembered that in the case of India the phrase includes her relations with the whole of her neighbours; and that this carries with it the politics of the greater part of the Asiatic Continent. I doubt if even the thoughtful public has at all realised the silent but momentous change that is going on, and that will one day have an effect upon India that is at present but dimly discerned. In the old days, and it may almost be said up to the last 15 years, the foreign relations of India were practically confined to her dealings with Afghanistan, and to the designs or movements of the great Power beyond; and the foreign policy of India had little to do with any other foreign nation. It is true that we had territories or outposts of influence that brought us into contact with Persia and Turkey, and that we had occasional dealings with the Arabian tribes. Now all that is changed; and events are passing, which are gradually drawing this country, once so isolated and remote, into the vortex of the world's politics, and that will materially affect its future. The change has been due to two reasons. Firstly, as our own dominion has expanded, and our influence upon our frontier consolidated, we have been brought into more direct and frequent relations with the countries lying immediately beyond. For instance, the annexation of Upper Burma brought us into contact with an important corner of the Chinese Empire, and created a batch of frontier and other political problems of its own. But the second reason is much more important. Europe has woken up, and is beginning to take a revived interest in Asia. Russia with her vast territories, her great ambitions, and her unarrested advance, has been the pioneer in this movement, and with her or after her have come her competitors, rivals, and allies. Thus, as all these foreigners arrive upon the scene and push forward into the vacant spots, we are slowly having a European situation recreated in Asia, with the same figures upon the stage. The great European Powers are

also becoming the great Asiatic Powers. Already we have Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and Turkey; and then, in place of all the smaller European kingdoms and principalities, we have the Empires and States of the East, Japan, China, Tibet, Siam, Afghanistan, Persia—only a few of them strong and robust, the majority containing the seeds of inevitable decay. There lie in these events and in this renewed contact or collision, as the case may be, between the East and the West, omens of the greatest significance to this country. Europe is so accurately parcelled out between the various States and Powers, the balance of power is suspended on so fine a thread, and the slightest disturbance would imperil such wide interests, that short of some serious and unforeseen convulsion, which everyone would wish to avert, great changes are not to be anticipated there. Africa is rapidly being overrun by the few European Powers who have obtained a foothold upon that Continent; and before long its political destinies and territorial grouping will have taken something like definite shape. But in Asia a great deal is still in flux and solution, and there must, and there will be, great changes. It will be well to realise what an effect these must have upon India, and how they must add to our responsibilities and cares. Our Indian dominions now directly touch those of Turkey in many parts of the Arabian peninsula, those of Russia on the Pamirs, those of China along the entire border of Turkestan and Yunnan, those of France on the Upper Mekong. In our dealings with them, the Foreign Department in India is becoming the Asiatic branch of the Foreign Office in England. Then round all our borders is the fringe of Asiatic States to which I just now alluded, whose integrity and whose freedom from hostile influence are vital to our welfare, but over whose future the clouds are beginning to gather. In Europe we are a maritime Power, who are merely called upon to defend our own shores from invasion, and who are confronted by no land dangers or foes. In Asia we have both a seaboard and

a land frontier many thousands of miles in length, and though Providence has presented us on some portion of our land frontiers with the most splendid natural defences in the world, yet the situation must become more and not less anxious as rival or hostile influences creep up to these ramparts, and as the ground outside them becomes the arena of new combinations and the field of unforeseen ambitions. All these circumstances will tend, they are already tending, to invest the work of the Indian Foreign Department with ever-increasing importance, and they demand a vigilance and a labour of which there are but few indications in anything that reaches the public ear or falls under the public eye. Questions of internal development, administrative anxieties, agrarian and fiscal problems, fill all our minds, just as they have occupied the greater part of my speech this afternoon. But do not let the people of India think that we shall never have anything but domestic cares in this country. Do not let them forget that there are other and not inferior duties that devolve upon her rulers, that the safety of the Indian Frontier, and the maintenance of the British dominion in those parts of Asia where it has for long been established, and where it is the surest, if not the sole, guarantee for peace and progress, are in their hands, and that this no less than internal reform is part of England's duty. I see no reason for anticipating trouble upon our borders, and I know of no question that is at present in an acute or menacing phase. But do not let anyone, on the strength of that, go to sleep in the happy illusion that anxiety will never come. The geographical position of India will more and more push her into the forefront of international politics. She will more and more become the strategical frontier of the British Empire. All these are circumstances that should give us food for reflection, and that impose upon us the duty of incessant watchfulness and precaution. They require that our forces shall be in a high state of efficiency, our defences secure, and our schemes of

policy carefully worked out and defined. Above all, they demand a feeling of solidarity and common interest among those—and they include every inhabitant of this country, from the Raja to the Raiat—whose interests are wrapped up in the preservation of the Indian Empire, both for the sake of India itself and for the wider good of mankind.

We will now bring the labours of the present Session to a close, and I declare this Council adjourned.

ADDRESS FROM THE ALLAHABAD MUNICIPALITY.

30th Mar. 1903. [The Viceregal party left their shooting camp at Chakia on Sunday, the 29th March, and arrived at Allahabad in the afternoon, His Excellency and party being the guests of Sir James and Lady La Touche at Government House during their stay. On Monday forenoon, the 30th March, the Viceroy, who was accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor, was presented with an address of welcome from the Allahabad Municipality at the Mayo Hall, which was filled with European and Native gentlemen. The address was one of considerable length, and His Excellency replied to it as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I should like to congratulate you upon your address, which, though perhaps a trifle long, seems to me to have been business-like and to the point, and which has given me within a reasonable compass just what the head of the Government visiting a city for the first time likes to know, *viz.*, a little bygone history, a concise account of recent events, and some idea of the work and wants of the Municipality.

I regret that it is not until I am well advanced in my fifth year of office that I have found it possible to come to Allahabad. However, my arrangements, though they were not made with any such object, have had this advantage, that they enabled me to visit Oudh and its Capital under

one Lieutenant-Governor, while they have brought me to the other and principal seat of Government of the United Provinces under another. As I am responsible for giving the Provinces their new name, it seems only right that I should come and see how they are faring at the centre both of civil and judicial administration. An ample programme has been made out for me during my stay: so you need have no fear that I shall not become acquainted with those institutions to which you have referred with legitimate pride, and which make this place the judicial and educational head-quarters of this part of India.

It is clear from your Address that the dominating feature in the recent history of Allahabad, and the *ultima ratio* in determining your municipal finances, has been plague. Since 1901 you have suffered from two severe epidemics, which have carried off 10,000 of the people. Allahabad, however, is one of those places which throughout its plague campaign, and in an increasing degree as time has gone on, has exhibited those features of public attitude and municipal policy that are not less gratifying to the Government to acknowledge than they are productive of local advantage. In the first place plague has stimulated to exceptional efforts the best spirits among you: and I could not better testify my own sense of the admirable work that has been done here in combating it than by the recent bestowal of the gold Kaiser-i-Hind medal upon your principal Plague Officer, Captain Fullerton, as well as two silver medals upon other good workers, one of whom I am glad to see before me. Secondly, there has been here a continuous record of good-will and co-operation between the authorities and the people. Lastly, as regards disinfection in particular there has been an organised and systematic plan, applied to wide areas and producing large results. This is no doubt the best way of proceeding. Inoculation is the wisest prophylactic for the individual and also for masses of individuals You may thereby give a man immunity even before he is assailed.

Address from the Allahabad Municipality.

But when the disease has come, then evacuation and disinfection on a large scale are the only means of checking its ravages. In Allahabad I understand this to be so thoroughly realised that the very steps, which have sometimes in ignorant localities produced suspicion and even riot, are here eagerly clamoured for by the people themselves, who have learned to test their efficacy. I understand further that you are adopting on an increased scale a precautionary experiment to which I attach great value, *viz.*, the institution of health camps outside the city for persons who may desire to live under more sanitary conditions than is sometimes possible inside. This seems to me a very proper use of local funds.

As regards the principles that regulate the policy of Government in respect of Octroi, a reply to a municipal address is perhaps hardly the place in which I should be expected to state or to vindicate them at length. Broadly speaking, one may say that there are certain articles, such as salt, opium, mineral oil, and exciseable articles, of which the State must reserve to itself the taxable monopoly, and cannot surrender it to subordinate bodies. There is a wider class of articles, partly imported by sea and partly indigenous, upon which a limited octroi is permitted on condition that both classes of article are similarly treated. The one danger that the Government have to be on their guard against is lest a form of taxation, devised and defended in purely local interests, and fairly applicable therefore to articles of local consumption, should be converted into a transit duty on trade in general. This is not admissible, since it would mean using a local benefit to inflict a public injury. Within the limits of these principles the Government of India have been liberal in granting exemptions and exceptions in the favour of cities whose incomes it has been impossible to recruit from other sources; and Allahabad is one of the Municipalities to which we have been most generous.

Banquet at Govindgarh.

There is only one other matter to which you have alluded, and that is the breakdown that has, I understand, twice attended the pumping arrangements in your water works. This was very bad luck. But even bad luck is not always unattended with beneficial consequences, and in the present case it will, I imagine, have suggested to you the desirability of making some provision by the supply of a spare engine or of spare parts of an engine to protect you against a similar misfortune in the future.

I must acknowledge the kind words which you have interpolated in your address, since it was first composed, with reference to the recent reduction in Taxation which we announced in the Budget debate at Calcutta. The pleasure to which you have given expression, and which is, I believe, entertained by all classes of the community throughout India, cannot possibly exceed that which was felt by the members of the Government in being at length able to grant a considerable measure of financial relief to the poor.

I will not detain you further, Gentlemen, but will conclude by thanking you for your cordial reception, of which I shall always retain a memento in the shape of the handsome box that lies before me.

BANQUET AT GOVINDGARH.

[On Saturday evening, the 11th April, the Maharaja of Rewa entertained His Excellency the Viceroy and a number of guests at a banquet in the Durbar Hall of His Highness's Palace at Govindgarh. The Maharaja, who was accompanied by the principal nobles of his State, received the Viceroy and the guests at the entrance of the Palace on their arrival, and subsequently joined the party at the conclusion of dinner, and proposed His Excellency's health. In doing so His Highness spoke as follows: — 11th April 1903.

"*Your Excellency and Gentlemen*,—My feelings on the subject of Your Excellency's visit to Rewa must be so well known that it is scarcely necessary to repeat here how great a pleasure and how great

Banquet at Govindgarh.

an honour your visit has been to me and to my people. Although three Viceroys have visited Rewa in the past fifteen years, this is the first occasion on which a Viceregal visit has been paid since I attained full ruling powers in November 1895, and it is the first time that Your Excellency has come to these parts.

"There are therefore many reasons, apart from the well-known loyalty and affection towards the King-Emperor and his representative which is felt by all Rajputs and by none more than the Rewa Baghels, why I should have wished Your Excellency's visit to my State to be conspicuously successful. Fate, however, has not been altogether propitious. It was expected that the weather would be hot and tigers plentiful, whereas the weather has been abnormally cool and the tigers scarce and difficult to bag. I cannot say I regret the cold weather except so far as it decreased the chances of sport, because I know how greatly it must have increased Your Excellency's comfort in camp, but I very much regret that the continuance of the cold weather could not have been counted on beforehand, as in that case Her Excellency Lady Curzon might also have graced this gathering with her presence and the joy of entertaining Your Excellency would thus have been doubled.

"As for the scarcity of the tigers and the perversity of those which did appear, my feelings can better be imagined than described, at least during the earlier part of Your Excellency's visit when day after day went by and nothing fell to your rifle. Great though Your Excellency's disappointment may have been at this ill fortune, I can safely aver that mine and that of my sirdars was greater still.

"It is nearly seven years and a half since I was invested with full ruling powers in my State. I have not made any great change in the administration of the State. I have thought it wise to follow the lines laid down by the two distinguished administrators during my minority—the Hon'ble Colonel Sir David Barr and the Hon'ble Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, now representing Your Excellency in the Courts of the two premier Native States of India. At the beginning of my rule I was confronted by a dire calamity—the famine of 1896-97—but thank God, I was able to weather the storm. The cost was great, but I thought it my duty to help my people in distress. The last famine of 1899, though not so severe in the greater part of my State, was still worse in some portions. In these trials I always received help and encouragement from the Government.

"It was only a few months back that I was privileged to witness through Your Excellency's kindness a ceremony of unprecedented magnificence—the Coronation of the King-Emperor at Delhi. The Coronation Durbar had its counterpart in our Rajsuyas.

Banquet at Govindgarh.

"I am aware of the great sympathetic interest Your Excellency takes in the nobility of India: witness the institution of the Imperial Cadet Corps and the reorganization of Chiefs' Colleges. We in Native States will therefore have special reason to remember Your Excellency's term of office as Viceroy.

"Your Excellency's visit has now come nearly to an end, and to-morrow you will leave my State, after passing through the city of Rewa and seeing my old ancestral palace. I wish Your Excellency could also have an opportunity of seeing the Jail, Hospitals, State offices, and schools. I can, I think, venture to hope that, had Your Excellency seen these buildings and institutions, you would have been pleased.

"Gentlemen,—I will now bring these remarks to a close by asking you all to drink to the health of my illustrious friend, His Excellency Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor-General of India."

His Excellency the Viceroy then rose and spoke as follows :—]

Your Highness and Gentlemen,—I most cordially reciprocate the hearty sentiments and the evident sincerity with which the Maharaja has proposed my health.

His Highness has spoken with some disappointment of the failure of our bag to attain to the dimensions which the fame of his jungles and the admirable arrangements made by himself might have led us to expect. Let me assure him that I feel no such disappointment. Sport would not be sport and would not be one half so attractive if it were not for its chances : and amid the many excellent arrangements that are so often made for the entertainment of the Viceroy in Native States, and which proceed with such clock-work regularity, it seems to me quite right that an element of accident should enter into one, and that the only one that cannot be made a certainty and would not be worth having if it could, *viz.*, shikar. However, we ended up very well this morning, and I shall never forget my pleasant and health-giving ten days in the Rewa jungles.

His Highness has referred in kindly terms to those two able officers, Sir David Barr and Sir Donald Robertson, who fostered and built up this State during his own minority. I am glad to observe that the traditions which they created are faithfully carried on by him, and that he devotes himself

with unceasing sympathy and care to the welfare of his people. His Highness has also referred to the auspicious event of his participation in the great rejoicings at Delhi over the Coronation of the King-Emperor. Was it not a very appropriate sequel to these rejoicings that soon after his return to his State there was born to His Highness a son and heir, who we hope in the years to come will reproduce his virtues and carry on his race?

His Highness has further alluded in friendly terms to two objects in which I have taken the warmest interest, namely, the reorganization of the Chiefs' Colleges and the institution of the Imperial Cadet Corps. May I ask His Highness to go a step further and to translate his sympathy into deeds? I do not think that the Rewa State has yet contributed any pupils to the one or any candidates to the other. I hope that it may supply both in the future. My object in both cases is the advantage of the princely class to which His Highness belongs, and in whose well-being I take an interest that is with difficulty expressed in words: but their co-operation is an obvious condition of my success.

And now, Gentlemen, while thanking the Maharaja and yourselves for the manner in which my health has been proposed and received, I have the final pleasure of asking you to drink with even greater alacrity to his. I give you long life, health, and happiness to our host, His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.

DISTRIBUTION OF MEDALS TO MEN OF THE BLACK WATCH.

24th April 1903. [On Friday morning, the 24th April, the Viceroy, who had spent the night at Solon, *en route* to Simla, distributed Distinguished Conduct Medals for service in the South African War to the Sergeant-Major and three Non-Commissioned Officers of the second Battalion, Black Watch. The three Companies quartered at Solon were drawn

Distribution of Medals to men of the Black Watch.

up on the road below the Dâk Bungalow under the Command of Colonel Carthew-Yorstoun with band and colours. Colonel Penno, Officiating in Command, Sirhind District, was also present. His Excellency, after inspecting the Companies, addressed them as follows:—]

Colonel Carthew-Yorstoun, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men of the 73rd Highlanders,—When Colonel Carthew-Yorstoun, hearing that I was spending a night at Solon on my way up to Simla, asked me to take advantage of the occasion to present some medals for distinguished conduct in South Africa to certain Non-Commissioned Officers of this brave regiment, I felt that I could not refuse. Indeed I regard it as almost as great an honour to myself to be permitted to present these decorations as it can be to the Soldiers to receive them. The civil element in society, which I represent, owes the peace and security which it enjoys to the past services, and, when occasion arises, to the ever-ready heroism of the military. If the army of any great nation were disbanded, it would not be long before civil society itself would break up and decay. I therefore welcome any opportunity of paying honour to those who risk their lives for our safety, and who fight the battles of the State.

Owing to its peculiar features, the British Empire in some part or other of the world is almost always at war. Only just now, before I came down to this parade, I received a telegram which told me that out in Africa, in Somaliland, where England is fighting a small war, our forces have suffered a serious reverse, in which 11 British Officers and 170 men, including 48 brave Sikhs, whom we had lent from India, have been cut up and destroyed. I mention this incident because it serves to remind us of the not altogether dissimilar experience that befell the gallant regiment that I am now addressing in South Africa. It is not necessary for me to recall the incidents of that memorable campaign, in which you served from beginning to end, or of the part that was played in them by the Highland Brigade. They are

Distribution of Medals to men of the Black Watch.

graven on your own memories; they are written on the page of history; and they live in the hearts of your fellow-countrymen. It is a proud reflection to me to think that here in this distant land and in such different circumstances I am addressing a body of men who survived the terrors of Magersfontein and shared the victory of Paardeberg, and am privileged to confer upon some among them the rewards of their valour. The medals that I am about to bestow have been won by the following Non-Commissioned Officers:—Sergeant-Major Anderson.—Recommended for consistent good work throughout the Campaign and for the example that he set to his subordinates in the performance of duty. Colour-Sergeant A. Millar.—Name brought forward by his Company Officer for gallant section leading at Magersfontein (slightly wounded) and Paardeberg (severely wounded) for which he was mentioned in despatches. He subsequently served with a detachment of the Battalion in the 12th Battalion, Mounted Infantry, and was reported on particularly favourably by the Officer Commanding that Battalion, who recommended him for the "Distinguished Conduct Medal." Sergeant A. Wilson.—Name brought forward for gallant section leading at Paardeberg (severely wounded), for which he was mentioned in despatches. Subsequently served with a detachment of the Regiment as Mounted Infantry in Lieutenant-Colonel Western's Column, and was recommended by that Officer for the "Distinguished Conduct Medal," for consistent good work and good leading. Corporal Forrest.—Name brought forward by the Officer Commanding his Company for gallantry at Magersfontein (slightly wounded), and for leading a party in a most gallant manner at Paardeberg, when a Lance Corporal.

Colonel Carthew-Yorstoun, I congratulate you upon having commanded this most distinguished regiment on the field of battle; and, in conferring these medals upon the four recipients, let me add that I doubt not that there are many

other men in the ranks now before me who either performed deeds that were worthy of a similar reward, or who, if they got the opportunity, would emulate the good conduct and the bravery of their comrades. We know of a certainty that when the call is made, the 73rd Highlanders will never be wanting.

EXTENSION OF THE VICEROY'S TERM OF OFFICE.

[A meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council was held at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on Tuesday, the 4th August 1903. Before proceeding with the business of the Council His Excellency the President addressed Hon'ble Members as follows :—] 4th Aug. 1903.

It is my duty to make an announcement at the opening of these proceedings. Some months ago His Majesty's Government offered me an extension of my term of office in India ; and since then I have long and anxiously considered what it would be right for me to do. The rule or custom of a five years' duration of the Viceroyalty of India seems to me to be on the whole a wise rule, and I should not like by any action of mine to be thought to weaken its general application. Further, no one recognises more clearly than myself that no man is necessary, and that others could be found perfectly qualified to carry on the work. Nor can I be unaware of the tax upon health and strength, and I would add upon spirits also, that is entailed by the long exile and the undeviating strain ; or of the warning supplied by the experience of the only two Governors-General in the last half century who have stayed beyond the five years' term. These points, and many others that I could name, have been arguments in favour of not accepting the offer. But, on the other hand, I have felt that there was still work, hard and heavy but necessary work, to be done, which it was almost an obligation upon the person who had initiated it to see through. Five years may be long enough for the

individual; but it is all too short for a Government that has embarked upon wide and comprehensive schemes of reform and that aspires—I hope not vainly or foolishly—to redress many evils, and to communicate a fresh impetus to the strenuous organism of our Indian administration. Education, Police, Railways, Irrigation, Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial advancement, efficiency in every branch and department of our Administration—all of these have been, or still are, under our close examination; and as the result we hope to frame the lines upon which this country can pursue the great development that awaits it for another generation. Some of our work is already done; much is still incomplete. A little while longer is needed to start the whole on its way. These are the considerations that led me to think that I ought not to turn my face homewards just yet, and that it would be a neglect of duty to abandon my share in the undertaking while it still remains unfulfilled. I have felt, too, that by staying on to complete this task, it might be in my power to do something more for the people of this country, which, in one way or another, I have endeavoured to serve for so many years of my life, and which can never lose its hold upon my affections. I have, therefore, accepted the offer of His Majesty's Government for an extension of my term of office, with permission for an interim vacation in England, should I desire to take it, next year.

I have only come to this decision with much misgiving, but in the hope that I may find justification in the motive that underlies it, in the approval of the Indian people whom it is my privilege to serve, and in the support of the colleagues to whom I owe so much, and upon whose continued co-operation I feel confident that I may rely. I am aware that the administrative programme of which I have spoken, and which we have in hand, cannot be achieved—it has not been pursued thus far—without placing an immense strain upon the labour and energies of the official

world throughout India, who are the direct instruments in formulating and carrying it through. The loyalty with which they have responded to every appeal, the zeal and devotion with which they have played their part, I can never sufficiently acknowledge or praise. But at least I may take this opportunity of publicly expressing my gratitude for it, and my pride at being permitted for some time longer to preside over a service thus constituted and inspired, and to assist in a task which I shall never cease to regard as the greatest and noblest that anywhere devolves upon the British race.

[His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor said :—" As I had the honour of serving as a Member of Your Excellency's Executive Council during the first three years of Your Excellency's administration and am head of the Province in which the meetings of Your Excellency's Legislative Council are at present being held, I trust that it will not be considered out of place on my part if I take on myself to assure Your Excellency that the announcement which Your Excellency has just made will be received with the liveliest satisfaction by all classes in India. Your Excellency, by consenting to prolong the tenure of your high and onerous appointment, will be able to bring to maturity such of the many important and beneficial projects which Your Excellency has initiated as it has not been found possible to complete within the ordinary limit of a Viceroy's term of office ; and I am confident that I am expressing the general sentiment not only of those present in this Council Chamber to-day but of the entire community of this country in saying that the Indian Empire is to be heartily congratulated on its good fortune in securing the benefit of Your Excellency's services for a further period, and in wishing Your Excellency health and strength to bring the great work which you have undertaken to a successful conclusion."

His Excellency the President briefly thanked Sir Charles Rivaz, and the ordinary business of the Council was then proceeded with.]

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT BISHOP COTTON SCHOOL.

17th Sept. 1903. [In the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and Lady Rivaz and a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen, the Viceroy distributed the prizes at Bishop Cotton School on Thursday afternoon, the 17th September 1903. Sir Charles Rivaz, and the Revd. Mr. Lewis (the headmaster) having addressed the assembly, His Excellency the Viceroy, after distributing the prizes, spoke as follows :—]

Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Viceroy for the time being is the visitor of the Bishop Cotton School. I am afraid that this does not imply that he constantly visits it: for I must confess that this is the first time that I have had this pleasure during the five summers that I have spent in Simla. Perhaps, however, the Viceroy would be rather a nuisance if he were to interpret his duties too strictly, for it must be remembered that, though pupils are received from elsewhere, this is in the main a Punjab School, and it is the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province, who is the more obvious official patron of the institution. And here let me say in passing, that never has there been a Lieutenant Governor who has taken a warmer interest in this school than Sir Charles Rivaz. (*Loud cheers.*) He it was who asked me to come here to-day: and were it not for the large grants that he has made to you during the last twelve months, I doubt if the buildings in which we are assembled would be in the condition that we now observe.

I need not say much about the foundation of this school, or of its history up to the present time. As we all know, it was erected at the instance of the excellent Bishop Cotton of Calcutta as a thank-offering for the deliverance of the British people from the trials and dangers of the Mutiny. He meant it to be a public school for what may be described as the middle class of Europeans in India, particularly the class that was then known as the Uncovenanted servants of Government; people who were too poor to send their children

to Europe, but who desired to obtain for them the same sort of education that is given in an English Public School. Hence the institution was originally called the Simla Public School, and it was only after the foundation-stone of the present building had been laid by Sir John Lawrence in 1866 and the good Bishop Cotton had lost his life directly afterwards, that the name was changed to Bishop Cotton School.

Though I have never visited this place before, I have often thought about the School. For every morning as I look out of my bedroom window, I see a low line of buildings crowning the summit of the hill at Jutogh; and I remember once being told that they were the original quarters of the Simla Public School, before it changed its name and its habitation and was moved to the present site.

Thinking about the matter, I have frequently pondered over the kind of education that we give to the class of boys of whom I have been speaking, of the difficulties that attend it, and of the supreme responsibility of Government in the matter. Take the problem in its elementary aspects. These are in the main European boys: they are the sons of parents who, in all probability, received a European education. It is desirable, nay it is essential, that they should do the same. If it were not that India is 6,000 miles from England, they would, for the most part, be going to the grammar schools, the boarding schools, or the public schools of England. Distance, and expense, which is the corollary of distance, are the only factors that prevent it. Now these boys are, for the most part, being trained for employment in this country. It is a natural inclination on the part of sons to follow the professions of their fathers, and if we look to the classes of persons from whom the latter are mainly drawn in the case of Bishop Cotton School, namely, clerks in Government offices, persons in the employ of Government in the Post and Telegraphs, in the Military Works and Public Works, in the Supply and Transport Corps, in the Salt and Opium and other subordinate departments, and

again Railway employés and commissioned officers in the army, and commercial men—we shall at once detect the natural bent of the career of their sons. And thus I am brought to my second point, which is this, that all these boys and young men, as they leave this school, become, in their several walks of life, the custodians of precisely the same principles and standards of honour and integrity and manly bearing, which we associate with the education that is given in English schools, and they go forth under a solemn obligation to uphold these standards among an alien people and in a foreign land. (*Cheers.*) Ladies and Gentlemen, the character of Englishmen is the passport of England in India. It is the regimental flag which flies above the fighting line—and we are all fighting for the betterment of this country—in peace as well as in war. Well, if these schools are to be not only a preparation for employment, but also, as they ought to be, a nursery of national character, then, I think, you will see that Government cannot afford to look at them with idleness or indifference, but that we must watch them with a very friendly and fatherly eye, because the products whom they turn out are going to be included among the instruments who help to do the work of Government in this country, and to sustain or to degrade—God forbid that it should ever be the latter—the priceless heritage of the British name. (*Cheers.*)

The next thought that occurs to one is the difficulty that these European schools in India encounter, and the countervailing advantages, if there be such, that they enjoy. I have already pointed out that the parents are mostly persons of small means, from which it follows that there are many advantages that they cannot give to their sons. Then the colleges or schools themselves, as the case may be, cannot look back, as so many English institutions can, upon wealthy founders, upon useful endowments, or upon munificent patrons. They are not old enough to have acquired a tradition, they are scarcely homogeneous enough to produce

Distribution of Prizes at Bishop Cotton School.

an *esprit de corps.* There is always the sense, inevitable in a foreign country, that they are not indigenous, born of the soil, but that they are exotics, transplanted to a strange land, and struggling against an unpropitious environment. Then there is the tremendous and perpetual difficulty, which arises from the same cause, of procuring suitable and well-qualified teachers. These are the darker sides of the picture, but there are brighter aspects also. In the first place, the boys who are educated here have been born in India, where also their fathers have served very likely for a life-time. From this connection should spring both a knowledge of the country and a love for it. Next, they have not to learn to accustom themselves, when they go forth into the world, to a new climate and to unfamiliar surroundings. Thirdly, there are good prospects before them. Not a single lad, who is worthy of his salt, need despair of getting creditable and remunerative employment. Lastly, in the large atmosphere of this great empire—the greatest experiment in political and administrative science that the world can show—they ought to be free from the petty conventions of a narrower existence, and should imbibe generous and noble ideas. These, as it seems to me, are the merits and drawbacks of European schools in India. I will not be so rash as to decide which of the two preponderate.

A little while back I said something about the responsibility of Government, and I wish to revert to that subject. I remember that when, in 1900, I addressed the Anglo-Indian Association in Calcutta, and spoke to them about some of the weaknesses of their position, I was fiercely assailed by the organs of that body as a bitter opponent. This is the oldest fallacy in the world—the theory that the friend who points out your failings is an enemy. Even Job, the most patient of men, occasionally succumbed to it. (*Laughter.*) A year and a half later, in September 1901 we held the Simla Educational Conference at this place: and once again all the people, whose life is one long steeplechase

of jumping at conclusions about things that they do not know (*laughter*), were ready to assail the Government of India for having neglected the interests of European education in this country.

I am glad to say that we did nothing of the kind. Amid the various aspects of education in India that we have been examining and analysing for the last five years, none has demanded more exhaustive research or excited warmer sympathy from the Government than the instruction and bringing up of European and Eurasian children in India. (*Cheers.*) We take no credit for our interest. We should be unfit to rule India if we did not feel it, and we should be hypocrites in feeling it if we were not prepared to translate our sentiments into action. Neither would I pretend for one moment that this interest is any new thing. More than forty years ago, Lord Canning, that wise and sagacious Viceroy, devoted himself to the study and furtherance of European education in India. At a later date, Lord Lytton followed energetically in his footsteps. Then in the past half century the cause has had many faithful friends, among officials, among clergy, chief of whom I would name Archdeacon Baly, among missionaries, and among private persons.

But, you may say, what has all this to do with the present, and what are the Indian Government of to-day doing or about to do in order to show that their interest is sincere? The question is a very reasonable one, and I will briefly answer it. After the Simla Conference two years ago, we invited the Directors of Public Instruction who had come up to Simla for that object, to meet in a separate Conference to consider the question of European and Eurasian education in India. We found that there was a great deal that required to be done. There are 400 in all of these schools and colleges throughout India, and they educate 30,000 pupils. Government spends upon them 8½ lakhs a year, but only 2¾ lakhs are contributed by private subscription. Many of the schools we found to be in an unsatisfac-

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tory position. Their finances were embarrassed, and had in many cases been mismanaged ; their educational standards were mediocre, and their staff of teachers inadequate and ill-paid. This school itself is not in quite as flourishing a state of health as we should all desire, for whereas it ought to have 150 boys to pay its way, and once had 130, it now only has 82, of whom 12 are day boys.

Well, when our Conference had reported, we addressed the Local Governments in November 1901, and we suggested a new Code for European education throughout India, which should provide a remedy for most of the evils that we discovered to exist. A further Committee of Inspectors was appointed in March 1902 to draw up this new Code. We have since had its Report, which has been referred to the Local Governments ; and I saw the other day that a Provincial Conference in the Punjab had pronounced it to be the greatest advance in the cause of European education that had ever been registered in this country. (*Cheers.*) When it comes into operation, what will it be found that Government have done for the cause of European education in India ? I shall be disappointed if our scheme does not contain the following points : the appointment of a separate Inspector in each province for European schools alone ; the institution of a special training college at Allahabad, with pecuniary assistance to the students, in order to provide the present crying want of duly qualified teachers ; better means for getting out such persons also from home, and for giving them adequate salaries ; a more liberal system of scholarships and Government grants ; and a modification of the rigid rules by which the schools are now fettered as regards courses of study and departmental examinations. If we can carry out all these projects, as I hope that we may, then I think that my colleagues and I may perhaps congratulate ourselves upon having given a positive lift forward to European and Eurasian education in India in our time. (*Cheers.*)

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And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, all the while that I have been delivering these very dull remarks, I have been conscious that there are before me the boys of this school, and that I am assisting at a prize-giving, which is supposed to be rather a festive function. I must apologise to them for not having produced a more appropriate oration. But there is yet another duty that I have left unperformed. I believe it is the business of the prize-giver on these occasions to address a sort of mild lecture to the prize-winners, and also to the prize-losers (*laughter*), pointing out their merits to the former and their ill-fortune to the latter (*laughter*), and exhorting both classes to persevere. Then it is also, I believe, the orthodox practice to furbish up a few unimpeachable maxims and to parade them, if possible, in a novel garb. (*Laughter.*) I remember when I was a youth assisting at several of these functions. I very soon forgot most of the sound and excellent advice that was so freely distributed by the learned and elderly persons who addressed us. (*Laughter.*) But sometimes one phrase or another, a hint or an idea, stuck fast in my mind, and remained there, germinating perhaps in secret, and ultimately producing some sort of fruit. Instead, therefore, of bewildering you boys with advice, which some of you will not understand and which most of you will speedily forget (*laughter*), I give you only this one thought this afternoon. When you go out into the world, do nothing without an object. Have an object in your work, have an object in your play. Let there be an object in your heart, where the emotions are supposed to lie; in your mind with which you think; and in your soul, where is the touchstone of right and wrong. Life without an object is as cold as a furnace without fire, and as empty as a religion without a God. When you are successful, it will be because you have pursued an object. When you fail, sit down and create for yourself the object which you have hitherto ignored. (*Cheers.*)

Legislative Council : Case of Mr. Bain, Planter.

It only now remains for me to say what pleasure it has given me to be present this afternoon and to feel that my sojourn in Simla, which has not in any case a very much longer time to run, has not passed by without affording me the opportunity of coming here to express my interest and sympathy in this school. (*Loud cheers.*)

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

CASE OF MR. BAIN, PLANTER.

[A meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council was held at Viceregal Lodge on Friday, the 18th September, at which, before the business of the Council was proceeded with, Sir Denzil Ibbetson made a statement in connection with the criminal case of the King Emperor *vs.* Bain, an Assam Planter, which had recently been before the High Court of Calcutta and had attracted much public attention. Sir D. Ibbetson's statement was confined to tracing the history of the proceedings and did not in any way discuss the merits of the case. At its conclusion His Excellency the President addressed the Council as follows :—] 18th Sep. 1903.

In connection with one remark that has fallen from my Hon'ble Colleague, Sir D. Ibbetson, I should like to remove a further misapprehension that appears to prevail. I have noticed frequent references, some even on public occasions, to orders that are believed or alleged to have been issued at a recent date by the Government of India in connection with cases between Europeans and Natives. These orders are variously supposed to relate to the reporting of these cases to Government and to the administration of criminal justice. As regards the latter, I may say at once that no orders have been issued of any sort whatsoever, official or unofficial, public or private, and any statement or belief to the contrary is without foundation. The matter does not fall within the scope of the executive Government. As regards the reporting of cases, the Hon'ble Sir D. Ibbetson referred in his statement to the orders of 1897, and it is

upon this point that I desire to add a word. It was found by Lord Elgin's Government that very often they only learned of important occurrences in different parts of India from the newspapers, and that the official accounts of the same incidents did not reach them till months after they had taken place. This was due to the failure of Local Governments to report or to the great delay in doing so. Accordingly, on 24th August 1897, Lord Elgin's Government issued orders to the Local Governments requiring them to issue instructions to their local officers to send to the Government of India duplicates of the telegrams in which they reported matters of importance to the Local Government or Administration, and among the matters of importance which were specifically mentioned in the orders were "all collisions between Europeans of all classes and Natives." During the first fortnight that I was in India, *viz.*, in January 1899, it was represented to me by the Home Department that these orders had not been altogether successful, because the Local Governments did not like their local officers reporting to the Government of India over their heads—a proceeding which seemed to them both to impugn and to divide their own responsibility. We felt that these objections were reasonable, and accordingly one of my first acts was to authorise the issue of a letter, dated 23rd January 1899, saying that we withdrew the orders about local officers reporting to us direct, and that we left to the Local Government the duty of repeating to us the telegrams which they had received from them. Two years and a half later it was reported to us that the terms of Lord Elgin's orders of August 1897, which referred to all collisions, were being so interpreted as to send up to the Government of India a number of absolutely trivial cases the reporting of which wasted time and trouble, and was alleged to cause irritation. On looking into the case there seemed to be some foundation for these complaints, and accordingly in July 1901 I authorised the issue of orders

from the Military Department, modifying the orders of 1897, and laying down that we did not require reports of unconfirmed assaults or of assaults of a positively insignificant character. These orders, which related to soldiers, were repeated in November 1901 in a letter to the Local Governments, making the same modification in the case of Civilians.

How useful the new orders were in both cases has been shown by subsequent experience. The number of civil and military references decreased in the year 1902 by close upon three-fourths as compared with the corresponding figures for 1900 and 1901.

It would thus appear that the orders have now attained a form which is free from the objections that attached to their original shape, and that answers the purpose for which they were devised. The necessity of receiving prompt information on matters that may develope a serious aspect, which was the principle upon which Lord Elgin's Government insisted, has been and must be maintained, but the rules have been freed from the drawbacks that were found to have arisen from their too strict interpretation in practice. These are the only Government orders that exist on the subject.

FAREWELL DINNER TO SIR WALTER AND LADY LAWRENCE.

[Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon entertained Sir Walter and Lady Lawrence on Monday evening, the 26th October 1903, at a farewell dinner on the eve of their departure for England. It was one of the most brilliant functions of the season, about 80 guests having been invited to meet them, including Lady Rivaz—the Lieutenant-Governor being absent from Simla on tour—His Excellency Lord Kitchener, the Members of the Viceroy's Council, Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh of Idar, an old friend of Sir Walter 26th Oct. 1903.

Farewell dinner to Sir Walter and Lady Lawrence.

Lawrence who came up specially from Idar to be present, Secretaries to Government, and many other officials and ladies.

At the conclusion of dinner, His Excellency the Viceroy, having proposed the health of the King, proposed the toast of the guests of the evening—Sir Walter and Lady Lawrence—in the following terms:—]

Your Highness, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Lady Curzon and I have invited this large company of guests here this evening in order to bid good-bye to a friend of ours, and a friend of theirs, a most distinguished public servant, and my own loyal coadjutor and ally during five laborious years, namely, Sir Walter Lawrence. (*Cheers.*) Twenty-five years ago, in this very month, I went up to Balliol College at Oxford, and there I made the acquaintance of Walter Lawrence, already enlisted for that Indian career in which he afterwards won so high a place. After two years he left the University, and embarked for this country. Now and then I used to hear of him and his work, and nine years ago, when I came out here to visit the Pamirs and Chitral, I stayed with him in Kashmir, where he was engaged upon that Settlement work which made his name, what it has ever since remained, a household word in that State. (*Cheers.*) Soon after that an unkind destiny, as I have always regarded it, induced him to sever his connection with India, and he was living at home when I was appointed to my present office just five years ago. Now, as everyone knows, one of the most difficult and responsible posts that an incoming Viceroy has to fill is that of his Private Secretary; so much turns on the right choice, so much may result from the wrong one. I remember that I was considerably perplexed at the difficulty of deciding between the conflicting claims of the various names which I was called upon to consider; and, finally, in despair I wrote to Walter Lawrence, and asked him if he could solve my doubts and suggest to me a candidate of the ideal type—in fact I said as nearly as possible like himself. (*Cheers and laughter.*) He

responded by offering not the substitute, but the original article. (*Cheers and laughter.*) He was urged by his love for this country and by his sympathy with the task that he knew that I was about to undertake, to break up his home connections at no inconsiderable sacrifice to himself, and to come out again to India where, as is the case with so many who have eaten her salt, his heart really lay. Since then he and I have laboured side by side for five long and eventful years, and now that domestic reasons, the force of which I cannot contest, compel him to depart, I am brought face to face with the imminence and the gravity of my loss.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I doubt if those who have not been engaged in official life can form any idea of the closeness of the tie that binds a public man holding high administrative office to his Private Secretary. The Chief on his part has no secrets from his Private Secretary; the latter knows everything that is in his mind; he sees him—shall I say—at his best or at his worst (*laughter*); he writes his letters and conducts his interviews for him, and is the confidential instrument of his policy and his plans. On his side the Private Secretary must be most things to all men and all things to his Chief. He must combine the most engaging candour with the most inscrutable mystery. (*Laughter.*) If he can only say 'yes', he is an incumbrance; if he has acquired the gentle art of saying 'no', he is a treasure. (*Laughter.*) He must carry about with him the inexhaustible cruse of oil, and apply its contents with liberality and discretion. (*Laughter.*) Above all, he must possess the power of self-effacement and modesty. He must be willing to be inconspicuous, he must rejoice to serve. Loyalty is his watchword, and the success of another is his highest reward.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I daresay you will have gathered that, in painting this ideal picture, I have been showing my skill as a portrait painter as well. (*Cheers.*) And yet I am far from having filled in all the details. It

Farewell dinner to Sir Walter and Lady Lawrence.

will be no news to any of you to learn that Sir Walter Lawrence possesses a great knowledge of this country, a sympathy with its Chiefs and its people, as warmly felt by him as it is warmly reciprocated by them (*cheers*), and a quite extraordinary faculty of discretion. I can scarcely exaggerate the degree to which I have profited by each of these gifts. He has told me much that I should otherwise never have learned; he has brought me confidence and sympathy where I might not have been able to acquire them for myself; he has smoothed down the rough places and converted frowns into smiles (*laughter*); he has been known and trusted from one end of India to the other; and in all things he has been to me the soul of fidelity and devotion. (*Cheers.*)

Perhaps for one moment I may be allowed to strike a more personal chord. I sometimes think that the world hardly realises how solitary is the occupant of high places in this country, how defenceless against imputation, how impotent against attack. At such moments a man in the position I have described stands as much in need of being cheered up as does a child. Well, whenever I have been at all despondent from any of these causes, my Private Secretary has always been at hand to put fresh heart into me, to bid me be of good-cheer and go on. (*Cheers.*) He has never wavered in his confidence and attachment, and now at the end of five years' co-operation as close as it is possible for two men to be engaged in, we part without ever having exchanged one regretted word, and with feelings which, upon my side, are those of gratitude, affection, and respect. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, Sir Walter Lawrence is unfortunately taking away something more than himself. He is abducting Lady Lawrence also. (*Laughter.*) There is a popular belief, not without considerable foundation, that the best assorted couples, by some mysterious sort of assimilation, tend to infect each other with their respective

qualities and to grow more and more alike every day. Certainly many of the traits which I have been describing may be attributed to Lady Lawrence not less than to her husband. (*Cheers.*) Whether he has derived them from her or she from him I will not attempt to determine (*laughter*) : suffice it to say that she has been as admirable a helpmate to him as she has been a true friend to us (*cheers*) ; and Lady Curzon and myself, in common with many Simla friends, will find Observatory House a very different place when its present hostess has gone. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, now that they are leaving us, we need hardly say how sorry we are to lose them, for they know it already ; but let us seize the occasion to wish them all health and happiness in their home across the seas, and may they be there to renew old ties and to greet us when we all go back.

I give you the health of Sir Walter and Lady Lawrence.

[The toast was very warmly received.

Sir Walter Lawrence, who on rising was received with applause, then spoke as follows :—

" *Your Excellencies, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,* – If anything could lessen the sadness, the genuine sadness, I feel at leaving my present appointment, it would be the kind manner in which you have received the generous and, I fear, too flattering words of our host, the Viceroy.

" As I look around this room, and see the old familiar faces of those with whom I have been associated so long, I feel that I am among friends, and that I may cast aside the reticence and reserve that are the proper integuments of a Private Secretary, and, shaking off the inscrutable mystery, of which the Viceroy spoke (*laughter*), may speak to you frankly and from my heart.

" I thank you, Gentlemen, for the kindness and patience that you have shown to me: our work has always run smoothly, and I shall ever remember the confidence that so many of you have thought fit to repose in me. I have been but a fly on this mighty and fateful wheel of Empire trying to buzz as little as possible and never to sting. (*Cheers and laughter.*)

" And now, Your Excellency, if I may do so without presumption and without offence, I should like to say a few words of my relations

Farewell dinner to Sir Walter and Lady Lawrence.

to you. A great humourist has said that no man is a hero to his banker, his lawyer, or his valet. And he might have added,—ten thousand times less is he a hero to his Private Secretary unless in very truth he be a hero. Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have found my Chief now, as I found him years ago, to be a man to whom the test could safely be applied. (*Cheers.*) Scarcely a day has passed—and I say this not as a pleasant exaggeration at a pleasant dinner party—not as a courtier, for I am no courtier—but I say it as a deliberate diarist of long standing, and I say it after verification—scarcely a day has passed without some striking act on his part of generosity, highmindedness, of active and practical sympathy for those who were in trouble, or overwrought with work, of righteous indignation for anything that was mean, cruel, or oppressive—hardly a day has gone by without some signal proof of his indomitable energy, his cheery pluck, and his remarkable prevision. These are some among other great qualities which have commanded my admiration, but what has most endeared him to me, and has won my affection, and my absolute devotion, has been his invariable consideration. My work has been a daily pleasure, a daily lesson, and a daily tonic. (*Cheers.*) I have had a somewhat varied life, but to no part of it shall I look back with greater pleasure and greater pride, than to the five too short years during which I have been associated in a humble way with an administration which future historians will style the most strenuous—the most progressive—yes, and the most constructive period of our rule in India. (*Cheers.*)

" In conclusion, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you all warmly for the kindness with which you have received my wife's name. She, like myself, is devoted to this great and interesting country. We should not have left it before, or be leaving it now, were it not for domestic reasons. India has given us of her best—great and lifelong friendships—not only friends, for I have acquired a brother—for a few years ago the gallant Sir Pertab, who sits there, did me the honour to admit me with Rajput ceremony to the privileges of his brotherhood. (*Cheers.*) We leave this kindly, fascinating country with affectionate regret, and a pang that we have done so little for the much that we have received. (*Cheers.*)"]

UNVEILING THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL STATUE, PATIALA.

[On Friday, the 6th November 1903, the Viceroy, accompanied by his Staff and the Foreign Secretary, left Simla for a visit to the Phulkian States and the Persian Gulf. His Excellency arrived at Patiala on the following morning, and was received at the Railway Station by the young Maharaja, the President and Members of the Council of Regency, Kunwar Sir Ranbir Singh, the Maharaja's uncle, the Political Agent for the Phulkian States, and other civil and military officers, and, accompanied by the Maharaja, drove to the large and beautifully laid-out camp which His Highness had prepared for the Viceroy and his guests. In the afternoon, His Excellency drove to the Baradari Gardens, where, in the presence of the Maharaja, the Council of Regency, and a large assembly, he unveiled the statue of Her late Majesty the Queen, erected by the State to her memory. The President of the Council of Regency having briefly explained the circumstances under which the statue was erected, the Maharaja invited His Excellency to unveil it, in the following words :— 7th Nov. 1903.

"*Your Excellency*,—It is appropriate that the sacred task of unveiling the statue of Her late Majesty should be performed by her last Viceroy. I have the honour, therefore, as the successor of the Chiefs of Patiala who were the loyal supporters of the late Monarch, to request Your Excellency now to do so, and to assure Your Excellency that my State and Sword are at the disposal of our Gracious Sovereign the King-Emperor."

The Viceroy spoke as follows :—]

Your Highness, Members of the Council of Regency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Since I have been in India it has been my privilege to unveil two statues of the late Queen-Empress Victoria at places so far apart as Calcutta and Rajkot. This, therefore, is the third occasion on which I have been honoured by being asked to perform a similar ceremony. There can be no more appropriate site for such a statue than the capital of the State of Patiala, distinguished, as the President of the Council has remarked in his speech, by a century of devoted loyalty to the British Crown. (*Applause.*) I rejoice to see that the practice of commemorating this beloved and illustrious Sovereign should not be confined to the cities of British India where a European

Unveiling the Victoria Memorial Statue, Patiala.

population resides, but that it should extend to Native States also, where it is the spontaneous act of the Chief and his people. For in such places the statue becomes not merely a memorial to the Monarch to whom they gave unfeigned allegiance, but a perpetual reminder of the highest qualities that can adorn a ruler or contribute to the happiness of a State. If every ruler were to base his public conduct upon the example of Queen Victoria, who had no heart or thought apart from her subjects, and if every one of us were to endeavour, however feebly, to imitate her private virtues, we might not indeed attain to the standard of the model, but we should all be better than we now are. I believe that the President was perfectly right when he said that the mainspring of the loyalty of India to Her late Majesty was her own personality. This was both the diamond in the setting of the ring and the flash in the heart of the diamond. Every man and woman in India knew that, from her distant throne, she thought of her Indian people, prayed for them, and loved them. The Maharaja in his remarks spoke of me as her last Viceroy. This will always be in my eyes a proud though sorrowful distinction. Well do I remember the earnest and feeling terms in which Her Majesty charged me as to the spirit in which I should undertake the task which she had laid upon me. "Be kind to the Indian people" were her concluding words. They were the epitome of her character and her life.

Such was the warm-hearted, wise, and gracious Sovereign whose statue I now proceed to unveil. (*Applause.*)

BANQUET AT PATIALA.

[On the evening of Saturday, the 7th November, the Maharaja of Patiala gave a banquet in camp in honour of the Viceroy, to which a large number of guests were invited to meet His Excellency. After dinner the Maharaja came in and took his seat by the Viceroy, and, the health of the King having been drunk, rose and in a brief speech proposed the health of the Viceroy, expressing regret at the absence of Lady Curzon. His Excellency replying to the toast spoke as follows :—] 7th Nov. 1903.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am much obliged to you for the manner in which my health has been proposed by the Maharaja and received by this company. I greatly regret that Lady Curzon is not with me to-night. She would much have liked to be here. I should have been very sorry had I not been able to visit Patiala during my time in India, for I should then have been the first Viceroy for many years to break through a long and time-honoured tradition ; and I should have lost the opportunity of speaking a few words of encouragement to the young Chief whose guests we are to-night. We have both of us, I fear, been within an ace of disappointment in our plans; for I have been an invalid for three weeks, and was doubtful till a day or two ago whether I should be allowed to travel; while I hear to my regret that the lavish hospitality prepared for us by the State was almost frustrated at the last moment by an unfortunate disaster in the camp, by which a good deal of it was burnt to the ground. I regard it as a triumph of courage and organisation that, in spite of this catastrophe, our hosts have been able to do so much for our entertainment. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I said just now that many Viceroys and Governors-General had visited this State. Lord Lytton came here straight from the Delhi Imperial Assemblage in 1877 to instal the late Maharaja, then a child of four. Indeed, the late Maharaja enjoyed the peculiar distinction of being installed twice over ; for when he was finally invested with powers, Lord Lansdowne came here

and repeated the ceremony in 1890. Here also, in 1888, Lord Dufferin, when standing in the same position as I am now doing and proposing the health of the late Maharaja, made his first historic announcement about the inauguration of the Imperial Service Troops; amongst the earliest, foremost, and most loyal supporters of which have always been the three Phulkian States. (*Loud cheers.*) On all of these occasions a good deal has been said about the ancient connection of Patiala with the British Raj, about the services rendered by the Chiefs and forces of the State in times of crisis and war, and about the feelings of mutual confidence and attachment that have in consequence sprung up and been fortified by a century of unbroken friendship between the Paramount Power and this, the premier State of the Punjab. I need not on the present occasion recapitulate this story, which I believe is a source of equal pride to the Supreme Government and to the State. (*Cheers.*) I prefer rather to look for a moment at the condition of affairs as it now exists, and at the future that lies before the young Chief who has just proposed my health.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Patiala, as we all know, is going through a process of reconstruction and reform. As happens with most of us when our constitution is not quite as strong as it might be, she has had to put herself in the doctor's hands. For some years the internal administration of the State had run down, and a great deal of lee-way has still to be made up. The finances were in a very embarrassed condition, though much has been done by Mr. Biddulph to place them on a sound and assured basis; the judicial administration, the education, the land revenue collection, the irrigation—all require to be overhauled and to be brought up to a higher level of efficiency; the Civil Service must be reorganised, and weeds that only encumber the soil should be plucked out; the condition of the roads and public offices is susceptible of great improvement. Above all, those who are responsible for the State have to bear in mind the

Banquet at Patiala.

cardinal principle that you cannot have a good administration unless you have good administrators, and you cannot have good administrators unless you train them, and the right people to train are the people of the State itself; then the State will help to reform itself, which is better than any reform dictated from the outside. I congratulate the Council of Regency upon the work that they have already accomplished in this respect. They have made a good start with fiscal reform and police reform and Post Office reform, and I feel convinced that they will steadily address themselves to the other items on the list that I have mentioned. They have a most capable and sympathetic outside adviser in Major Dunlop Smith (*cheers*), and if they adhere steadfastly and with perseverance to their programme, not attempting to do everything in a week, or a month, or a year, but dropping nothing until they have carried it through, then I think that when they lay down their charge some years hence, they will have earned the title of true benefactors of the State.

After all, what we all look forward to is that when in due time the young Prince takes up the reins of Government, he may find a State that is prosperous, well-ordered, and happy, and that his own virtues may be a reflex of the contentment of his people.

Maharaja, as you grow older, you will I hope realise—nay, I trust that you are beginning to realise—that you will have a noble position to fill. You are the head of an ancient and honourable house; you come of a race that is distinguished for manly virtues and for a high sense of fealty and honour; and you are the heir of traditions which it should be your proudest duty to uphold. May you have health and strength, and above all character, for the task.

I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the long life and happiness of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. (*Loud cheers.*)

BANQUET AT NABHA.

9th Nov. 1903. [The Viceregal party left Patiala on Monday, the 9th November, at 10 A.M., and half an hour afterwards arrived at Nabha, where His Excellency was received by His Highness the Raja of Nabha, who was accompanied by his son, the Ticca Sahib, and the State officials. During their stay His Excellency and party were the guests of the Raja at "Elgin House." In the evening the Raja entertained his guests at a Banquet, and the Heir Apparent, after proposing the health of the King, proposed that of the Viceroy on behalf of the Raja, who was seated by the Viceroy. He said :—

"*Gentlemen*,—I rise to propose, on behalf of my father, the health of our illustrious guest, His Excellency Lord Curzon of Kedleston. It is a matter of great regret to His Highness that he is unable to address Your Excellency in English himself. He wishes me to assure Your Excellency of the warmest welcome to the capital of the State. His pride and pleasure would have been complete had Her Excellency Lady Curzon also been able to come. His Highness wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his thankfulness at Your Excellency's extension of office. He is looking forward with the keenest interest and appreciation to the development of the reforms and schemes which Your Excellency has so wisely inaugurated for the good of India and its people, and he prays that God will bless Your Excellency's administration with the happiest results. Your Excellency's efforts to forward the interests of education in India have had no warmer admirer than His Highness, and he hopes that Your Excellency will be able to lend a helping hand to the Khalsa in their efforts to raise the standard of education among themselves. It is with the greatest diffidence that I have ventured to interpret before such a distinguished orator my father's feelings on the occasion of Your Excellency's visit. Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of the Viceroy."

His Excellency in replying spoke as follows :—]

Your Highness and Gentlemen,—There is no Chief whose hospitality I receive with keener pleasure, or whose health it is a greater satisfaction to me to propose, than His Highness the Raja of Nabha. The Ticca Sahib has just given my health on behalf of his father in terms of characteristic warmth and loyalty, and in returning the compliment to the Raja I am toasting both the Chief and the man. We recognise in him a Ruler devoted to his Sovereign, his religion, and

Banquet at Nabha.

his people—the three supreme objects of attachment for a worthy Prince (*cheers*); and we know that he is conspicuous in all the relations of life for integrity of motive, for simplicity of conduct, and for ardour of conviction. (*Cheers.*) For 32 years he has presided over the fortunes of the Nabha State, and has conducted the administration with equal ability and success (*cheers*); and at Delhi in January last we recall his chivalrous figure as he rode at the head of his troops before the brother and the representative of his Sovereign. (*Cheers.*) It is such a man as this whom the Crown delights to honour, and the Raja is aware, from many evidences, of the feeling with which we regard him. I selected him to represent the Sikh Princes of the Punjab at the Coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor in England; and it was only ill-health that prevented him from carrying out this mission. At Delhi the G.C.I.E. was added to the G.C.S.I., which he has already worn for nearly a quarter of a century; while his military instincts and the services of the Nabha Imperial Service Troops in recent campaigns were recognised by his receiving the Honorary Colonelcy of the 14th Sikhs, whose band has contributed to our entertainment this evening.

Sometimes His Highness talks to me as though he were growing old and would like to rest, but I always tell him in reply that he is younger than the Sovereign who bears on his shoulders not the burden of a single State, but the entire British Empire, and I add further that the Raja is indispensable to his people and his State. (*Cheers.*) I hope, therefore, that, for years to come, they may continue to profit by his great experience, and by his keen devotion to duty. (*Cheers.*)

His Highness has been kind enough to add a few words about myself. He has spoken with appreciation of the offer that has been made to me to reappoint me to the post of Viceroy, after I have been home for a brief rest. My only object in accepting this offer has been that I may be

able to carry through one or two projects which I have deeply at heart, before I finally go. Among these is the cause of educational reform, which, as His Highness knows well, is vital to the future welfare of the country, and in which he is nobly bestirring himself in connection with the advancement of his own community. (*Cheers.*) I hope also, if I stay, to be able to do something more towards cementing these happy relations of mutual confidence and esteem that prevail between the Government of India and the Indian Chiefs. (*Cheers.*) When I meet a Chief like His Highness, I feel that I should be very cold-blooded indeed if I did not warm to the impulse of his loyalty and patriotism, and very undeserving of my post if I did not regard it as a privilege to be associated with so fine an example of his class and race. I give you, Gentlemen, the health of the Raja of Nabha. (*Loud cheers.*)

BANQUET AT JIND.

10th Nov. 1903. [The Viceregal party left Nabha on Tuesday, the 10th November at 4-15 P.M., arriving at Sangrur (Jind) at 5-30 P.M. This was the first occasion on which a Viceroy had visited the State. His Excellency was received by the Raja and his principal officials, and, attended by them, drove through the city to a large and magnificent camp which His Highness had pitched for His Excellency and staff. In the evening the Raja entertained the Viceregal party at a State Banquet, but was himself unable to be present owing to a slight attack of fever. His four principal Sirdars, however, attended after dinner, of whom the senior read the following speech:—

"*Gentlemen,*—I am commissioned by His Highness to propose the health of his noble and illustrious guest, His Excellency Lord Curzon of Kedleston. It is an extreme disappointment to His Highness that he has been prevented from discharging this duty himself, and I am to request that Your Excellency will kindly excuse him. This is the first time that the Jind Durbar has been honoured by a visit from the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and this day will ever be

Banquet at Jind.

remembered in the annals of this State. Since the Phulkian Misl first entered into relations with the British Crown, the devotion of the Chiefs has been consistent and whole-hearted, and His Excellency has given fresh strength to their loyalty by his present visit. The pride and happiness of His Highness and his subjects would have been complete had Her Excellency been able to visit Sangrur. His Highness is aware of the sacrifice made by His Excellency in coming here at so much inconvenience to himself. This has made the honour all the greater, and is only another proof of the personal interest taken by His Excellency in the Ruling Chiefs of India and his strong sympathy with their concerns."

His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am sure that we are all very sorry at the enforced absence of His Highness the Raja this evening, and still more at the cause of it. (*Cheers.*) His speech, however, has been delivered on his behalf by the Senior Member of the Council, and through him I desire to thank His Highness for the friendly and complimentary terms in which he has proposed my health. The Raja is the last of the three Phulkian Chiefs whom it has been my privilege to visit on the present occasion, and it is an additional pleasure to me to know, as he pointed out in his remarks, that I am the first Viceroy who has ever been to Jind. The Phulkian States, through all the vicissitudes of the past hundred years, have been strong outworks of the British Dominion, and their contingents or forces have fought on our side in many wars. (*Cheers.*) Anyone who remembers the splendid show that was made at Delhi in January last by the Imperial Service Contingents from these States will not need to be told that there has been no diminution either in the loyalty or in the martial spirit of their people. (*Cheers.*)

His Highness was invested with powers some five years ago, and I should like to have told him to his face how glad I am to learn that he is taking an increasing interest in public affairs. If he will look into matters personally, and concern himself not with one thing or another but with all things that affect his State and his people, then his natural

abilities and his keen sense of justice will enable him in a very short time to become a power in the State as well as its official head. (*Cheers.*) The financial position of the State is sound; the investment of its surplus funds a few years ago, at the instance of the Punjab Government, in the Jind-Maler Kotla Railway is turning out an excellent bargain for the State; and a career of prosperity and progress ought to lie before it. In this future I should like His Highness to deserve and to win his full share of the credit. (*Cheers.*)

There is one matter in which I desire to bespeak His Highness's interest, and which indeed equally concerns all the three States in the Phulkian group. I speak of the Khalsa College at Amritsar. I visited the College some years ago, and was distressed to find that it is languishing somewhat from the divided counsels of the Sikh leaders and Committees. In the meantime, while these disputes are going on, time is slipping away, the College remains unfinished and is hampered in its working, and the opportunities afforded to the Sikhs of a free access to the advantages of a modern education are sacrificed. This is not as it should be. All the Sikh Chiefs and leaders, in fact the entire Khalsa, should join together to support this excellent institution with one heart, and mind, and voice. (*Cheers.*) The Raja of Nabha has lately given a lead in this respect, and I hope that the remaining Sikh States or Durbars, and the principal men of the Sikh community at large, will combine by annual subscriptions, and by an attitude of warm interest, to remove this cloud that rests both upon the fortunes of the College and upon the future prospects of the Sikh race. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health of our host, the Raja of Jind; and to express our particular thanks for the arrangements that he has made for our accommodation in what is, without exception, the finest camp that I have seen since I have been in India. (*Cheers.*)

INVESTITURE OF THE NAWAB OF BAHAWALPUR.

[The Viceregal party left Jind at 10 P.M. on Wednesday, the 11th November, and arrived at Bahawalpur at 8-30 on the following morning. His Excellency was received at the Railway Station by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab (Sir C. Rivaz) and his staff, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the principal Sirdars of the Bahawalpur State, and a large number of Civil and Military Officers. Accompanied by the Nawab the Viceroy drove to the Nur Mahal Palace, where the Viceroy and his staff were the guests of His Highness during their stay at Bahawalpur. The object of His Excellency's visit to the State was to formally invest His Highness Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan Bahadur, of Bahawalpur, with full powers of administration as a Ruling Chief. The ceremony took place in the Durbar Hall of the palace and was attended by the Lieutenant-Governor, the leading nobles and officials of the Bahawalpur State, and a large number of English guests whom the Nawab had invited to Bahawalpur for the occasion. At 4 P.M., His Excellency, attended by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Nawab, with their respective staffs, entered the Durbar Hall in procession and took his seat in front of the daïs, with the Nawab at his right hand. The Durbar having been declared open His Excellency rose and addressed the assembly as follows :—] 12th Nov. 1903.

Your Honour, Your Highness, Sirdars and Gentlemen, —I have come to Bahawalpur in order to instal the young Nawab upon the *masnad* of his State. This is the leading Mahomedan principality in the north of India, and I felt that I should like to offer to the State and to its Ruler the same marks of official and personal interest as I have done to Hindu States and to Hindu Princes in other parts of the country. The occasion is official, for it is as representative of the Sovereign that I am about to invest the young Chief with full powers of administration ; but it is personal also, for I desire to testify to the Nawab and to his people my keen interest in his welfare and my hopes for his future.

When the British Crown, through the Viceroy, and the Indian Princes, in the person of one of their number, are brought together on an occasion of so much importance as an Installation ceremony, it is not unnatural that we should

reflect for a moment on the nature of the ties that are responsible for this association. They are peculiar and significant; and, so far as I know, they have no parallel in any other country in the world. The political system of India is neither Feudalism nor Federation; it is embodied in no Constitution; it does not always rest upon Treaty; and it bears no resemblance to a League. It represents a series of relationships that have grown up between the Crown and the Indian Princes under widely differing historical conditions, but which in process of time have gradually conformed to a single type. The Sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogative. Conversely the duties and the service of the States are implicitly recognised, and as a rule faithfully discharged. It is this happy blend of authority with free-will, of sentiment with self-interest, of duties with rights, that distinguishes the Indian Empire under the British Crown from any other Dominion of which we read in history. The links that hold it together are not iron fetters that have been forged for the weak by the strong; neither are they artificial couplings that will snap asunder the moment that any unusual strain is placed upon them; but they are silken strands that have been woven into a strong cable by the mutual instincts of pride and duty, of self-sacrifice and esteem.

It is scarcely possible to imagine circumstances more different than those of the Indian Chiefs now from what they were at the time when Queen Victoria came to the throne. Then they were suspicious of each other, mistrustful of the Paramount Power, distracted with personal intrigues and jealousies, indifferent or selfish in their administration, and unconscious of any wider duty or Imperial aim. Now their sympathies have expanded with their knowledge, and their sense of responsibility with the degree of confidence reposed in them. They recognise their obligations to their own States, and their duty to the Imperial throne. The

Investiture of the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

British Crown is no longer an impersonal abstraction, but a concrete and inspiring force. They have become figures on a great stage instead of actors in petty parts.

In my view, as this process has gone on, the Princes have gained in prestige instead of losing it. Their rank is not diminished, but their privileges have become more secure. They have to do more for the protection that they enjoy, but they also derive more from it; for they are no longer detached appendages of Empire, but its participators and instruments. They have ceased to be the architectural adornments of the Imperial edifice, and have become the pillars that help to sustain the main roof.

Such is the character of the office to which this young Chief succeeds, and in whose privileges and responsibilities I am about to induct him. I do not know of any fairer prospect than that which opens up before such a man. He starts with the support of Government, with the affection of his people, and with the goodwill of all. In the present case the Nawab has material advantages as well. His State is solvent; there are reserve balances in the Treasury of more than two years' total revenue; he himself has profited by education at one of the Chiefs' Colleges, where he distinguished himself, and he has since shown that he possesses unusual aptitudes for administration. He seems to me to be beginning his public career under an auspicious star.

I do not say that no difficulties attend the path of the young Chief. On the contrary, I think that they are many and perplexing. There is the difficulty of reconciling fidelity to the traditions of an Oriental people with the principles that are imbibed from Western civilisation. There is the difficulty of placing restraint upon his impulses or passions as a man, where these conflict with his duties as a ruler. There is the difficulty, but the necessity, of maintaining a clear line between public and private expenditure, and of remembering that the resources of the State belong to the

people and not to the Chief, and if contributed by them in one form, ought for the most part to be given back in another. There is the difficulty of hitting the mean between attempting too much and doing too little. But all of these are difficulties which only exist to be surmounted, and by which a man of level judgment and self-control need never be appalled.

Your Highness, I am now about to invest you with full powers of administration in your State. This is a turning point in your life, from which will date the reputation for good or the reverse that will one day attach to your name. I believe and hope myself that it will be the former and not the latter, and that you mean to be, as you have a capacity for being, one of the rulers whose names are uttered with gratitude and remembered with respect. There are five duties that I enjoin upon you as you take up the task. Be loyal to your Sovereign, who is the ultimate source and guarantee of your powers. Regard the Government of India and the Local Government under which you are immediately placed as your protectors and sponsors. Treat the Political Officer with whom you are brought into contact not as your tutor or mentor, but as a counsellor and friend. Be just and considerate to the nobles of your State: you owe a duty to them just as much as they to you. And lastly, never let a day pass without thinking of your people, and praying to Almighty God that you, who have so much, may do something for them who have so little. If these are the principles by which you regulate your conduct, your subjects and your friends will look back upon this day, not as a *tamasha* that is forgotten as soon as it is over, but as the dawn of a bright and prosperous era for the State of Bahawalpur. (*Loud cheers.*)

[A translation of the Viceroy's address was then read by Major Dunlop Smith, Political Agent of the Phulkian States and Bahawalpur, at the conclusion of which His Excellency conducted the Nawab to the *masnad* (represented by the Chair of State to the right of the

Viceroy's chair on the daïs) and declared His Highness invested with full powers of administration. The Nawab then rose and read in English a loyal speech, in which he thanked His Excellency for the honour he had conferred on him, and 'took pride to his State' upon being the first of the line of Bahawalpur Chiefs who had been installed by a Viceroy of India, and the second Chief who had been invested with ruling powers by His Excellency Lord Curzon.]

BANQUET AT BAHAWALPUR.

[At Bahawalpur on Thursday evening, the 12th November, His Highness the Nawab entertained a large company of guests, including the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in the Camp adjoining the Palace, in honour of His Excellency the Viceroy. After dinner the Nawab proposed the health of the King, and then, in a brief speech, proposed the health of the Viceroy, which was very cordially received. His Excellency in replying to the toast spoke as follows:—] 12th Nov. 1903.

Your Honour, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—This afternoon, when I performed the ceremony of installing our host, the young Nawab, it was my duty to speak of the responsibilities of the Ruler and the obligations of the State. This evening, when we are his guests at this sumptuous banquet, it is open to me to adopt a more personal strain. It is now nearly five years ago since first I met His Highness. Early in 1899, I paid a visit to the Aitchison College at Lahore; and among the young Chiefs and Nobles who were assembled before me, one of the most conspicuous figures, and also I am glad to say one of the chief prize-winners, was the Nawab of Bahawalpur. (*Cheers.*) He is also one of the very few Ruling Princes in India who have passed the Entrance Examination of an Indian University. (*Cheers.*) Since those days he has gone through a long and strenuous training, and he has now reached the age—having recently passed his twentieth birthday—when he has been deemed

worthy of being entrusted with governing powers in his State.

His Highness already enjoys two qualifications of no mean order. He is not without experience, and he possesses character. (*Hear, hear.*) Since May of last year he has, as he told us this afternoon, practically been conducting the administration of his State, and has familiarised himself with the problems and duties that it involves. (*Cheers.*) He has himself carried out the settlement of two districts, and has written a detailed report of his work, which I have seen. (*Cheers.*) It gave me great pleasure to note these symptoms of his zeal and activity, because they show that he does not intend to be a mere figure-head, and because I know how good a thing it is for a State that the Ruler should be personally cognisant of the condition of his subjects. I often wish that I had had some settlement experience myself; for I am convinced that that is almost the only work in India that gives a real insight into the life and well-being of the people. Such a work as the Nawab has undertaken is good not only for the Chief, but also for the raiats, who like to think that their ruler knows all about them, and also for the officials, who are cheered up by the recognition and encouragement of their superior. (*Cheers.*)

I said that His Highness possessed character also. I believe from what I have heard, and it was confirmed by his speech this afternoon, that he has a high sense of responsibility, that he is painstaking and industrious, and that he means to do his duty to his people. If this is the spirit in which he approaches his task, and if he is willing at the commencement to profit by the counsel and authority of others, then I think that a bright future lies before him, and that as he gains in age and experience, he may become a genuine influence for good in his State. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, the Nawab is already no mean contributor to the defences of the Empire. (*Cheers.*) In these parts of the country, where the sand is sometimes

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in excess of the cultivation (*laughter*), it is not unnatural that a Camel Transport Corps should be the particular form of Contingent which the Nawab of Bahawalpur has been encouraged to subscribe. The Corps which His Highness maintains for Imperial service consists of over 1,000 camels, protected by a Rifle Corps of 165 men, similarly mounted, and possessing in addition 13 serviceable guns. (*Cheers.*) I hope His Highness will not think for a moment that these are less valuable than the Cavalry or Infantry Contingents which are furnished with greater ease by Princes in other parts of the country. On the contrary, there are occasions when a Transport Corps is more useful than any other form of contribution, and there are also occasions when Camel Transport is likely to be more serviceable than any other form of transport. (*Cheers.*) Quite recently the Nawab was good enough to offer me his aid for the campaign which is now proceeding in Somaliland (*cheers*), and my only reason for not accepting the offer was that we had already made other arrangements, and that I hoped that a better and more suitable field might be found for the employment of the forces of His Highness in the future. I trust that he will continue to take an interest in these troops, for I can assure him that they represent in our eyes a very valuable addition to the defensive resources of the Indian Empire. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, His Highness announced this afternoon that he proposed to commemorate this eventful day in his life by bestowing a system of water-works upon his capital city. (*Cheers.*) I should like to compliment him upon this announcement, both because it showed that he had time to think of others on a day in which he has been the central figure himself, and because he could not have devised a more beneficent or a more enduring memorial. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall all of us carry away from the present occasion a most pleasant recollection of the splendid hospitality of our host, and agreeable recollections

of Bahawalpur. (*Cheers.*) I only wish, as His Highness has courteously remarked, that Lady Curzon had been here to share our experiences. To us Bahawalpur will never again seem a remote and little known place on the map. (*Cheers.*) It will possess a distinct and vivid identity of its own, which we shall always associate with the young Prince whose installation under such happy auspices we have witnessed this afternoon, and whose health I now propose to you with the best of wishes for his prosperity and success in the future. (*Loud cheers.*)

ADDRESS FROM THE TRADERS OF MUSCAT.

18th Nov. 1903. [On the 16th November 1903, the Viceregal party arrived at Kiamari (Karachi) at 2 P.M., the train running on to the Erskine wharf alongside of which the R. I. M. S. *Hardinge* was lying. His Excellency was received by Mr. Cumine, Commissioner of Sind, General Craigie, Commanding the Sind District, and other Civil and Military Officials, a Guard-of-Honour of the Suffolk Regiment being drawn up on the wharf. Proceeding on board the *Hardinge*, the Viceroy was received by His Excellency Rear Admiral Atkinson-Willes, Naval Commander-in-Chief of the East Indies, and by Commander Piffard, and the officers of the ship. Her Excellency Lady Curzon and party arrived shortly afterwards from Lahore. At 4-20 P.M. the *Hardinge*, escorted by four vessels of the East India squadron—the *Argonaut*, the *Hyacinth* (the flagship), the *Fox*, and the *Pomone*—left for Muscat, amid salutes fired simultaneously from the war-ships and the Manora battery. The squadron anchored off Muscat on the morning of the 18th November, and, in the course of the afternoon, the Viceroy received a deputation representing the Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, and other British protected subjects settled in the towns of Muscat and Muttra, who waited on His Excellency at the Consulate and presented an address welcoming Their Excellencies to Muscat. They congratulated Lord Curzon on being the first Viceroy and Governor-General to visit the Gulfs of Oman and Persia, thus inaugurating a new and vigorous political departure in a sphere where so many Indian interests are involved; and they felt confident that this would prove to be an epoch-making event in the progress and enhancement of British prestige, while it would also serve as an abiding demonstration to the inhabitants of the littoral that the

Address from the Traders of Muscat.

preponderating influence of Great Britain in these waters was no shadowy or remote force, but a lively and dignified reality. Other matters were alluded to in the address to which His Excellency referred in his reply, which was as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—It is with much pleasure that I have received the loyal and well composed address which has just been read, and that on crossing the sea from India to the shores of another country, I find a large and prosperous community of the subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor existing and plying their trade here in conditions of security and contentment. I have made some attempt to ascertain the numbers of British Indian subjects who are thus to be found in Muscat and the other ports of Oman, and I find that they amount to no fewer than 1,300 persons, the majority of whom came originally, or come now, from the opposite shores of Sind and Kathiawar. The fact that these two coasts face each other at so inconsiderable a distance, and the well-known aptitudes of the particular communities that you represent, sufficiently explain the close mercantile connections that have grown up during the last century between Muscat and India, and leave one in no surprise at the commercial predominance of Great Britain in the trade and shipping of this State.

Gentlemen, the political stake of one country in another is sometimes measured by its commercial interests, but does not always lend itself readily to precise or mathematical definition. On the other hand, the commercial stake is more easily reduced to figures and calculations the effect of which is not open to dispute. I will take for instance the time in which I have been connected with the Government of India, namely, the last five years. When I find that during that period the British proportion of trade with the port of Muscat has averaged 84 per cent., and that of the total number of steamers that have entered and cleared from this port in the same time the average British percentage in each year has been 97, I am satisfied that the predominance of Great Britain in the mercantile interests

Address from the Traders of Muscat.

of the State is supreme and incontestable, and I realise that in addressing you I am receiving a body of gentlemen who represent a not unimportant outpost of British commercial enterprise in the East, and whose labours have contributed, and still contribute, in no small degree to the material welfare of Oman.

I am glad to hear from you that in the pursuit of these peaceful avocations your interests are safeguarded by the successive Political Agents—and by none I am sure more diligently than by Major Cox—who have been sent here to represent the Government of India; that you obtain justice; that you abstain from litigation; and that you enjoy complete religious tolerance. These conditions are all favourable to the success of your operations, and they leave you with little ground for complaint.

In one paragraph of your address you have spoken of the disturbances that sometimes spring up in the interior, and which occasionally travel down to the coast ports and affect the security of the places in which you reside. The British Government have never embroiled themselves in this internal strife, which appears to be a hereditary legacy in Oman. But undoubtedly if it were to reach a point that seriously menaced the interests or imperilled the lives and property of British subjects lawfully trading upon the coast, we should feel called upon to intervene for their protection, and by no one, I am sure, would such intervention be more loyally welcomed, or more cordially assisted, than by His Highness.

You have referred in your address to the depreciation in the local exchange. This is a matter which I will take into consideration.

Gentlemen, I am obliged for the kind words in which you have welcomed me to Muscat. I understand that among those who present the address are representatives of other communities, such as the Portuguese of Goa, who enjoy British protection in this State. To all of you

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I wish a continuance of the conditions under which your trade exists and flourishes in Oman, and I rejoice that there has been presented to me the opportunity, while I am head of the Government of India, of testifying the interest which I feel in this outlying colony of Indian influence and trade.

It only remains for me to thank you for presenting your address in a specimen of silver work so characteristic of the tastes and customs of the locality. It will always be a memento to me of this agreeable meeting on the occasion of my present visit to Muscat. (*Applause.*)

DURBAR AT MUSCAT.

[During the course of Wednesday, the 18th November, the Viceroy received the Sultan of Muscat formally on board the *Hardinge* and returned the visit at the Sultan's Palace in the afternoon. On the following day at noon His Excellency held a public Durbar on board H.M.S. *Argonaut* for His Highness and the notables of Muscat. The Durbar was attended by His Excellency Admiral Atkinson-Willes, Naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, by Sir A. Hardinge, British Minister at Teheran, by the Political Agent and Consul at Muscat (Major P. Z. Cox), and by a large number of the Officers of the Squadron. The Durbar being declared open, a loyal address to the Viceroy by the Sultan was read on His Highness's behalf by one of his Secretaries, a translation of which into English was in turn read by the Political Agent as follows:— 19th Nov. 1903.

"*Your Excellency*,—I trust it will not be amiss if I take advantage of this auspicious occasion to convey to Your Excellency some public expression of the pleasure and honour which it affords to me and mine, in the first place to be able to welcome your two Excellencies and His Excellency the Admiral, and your imposing and distinguished escort, to our modest capital of Oman, and in the second place to be thus afforded an opportunity of manifesting our sentiments of sincere friendship and attachment to that great Government of India which Your Excellency directs, and to His Majesty the King-Emperor of happy name, whose Viceroy and proxy you are in these far-off climes.

"It is now more than a century since my fore-fathers first entered into treaty relations with Great Britain, and that an English Resident

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has represented the Great Government in our territory, and for a long period before that Muscat had been in constant commercial touch and intercourse with the English through the trading ports of India. During that period the Rulers of Oman have been on terms of the closest friendship with Great Britain, and at many of those hours of need and difficulty, which are wont to arise so suddenly in an Eastern State, I and my forbears have been the grateful recipients, on innumerable occasions, of that moral and substantial support, which the British Government in the person of the Viceroy of India has been ever ready to afford. I am, therefore, in no way different from my predecessors in owing a large debt of gratitude to the Viceroy of India; but there is one point in this connection in respect of which I do stand alone among the Seyyids of Oman, and that is in experiencing the great honour and pleasure of being able to welcome a Viceroy of India in person to Muscat, and to express my feelings to him face to face; and it is with grateful appreciation, and with the knowledge that my relations and my loyal subjects will fully endorse what I say, that I declare that at no time in Muscat history and from no Viceroy have greater sympathy and kindness been extended to us than by this great Viceroy Lord Curzon whom I am privileged to address to-day. I consider myself particularly fortunate, therefore, in being able to testify before this august assemblage to the reality of our obligations, and the sincerity of our appreciation of them.

"More than this, I beg Your Excellency to believe me when I declare that neither I nor my brother, nor my children (should they be called upon to follow after me), will ever cease to be mindful of the claims of that strong and ancient friendship which in time past has kept secure the bonds of union existing between Great Britain and ourselves, and that we will at all times remain loyal to those ties.

"I am afraid that Muscat offers few attractions to the experienced traveller, and except to put our houses and highways in order as far as circumstances have permitted, and to proclaim a general holiday during Your Excellency's august presence here, there has been little that it has been possible for us to do in honour of this great occasion. In this regard I can only ask Your Excellency to call to mind the sentiments of the poet who sang,—'It is not everything that a man wants that he can achieve, nor can the speeding barque command the wind that she listeth.' At any rate I hope that Your Excellency and your fair and precious lady, Her Excellency Lady Curzon, will not carry away with you from Muscat any but kindly recollections."

His Excellency the Viceroy then addressed the Durbar as follows:—]

Durbar at Muscat.

Your Highness, Your Excellency, and Gentlemen,—Your Highness has already addressed me yesterday in terms of warm welcome to your Capital and State; and to-day you have anticipated much of what I desired to say in the speech which you have just spontaneously delivered, and in which you have spoken in feeling language of the historic connection between the British Government and the State of Oman.

It was Your Highness's own great-grandfather with whom the first Treaty was concluded with the East India Company 105 years ago. As you have further reminded me, for more than a century has the power existed to station a British representative at Muscat; and during that time the friendly intercourse between the two Governments has been demonstrated by a series of Treaties or Conventions of which I can trace no fewer than nine, and which have provided for the closest political and commercial relations, as well as for the suppression of the slave trade and of piracy, and for the extension of the electric telegraph. This series of agreements sufficiently testifies to the connections that have grown up between the two Governments, and that have linked the State of Oman to the British Government by quite exceptional ties. But they have also been strengthened, as Your Highness has pointed out, by the support which has been given on critical occasions by the British Government to successive rulers of Oman; while a further and natural bond of union is supplied by the fact that Muscat lies just opposite to the shores of India, that its trade is not only for the most part with India, but is largely in Indian hands, that a large number of British Indian subjects reside here, and that the prosperity of the State is mainly dependent on these conditions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Government of India should feel a particular interest in this place, or that a Viceroy of India should desire to visit it and to make the acquaintance of its ruler. His pleasure in doing so is

greatly enhanced when he learns from Your Highness's own lips that you and your children will ever be mindful of these strong and ancient obligations, and that to them you and they will always remain loyal. These are words which I shall cherish in friendly recollection not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of the Government which I represent.

Your Highness has now ruled your State for fifteen years. I had the pleasure of visiting it when you had only just succeeded fourteen years ago; and I am glad to congratulate Your Highness on the progress that has since been made. The volume of your trade is steadily increasing; the wise step which the Government of India so strongly urged on Your Highness a few years ago, of taking over the Customs of your State in preference to farming them to others, has been attended with largely increased profits; and it gave me much satisfaction two years ago, with Your Highness's permission, to bring your capital into still closer connection with the outer world by laying a telegraphic cable from Jask to Muscat. I also personally selected Major Cox, as an officer in whose discretion and ability I had perfect confidence, to represent the Government of India at your capital; and Your Highness has already assured me that you have found in him a prudent counsellor and friend.

At Delhi in January last, though Your Highness was unable yourself to accept my invitation to the great ceremony that we held there to celebrate the Coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I had the pleasure of welcoming your son, Taimur, and of conversing with him about the condition and welfare of Oman.

I have referred to the fact that the British Government have extended a peculiar measure of protection in the past to the State of Oman and its rulers. They have on more than one occasion intervened to save it from rebellion or disruption. Your Highness may rest assured that this policy will not be departed from. So long as the rulers

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of Oman continue to observe their Treaty engagements to the Government of India, and to administer this State with enlightenment and justice, they will continue to receive the support of the British Government, which is interested in preserving the peace of the country and the security of its trade. We cannot regard with satisfaction the attempts of discontented classes or persons among Your Highness's subjects to disturb the tranquillity of your State, because in so doing not only do they contest Your Highness's authority, but they are apt to injure the interests of British subjects also. These interests we are bound to protect for our own sake as well as for yours. We hope that Your Highness will continue to triumph over all such adversaries in the future as you have done in the past.

I trust that this important occasion, when for the first time a ruler of Oman and the representative in India of the illustrious British Sovereign exchange greetings in the waters of Muscat, may be a landmark in the history of the ever widening and deepening connection between our two States; that the firm friendship between them may continue to grow, and that Your Highness may be blessed with health and long life to rule over a pacified and loyal people.

I have still one agreeable function to perform. Only yesterday I received the gracious permission of His Majesty the King-Emperor to confer upon Your Highness the high honour of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Indian Empire. This distinction will be a proof to Your Highness of the sincere sentiments of friendship which are entertained towards you by the British Government; and it is also a recognition of the loyalty to which Your Highness has given such fervent expression on more than one occasion in the course of yesterday and to-day. It will now be my pleasing duty, as Grand Master of the Order, to proceed to the due and solemn investiture of Your Highness.

[A translation of His Excellency's address having been read in Arabic, the Viceroy, after assuming the robes of the Order, proceeded

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to invest His Highness with the Grand Cross of the Indian Empire, after which the Durbar closed.]

DURBAR AT SHARGAH.

21st Nov. 1903. [The R. I. M. S. *Hardinge*, escorted by the East India Squadron, left Muscat on the afternoon of the 19th November and, rounding Cape Musandim, bore southwards for Shargah, off which place the ships anchored on the morning of Saturday, the 21st. Here the Arab Chiefs of the littoral and their followers, in charge of Colonel Kemball, Resident in the Persian Gulf, and Mr. Gaskin, Assistant Political Officer at Bahrein, had been collected on board the Indo-European Telegraph steamer, *Patrick Stewart*, and were transferred by boats to the *Argonaut*, on which a Durbar was held at 3·30 P.M. The following chiefs were present :—

The Sheikh of Abu D'Thabi (with two sons).
The Sheikh of Shargah (with one son).
The Sheikh of Debai (with one son).
The Sheikh of Ajman.
The eldest son of the Sheikh of Um-el-Kawain.

Colonel Kemball, Rear Admiral Atkinson-Willes, and Sir A. Hardinge occupied seats on the right and left of His Excellency on the daïs, a large number of Naval officers and of the leading inhabitants of Shargah also being present. The Durbar having been declared open and the Chiefs formally presented to the Viceroy, His Excellency rose and delivered the following address :—]

Chiefs of the Arab Coast who are in Treaty relations with the British Government,—I have come here as the representative in the great Empire of India of the British authority which you and your fathers and fore-fathers have known and dealt with for more than a hundred years; and my object is to show you, that though you live at some distance from the shores of India, you are not forgotten by the Government, but that they adhere to the policy of guardianship and protection which has given you peace and guaranteed your rights for the best part of a century; and that the first Viceroy of India who has ever visited these waters does not quit them without seeking the

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opportunity of meeting you in person, and of renewing the assurances and engagements by which we have been so long united.

Chiefs, your fathers and grandfathers before you have doubtless told you of the history of the past. You know that a hundred years ago there were constant trouble and fighting in the Gulf; almost every man was a marauder or a pirate; kidnapping and slave-trading flourished; fighting and bloodshed went on without stint or respite; no ship could put out to sea without fear of attack; the pearl fishery was a scene of annual conflict; and security of trade or peace there was none. Then it was that the British Government intervened and said that, in the interests of its own subjects and traders, and of its legitimate influence in the seas that wash the Indian coasts, this state of affairs must not continue. British flotillas appeared in these waters. British forces occupied the ports and towns on the coast that we see from this deck. The struggle was severe while it lasted, but it was not long sustained. In 1820 the first general Treaty was signed between the British Government and the Chiefs; and of these or similar agreements there have been in all no fewer than eight. In 1839 the Maritime Truce was concluded, and was renewed from time to time until the year 1853, when it was succeeded by the Treaty of Perpetual Peace that has lasted ever since. Under that Treaty it was provided that there should be a complete cessation of hostilities at sea between the subjects of the signatory Chiefs, and a "perfect maritime truce"—to use the words that were employed—"for evermore;" that in the event of aggressions on anyone by sea, the injured parties should not retaliate, but should refer the matter to the British Resident in the Persian Gulf; and that the British Government should watch over the peace of the Gulf and ensure at all times the observance of the Treaty. Chiefs, that Treaty has not, of course, prevented occasional trouble and conflict; it has sometimes been neglected or infringed; but on the whole it

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has well deserved its name; and under it has grown up a condition of affairs so peaceful and secure that the oldest among you can only remember as a dim story the events of the past, while the younger have never seen warfare or bloodshed on the seas. It is now eleven years since the last disturbance of the peace occurred.

Chiefs, out of the relations that were thus created, and which by your own consent constituted the British Government the guardian of inter-tribal peace, there grew up political ties between the Government of India and yourselves, whereby the British Government became your overlords and protectors, and you have relations with no other Power. Every one of the States known as the Trucial States has bound itself, as you know, not to enter into any agreement or correspondence with any other Power, not to admit the agent of any other Government, and not to part with any portion of its territories. These engagements are binding on every one of you, and you have faithfully adhered to them. They are also binding in their reciprocal effect upon the British Government, and as long as they are faithfully observed by the Chiefs there is no fear that anyone else will be allowed to tamper with your rights or liberties.

Sometimes I think that the record of the past is in danger of being forgotten, and there are persons who ask—Why should Great Britain continue to exercise these powers? The history of your States and of your families, and the present condition of the Gulf, are the answer. We were here before any other Power, in modern times, had shown its face in these waters. We found strife and we have created order. It was our commerce as well as your security that was threatened and called for protection. At every port along these coasts the subjects of the King of England still reside and trade. The great Empire of India, which it is our duty to defend, lies almost at your gates. We saved you from extinction at the hands of your neighbours. We opened these seas to the ships of all nations, and enabled

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their flags to fly in peace. We have not seized or held your territory. We have not destroyed your independence but have preserved it. We are not now going to throw away this century of costly and triumphant enterprise; we shall not wipe out the most unselfish page in history. The peace of these waters must still be maintained; your independence will continue to be upheld; and the influence of the British Government must remain supreme.

There is one respect in which the Chiefs themselves can avert any renewal of trouble in the future. The British Government have no desire to interfere, and have never interfered, in your internal affairs, provided that the Chiefs govern their territories with justice, and respect the rights of the foreign traders residing therein. If any internal disputes occur, you will always find a friend in the British Resident, who will use his influence, as he has frequently done in the past, to prevent these dissensions from coming to a head, and to maintain the *status quo;* for we could not approve of one independent Chief attacking another Chief by land, simply because he was not permitted to do it by sea, and thus evading the spirit of his Treaty obligations. I will mention a case that seems to lend itself to friendly settlement of the character that I have described. You are all of you aware that the strip of coast known as the Batineh Coast on the opposite side of the Oman peninsula, is under the authority of the Chief of the Jowasmis. Nevertheless his authority is contested in some quarters. It is desirable that these disputes should cease, and that the peace should remain undisturbed.

Chiefs, these are the relations that subsist between the British Government and yourselves. The Sovereign of the British Empire lives so far away that none of you has ever seen or will ever see his face; but his orders are carried out everywhere throughout his vast dominions by the officers of his Government, and it is as his representative in India, who is responsible to him for your welfare, that I am here to-day

to exchange greetings with you, to renew old assurances, and to wish you prosperity in the future.

[A translation of His Excellency's speech in Arabic was then read by the Assistant Political Officer of Bahrein, after which presents were distributed to the Chiefs and their sons. In the evening the Squadron left for Bunder Abbas.]

ADDRESS AT BUNDER ABBAS.

22nd Nov. 1903. [The Viceroy arrived at Bunder Abbas on the morning of the 22nd November, and in the course of the day received a deputation of the British Indian subjects and traders residing there, who presented him with an address of welcome. The deputation, over 30 in number, were received by His Excellency on the main deck of the *Hardinge*, and were introduced by Captain W. G. Grey, Vice-Consul at Bunder Abbas and Assistant to the Political Resident. Owing to the situation of Bunder Abbas at the entrance to the Gulf they were, they said, privileged to enjoy the unique honour of being the first to welcome the first Viceroy of India who had visited their shores. They welcomed His Excellency to the land of ancient Iran, a land which had passed through troubles and changes above its share, and which had ever been, and would ever be, to the rest of the world a land of absorbing interest on account of its historical connections alone. They welcomed His Excellency not as a stranger, but as one who was intimately acquainted with Persia, and who took the liveliest interest in her affairs, and they expressed a hope that his past associations with Persia would be strengthened by his present visit. Other points in the address will be apparent from His Excellency's reply, which was as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—In thanking you for your address, let me express my pleasure at meeting here a community of British Indian subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, enjoying the hospitality of a foreign and friendly land, and engaged in a trade which is equally beneficial to this country and to yourselves. I am glad that Persia returns the compliment by sending a large number of her own gifted and intelligent subjects to trade in the ports of British India; for these relations are merely the continuance in modern times of a connection between Iran and India that has lasted for

centuries, and that is based not upon geographical proximity alone, but upon original affinities of civilisation, language, and race. Bunder Abbas, both under its present name and under its former title of Gombrun, has also been intimately bound up with the history of British mercantile enterprise in Persia and the Persian Gulf, and I suppose that there is hardly a scene in the world that has witnessed more struggles for commercial supremacy, or has experienced more startling vicissitudes of political fortune, than the waters and islands that we can see from this very spot.

Should any one enquire why the Viceroy of India, while in the discharge of the duties of his office, should visit this place, the answer may be found in the facts which I have already mentioned, namely, in the uninterrupted historical connection which has existed between this locality and India for hundreds of years, and in the residence here of a flourishing colony of British Indian traders and trade. But the explanation goes much further than that, both in its local and in its general application; for here we are at the mouth of a sea which has been one of the main and most beneficent areas of British exertion in the continent of Asia. The great maritime highway of the Persian Gulf has never failed to attract those nations who held, or aspired to hold, the ports of India; and having embarked upon the Indian enterprise, in which they ultimately outdistanced all other competitors, it fell naturally to the British to pursue their successful activity in this direction, and thus gradually to acquire an ascendancy of trade and interest in the Persian Gulf which has never wavered until the present day, and which has been so far from selfish in its operation that it has brought wealth and security to the States and communities that are to be found upon these shores, has smoothed the path of every ship that navigates these waters, and has won for us the friendship and gratitude of the principal Governments, such as that of His Majesty the Shah, with whom we have been brought in contact.

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The ascendancy of which I have spoken is demonstrated by the fact that out of a total value of trade in the Gulf—including under that designation the ports on the Arab as well as on the Persian coast, and embracing Mohammera in the latter, but not including Busra—amounting to nearly 6½ millions sterling in the last recorded year, 1901, close upon 5 millions of which was external trade, that is, trade with ports outside the Gulf, the British percentage of this external trade was 77, and the corresponding percentage of British steamers leaving and entering the Gulf ports was 97. If we restrict our observations to the Persian ports alone, we find that the total volume of trade in 1901 was close upon 4½ millions sterling, of which £4,232,000 was external, and that of the latter the British proportion was 66 per cent., and of the shipping by which it was carried 97 per cent. These figures show that, even in the much more acute competition that now prevails, the commercial superiority so long enjoyed by Great Britain in these seas still exists, if not unchallenged, at least unimpaired. On the other hand, there are circumstances in the trade and position of Bunder Abbas which shew that the keenest efforts will be required to retain for this port the advantages which it has hitherto enjoyed.

You have called attention to other symptoms of Indian interest in Bunder Abbas. My Government is represented here by an officer, appointed for the first time since I came to India, to safeguard the interests of British Indian trade in this place, and I am glad to learn from you that his arrival has been followed by an extension in certain aspects of your business, and that you have already derived benefit from his labours. It is to be remembered that Bunder Abbas, though it has been shorn of much of its ancient fame, is the starting point from which almost immemorial caravan routes penetrate far into the interior, carrying what are for the most part British and Indian goods to the great towns of Central Persia on the north and west, and to the bazars of

Address at Bunder Abbas.

Khorasan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia on the north-east and east. This is a very important outpost, therefore, of Indian trade.

Again, let it be remembered that India is no remote country which is here busying itself at a great distance from its base. On the contrary, we are the nearest neighbours of Persia along her entire eastern frontier, firstly in the territories of Baluchistan, and next in those of the Afghan ruler, whose foreign relations are in our hands. Countries and Powers which are thus placed in relation to each other can hardly fail to develop, and ought to encourage, the closest connections; and the more that those who are responsible for their administration see of each other and learn of each other's views and needs, the better must it be for both.

I think that I have said enough, therefore, to show that if it is a novel thing, it is yet no unnatural thing, that the Viceroy of India should come here to pay you a visit, and to see how Indian interests and Indian subjects are faring in this allied and adjacent country. Perhaps in my own case the justification is not weakened by the fact that I have for many years taken a deep interest in Persia, and have always entertained the warmest desire that the ancient friendship between the British Government and the illustrious Sovereign of this country should be strengthened and deepened as time goes on.

Gentlemen, I concur with you in thinking that it would be a great advantage to you to be connected by telegraph with the outer world; and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be instrumental with the good offices of the Persian Government in bringing about such a consummation. In conclusion let me offer you my best wishes for your continued and increasing prosperity in the future.

DINNER TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE GULF PORTS.

24th Nov. 1903. [The Governor of the Gulf Ports, the Salar-i-Moazzam, who had been specially deputed by His Majesty the Shah of Persia to meet and welcome the Viceroy on his arrival in the Gulf, was formally received by Lord Curzon on board the *Hardinge* at Bunder Abbas on the 22nd November, and, two days afterwards, was entertained at dinner by His Excellency at Lingah. Besides Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon, and party (which included Mr. V. Chirol), there were present at dinner Sir Arthur Hardinge, British Minister at Teheran, and his Secretary (now the Viceroy's guests on board the *Hardinge*), the brother of the Governor, Mujir-us-Sultaneh, and the Commander and officers of the *Hardinge*. After dinner His Excellency rose and proposed the health of the Shah in the following terms :—]

I rise to propose the health of His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia. Two days ago, when we touched at the first port in His Majesty's dominions, I had the honour of being received by our guest of this evening, the Salar-i-Moazzam, Governor of the Gulf Ports, who had been specially deputed by his royal master to greet me, and to whom it is my pleasant privilege to return the compliment this evening. A few days hence, when we arrive at Bushire, I understand that I am further to be welcomed by one of the most distinguished of Persian statesmen, the Ala-ed-Dowlah, Governor-General of Fars, who has been specially commissioned by the Shah for that purpose. I desire to return my sincere thanks for the compliment thus conveyed to me, and to the Government which I represent, by His Imperial Majesty. There is not one of us who does not feel a peculiar pleasure in touching upon Persian soil. For many centuries the British and Persian peoples have been connected together by the closest ties of friendship and esteem. Between India and Persia in particular there exist very intimate relations of politics, mutual interest, and trade. We hope that the friendship that has thus endured for so long may continue to grow, and that nothing may ever happen to disturb it. We entertain the warmest wishes for the integrity and welfare of His Majesty's dominions, and for the

health and long rule of their illustrious Sovereign. It is with the utmost pleasure that I entertain his representative this evening, and that I now ask the present company to drink to the health of His Imperial Majesty the Shah.

[The toast was very warmly received. The Governor then rose and proposed the health of His Majesty the King. He said that the Shah and every Persian cordially appreciated the great honour paid to Persia by the visit of so distinguished a representative of the British Empire. The Viceroy's visit could not fail to strengthen and increase the friendly and commercial relations which had existed for centuries between the two countries, and which was hailed by all as a mark of the continued interest which Britain took in Persia and her prosperity.

The Viceroy spoke in English and the Governor in Persian, the speeches being translated into Persian and English, respectively, by Sir Arthur Hardinge. During the evening the town of Lingah and the Persian war vessel *Persepolis* were brilliantly illuminated.]

ADDRESS AT BUSHIRE.

3rd Dec. 1903.

[His Excellency the Viceroy and party arrived at Bushire early on the morning of the 2nd December. Extensive preparations had been made by the British residents and by the local authorities for his reception, but an unfortunate hitch in the arrangements, resulting from certain orders issued by the Persian Government, prevented His Excellency from landing. On the afternoon of the 3rd December the Viceroy received a large deputation on board the *Hardinge* of British subjects and residents in Bushire, who presented an address of welcome. The address referred to the increasing stress of foreign commercial competition, which might have occasioned uneasiness, but for the separate commercial agreement recently concluded with Persia, and for the visit of the Commercial Mission. The acceleration of the mails recently arranged by the Indian Government was thankfully acknowledged, but attention was drawn to the want of harbour facilities, and the inadequate arrangements for landing and delivering of cargo, and the great necessity for the improvement of caravan communication with the interior. The dilatoriness of Persian courts was also mentioned. Lord Curzon's visit would be taken as signal proof that His Excellency's interest in Persia remained unabated, and the mercantile community would be encouraged by it in their endeavours to maintain the precedence of British trade.

Address at Bushire.

The Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to see you here, and to receive your friendly address. I am sorry to have been prevented from receiving you on shore, when I might have been introduced to an even larger number of British residents and merchants at this important place.

A Viceroy of India coming to Bushire in the year 1903, though he be the first occupant of that position to visit these waters during his term of office, is irresistibly reminded of his precursors a century gone by. He is, indeed, the logical as well as the historical successor of Sir John Malcolm, who came here more than once just a hundred years ago ; and he is the latest link in an unbroken sequence of Political officers who have been deputed from India to represent British and Indian political interests, and to protect their corresponding commercial interests, in this neighbourhood since the appointment of the first Political Agent as far back as 1812. Even then British interests had been represented here for as much as half a century ; since it was in 1763 that the East India Company first opened a factory at Bushire. At that time one vessel a year from India was sufficient to accommodate the whole of British trade. In 1902, 136 steamers entered this port, and of these 133 were British. In the last twenty years the imports have increased from 135 lakhs, of which 117½ were from Great Britain and India, to 201¾ lakhs in 1901, of which 152½ lakhs were British and Indian. In the same period the imports of tea from India have risen from a value of R65,000 to a value of close upon 10 lakhs. These figures do not leave much doubt as to where the preponderance of trade lies.

This history of 140 years is without a parallel in the connection of any other foreign nation with these coasts ; under it have grown up connections with the local Governments and peoples of close friendship and confidence ; it is a chapter of history upon which we have every right to look

back with pride; and it imposes upon us obligations which it is impossible that we should overlook, and which no Government, either of Great Britain or India, is likely to ignore.

Bushire is the headquarters of this longstanding connection. From here the British Resident exerts that mild control over the waters of the Gulf, and over the tribes upon its opposite shore, the results of which I have enjoyed so many opportunities of observing during my present cruise. From this place the principal caravan route strikes into the interior of Persia, tapping its chief cities in succession, and ultimately reaching the capital; here the wires of the Indo-European telegraph, which in their earlier stages have brought Persia into connection with Europe, which have done so much to strengthen the authority of the Shah in his own dominions, and which carry the vast majority of the messages from India to England, dip into the sea; here is the residence of the Persian official who is charged with the Governorship of the Persian Gulf ports by his Government, and with whom our relations are invariably those of the friendliest nature; and under these combined auspices—the British bringing the bulk of the trade and policing the maritime highway, and the Persians gradually consolidating an authority which, though once precarious, is now assured—this place has grown from a small fishing village into a flourishing town of 20,000 inhabitants; it has become the residence of foreign Consuls and Consular officers; the leading mercantile communities who trade in Southern Persia and Turkey have their offices and representatives here; there is seldom a day in which steamers are not lying off the port; and Bushire has acquired a name which it is safe to say is known in every part of the world.

This development is the more remarkable because, as you have pointed out, no one could contend that trade is conducted here under favourable conditions; on the contrary there are few, if any, of the conditions that

naturally mark out a place as an emporium or channel of commerce. Bushire can hardly be said, even by the wildest stretch of imagination, to possess a harbour. Landing is difficult and often impracticable. The trade-route that penetrates into the interior is one of the most difficult in Asia; and inland you do not find a people enjoying great wealth or a high standard of comfort or civilisation, but instead you encounter tribes leading a nomadic form of existence; and even when you come to the settled parts of the country and the larger cities, the purchasing power of the people does not appear to be great. The fact that a large and flourishing trade has grown up in spite of these drawbacks is an irrefutable proof of the dependence of Persia upon outside supply for many of the necessities and most of the luxuries of life. Since I first visited Bushire fourteen years ago I have always indulged the hope that, as time passed on, progress would be made in all these directions, and I agree with you in thinking that the Persian Government could embark upon no more remunerative form of expenditure than the improvement both of the maritime and the inland approaches to this place.

During the time in which I have filled my present office in India I have done my best to facilitate the progress of trade, and to ensure the adequate protection of British interests in the Gulf and in the adjoining provinces and territories. His Majesty's Government at home have also been warmly interested in the matter. The result of these efforts has been that we have gradually developed the Nushki-Seistan trade-route, which is now a recognised channel of commerce to Eastern Persia. We have appointed a Consul in Seistan, and are about to extend the telegraph thither. We now have Indian officers residing as Consul at Kerman, and as Vice-Consul at Bunder Abbas, where we are about to build a Consular residence; we have connected Muscat by cable with Jask,

and we hope for further telegraphic extensions in the interests of trade. We have established a Political Agent at Bahrein; and we now have a Consul at Mohammera and a Vice-Consul at Ahwaz. The Karun trade-route has made substantial progress, and has been supplemented by the newly-opened road, with caravanserais and bridges, through the Bakhtiari country to Ispahan. A British Consul has also been appointed to Shiraz. We have improved and accelerated the mail service to all the Gulf ports. British India steamers now call at Koweit as well. During the same period British medical officers have been lent by us to the Persian Government to conduct the quarantine arrangements in the Gulf. Simultaneously British interests have found a most vigilant spokesman at Teheran in His Majesty's Minister, Sir Arthur Hardinge, who has been good enough to accompany me throughout my present journey, and with whom I have enjoyed many opportunities of discussing the common interests of the Home and Indian Governments in Persia. I hope that our discussions may be fraught with advantage to the interests that we jointly represent.

Altogether, Gentlemen, I think it may be said that in Bushire you receive an amount of attention that is not always extended in similar measure to places so remote from headquarters, while the fact that a British Resident lives in your midst and is able personally to look after your concerns, which I am glad to learn from your address that he does entirely to your satisfaction, is a further guarantee for their protection. I hope that the position which British interests thus enjoy, and which is neither artificial in origin nor recent in growth, since it is the result of nearly a century and a half of patient and laborious effort both by Government and by private enterprise, may long be maintained, and that Bushire may continue in the future, as it has done in the past, to be the centre from which this benign and peaceful influence radiates throughout Southern Persia and the Persian Gulf.

DURBAR AT PASNI.

6th Dec. 1903. [The R.I.M.S. *Hardinge* left Bushire shortly before midnight on the 3rd December, and arrived at Pasni on the morning of the 6th December. The ships of the East India Squadron left Bushire for their respective stations, the *Argonaut* proceeding home. At Pasni His Excellency was received by Colonel Yate, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, Major Showers, Political Agent at Kalat, and a large number of Baluch Chiefs and Sirdars, some of whom had travelled long distances by land, including the Jam of Lus Bela, Sir Nauroz Khan of Kharan, Sir Ghaus Baksh Raisani, and Mir Mehrullah Khan, Nazim, or Governor, of Mekran. His Excellency landed for a short time in the forenoon, and at 3 P.M. held a Durbar on the *Hardinge*, which was attended by the principal Sirdars and leading men of Mekran. Addresses of welcome were presented by the Khoja and Trading Communities of Pasni, and an address of welcome in Persian presented by Mir Mehrulla Khan was read on behalf of the Khan of Kalat, the Sirdars and people. The address described the peaceful condition of affairs prevailing throughout Mekran since the suppression of the disorders, but expressed regret that the negligence of the Persian authorities in restraining lawless characters on their side of the border made the recurrence of frontier outrages still possible. It also dwelt on the efforts being made to popularise Pasni as a port, and to open up communications with the interior, which it was hoped would ultimately make Pasni the chief port of Mekran.

His Excellency then conferred the insignia of the C.I.E. on the Governor, and Khillats to the number of 100 were distributed among the Sirdars, Mullahs, and headmen. The Viceroy then addressed the Durbar as follows:—]

Sirdars,—I have already met some of your number at Quetta when I held a Durbar there in April 1900, and again at the Delhi Durbar nearly a year ago. But I have halted here at this little known port of Pasni, on my way back from the Persian Gulf, in order to see you in the neighbourhood of your own country and to learn how matters are progressing in this distant part of the Indian Empire. No Viceroy has ever before been to Mekran, and it will perhaps be a long time before another has the opportunity of coming again. This was one of the main reasons that made me anxious to stop here for a day on my return journey

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by the sea; for I think that meetings between the representative of the King-Emperor and the principal Chiefs or Sirdars who acknowledge the latter's authority in the outlying parts of his dominions are of benefit to both parties; to him because he is able to learn of their condition and fortunes at first hand; to them because they realise that they are not overlooked by the Government, but that its eye is upon them, to reward good services when these are rendered, to encourage further efforts, or to give friendly advice if it is required.

The British connection with Mekran is one of long standing. The British telegraph was first brought to this coast 40 years ago, and has been maintained ever since. Subsidies are still paid to the headmen of the territories through which it passes; we have had more than one British Boundary Commission on the Perso-Baluch Border; and since Sir Robert Sandeman paid his first visit to these parts in 1884, we have taken a continued interest in the affairs of Panjgur and Kej. It is true that Baluchistan and Mekran are parts of the Indian Empire which have not advanced so far on the path towards final settlement and cultivation as we should wish, or as they will do later on. Their resources are undeveloped; their people are poor; and the peace, particularly in the neighbourhood of the frontier, is not infrequently disturbed. But you may rest assured of one thing. From the north of the country where is the Afghan border, to the south where is the sea by which I have come, and from the boundaries of Sind on the east to the Persian frontier on the west, no other authority can or will be allowed to prevail, and no other paramount influence will be admitted, but that of the British Raj. We support the authority of the Khan of Kalat, and of the various Sirdars who administer these territories in subordination to him or as members of the Baluch confederacy. But to the Indian Empire they belong, and within it they will abide. We shall protect this country from any external trouble or

danger, and as time passes on I have little doubt that we shall give to it absolute contentment and peace. During the last five years the Nazim, Mir Mehrulla Khan, whom I selected for his present post, and upon whom I have just had the pleasure of conferring the insignia of the C.I.E. granted to him in January last, has administered this part of the country as the Deputy of the Khan with ability and success, and I congratulate him on the good work that he has accomplished. There has, as I have said, been a good deal of trouble on the frontier. But when turbulent spirits, like Mahomed Umar, Naushirwani, have disturbed the peace, we have not been slow to intervene for the restoration of order and the expulsion of the evil-doers, and you all know the story of the two expeditions of Major Showers, conducted in alliance with the Persians, which culminated in the gallant capture of Nodiz Fort. We are not of course responsible for what goes on across the border, and I am sorry to hear from the address that has been read, that the Persians are not fulfilling their part of the bargain that was made. I will address their Government on the subject. For our own territory, however, I can say this, that when the troubles spread to this side, or if they originate here, they will be repressed with a firm hand. I am glad to think that the great majority of the Sirdars have themselves behaved with loyalty and prudence, so that the task of preserving order in British Mekran has been facilitated. I think that we shall have to take measures more actively to secure the peace of the frontier in the future, and to make the authority of the Khan and the Nazim acting on his behalf respected without question through all these territories.

When peace has been thoroughly secured, then I hope that we shall have provided the conditions for a greater development of communications and trade. It is too early yet to say whether Pasni has the future before it that the Nazim has spoken of in his speech. However, we have

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made a good beginning. The British India steamers call here; a post and telegraph station has been opened; I saw many evidences of increasing business when I went on shore this morning; and the two addresses which have been handed to me by Indian traders residing here show that the members of that industrious and enterprising community are taking advantage of the opportunities that have already been created. I hope that the improvement will also extend inland. Better roads can be made in many parts of the country, and it should be possible very greatly to increase the cultivation. But the chiefs and inhabitants cannot expect the Government to do all this for them while they look on. They will have it in their power, and it will be their duty, to co-operate, by the improvement of irrigation and by the encouragement of commerce, and I feel certain that in this way as time passes by we can add greatly both to their security and resources.

Sirdars, I desire to thank you for having come in so many cases from great distances to meet me at this Durbar. I am glad to see here the Jam of Lus Bela, who has journeyed for 21 days from the east, and I also welcome the presence of Sirdar Sir Nauroz Khan, Naushirwani, of Kharan, Sirdar Sir Ghaus Baksh Raisani, and of the various Sirdars of Panjgur and Kej.

My own Agent, Colonel Yate, who has shown such great interest in Mekran, has also travelled here expressly for the purpose from Quetta; and in the Political Agent at Kalat, Major Showers, I have an officer who is well known to all of you, and who deservedly possesses your confidence. Probably it will never fall to my lot to see any of you again, for Viceroys of India go back after a time to their homes in England, just as Agents to the Governor-General and Political Officers also come and go. But though they succeed each other quickly and you see first one and then another, there is something unchanging and permanent behind, that having come does not go but remains; and that

is the dominion of the British Sovereign, whom they one and all represent and whom they are proud to serve. I daresay it sometimes strikes you as a strange thing that this Foreign Power should have come from so great a distance across the ocean to rule these distant and different peoples. I agree that it is very strange. But it must have been arranged by the God who is above us all, and even in this out-of-the-way place I do not suppose that there is a single man whom I am addressing who does not know that it has been for good. I have confidence, therefore, in your loyalty and sincerity; I trust to you to assist the Government in the task of pacification and development; and I shall have pleasure in writing that I have been here to meet and converse with you to His Majesty the King.

[A translation of the above address in Persian was then read to the assembly and the Durbar closed. The *Hardinge* left at nightfall for Karachi, and arrived there at 12 noon on the following day.]

INVESTITURE AT ULWAR.

10th Dec. 1903. [His Excellency the Viceroy visited Ulwar on the 10th December, on return from the Persian Gulf, for the purpose of installing on the *gadi* the young Maharaja, who had just attained the age of 21.

His Excellency arrived at the station at 9 o'clock on the morning of 10th December and was received by the Maharaja, the Hon'ble Mr. A. H. T. Martindale, Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, Colonel Fagan, Political Agent, Ulwar, Brigadier-General Stuart-Beatson, Colonel Sir Curzon Wyllie, Political A.-D.-C. to the Secretary of State, and other officials. His Excellency stayed at the Agency during his visit. The Installation ceremony took place in the Durbar Hall of the Palace in the afternoon, and was attended by the Civil and Military Officers of Government present at Ulwar, by the nobles and officials of the State, and by a large number of guests. The Viceroy was conducted to the Palace by a deputation of four of the principal officials of the State, attended by the Foreign and Military Secretaries and the Staffs of His Excellency and the Agent to the Governor-General, and escorted by a detachment of the Imperial Service Cavalry.

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At the entrance to the Palace, the Maharaja, accompanied by his personal staff, met the Viceregal party, and a procession was formed, which proceeded through the Durbar Hall to the foot of a daïs, the National Anthem being played and a salute of 31 guns fired. The Durbar being declared open by the Foreign Secretary, the Viceroy addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Your Highness, Sirdars, and Gentlemen,—His Highness the Maharaja, whom I have come here to instal to-day, is the third Indian prince whom it has been my privilege to invest with full powers during my time. I regard this, and I hope and am sure that the Maharaja regards it, as no idle pageant or occasion for the mere exchange of complimentary words. On the contrary there seems to me to be great solemnity in the moment when a young Chief takes over the rule of his country and his people; and I consider it a most right and befitting thing that the representative of the monarch whom he acknowledges and who is the final sanction of his powers, should attend to perform the ceremony in person, and thus demonstrate the personal interest of the Sovereign in the Princes who surround and support his throne. I am told that it is many a long year since any Rajput Prince was invested by a Governor-General of India, and that there is no ruling Chief now living in this part of India who was thus installed. What may have been the reason for this I do not know. But whether I am creating a new precedent, or merely reviving an old one, I at least feel sure of one thing, namely, that the reciprocal relations of the British Crown and the Indian Princes can lose nothing, and may gain a good deal, by their association at a moment of such importance in the life of the young Ruler. For each of the two parties is naturally brought to consider his own position and his relations to the other; and the result is not only a clear understanding, but an incentive to high resolve and a trumpet-call to duty. The Crown, through its representative, recognises its double duty of protection and self-restraint; of protection, because it has assumed the task of

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defending the State and Chief against all foes and of promoting their joint interests by every means in its power; of self-restraint, because the Paramount Power must be careful to abstain from any course calculated to promote its own interests at the expense of those of the State. For its part, the State thus protected and secured accepts the corresponding obligation to act in all things with loyalty to the Sovereign Power, to abstain from all acts injurious to the Government, and to conduct its own affairs with integrity and credit. These are the reciprocal rights and duties that are called to mind by the presence of the Viceroy on such an occasion as this; and for my own part I should like to think that the ceremony of installation will be willingly undertaken by him in all cases where the high rank and the good reputation of the Chief may be held to deserve the compliment.

I sometimes think that there is no grander opportunity than that which opens out before a young Indian Prince invested with powers of rule at the dawn of manhood. He is among his own people. He is very likely drawn, as is the Maharaja whom we are honouring to-day, from an ancient and illustrious race. Respect and reverence are his natural heritage, unless he is base enough or foolish enough to throw them away. He has, as a rule, ample means at his disposal, enough both to gratify any reasonable desire, and to show charity and munificence to others. Subject to the control of the Sovereign Power, he enjoys very substantial authority, and can be a Ruler in reality as well as in name. These are his private advantages. Then look at his public position. He is secure against rebellion inside the State or invasion from without. He need maintain no costly army, for his territories are defended for him; he need fight no wars, except those in which he joins voluntarily in the cause of the Empire. His State benefits from the railways and public works, the postal system, the fiscal system, and the currency system of the Supreme Government. He can

appeal to its officers for guidance, to its practice for instruction, to its exchequer for financial assistance, to its chief for encouragement and counsel. He is surrounded by every condition that should make life pleasant, and yet make it a duty. If in the face of all this he goes astray, if he practises self-indulgence, or thinks only of the gratification of his own tastes or passions, if he yields to flattery or becomes a ne'er-do-weel and spendthrift, then I think that the fall is all the greater and the sadder because it is a fall from so high a pinnacle, and because in falling he is not only injuring and perhaps destroying himself, but he is dealing a blow at the class which he represents, and the princely order from which he has sprung.

Maharaja, you are old enough to know all this and much more besides, for you have reached the age at which in England we describe a man as having attained his majority—in other words you have completed your 21st year. I think it much better myself that a young Chief should not be installed too soon. To take a mere boy and trust him with ruling powers, is often not fair either upon him or upon the State; and many of the mistakes of the past have been due in my judgment to the premature removal of all discipline and restraint from weak dispositions or ill-balanced minds. The Government of India must of course judge each case on its own merits as it arises; but the tests which it must require to be satisfied in each case are the same, namely, that the young Chief has received the education and the training, and that he possesses the character, that will qualify him to rule over men; and that the interests of his State and people will not be imperilled or sacrificed by his elevation.

It is because the Government of India believe this definition to be satisfied in your case that I am here, Maharaja, to instal you to-day. You have had a good education; you have passed through a period of restraint and discipline; you have attained to the years of maturity; and I believe

you to be inspired by a true and sincere desire to deserve well of your State and your people.

I need not repeat to you the truisms to which I have so often given utterance elsewhere. For you know as well as I do what is the difference between a good Chief and an inferior Chief; and you know that to those who belong to the former class opens out a vista of usefulness and honour and renown, while the latter are speedily wiped out and perish from the thoughts of men. But though I need not repeat any of these things, there is one consideration of which I may remind you, and which in itself will supply a stimulus to good deeds. Upon you it rests both to sustain the reputation of your family, so well known for loyalty and patriotism, and to support the honour and prestige of the Rajput name. There is a saying in the Latin language, namely, *Corruptio optimi pessima*, which means that the failure of the best becomes the worst; I think that it holds true of blood and race as well as of moral virtues. A Rajput Prince who falls away from the ideals of his house and clan is committing a worse offence than a smaller man; because he is casting a stain upon that which we are fond of regarding as the mirror of chivalry and high-breeding. But a Rajput Prince who is noble in character and blameless in deeds, is adding something on his own account to the ancestral and famous reputation of his race.

Above all, remember, Maharaja—and these shall be my final words—that the life of a successful ruler cannot be a succession of fits and starts, now a spurt of activity and well-doing, and then a relapse into apathy or indifference. Every time that you slip backwards you miss some ground which it is difficult to recover. On the other hand, if each move is a step forward, however slight, your foothold is always secure and no one can upset you. Remember, therefore, that you are like a runner in a long-distance race, in which there is no need to go very quickly at the start, because you will want your breath and your

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strength later on, but in which you must husband your resources and regulate your speed. I call it a long-distance race, because in the case of a Ruling Chief the race only ends with his life. He cannot leave the course while he has breath in him. Though he may have started on the first round when he was only a youth, he may still be engaged upon the last when his limbs are failing and his strength has grown dim. I earnestly hope that your course will be long and honourable ; that you will neither stumble nor lose heart; and that many future Viceroys, as they visit this State in the years to come, may find the good omens of this day fulfilled, and may envy me for having inaugurated a rule that has turned out to be creditable to yourself and beneficial to your people.

[A translation of His Excellency's speech having been read in Urdu, the Viceroy conducted the Maharaja to the *gadi* on the daïs behind, and declared His Highness invested with full powers of administration.

After some further ceremonies the Maharaja rose and expressed his grateful thanks for the honour His Excellency had done him. This was, he said, the first occasion on which a Rajput Chief had received his powers direct from the hands of his Sovereign's representative, and the event would be a landmark in the history of Ulwar, the memory of which would be treasured up by himself and his people. He begged that His Excellency would convey to His Majesty his earnest assurance that the devotion and loyalty to the British Crown which had animated his father would ever be emulated by himself. The Viceroy's kind words of encouragement and advice would serve to strengthen and sustain him in the fulfilment of his duties as ruler of the State, the responsibilities of which he was fully alive to, and he trusted that he would be enabled to discharge those duties to the satisfaction of the Supreme Government and the happiness and prosperity of his subjects.]

BANQUET AT ULWAR.

12th Dec. 1903. [On Saturday evening, the 12th December, two days after the installation of the Maharaja of Ulwar, His Highness gave a State banquet in the city palace in honour of the Viceroy, which was attended by a large number of Civil and Military officials and the European guests in Camp. At the conclusion of dinner the Maharaja entered and took his seat next to the Viceroy. After the Maharaja had proposed the health of the King, His Highness rose and in a speech, excellently delivered, proposed the health of the Viceroy. He welcomed His Excellency to Ulwar on his return from the Persian Gulf, a visit fraught with such significance to the Empire in general and India in particular: he referred to his father's devoted loyalty to the Sovereign, declaring his own sincere determination to emulate it; he alluded to the services in China of his own Imperial Service Infantry, who now enjoyed the proud privilege of bearing upon their colours the words "China, 1901," and said that not only his troops but his sword would always be at the service of his Emperor; he acknowledged with gratitude his obligations to the various officers (whom he referred to by name) who had acted as Political Agents of his State, or as his guardians during his minority; he explained what measures he had taken, acting on the advice of His Excellency, to foster education, more especially among the Sirdars and Thakurs of his State; and further that to provide suitable additional accommodation for the transaction of State business, he proposed to erect a handsome building which, with the Viceroy's permission, he would call "Curzon Hall." Other enterprises by which he intended to inaugurate his rule were the building of a new hospital on the latest modern principles, to be called "Queen Alexandra's Hospital," and the establishment of a good water-supply for his capital. He concluded by thanking His Excellency for the appointment, at the expense of the Government of India, of a Consulting Engineer for Irrigation in Rajputana, and by expressing his satisfaction at the selection for this post of Sir Swinton Jacob, whom they had learnt to trust, and whose interests they knew were safe in his hands.

The Maharaja's speech was received with much applause. His Excellency the Viceroy then rose and spoke as follows:—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I desire to thank His Highness the Maharaja for the terms in which he has proposed my health, and to compliment him on the excellent

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speech that he has just made. (*Cheers.*) I have spent three very pleasant days as the guest of His Highness, and whether I look to the official functions that filled the first day, or to the excursion from which I have just returned, I have every reason to congratulate him upon the manner in which everything has been arranged and carried out, and to thank him, as I am sure that we shall all wish to do, for his boundless hospitality. (*Loud applause.*)

Two days ago I had the pleasure of installing the Maharaja upon the *gadi* of this State. It is a curious, and I hope an auspicious, coincidence that this ceremony should have been performed on the same day of the same month in our calendar, that is the 10th of December, on which his father, the late Maharaja Mangal Singh, was installed 26 years ago. (*Cheers.*) Of one thing I am sure, namely, that His Highness inherits to the full the loyalty and the patriotism of his father. (*Cheers.*) He has reminded us this evening that the latter was the first of the Princes of Rajputana to throw himself eagerly into the movement of Imperial defence 15 years ago, and the Infantry Regiment and Cavalry Regiment which the State has ever since maintained have been among the most efficient of the Contingents that have been supplied for Imperial service by the Princes of India. As I drove through the streets of Ulwar upon my arrival on Thursday, I was pleased to see the men of the Infantry Regiment who were lining the roads wearing the China medal on their breasts. (*Cheers.*) For it reminded me that I had sent them out upon the China Expedition in 1901—the first occasion upon which Imperial Service Troops had ever been employed outside of India (*cheers*), and that they conducted themselves there with good discipline and credit. (*Applause.*) I have no desire to trespass unduly upon the loyalty and enthusiasm which induce the Indian Princes to offer the services of their Contingents for so many of the campaigns in which the British forces are constantly engaged. Primarily, the Imperial Service Troops are raised to assist in

the defence of India and the Indian Empire. But I believe that there is nothing that the Princes and Durbars esteem more highly, and nothing that does more to raise the spirit and efficiency of the regiments themselves, than that they should be occasionally employed on active service, even if this be not actually within the Indian Empire or upon its borders. (*Cheers.*) They thus realise that they are not kept for ornament or show, but are part of the mobilised forces of the Empire: and the Chiefs and Durbars feel too that the sums which they spend so liberally and spontaneously upon the maintenance of these troops are not thrown away, but have direct and practical results. (*Cheers.*) I certainly would not be a party to casting any portion of the military responsibilities of Government on to the shoulders of the States, or to asking them to fight our battles. Indeed, I would never dream of asking a Chief to lend his Imperial Service Troops for any such service. But I can assure this company that it is not a question of making requests, but of receiving and being forced to refuse them. (*Cheers.*) Scarcely a month passes in which, with reference to our movements in Somaliland or Sikkim, or wherever it may be, I do not receive numerous and eager offers of the loan of Imperial Service forces. The majority of these I am compelled to decline; but I am always glad if an opportunity occurs, as it did in the case of the Ulwar Infantry and the China Expedition, of furnishing scope both for the loyalty of the Chief and the military ardour of his forces. (*Applause.*) I am sure that His Highness, who has inherited the martial instincts of his father, and who is so fine a horseman himself (*cheers*), will continue to take the warmest interest in these troops, and should the occasion ever arise, I am confident, as he has told us just now, that he would himself be found at their head. (*Cheers.*)

His Highness takes over the powers of his State at a very favourable juncture. I sometimes wonder why those persons who seem to take pleasure in decrying the conduct of the

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Government of India towards the Native States, and who endeavour—I am glad to say wholly without success—to make bad blood between them, have so little to say about the service that is frequently rendered by Government to these States during a minority. Or, perhaps, I should not wonder, because the evidence is so irrefutable and striking. It has now been my good fortune to visit personally the majority of the leading Native States in India: and there is scarcely a part of the country in which I have not come across States that have been literally saved from ruin, and brought back, sometimes from bankruptcy to prosperity, sometimes from utter disorganisation to efficiency and good government, by a period of such administration, conducted, where possible, through the agency of Native Ministers, or Councils, or Durbars, but more or less on British lines. (*Applause.*) In this way scores of States have been set upon their legs again and given a fresh start. It is a service that we gladly and silently render. For it is an essential feature of our policy in India that the Native States should be prosperous, well-knit, and strong (*cheers*): and there is no happier moment than when we feel ourselves able, having rendered this service, to retire into the background and to hand over the profits of our stewardship to the rightful heir. (*Cheers.*) I mention this matter because Ulwar affords such an excellent illustration of my meaning. When we took charge of the State in 1892, the Treasury was practically empty. Now it has a surplus of between 40 and 50 lakhs, which it is proposed to place in a sound investment. During this period a settlement of the State has been conducted by Mr. O'Dwyer, who is one of our most capable officers, and whom I am glad to see here this evening, upon improved and liberal lines (*cheers*); and the result has been the removal of many abuses, and a considerable increase of revenue, without any hardship to the people. The Maharaja will now reap the fruit of all these labours, and I do not know of a young Chief who starts with

more in his favour, or who ought to have before him a more assured career of success. (*Cheers.*)

There is one matter in which I am delighted to see that His Highness has already been interesting himself. I speak of the education of the *Thakurs* and higher classes among his people. When I go round the Native States and meet the Chiefs in Durbar, I often enquire how many of the Sirdars and Durbaris who are present can speak or understand English. The answer is, as a rule, that there are very few. I do not blame them for a moment, because how can anyone be blamed for not profiting by opportunities that do not exist? I think, however, that a change must come and ought to come before long. It is very much like the change that has taken place in European countries in the means of locomotion in recent years, first from walking on foot to riding on bicycles; and then from driving in a carriage and pair to driving in motor cars. The innovation rather shocks the old-fashioned and conservative to start with. But it ends by becoming indispensable and is adopted all round. In the same way a knowledge of English will probably be found to be necessary by the classes of which I have spoken, both because it will come to be regarded as the hall-mark of a superior education, and because it opens up so many avenues of knowledge which otherwise remain closed. (*Cheers.*) Fifty years ago I suppose that there was scarcely an Indian Prince who could speak English. Look at the difference now. Think of the speech to which we have just listened. (*Cheers*) In the same way 50 years hence I expect that there will have been a similar progress as regards *Thakurs* and Sirdars. The way in which to bring it about is to establish Nobles' schools in each State, and to make them feeders for the larger Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmere, Rajkot, and Lahore. I am glad to think that so many of the Rajput Princes, as well as others, are recognising the necessity for this gradation and are providing for it in their own States. The great reforms which we are carrying out

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in the Chiefs' Colleges are, I have reason to know, winning back for those institutions the confidence of the Chiefs, and they are sending pupils to them in much greater numbers. The Maharaja, who is our host to-night, was himself educated at the Mayo College, as his father was before him; he has just sent a fresh batch of boys to the College, and I believe that the Ulwar House contains more inmates than any other at the present time. (*Cheers.*) I desire to congratulate His Highness upon the excellent example that he has set, and I hope that the principal men of his State will rally round him in carrying it out. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have little more to add. But, perhaps, as this is in all probability the last speech that I shall ever make in Rajputana, I may seize the opportunity to thank the Agents to the Governor-General and the Political Officers by whom I have been so ably and faithfully served in this part of India, for the manner in which they have discharged their duties. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Martindale has now filled his present office for a long period, and just as the Government have found him to be an experienced and capable exponent of their policy, so the Chiefs have met in him with a wise and sympathetic friend. (*Cheers.*) My thanks are also due to the officers who have successively been placed in charge of the young Maharaja and of this State, and to whom His Highness has gracefully acknowledged his own obligations. (*Applause.*) I am sure that they would one and all like to have been present, as several of them are, to-day. Finally, there is an officer present, General Stuart-Beatson, who, during the tenure of his office as Inspector-General of Imperial Service Troops, has both won the unstinted confidence of the Chiefs and Durbars, and has raised the forces under his charge, as we saw at Delhi, and as I have seen on many other occasions, to a gratifying pitch of proficiency, smartness, and skill. (*Cheers.*) If Rajputana continues to produce the same proud and noble-minded succession of Chiefs as it has done

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in the past, and to be served by such true and sympathetic friends, no one need fear that its place in the Indian Empire is likely to suffer any diminution. (*Cheers.*)

Before resuming my seat I must notice the announcement of his generous intentions that has been made by the Maharaja in his speech. The Durbar Hall which he intends to build, and with which he proposes to honour me by connecting my name, will, I am sure, fill a public want. (*Cheers.*) The new Hospital will bring the State of Ulwar into line with other neighbouring States, such as Jaipur and Bhurtpore, where I have seen some of the finest and best-equipped hospitals in the whole of India. (*Cheers.*) I am glad to hear also of the new water-works for the city. Rajputana is apt to be rather a dry place (*laughter*); and when there is a serious deficiency in the rainfall, as there has been in Ulwar in recent years, there must be some risk of distress and suffering.

In conclusion, I ask this company to join me in drinking the health of His Highness the Maharaja. (*Applause.*) We all of us admired the dignity and ease with which he conducted himself at the ceremonies two days ago. We hope that he has imbibed the best principles of an English education as well and fully as he has acquired and can speak the English language. We thank him for his courtesy and hospitality: and we wish him health, happiness, and success. I give you, Ladies and Gentlemen, the health of His Highness the Maharaja of Ulwar. (*Loud Cheers.*)

OFFICIAL SECRETS BILL.

[At a meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, which was held in Government House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 18th December, the Hon'ble Mr. Arundel moved, with a view to the adequate representation of non-official opinion in the Council and the Select Committee on the Official Secrets Bill, that the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyad Muhammad Sahib Bahadur be appointed a Member of the Select Committee, *vice* the Hon'ble the Aga Khan who was prevented by illness from attending. Before putting the motion (which was subsequently agreed to) to the Council, His Excellency the President spoke as follows :—] 18th Dec. 1903.

Before I put this motion to the Council there are a few words that I wish to add in connection with the Bill. The Government of India have heard from the Secretary of State that a Memorial, which has been presented to him in England on the subject of this Bill, is on its way to India with his observations on the subject. It seems to be only right that this communication should be in our hands before the Select Committee proceeds with its labours, and therefore we have decided to await its receipt before asking the Select Committee to hold its sittings. At the same time I should like to take the opportunity to add a few words about the feelings which have been aroused, and which have found such emphatic expression in many quarters, in connection with this Bill. I think it will be in my power to show that there has been considerable misapprehension both of the objects and of the position of Government in this matter, and that there is no sufficient excuse for the alarms that have been excited. I hope it will be understood by Hon'ble Members and by the public that I do not at all complain of the very strong expressions that have been employed. It is true that, as I came back to Calcutta in the train, and found the Government of which I have the honour to be the head compared unfavourably, in the newspaper extracts which were sent to me, to a number of despotic powers, accused of wishing to inaugurate a reign of terror, and of ringing the death-knell of the freedom of the Press, and so

on, I did not quite recognise the description; for assuredly if ever there was an administration in India that has been free from any conscious inclinations of this sort, it has been the present; and if ever there was a head of the Government who has invited, instead of resenting, the expression of public opinion, even when it was critical or unfriendly to the policy of Government, I think I may claim that it has been myself. At the same time I fully recognise that if these misconceptions prevail, it can only be because they have been, however unwittingly, provoked, and that it is a much better thing to remove the cause of misunderstanding than to rail at it. The misconception, as I understand it, relates both to the origin of the Bill and to its objects. I will say a word upon each. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, whose outspoken criticisms I always admire, even when I dissent from them, delivered a scathing attack upon the Bill and upon the Government a fortnight ago, when I was not here, upon the occasion of its reference to the Select Committee. He directly attributed the introduction of the measure to the annoyance which he said had been caused to the Government by the unauthorised publication of the proceedings of a Conference of railway officials that took place a year ago, and he went on to describe the proceedings of the Conference in question as a lamentable departure from the avowed policy of Government. I have also seen an advance copy of the Memorial that I spoke of just now as being on its way out from England, and which similarly declares that it is universally believed in India that this has been the origin of the Bill. I hope the Hon'ble Member will allow me to assure him that he has got hold of an absolute mare's nest in this case. As a matter of fact, his theory of events is wholly inaccurate. The Government of India had nothing to do with the proceedings of the Conference in question. I was personally quite unaware of its existence, and so was the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Public Works Department. Nor did I or any of my

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Colleagues feel the smallest annoyance at the publication of proceedings, which in relation to the Government of India had neither authority nor sanction. But the Hon'ble Member's history has even less foundation than his facts. The Bill which he alleges us to have introduced in hasty alarm or irritation at something which was done or said at Delhi in January 1903, and which I see that other critics have attributed to other occurrences in recent history, originated, he may be interested to learn, more than six years ago. The desirability of amending the Official Secrets Act of 1889 had been felt as far back as 1894, when, as is well known, there was a difference of opinion among the highest legal authorities in Bengal as to the matters to which it referred, and more particularly as to whether the Act was intended to prevent, or did prevent, the disclosure of confidential civil documents and information. A little later the inadequacy of the existing Act in another direction was discovered, in the case of some persons who had been found taking photographs of certain military defences, and who could not be dealt with by the Act as it then stood. These difficulties arose in the main from the ambiguous wording of Sections 3 and 4 of the Act of 1889. Accordingly it was decided to refer the matter to the Secretary of State, and I found a Bill already drawn up when I came out to India five years ago, and the Draft Despatch to the Secretary of State only waiting for my signature. A prolonged discussion followed upon the suggested amendment of the law. Then occurred some further cases of illicit photographing of defences, and the matter was again referred to the Secretary of State, who gave his consent to the amending legislation as far back as the autumn of 1902, the principal changes in the law that were suggested by the Government of India having been found to be already embodied in existing Colonial Laws and Ordinances. All these events took place long before the Delhi Railway Conference, or any of the other incidents that are alleged to

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have so greatly disturbed our equanimity. Then came the introduction of the Bill in the Legislative Session of this Council in Simla last summer. A fear was at once expressed that it was intended to force through an unpopular and insidious piece of legislation while Government was in the hills. I suppose, if we had been guilty of all the motives since attributed to us, that this would have been the most natural course to adopt; but so little design had we of springing a surprise upon the public, or of hurrying through the Bill without full discussion, that the idea never occurred to us of taking the Bill anywhere else than at Calcutta, and I at once authorised a public declaration to that effect. So much for the history of this Bill, which I think I have shown to be a very different thing from the imaginary sketch of it drawn by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

I now pass to our aims and intentions. The same Hon'ble Member drew a harrowing picture of Indian editors being marched off to prison; of the publication of the most trivial information being treated as illegal; of innocent petition-writers being dragged out of Government offices by the Police: and of arrested persons rotting in gaol. Now, the Hon'ble Member is a man of great perspicuity and great acumen. Did he really believe for a moment that this is what we have in view? If he really thought so, then I should be very sorry for myself, and I should not be quite happy about him. But the answer may be made that all such things are possible under the Bill. I do not think that they are. And if they are they were certainly never intended to be. But if I am wrong—and this is a matter for draftsmen, to which expert class I do not claim myself to belong—then I say at once, that we shall be prepared, if convinced of the unsuitability of our language, to alter it; if we have been guilty of obscurity, to correct it; if shown to have gone too far, to modify our plans. In fact, I am not without hope that even the critics of the Bill may be converted into its supporters. I want Hon'ble Members to

remember this—the existing Act is unquestionably faulty. It is, indeed, so loosely drawn that it has been found to be inoperative whenever occasion has imperatively arisen to have recourse to it. It is not fully clear to what classes it applies, and even when its application is indisputable, its enforcement is very difficult. These defects it is proposed to remedy, most certainly in no hurry, seeing, as I have explained, that we have been more than six years about it, but deliberately, and with every desire to carry public opinion with us. I believe that when the Select Committee meets they will find that their labours are neither so severe nor contentious as has been supposed, and that a satisfactory measure can be placed upon the Statute Book, which need not strike terror into the heart of a single innocent person, but which will give to the confidential secrets of the State the protection which no reasonable man would willingly deny to them.

THE UNIVERSITIES BILL.

[In the Legislative Council which was held at Government House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 18th December, the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh moved that the Bill to amend the law relating to the Universities of British India be referred to a Select Committee. 18th Dec. 1903.

A discussion of considerable length took place on the motion. Mr. Bilderbeck strongly supported the Bill, which he believed would remove certain known evils in connection with the Universities and the education which they afforded. He held that the Universities had done much good, and spoke particularly of the success gained in Madras.

Mr. Morison suggested that as the aim of the measure was to put higher education more and more in the hands of professional men, this principle should be more distinctly recognised in the Bill.

Mr. Pedler urged the imperative necessity that had arisen for some Bill dealing with the University question and of raising the standard of higher education in Bengal.

The Nawab Saiyid Muhammad opposed the Bill and was of

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opinion that it was not calculated to enable the Universities to stimulate and expand the activities of the people, but to chill and repress them within narrow bounds, and that it would, therefore, be the reverse of beneficial in its effects on the social and political progress of the people.

Mr. Gokhale in a long speech vigorously attacked the Bill. He complained that no Indians were on the Simla Conference, though the Revd. Dr. Miller, connected with Missionary education, was called in to assist in what was nominally an official consultation. He also denounced the manner in which the Universities Commission had been composed, and the way in which it had hurried through the country and issued its report. It was also a grievance that the Government had declined to publish the evidence taken. He spoke of the undoubted hostility of the educated classes to the Bill, and criticised the references in the Commission's report to discontented B. A.'s and the army of "failed" candidates. He warmly defended each of these classes, and said the Bill would not do away with them. The first and most obvious effect of the Bill would be to increase the control of the Government over higher education, and to make the Universities a department of the State. The dignity and independence of the University Senates were threatened. The spirit of the Government in the matter was more French than English. The main principles of the Bill were retrograde; it provided no remedies to cure admitted evils, and the Government had begun at the wrong end. He advocated raising the status of the Education Department. The Government should obtain for their Colleges the best professors that could be got, and these should be on the same level, as regards pay and pension, as members of the Civil Service.

Mr. Raleigh, in replying, repelled the insinuations made as to the Simla Conference, and the proceedings of the University Commission. He denied that the aspirations of the people had been checked; rather had they been evoked in the cause of true higher education. He expressed great disappointment at Mr. Gokhale's speech, some of the arguments in which were captious, and others not to the point. He had expected approval of the measure from the Hon'ble Member, whose interest in education was fully known. He contended that the findings of the Commission had not been shaken in the least. All that the Bill proposed to do was to put the Universities in a position to act for themselves. There was nothing in it to alarm any person interested in higher education, and the Government had a right to ask the whole of their colleagues, official and non-official, to assist in helping on the scheme proposed.

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The discussion was closed by His Excellency the President who spoke as follows :—]

I had not intended myself when I came into this room this morning to say anything at this stage of the Bill. A better opportunity will perhaps present itself when the Bill has been discussed in Committee and when it appears in its more final shape before this Council. But certain of the speeches to which we have just listened, and to which my Hon'ble Colleague sitting on my left (Mr. Raleigh) has delivered, if I may say so, a most effective and powerful reply, challenged so directly the principles and policy of the Government that I feel myself impelled to follow his example in making a few observations on certain points. We feel in this matter that we stand upon ground so firm that we are prepared to resist and to repel every assault upon it, and when these assaults are delivered, as in some cases they have been this morning, under circumstances of unjustifiable suspicion, I think we are entitled as the responsible Government of the country to make our own position clear.

My Hon'ble friend, Mr. Gokhale, spoke as an expert on educational matters, and he spoke with that sincere regard for the interests of his own people which never fails to inspire his speeches. Regard for the interests of his own people sometimes, I think, renders him a little unfair as regards the interests and points of view of others. He was endeavouring, as my Hon'ble friend the Legal Member has pointed out, to explain the circumstances in which the views and attitude of the Government of India about education are regarded with suspicion by his fellow-countrymen, but all that he had to say on this point was summed up in a few insignificant charges about the exact course of our proceedings during the past three years. I only wish to supplement what the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh said about the Simla Conference by adding that that Conference was a private Conference summoned by myself in order to enable me to ascertain the trend of public and expert opinion in India

upon educational matters, and that I invited the Revd. Dr. Miller to join it because he was the senior Educational expert in India—a man who had served on Lord Ripon's Commission twenty years ago, and who would present to me something else than the official point of view. Are we not always being accused by the school which the Hon'ble gentleman represents of treating everything upon strictly official lines, and if we go outside of them are we then to be subject to his attack for selecting the most competent exponent whom we can find of the unofficial point of view? I summoned that Conference in order that I might have at my right hand some body of opinion more authoritative and better informed than the Home Department. Nothing would have been easier than to have started the work of reform of education in India on strictly Departmental lines, and nobody would have been more quick to denounce us than the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale for taking such a step. The proceedings of the Conference were private, because it was an advisory Conference, which was intended to acquaint the Government with the views that were entertained by the Educational authorities before we framed any proposals. Well, I really cannot proceed to discuss the question of the constitution of the subsequent Commission. It may safely be said that no Commission can be constituted by the Government of India that will give satisfaction to all classes of the Indian community. I suppose that I have taken more trouble than anybody else about Commissions. I have to represent provinces, interests, classes, creeds, upon them, and I have spent many hours of time in the attempt to make these Commissions fair. But we never get any thanks for our efforts, and then long afterwards we are liable to these belated charges. The Hon'ble Member spoke about the hurried labours of the Commission. The question is not whether the labours of the Commission were hurried, but whether they were scamped. Nobody, so far as I know, has ever brought against the Commission the charge that, if its labours were

conducted with considerable rapidity, they were not conducted well. It visited all parts of the country, collecting important opinions from every class entitled to be consulted, and the fact that it conducted its proceedings with despatch is, in my opinion, to its credit rather than the reverse. I would ask the Hon'ble Member whether the end which he in common with ourselves desires to see produced is likely to be effected if the conduct of Government is always to be regarded with the sort of suspicion that he evidently entertains. I thought that in the present case I had done everything in my power to remove every legitimate cause for such an attitude in the matter of this Bill. Years have now passed since I first took up the subject shortly after coming to India. During that time we have appointed a Commission which has travelled about the country, taken evidence in every direction, and issued its Report. We have consulted public opinion, Local Governments, public bodies, Universities, Senates, times without number. We have endeavoured, by every sort of reasonable concession, to meet their views. I think that my first speech announcing educational reform in India as one of the charges that I had taken upon myself was made at the Convocation of the Calcutta University in 1899. In February next five years will have elapsed since that speech was made, and we shall not yet have carried our proposals. The charge that might much more reasonably be brought against me, instead of going too quick or instead of not paying adequate attention to the public view, might be that I have gone too slow. I do not think that these suspicions are generally shared by the Indian community. I believe that they are grateful for the opportunities that have been offered to them at each stage, even up to the last, of expressing their views, and my own feeling, looking to all the opinions that we have received, is one of gratification at the degree to which, considering the passions that were excited a year and a half ago, we have now approximated to uniformity. I am even

not without hope that the Hon'ble Member himself, who has made a rather violent speech to-day, will modify his views when the Select Committee meets to consider the details of the Bill.

The Hon'ble Mr. Morison made one complaint about which I should like to say a word. He entertained the view that the Bill deals rather with the machinery of education than with the principles. And he explained what he meant by saying that the object of the Bill is clearly to place education in more expert hands. It is quite true that that is one of the objects of the Bill. And it is an important object. But I should be seriously disappointed if the Bill did not do very much more than that, or if the principles underlying it were limited to the narrow definition which the Hon'ble Member has applied to them. I have not come here with any tabulated category of the principles of the Bill to lay before this Council or before the Hon'ble Member, but at the same time I think that to anyone who reads the Bill they are patent on its surface. Its main principle is of course, as pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Pedler, to raise the standard of education all round, and particularly of higher education. What we want to do is to apply better and less fallacious tests than at present exist, to stop the sacrifice of everything in the colleges which constitute our University system to cramming, to bring about better teaching by a superior class of teachers, to provide for closer inspection of colleges and institutions which are now left practically alone, to place the government of the Universities in competent, expert, and enthusiastic hands, to reconstitute the Senates, to define and regulate the powers of the Syndicates, to give statutory recognition to the elected Fellows, who are now only appointed upon sufferance—and on that point I have a word to say in a moment in reply to Mr. Gokhale,—to show the way by which our Universities, which are now merely examining Boards, can ultimately be converted into teach-

ing institutions; in fact to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham. These are the principles underlying our Bill. I will not labour them, but I hope I have said enough to show my Hon'ble Colleague that we have something in view much wider and more important than the somewhat narrow intentions that he has ascribed to us. When I spoke just now about the attitude of suspicion that is adopted by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, I could not give a more striking illustration than the remarks he made about the election of Fellows. At the present moment there is no right to elect Fellows at all. It exists only on sufferance on a plan first tentatively proposed by Lord Lansdowne some years ago when Chancellor of the University and since continued. Calcutta at the present moment has something like 18 or 20 out of a total of 170 or 180 Fellows. Now, we propose in the Bill to take this great step forward: namely to give statutory recognition to these elected Fellows, and to fix a definite number which they shall always enjoy. The Hon'ble Member spoke about nine-tenths of the future Senate being nominated by Government. He was mistaken; we propose in this Bill to give one-fifth of the Senate, or 20 out of a total of 100, to election. And yet when this substantial favour, more than has ever hitherto been asked for, certainly more than it has ever been contemplated to give, is offered, the Hon'ble Member, infected with his own ideas and prejudices, comes forward and practically makes the matter a charge against Government instead of a cause of thanks and congratulation. He spoke of an ideal University which was to consist of a Senate of 150 persons, of whom I understood that only 50 were to be appointed by the Government and the other 100 were to be elected. I should like to see how soon the machinery of such an institution would break down.

The only other general considerations to which I would like to draw attention to-day are these. I would ask Council and the public to bear in mind that we are not departing in

any degree from the principles which have underlain the course of education hitherto pursued. We regard this Bill as the logical supplement of the famous Despatch of 1854 and the Report of the Education Commission of 1882, and of all that has gone since. Here at length after a careful examination of the existing system lasting over a period of years, after listening to expert advice drawn from every University and from every part of the country, and after considering the remedies that have been put forward by all those whom we have consulted, we are adopting a measure, with, I think, a large and gratifying consensus of opinion behind it, which is intended to purify our system in India of its existing defects, of the defects which must attach to purely examining Universities anywhere, but which are peculiarly rampant in India, owing to the fact that we have given to this country a foreign system of education in which mnemonic tests play a large part, owing to the conditions under which it is imparted, and owing also to the characteristics of the Indian mind. Well, when we take this measure in hand all the recognition that we get from the Hon'ble Member is the charge that we desire to make the Universities a Department of State. This is one of the bugbears which seem to be inseparable from the manner in which so many public questions are regarded in this country —the idea that Government is everywhere endeavouring to snatch or steal something that ought to belong to somebody else, and to concentrate everything in its own possession. After being five years at the head of the Government of India I say deliberately that any Government would be foolish and suicidal that was animated by any such conception. We are already overburdened with work; we are anxious to throw it off at every turn; and the idea that we should desire to add to our overwhelming labours by taking higher education out of the hands of people who are competent to deal with it and monopolising it ourselves is not one that could be entertained by any one who was

familiar with the inner workings of the Government. I remember that when, after the Simla Conference, we appointed a Director-General of Education in India, the same fears were entertained. It was said that the Government was anxious to centralise everything, to crush the independence of Local Governments and Universities, and that one iron rule would be made to apply to the whole country. I deprecated any such construction at the time. All that we wanted was that at head-quarters we should have a qualified authority to advise us; that something like uniformity should be introduced into the chaos at that time prevailing; and that there should be a channel of communication between the centre and the extremities. I am not aware that Indian education has become in consequence any more centralised than it was before, and when this Bill passes into law I have no fear whatever that, although Government is asserting its proper influence over education, any fair-minded critic can say that we are trying unduly to subordinate it to the State. But I would not base my reply to the Hon'ble Member solely on these grounds. Though we do not want to departmentalise the Universities, Education is not only one of the foremost duties of Government, but it is perhaps the highest of all. To allow the system of education in this country to fall to pieces would be one of the severest charges that could be brought in any indictment against the administration of India. We are bound to take to some extent into our hands the charge of higher education in this country: we cannot leave it to accident: we cannot entrust it exclusively to Missionary or other agencies, valuable as is the work done by those bodies in this country: we cannot hand it over to private enterprise, since the resources of this are soon exhausted, as the Hon'ble Mr. Bilderbeck pointed out in his remarks about his own province of Madras; above all, it would never do in my view for Government to leave education in India to the disastrous effects of the sort of commercial rivalry that now prevails. For these reasons

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I have always held the view, that Government must itself accept its share of the burden. Later on I hope that we shall be able to relinquish a portion of the charge, but at the present moment it is indubitable that Government must assume a larger responsibility than it has hitherto done, although, as Mr. Raleigh has reminded us, all that we are doing is to develope principles and to exercise powers already in existence.

Now, I have only this to say in addition. The Hon'ble Mr. Pedler in his remarks alluded to some observations that fell from me when first I spoke on this question at the University of Calcutta five years ago. There has scarcely been a week since then in which the matter has not been in my mind. I could not have left India happy, indeed I should have left it ashamed, had I looked on helplessly during these five years at the great mass of intellectual energy which exists in this country, because its existence I do not for a moment dispute, being mis-spent or flowing into improper channels. I could not look on without compunction at teachers spending their lives and abilities in India on unfruitful and heartbreaking service, at pupils learning the wrong thing, or learning the right thing wrongly, at the welfare of future generations of young Indians being sacrificed to depreciated standards or subordinated to mistaken tests. I believe it is in our power to correct some at any rate of these evils, and to give a positive lift forward to education in India that will not be exhausted for years, and that will powerfully affect the future of the race. I hope that Council will not throw away the opportunity that is presented to them by the introduction of this Bill, and that those Hon'ble Members who will serve upon the Select Committee will, as the representatives of India in dealing with this important question, not be unmindful of the heavy responsibility that has been placed upon their shoulders.

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

[The annual Convocation of the University of Calcutta for conferring Degrees was held in the Senate House of the University on Saturday, the 13th February, His Excellency Lord Curzon, as Chancellor, presiding. His Excellency was received at the Entrance Hall at 3 P.M. by the Vice-Chancellor (the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh) and the Fellows, and proceeded in procession to the Daïs, on which he took his seat, with Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on his right, and the Vice-Chancellor and Sir Francis Maclean (Chief Justice of Bengal) on his left. The attendance was unusually large, Lady Fraser and many other ladies occupying the front seats. After the Degrees had been conferred on the various candidates, His Excellency the Chancellor rose to address the Convocation and was greeted with cheers. He said :—] 13th Feb. 1904.

Members of the Convocation of the Calcutta University,—I address this assemblage to-day in the unique position of a Chancellor presiding for the sixth time in succession at a Convocation of the Calcutta University. But I also occupy the, if possible, still more unique position of the last Chancellor of an old régime, addressing the last Senate and the last Syndicate of an era that is about to disappear. There may be some who think that they see in the Vice-Chancellor and myself the two chief executioners, about to admonish their victims before leading them to the scaffold, and who may think that the position is one of some painfulness and restraint. But I can assure this Convocation on behalf of my Hon'ble Colleague as well as for myself that we entertain no such feelings. For the patient in our view is in no wise doomed to extinction, but is about to reappear with a fresh lease of life: and the instruments of the sentence hold in their hand, not the executioner's axe, but the phial that contains the elixir of a new and happy resurrection. (*Cheers.*) Neither, again, do we regard the old Senate and the old University as passing out of their present existence with any sentence of shame or disgrace recorded against them. On the contrary, if we look back

at the forty years of their existence, there is much to be grateful for in what they have done or attempted to do. If they have not yet given higher education to India in any true sense of the term, they have at least made it an aspiration to the best of her sons. Slowly but surely they have raised the standards of national morals, and they have brought to the door of thousands the wisdom and the ideals of the West. But like many implements that have been working for nearly fifty years without a respite, their machinery has grown rusty and obsolete; they have fallen into a narrow and stereotyped groove of work; the quality of their output is greatly inferior to its volume; and in too many cases the end arrived at bears little relation to education at all. These are the reasons why we have felt called upon to undertake the task, familiar in every workshop in the world, of taking stock of our plant, of overhauling it, and bringing it up to the needs of the day. There are always persons on these occasions who deprecate this necessary and business-like proceeding, because it involves a shock to some interests, or some prospective risk, or even some positive change. We, however, on whose shoulders the responsibility has been laid, cannot afford to be deterred by these pleas. We must not be rash or hurried in our procedure; and, assuredly, when I remember myself standing no less than five years ago in this place and announcing the commencement of the task of which we are now approaching the completion —that seems to me about the last accusation which should be brought against us. We must as far as possible, in a matter of the supreme national importance of education, be open to advice and correction, and must try to carry the community along with us. I say as far as possible, because there are always some persons who do not mean to be conciliated, and who cavil and sneer at the very reform which they are one day destined to applaud. That class we may argue with, but we cannot, I fear, placate. But it

is, on the whole, a small one; and I prefer rather to turn to the far wider section of the community with whom it has been my good fortune to come into contact during these five years of strenuous preparation and discussion, to good men engaged in the work or profession of teaching, but eating their hearts out because of the unsatisfactory conditions under which it has hitherto been carried on, to officials who have seen the administrative side of the system, and are burning to remedy its flaws and abuses, to non-officials who look rather to the broad results, and have recognised that learning in India is not making the progress that it should, to Native gentlemen who, irrespective of party politics or national feeling, desire to see their countrymen raised higher in the intellectual scale, who feel that, somehow or other, the soul and heart of the people are not giving forth all that they are capable of doing, and who have sufficient independence of thought to realise that, unless Government interferes to set matters right, there will be no setting right at all. All these are the classes from whom I have met with sympathy, co-operation, and support; and I rejoice to think that they, along with the Government of India, are the joint authors and co-sponsors of the projected reforms.

One of these stands out pre-eminent. This is the last occasion upon which our present learned Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Raleigh, will fill his place at these Convocations. For four years he has addressed us here annually in words of combined eloquence and wisdom; and during that time he has presided over the meetings of the Senate with a courtesy and fairness that have assuaged the most contentious tempers, and with a personal knowledge and ability that have lent invaluable guidance to their proceedings. (*Cheers.*) In the whole of the controversy upon which we have been engaged, and of which we are now nearing the end, I have never heard or read of any one who spoke an ill word of the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh, any more than I have ever heard

him speak ill of any one else; and when he steps down from his Vice-Chancellor's chair he may do so with the consciousness that his services to the cause of higher education in India have been great and lasting, and that he bequeaths a name than which none will shine with a brighter lustre on the roll of the Vice-Chancellors of this University. (*Cheers.*)

I do not propose to address this Convocation on the present occasion on the provisions of the Universities Bill. That measure is now before the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, and in what form it may ultimately emerge I cannot tell. I shall have opportunities of speaking upon the matter and of defending the attitude of the Government, if it requires defence, later on. Nor do I think that the present audience, which contains so many young men who have just taken their degrees, and who have not familiarised themselves with the polemics of public life—at least I hope that they have not—would be altogether the most suitable for the purpose.

I would like, however, to address these young men for a few moments, and to ask them, and their seniors at the same time, for my remarks will be equally applicable to both, if they have at all realised what it is, or at least what it ought to be, to belong to a University; and if I can get them to understand this, then they will be in a better frame of mind, on some other occasion, when the Universities Bill is being discussed in the Legislative Council or in the Press, to realise what it is that we are struggling for, and why we take so much trouble, and are willing to fight so many battles, in the pursuit of our aim.

I daresay that to many of this audience the University means nothing more than the final stage in a long and irksome series of examinations in which they have been engaged ever since they were young boys. It has, perhaps, something rather grander and bigger about it than any educational institution that they have known before, because it is in the capital of India, and possesses this

great hall, and still more because it is the dispenser of the gown and the hood that signify academic rank, and carry with them the coveted initials that are the passport in India to so many places and occupations. But the name, I daresay, suggests to them no other associations; it inspires few ambitions; it is invested with no romance. In hundreds of cases the connection of the student with the University, as distinct from the College where he has attended, is nothing beyond the sheets of paper on which are printed the questions which he is called upon to answer, and the slip of parchment on which he receives the diploma that records his success.

It is because we want to make the University something better and more substantial, better than a mere shell with no kernel inside it, and more substantial than a name, that we have undertaken these reforms. What ought the ideal University to be in India, as elsewhere? As the name implies, it ought to be a place where all knowledge is taught by the best teachers to all who seek to acquire it, where the knowledge so taught is turned to good purposes, and where its boundaries are receiving a constant extension. If I may borrow a metaphor from politics, there is no scientific frontier to the domain of knowledge. It is the one sphere where territorial expansion is the highest duty instead of an ignoble greed. Then the ideal University that we are contemplating should be centrally situated; it should be amply and even nobly housed; it should be well equipped, and it should be handsomely endowed. In these conditions it would soon create an atmosphere of intellectual refinement and culture, a moral quality and influence would spring within it; and traditions of reverence would grow up like creepers round its walls. Thus you see that the ideal University would consist of two aspects. It would be a place for the dissemination of knowledge and the encouragement of learning; and it would further be a human smithy where character was forged in the furnace

of experience, and beaten out on the anvil of truth. Which of these two aspects is the more important I need not here discuss. A good deal depends on the state of moral and intellectual development of the race that is being educated there, and something also on the needs of the country concerned. But no good University, and certainly no ideal University, can exist without playing both parts.

Now, having drawn my sketch, if you ask me whether we have got this University here, or anywhere in India, the answer is unmistakably No. We are without the traditions, for the oldest University in India is not yet half a century old: we have not the environment or the atmosphere—they cannot be created in twice that time: we lack the buildings, the endowments, the teachers, the scholarships, the funds. It would be easy for any critic to contend that our Universities are no more than examining boards, our colleges schools of a higher grade, our courses a text-book at one end and a note-book at the other. I would not dispute with him if he went further and said that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, or for the training of character, is only in its infancy, and that, while we trim the wick of the intellect with mechanical accuracy, we have hardly learned how to light up the lamp of the soul.

But are we, therefore, to sit still or be dismayed? Are we not to make a beginning, or to foster such beginning—and I think that it clearly exists—as has already been made? Lord Beaconsfield once said that it is a holy thing to see a nation saved by its youth. Yes, it is; but there is a holier thing still, and that is to save the youth of a nation. I wonder how many of the good people who go to meetings and denounce the Government for ringing the death-knell of higher education in India—and other tropes of that description—pause to think that you cannot ring the death-knell of that which in the true sense of the term has never been born. Is there a thoughtful man in India who does not know that if we go on as we are now doing, education

in this country, instead of becoming higher, must become lower; and that the best education will continue, as now, to be the monopoly of the few, instead of being increasingly diffused among the classes who are worthy of it? Our purpose therefore is not destructive, but constructive. We have to save the rising generation of India from walking in false paths, and to guide them into right ones. No Government can do this by itself, and no law that can be placed upon the statute book will effect it. But Government can provide the opportunity, and the law can supply the means; and then the responsibility will rest with others, both of your race and mine, for taking advantage of them.

If, then, we have not got the ideal University, and are not in a position by a stroke of the pen to create it, at least let us render it possible in the future. The material is here in abundance; the teachers are available or can be procured; the system alone is at fault. I can see no reason why India should not one day rise to the conception of a University, not perhaps as advanced as that which I sketched a few moments ago, but immeasurably higher than anything at present existing in the country; a University which shall gather around it collegiate institutions proud of affiliation, and worthy to enjoy it; whose students, housed in residential quarters in close connection with the parent University, shall feel the inner meaning of a corporate life; where the governing body of the University shall be guided by expert advice, and the teachers shall have a real influence upon teaching; where the courses of study shall be framed for the development, not of the facile automaton, but of the thoughtful mind; where the professors will draw near to the pupils and mould their characters for good; and where the pupils will begin to value knowledge for its own sake, and not as a means to an end. I should like to see this spark of the sacred fire that has been brought across the seas, lit in one or two places at least before I leave the country, and I would confidently leave others to keep alive the flame.

Convocation of the Calcutta University.

I think that amid much of doubt and discouragement we may see the signs of a better day. The most thoughtful Indians know how urgently it is required. The best Europeans are ready to help it on. Both realise that only by co-operation can the end be attained. It would be absurd to argue that education is a matter for Government only. That is not the meaning of Government supervision or Government control. Education is the interest of the whole people: and under the new system we shall want the co-operation of the Indian just as much as under the old. But it is the best Indian that we shall want just as much as the best European, and, in my view, we shall obtain him. All his ideals are summed up in making education a reality for his countrymen. Otherwise, what will India become? Our interests are the same, for an ignorant India is a discontented India, while the really well-educated Indian is also the best citizen. It is because these truths to me are so self-evident that amid the noisy warfare of words, and even of aspirations, I decline to lose heart, and once more at this last Convocation of the old University elect to take my stand on the platform of confidence and faith. (*Cheers.*) If to any my words seem riddles, or the future dark and the way long, let me quote to him our English poet's assurance, which in many much worse storms has given solace to others as it has done to myself—

Say not the struggle nought availeth,
  The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
  And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars,
  It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
  And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
  Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
  Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

Addresses at Chittagong.

These words contain the hope, the consolation, and the prayer of every man who is struggling for the reform of education in this country. (*Loud cheers.*)

ADDRESSES AT CHITTAGONG.

[On Saturday night, the 13th February 1904, the Viceroy, accompanied by his staff, embarked at Calcutta on board the *Guide* for a tour in Eastern Bengal. Leaving at daybreak on the morning of the 14th the *Guide* arrived at Norman's Point, at the mouth of the Karnafuli River, at 1 P.M., on the 15th. Here His Excellency was met by Mr. Greenshields, Commissioner of Chittagong, and other local officials, and proceeded up the river to Chittagong, where he landed at the Sudder Ghat Jetty at 4 P.M., near which a large shamiana was pitched, in which, in the presence of a considerable assembly of Europeans and Natives, Addresses were presented to him by the Port Trust, the Municipality, the District Board, the Chittagong Association, the Buddhists of Chittagong, the Islam Association, and the Chiefs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The first four Addresses only were read and the subjects dealt with in them will be apparent from the joint reply which His Excellency gave to them. He said :—] 15th Feb. 1904.

Gentlemen,—The Addresses that have just been read out are four in number, *viz.*, from the Port Trust, the Municipality, the District Boards, and the Chittagong Association. All join in giving me a welcome to this picturesque and interesting place, which I have always been anxious to see, and which I long ago resolved not to leave India without visiting. I return my cordial thanks for this welcome, and I am glad that I spend sufficient time here to enable me to form some impression of the features and capabilities of your town. I also gratefully acknowledge the warm expressions of loyalty to the Throne, and of appreciation of the benefits that you enjoy under the Indian Government—which find a place in the Addresses.

On behalf of the Government it is also my pleasing duty to acknowledge the generous recognition that you have

offered to several of our administrative acts in recent years. Allusion has been made more particularly to the fostering of native industries and the recent institution of State technical scholarships, to the preservation of Ancient Monuments, to the Educational reforms which we have taken in hand, to the importance of the numerous Commissions of Enquiry that have been instituted, and to the relief in respect of the Salt Tax and Income Tax provided for in the Budget of last year. All of these have been stages in a deliberately formulated policy of reform, of which I am glad to say that we are now approaching the concluding stages. The results of the Famine Commission have already taken effect. The Report of the Universities Commission finds its sequel in the Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council, which in a short time will be passed into law. The proceedings of the Technical Education Commission have been followed by the steps to which you have alluded, and by further proposals that have been submitted to all the Local Governments. In a few weeks' time we shall bring out a full and reasoned statement of our Educational policy, in every branch of Education in India, which I trust will supply both a compendium and a guide to future action for many years to come. The Agricultural Banks Committee has resulted in the Bill for instituting Co-operative Credit Societies, which will be passed in the present Session. Our policy of Archæological Preservation, in addition to the exhaustive examination that we have made of all the Indian monuments and the large sums that we are spending upon repair or restoration, culminates in the Ancient Monuments Bill, which is also on the verge of passing into law. Our proposals upon the Report of the Railway Commissioner, and upon that of the Police Commission, are now before the Secretary of State, and are only awaiting his orders. Action is already being taken on the Report of the Irrigation Commission, and a definite scheme of policy to be pursued over a long series of years will be exhaustively worked out

in the forthcoming summer. It thus appears that in every one of these branches of administrative reform we have not enquired or laboured for nothing, but that the green blade is already showing itself above the ground.

With reference to the remarks of the Municipal Commissioners about the Salt Tax, I should like to say that our information from every quarter points to the fact that the reduction of a year ago has produced a material fall in price resulting in a general increase of consumption and in unquestioned relief to the masses. In illustration of the former proposition I may mention that, whereas we estimated a sacrifice of revenue of 173 lakhs in the present year owing to the reduction, the loss will not be more than 150 lakhs and perhaps less. As regards prices and the effect upon the consumer, I find that retail prices are nearly everywhere lower; and I learn from Bombay that no fewer than 80 per cent. of the population have been beneficially affected by the reduction, and from Bengal that though the relief has naturally been experienced to a greater extent by the large consumer than by the small, and in towns more than in remote country districts—yet it has proved to be a very appreciable benefit to the poorer classes of the population for whom it was chiefly intended, amounting in the case of an ordinary family to the saving per month of the wages of a full day's labour. As regards the Income Tax, I shall perhaps bring home to you the extent of the relief afforded by taking the concrete illustration of your own division, where I find that under the exemption that we granted, 63 per cent. of the assessees have been relieved of all payment at a cost of 27 per cent. of the reveuue.

I now pass to the subjects which have been separately raised in the various Addresses, and which more especially concern the bodies or communities by whom they were put forward. The first of these is the completion and future of the Assam-Bengal Railway, to which I need not refer to-day, as I shall be called upon to deal with it to-morrow: and the

allied subject of the future of Chittagong trade and the Chittagong Port. The Port Commissioners have represented the difficulty that they experience in developing the trade of the port, owing almost entirely to the lack of funds: and among the subjects to which they have more particularly called my attention are the dredging of the bars, the need for increase of jetty accommodation, and the revetment of the river bank. They point out that the further development of the Port is essential to the prosperity of the Railway, just as the completion of the Railway must, under proper conditions, add to the prosperity of the Port, and they complain of the inadequate attention that they think has been paid to their requirements by the Local Government. Without accepting quite all that has been said on this point, I may mention that the Government of India have on many occasions since I came to India done their best to lend a helping hand to the Port: and I have probably as good a paper acquaintance with your conditions and needs as it is possible to acquire by such means. During the past three years the Government of India have sanctioned, first the construction of a second jetty, and then the transfer of both jetties to the Railway Company. Next we authorised you to impose river dues of 2 annas with a power of increase to 4 annas per ton; and finally we made you a loan of two lakhs for the purchase of the steam tug *Gekko*, of which more than one lakh is still outstanding. In connection with my present visit I have made a renewed enquiry into your conditions to see whether the circumstances are such as to justify the more liberal treatment for which you plead. It seems to me clear from the returns that a change is already taking place in the nature of your trade, which is mainly the result of the construction of the Assam-Bengal Railway, and which is fraught with great possibilities for the future. While the coasting trade is diminishing owing to the transport by rail of produce from the interior which used to be conveyed by water, the foreign trade shows great expansion,

firstly because of the cheaper rates at which jute, tea, and rice can be brought here for export, and secondly from the increased purchasing power of imports in return. But if this development is to proceed at the rate of speed which would appear to be within your reach, if only you had the funds, then I agree that some outside assistance is required, in order to enable you to rise to your opportunities. Such initial outlay now will be more than recouped by the expansion of trade that will rapidly ensue. The Government of India have therefore decided, in the present favourable state of their finances, which admits of a generosity that is not always possible, to help you in the following ways. We will write off the unpaid balance of more than one lakh of the *Gekko* loan. We will undertake, subject to the advice of engineers, to help you in the matter of a dredger to clear your bars for larger vessels, and also to pay for the revetment of the river bank: and we will lend you money on reasonable terms to provide the requisite wharves and warehouses for the anticipated development of trade. We think that this expenditure is justified, both in the interests of the Port and of the Railway. Government has spent enormous sums upon the latter: and from the strictly business point of view the best chance of getting a due return for our outlay is to provide the proper facilities for the trade which it is in a position to create. I hope that these announcements will put fresh heart into your people, and will pave the way for the rise of Chittagong to what in my opinion is its natural destiny, *viz.*, to be the principal outlet of the trade of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

And now I come to the last point, though perhaps the most important. The question of the proposed transfer of the Chittagong Division has not been raised in three of the Addresses, because I understand that the opinion of their authors was divided upon it. In the fourth Address, that from the Chittagong Association, I am informed that the proposal has caused alarm and anxiety among the people.

Addresses at Chittagong.

Now I shall be called upon in the course of the ensuing week to deal with this subject more fully in the replies to Addresses at Dacca and Mymensingh, which raise even more controversial issues than those that are excited here. But I wish at the outset to make two remarks which must be held to govern all that I say either here or there. The first is that until the Government of India has received the opinion of the Local Government and of its officers—which we have not yet done—we are not in a position to make up our minds finally on the subject, and I must not be regarded therefore as committing myself one way or the other. The second is that, whatever view any of us may take on either side, no good purpose can be served by making rash and violent statements either about motives or about consequences. The Government of India can have no conceivable object in view but the administrative advantage, not only of this area or that area, but of the country as a whole. Conversely those who are alarmed at the proposals must either show that their fears are based on solid grounds, and not merely on declamation, or must be prepared to abandon them if they are shown to be unreasonable. The question is one of a balance of advantage. If the Government find that, after a careful study of the opinions submitted to them, their scheme holds the ground in the opinions of those best qualified to advise them, no one can expect them to depart from it. If it is argued that it will not attain the desired objects, or that the latter can better be attained in another way or ways, then the degree to which these views are accepted will depend entirely upon the nature and completeness of the demonstration that is offered in favour of them.

As regards the Chittagong Division, it does not I think seem to be generally known that the transfer was very nearly being effected seven years ago, and that the main reasons for its temporary postponement were that the Chittagong Settlement had not been completed, and that the Assam-Bengal Railway was in the same condition. I

see that a great deal is made of the hostile opinion of Sir Henry Cotton. But no one has pointed out that this opinion was delivered in January 1897, when he had only been Chief Commissioner of Assam for two months, and unquestionably and inevitably wrote as a Bengal officer and not as an Assam officer: while, though the opinions of Sir Henry Cotton and others who were opposed to the change have been published by the newspapers, I observe that no one has said a word about the opinion of Sir William Ward, who only a few months before he left Assam in 1896, after being Chief Commissioner for 5½ years, wrote a most exhaustive, able, and reasoned argument in favour of the transfer. Similarly I observe that the opinion of another Bengal officer, Sir Charles Stevens, who for a time acted as Lieutenant-Governor, has been quoted as unfavourable. But I think that Sir Charles Stevens, when he was interviewed the other day, if he has been correctly reported, must have forgotten that when a Member of the Board of Revenue in 1896, he and his colleague, Mr. Lyall, reported officially most strongly in favour of the change, and only advocated its postponement for three years. The same view as to the desirability of the transfer was held both by the late Sir John Woodburn and by Sir James Bourdillon. It is shared by Mr. Fuller, the present Chief Commissioner of Assam, and by many of the most experienced Bengal officers whom I have met. It is surely absurd to suppose that these officers, the majority of them Bengal men, would have committed themselves to any proposal that would be injurious to the interests of the province or the people among whom they had spent so much, and in some cases the whole, of their official lives.

The Chittagong Association in their Address have informed me that when Lord Dalhousie offered the Noabad Talukdars in this neighbourhood the boon of the permanent settlement fifty years ago, they in their ignorance missed the opportunity and failed to avail themselves of the privilege; and they now ask me to give it to them. This

history is not quite strictly correct: and it is in any case impossible to reopen questions which have been finally determined in the course of the recent settlement operations. But the perusal of this passage has led me to wonder whether, if the present people of Chittagong refuse the chance that is now offered to it of becoming the principal port of a new and powerful administration, possessing a considerable claim upon the time, attention, and purse of the head of that administration, not overshadowed by any great and potent rival, but capable of developing its own individuality on its own lines, their successors may not come to some successor of mine in the future with similar complaints of the shortsightedness of an earlier generation. I do not by any means brush aside the objections that have been raised to the transfer, some of which appear to me to possess weight. I shall have an opportunity of saying something about them when I proceed to Dacca and Mymensingh, where the arguments in question possess a perhaps greater force. I will merely say here that it must not be hastily assumed either that those objections have been overlooked by Government, or that it is impossible to provide for them: and I would counsel the members of the Chittagong Association to preserve an open mind in the matter, and not to take up an attitude which they might afterwards find to have been shortsighted when the opinions of those in authority have been fully consulted, and when the case is more thoroughly sifted and stated than has yet been done.

It now only remains for me to bring these lengthy remarks to a close. Their length will perhaps be held to have been justified by the singular importance of the subject which I have been called upon to discuss, and by the fact that the present is rather a turning-point in the history of Chittagong. Whatever be the course that that history takes, it is my sincere wish, as it is also my belief, that a greater position and prosperity may lie before this place in the future than it has ever hitherto enjoyed.

OPENING THE ASSAM-BENGAL RAILWAY.

[His Excellency the Viceroy, who in compliance with the request of the Company had consented to open the Assam-Bengal Railway, arrived at the Chittagong station at 1-30 P.M. on Tuesday, the 16th February, and was received by the principal local officials and residents and by the guests invited from Assam and the Surma and Brahmaputra Valleys by the Railway Company. The ceremony of opening the line was performed by His Excellency in the presence of a large assembly, after which His Excellency and party proceeded to the Chittagong Club, where they and a large number of guests were entertained at luncheon by the Railway Company. Replying to the toast of his health proposed by Mr. Strachey, the Agent of the Railway, the Viceroy spoke as follows :—] 16th Feb. 1904.

Mr. Strachey, Ladies and Gentlemen,—First let me thank you for drinking my health. Next let me say how glad I am to see this large company, the largest, I imagine, that has ever been assembled at a single entertainment at Chittagong (*cheers*), and to recognise among them so many faces of old acquaintances, made during my previous visits to the Surma and Brahmaputra Valleys (*cheers*), who have come down here to testify their interest in this undertaking and the solidarity of feeling that animates all sections of the community both in the province of Assam and in this part of Bengal, with regard to a scheme that will mean so much in the future for the welfare of both. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Strachey has just made an interesting and suggestive speech. Speaking in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility than I can claim to occupy, he has touched upon large questions of railway policy and railway finance, in which I cannot attempt on the present occasion to follow him. It will be sufficient for me to say that it has given me the greatest pleasure this afternoon to take part in a ceremony which I believe to be invested with so much importance for the future of the province of Assam and the district and port of Chittagong. (*Cheers.*) For the last spike which I drove into a sleeper an hour or two ago

Opening the Assam-Bengal Railway.

was the symbol of the completion of one of the costliest and most difficult railway enterprises that have ever been undertaken in India. (*Loud Cheers.*) When the Government of India started some twelve years ago upon the task of constructing the Assam-Bengal Railway through the agency of a Company, and of financing it in the main from their own funds, and when the original estimate was framed of not much more than four millions sterling, they little dreamed that it would not be until 1904 that the through connection would be completed from end to end, and that before that end had been reached the bill would have been swollen to a sum of more than nine millions sterling. It is too late now to discuss either the policy of the railway or the general alignment. They were settled at a time and in circumstances for which none of us here has any responsibility; and if anyone were to tell me that the nine millions might have been spent to greater advantage elsewhere, I might not perhaps be disposed to contest him.

Now, however, that the money has been spent, the through connection established, and the line opened, our object must be to see that the railway is worked under conditions that will furnish it with the best chance of success, and that will if possible in time provide some return for the enormous outlay of public money that has occurred. In a way I have some claim to feel a personal interest in the concluding stage of the process of construction, for at different times I have travelled upon almost every section of the line, and have inspected each of the tentacles, so to speak, that it throws out to the circumference of the area which it is intended to serve. Four years ago I travelled from Gauhati to Lumding, a not very interesting section of the railway (*laughter*), and went on from there to see the difficult hill section that was being built through dense jungle southwards towards Badarpur amid a country of shaling rocks, disintegrated soil, and deep ravines. There I was enabled to realise to

Opening the Assam-Bengal Railway.

some extent the nature of the obstacles by which the engineers and workmen were confronted. (*Cheers*) At another stage in the same journey I struck the Dibrugarh-Sadia Railway in the north, and went to the terminus at Makum. On another occasion I journeyed in ease and comfort on the southern section of the railway from Chandpur to Silchar. And finally I am here to-day at Chittagong. So that I may truthfully claim to have taken a sort of bird's-eye view of your whole system and to be fairly familiar with its general character and objects. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I do not think that at this moment of congratulation we should forget the heavy toll of human life that this railway has exacted, or the personal labour and sacrifice that it has entailed. The names of no fewer than nine engineers are engraved on the memorial tablet in Chittagong Church, victims to toil or to a climate that has taxed the strongest constitutions. Agents, contractors, miners—out of each of these classes the railway has also taken its spoil. So true is it that no human enterprise requiring effort or exertion can be carried through without a corresponding price in human blood, and that peace has its heroes and sufferers no less than war. They rest from their labours in this distant land, and we profit by their sacrifice.

Gentlemen, if we turn to the brighter subject of the future, I entertain little doubt that this railway will prove of immense advantage to the province of Assam, linking up its different portions, and providing it with an alternative and shorter route to its maritime outlet at this place than the noble but circuitous system of waterways upon which it has hitherto relied. I thought that I detected in Mr. Strachey's remarks a faint note of disparagement of the service which the river steamers have hitherto rendered. (*Laughter.*) No doubt they will be to some extent superseded by the swifter and more expeditious agency

which the railway will supply. But do not let us forget the great value of their services in the past (*cheers*), and also, let me add, in the future (*cheers*): and for my own part, if I might give a word of advice, it would be that railway companies and river companies should put their heads together and strive, by combination rather than by competition, to see how they can best develope the joint interests of both. (*Loud cheers.*) However that may be, your railway will enable you to bring down straight to the ocean-steamers—steamers larger I hope than the present—lying alongside of the wharves at Chittagong—wharves more numerous, I trust, and better equipped than those which you now possess—the tea, and possibly also the coal, from the Brahmaputra Valley, importing in return the machinery and other articles required for the plantations. (*Cheers.*) You should greatly develope the export of raw jute and rice grown in the low-lying plains of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the import of piece goods, salt, and kerosine. As I said yesterday, you should help to make the fortune of Chittagong, and Chittagong should help to make yours; while the announcement that I made of the intended benefactions of the Government should convince you that so far as Government can supply the conditions, which it will be for you and for the Port in combination to turn to advantage, we are willing to do so. (*Loud cheers.*)

I feel, therefore, gentlemen, that we ought all of us to be in good spirits to-day, for we are inaugurating an era of great possibilities. I am very grateful to the Board of the Company for the handsome entertainment of which we have just partaken, and for the message of welcome that was read out by Mr. Strachey at the station this morning. I hope that Mr. Strachey will convey to the Board our sincere thanks for their hospitality, and also our congratulations to their veteran chairman, Sir Richard Strachey, who at a time of life when most men have left the field, continues to wear the harness with a courage and a capacity to which it is

difficult to find a parallel. (*Cheers.*) Finally let us congratulate his namesake and relative, Mr. Strachey himself, that his own long and devoted labours in the interests of this line have been crowned by its completion, and let us express the hope that they may be followed by the success to which they are entitled, and which we all join in anticipating for them. (*Cheers.*)

In conclusion, may I take this opportunity to add a word of thanks for the exceedingly well-arranged and generous welcome which has been extended to me by all classes of the community, both yesterday and to-day in Chittagong. (*Loud cheers.*)

ADDRESSES AT DACCA.

[The Viceregal Party arrived at Dacca on Thursday morning the 18th February and were the guests of the Nawab in the Ahsan Munzil Palace. At 3·30 P.M., His Excellency received, in a large Shamiana near the Nawab's Palace, deputations from the District Board and Municipal Commissioners, the Peoples' Association, the Zemindars and Landholders, and the Mahomedan community, who presented him with Addresses, to which His Excellency replied at length in the following terms:—] 18th Feb. 1904.

Gentlemen,—Permit me to thank you for the four Addresses which have just been read. They are unanimous in offering me a welcome to this ancient and historic city, and they allude with satisfaction to many aspects of the recent policy of the Government of India. It is always a pleasure to learn that the administrative or legislative proceedings of the Government meet with the approval of important sections of the community: since although popular approbation is neither the first nor the last test either of political expediency or the public need, yet it is gratifying to learn that measures intended for the benefit of the community are appreciated by them; and, even where that appreciation

may be lacking, it will usually be found that Government is acting in obedience to some higher principle which may not be universally or generally recognised at the time, but the justification of which, assuming the principle to be sound, is certain to follow. The District Board and Municipality have also congratulated me on my extension of office—an extension which has no other value or importance to me than that of turning it, if I may be permitted to do so, to the public advantage; while two of the Addresses contain a regretful allusion to the absence of Lady Curzon, which cannot be deplored by you as much as it is by myself.

My opinion has been sought on three subjects of minor importance to which I will briefly advert. Mention is made of the desirability of a railway to a point opposite Goalundo so as to facilitate communication with Calcutta; and the aid of the Supreme Government is invoked. The line would doubtless be of great local advantage and I have little doubt that sooner or later it will come: but I find that it would be very expensive, especially if a bridge were required across the River Dhaleswari, which has a very broad and shifting channel, and, while there are other and more urgent calls upon the Government purse, it must wait. Next a complaint has been made of the increasing silt in the river here, which is said to impede internal traffic. I find that the matter has been investigated and written about at intervals for thirty years. It appears that less water does now enter the river than formerly, but there is still an ample depth during the rains, which is the busy season for trade; and at other times of the year the place of the river has really been taken by the railway to Naraingunj, which takes down your produce to the point of export. In any case nothing could be done without elaborate preliminary surveys and great subsequent expense; while the science of river training is one that contains so many speculative and surprising elements that Governments are a little shy

about spending large sums upon results so extremely problematical in character. I can assure you from my own experience that it is easy to pour a good many lakhs into a river-bed, and at the end the river, without even thanking you for your trouble, makes you look rather ridiculous by going off in some entirely independent direction. The third request is that the Government of India will legislate for the restoration of the old Mahomedan system of Wakfs which was broken down by decisions of the High Court and the Privy Council some years ago. I am afraid that I can give no such undertaking. Though we are in general sympathy with any measure that will keep landed properties intact and perpetuate old families, Government could not properly undertake to legislate in such a case as this, particularly as the Musulman community is divided on the subject, and a majority of it are believed to be strongly opposed to proceeding by legislation at all.

This, Gentlemen, exhausts the list of the subsidiary topics to which you have called my attention; and I now turn to the more momentous subject of the proposed territorial changes in these parts of Bengal, which is so greatly agitating the public mind. In the first place let me say that this seems to me to be a matter on which local communities or representative bodies are entirely entitled to express their opinions, and that Addresses would not be worth receiving if subjects on which the public were thinking more strongly than any other were excluded from them, simply on the ground that the public view happened not to be in complete accord with that of the Government. It is always possible to couch such allusions in a respectful and non-contentious form, and I have never found any refusal or reluctance on the part of a local body to do so. Indeed, since I have been in India I have never been disposed to treat Addresses as a mere ceremonial compliment, offered to the Viceroy as representative of the Sovereign. I have always regarded them rather as an

opportunity of presenting, within reasonable limits, the views of the community to the head of the Government, whom they do not in the nature of things see very often; and it is in that spirit that I have always replied to them with perfect frankness, as I shall do on the present occasion. First let me clear the air a little. I said in my speech at Chittagong three days ago that I had not come to these parts in order to announce the final and irrefutable decision of Government, for the best of reasons, namely, that we are not yet in possession of the material upon which alone such a decision can be based. I have come rather to ascertain from enquiry the trend of local opinion—although as a matter of fact my visit to Dacca was promised a year ago before the question had come up at all: and also to give you certain explanations about the point of view of the Government, which, owing to the fact that their proposals have been put forward in a necessarily condensed fashion in a single official letter dealing with questions of vast complexity covering an immense range, has inevitably been left in some obscurity, and has given rise to misconceptions or alarms which in a large number of cases it should not be difficult to dispel. I propose to act upon this plan both here and in my answer to addresses at Mymensingh, and perhaps if the people at both places will do me the favour of reading both replies, the second of which will be consecutive to the first, they will possess a clearer conception of what it is that the Government have in view, and of the possible methods of attaining it, than they have yet been in a position to form.

There are certain preliminary considerations which govern the whole case, but which, owing to the natural tendency of each community or area to regard the proposal in the manner in which it will directly affect itself, and to the absence of the wider knowledge which the Government of India can alone possess, have been almost entirely ignored. The first of these is the imperative necessity of finding a

remedy for the present situation. It is beyond dispute that Bengal must be relieved. No one Government and no one Administration can possibly devote to nearly 80 millions of people the personal supervision, care, and control which are the objects for which Local Governments exist. The interests of the people must suffer, and they do suffer. Those of you who are only familiar with your own area may not know it; but we whose duty it is to keep an eye upon the whole of India, and to compare the standards in the respective administrations, know it very well, and have known it for years. I may add also that it has been known to, and acknowledged by, almost every recent Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. No other Local Government in India administers much more than half the number of people that there are in Bengal, and there is nothing in the circumstances of Bengal which renders Government easier or an exception more defensible here. On the contrary the reverse is, if anything, the case. Now it is no answer to say that as one Viceroy supervises 300 millions, one Lieutenant-Governor can perfectly well govern 80 millions: for there is not the remotest analogy between the work or the duties of the two. You might as well say that because there is one Commander-in-Chief for the 220,000 men in the Indian Army, it is unnecessary to fix any numerical limit for the minor separation into divisions or brigades. Do not let us argue the point in such a transparently fallacious manner. No argument indeed can possibly get over the fact that the charge is too heavy, and those who are pleading most strongly for the essential unity of the Bengal nation as they call it, and the cruelty and hardship of ever sundering it, do not see that they are doing the worst possible service to their cause; for they compel us to look ahead to a time when the numbers must have swollen by the laws of nature to a figure which would produce a complete administrative breakdown, and when the partition which they now decry will be forced upon Bengal in

circumstances of infinitely greater pain and hardship than any that are now in contemplation.

But even if you have followed me thus far, there will be many who will fall back upon two classes of argument to which I next turn. The first is what I may call the selfish argument. "If anything or anybody must be severed, at least let it be someone else. Sever Behar, sever Orissa, sever Chota Nagpur, but leave us alone." Perhaps it does not occur to you that they may be saying the same thing about you; and indeed it would not be surprising, for we all of us naturally look at these matters through our own spectacles, and we are all averse from change until we understand that we are going to profit by it. It is only those who can impartially survey the claims and interests of all, and weigh them against each other, who are in a position to decide where the balance of advantage lies. On the present occasion I need not do more than say that even were the whole of these districts which you are so anxious to submit to the fate that you deprecate for yourselves, cut off, we should have gone no distance at all towards solving the problem: for whereas one of the chief factors in the present situation is the existence of what you describe as the small and backward province of Assam on the frontiers of Bengal, we should merely reproduce this feature instead of removing it, and should surround Bengal by a fringe of petty provinces, administered by borrowed officers, and presenting most of the anomalies that are so freely denounced in the case of Assam.

The second argument is of a different character, but equally admits of reply. It is said, instead of splitting up Bengal, why not leave it alone and assist the Lieutenant-Governor by an Executive Council such as exists in Madras and Bombay? Now I wonder how many persons there are among those who use this argument who have the least conception how that system works, or who have ever studied it in operation. In the first place the system has been

specially devised for two provinces where the Governor is almost invariably a stranger brought out from England, who requires a body of local experts to guide him: and even there, as anyone who knows the inner history of India could tell you, it has been far from a smooth or perfect machine. Moreover it is applied in Madras to a population of only 38 millions and in Bombay to one of 18½ millions. Sir John Lawrence, who knew India as well as any Englishman who ever served in this country, said, after 40 years of Indian experience, that the most efficient Governments that he had ever known were those of Lieutenant-Governors, or heads of Administrations, without a Council, and that where such men as Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Lord Elphinstone had attained success with Executive Councils in Madras or Bombay, it had only been achieved by them in despite, and not in consequence, of those conditions. The Government of India have most carefully considered this matter, and they could not with any due regard to the future interests of the people of Bengal, recommend such a mode of Government for this province. In their opinion the Government of a Lieutenant-Governor and an Executive Council would be a Government of divided and therefore weakened authority, of diffused and therefore diminished responsibility, and, at any rate in the case, as often happens, of a Lieutenant-Governor brought from the outside and finding himself confronted with a Council of superior numbers, a Government, should he be able to overrule them, of perpetual scope for dissension, should he be unable to overrule them, one of impotence and standstill. I would further add that an Executive Council in Bengal could only, in my opinion, lead to further centralisation and Secretariat Government, which are the very evils that we desire to avoid. I pray you therefore to dismiss from your minds as in the least degree likely under present conditions the idea of an Executive Council for Bengal. It is my firm conviction that I could not bequeath

to this province a worse boon than that which has been thus innocently suggested.

Gentlemen, I hope that I have now carried you to the point of realising, firstly that the case for the relief of Bengal is overwhelming, secondly that Bengal cannot be relieved by snipping off outside fragments, thirdly that it cannot be left as it is, with an Executive Council thrown in as a palliative. I now pass to the manner in which these propositions affect yourselves.

One of your addresses speaks of the universal feeling of apprehension that has been aroused by our proposals, and an effort has been made to impress me at each stage of my journey with the degree to which the public feeling has been stirred. Gentlemen, I am quite willing to concede the utmost range that is consistent with the facts to the existence of the feeling, and I really am not surprised that it should have been aroused, when I read the extraordinary tales with which the public have been frightened, and about which I shall have something to say later on. But when you ask me to believe that the feeling is universal, I am unable to follow you. In the first place, how many of the poor people, the raiats, the shop-keepers, the petty traders know what our proposals are, or have ever been informed of the reasoning upon which they are based? I find that in the Dacca and Mymensingh Districts alone, out of an adult male population of 1,870,000 there are only 225,000, or 12 per cent., who can either read or write any language at all, and only 1 per cent. who understand English. What do the remainder know except that they have been told that an unfeeling and despotic Government is going to deprive them of their rights and liberties, and that it is their duty to attend public meetings and pass resolutions of protest? If you have any doubts on this matter I am in a position to remove them, for I have had placed in my hands a copy of the instructions issued by the Mymensingh Association—a body which has been actively bestirring itself in getting up

the agitation in this part of the country, and which I know to be in close connection with more important organisations in Calcutta. I need do no more than read to you a few extracts from this document—

"All of you should within a week gather together to hold a large meeting, and in it express your views. Specimens are given below of the resolutions that should be adopted and of letters that should be sent to different places. The language may be altered as desired. A petition is to be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor. It is necessary that it should be signed by more than a lakh of people. After the meeting telegrams should be sent on the very day to the Calcutta newspapers."

Then follows a series of forms of the resolutions to be adopted, the telegrams to be sent, and the names of the newspapers, with instructions to proceed as economically as possible. The paper goes on to say:—

"You may slightly modify the specimens of telegrams and resolutions given above, keeping their substance intact. Such modifications are indeed to be desired. In the case of telegrams in particular you should try your best to do this. Memorials may be written in English or Bengali. Those from the villages ought to be written in Bengali. You should soon collect subscriptions and send them in. It is quite impossible to carry on an agitation without money. The people in Mymensingh have not been able fully to realise the danger that they may be in. All classes of people in Dacca, lettered or unlettered, have become well-nigh mad."

Now, Gentlemen, I have not read out these extracts with the idea of passing any censure upon them, for it is no news to any of us to learn how agitations are engineered, but simply to confute the claim that the masses of the people are profoundly or universally stirred. If they were, it would not be necessary to adopt such tactics to rally them; and if these tactics have been found necessary, then

their authors must not be surprised if the Government do not attach so much importance to their demonstrations as they themselves would wish. For my own part, I earnestly deprecate the attempt that is being made to seduce the ignorant cultivators and townspeople into an agitation which I venture to say that not one in a thousand of them in the least degree understands, or if he does at all understand it, only does so upon a perverted and misleading representation of what has been actually proposed.

Do not imagine, however, even if I show the agitation to be a hollow and unreal one in so far as it is supposed to emanate from the masses, that therefore I doubt for a moment that the feelings of which I am speaking are generally entertained by many educated and thoughtful men. On the contrary I believe this to be emphatically the case, and I think I know also quite well why they entertain them, and upon what they rest. It is to this class, therefore, that I now turn, with a few words as to the nature of the beliefs upon which they are acting.

I shall not, I think, be far wrong if I say that almost the whole of the suspicion or opposition rests upon two apprehensions. The first is that a part of Bengal is about to be handed over to a backward and inefficient administration. The second is that the people are going to be deprived of valuable rights and privileges which they at present enjoy.

The first of these impressions is reflected in one of your addresses, which describes the Government proposal as one "to make our prosperous and enlightened district the appanage of a backward province"; and I have seen the same sort of idea reproduced in much cruder form in pamphlets circulated among the people, from which one might imagine that Assam was an abode of outer darkness, inhabited by nothing but planters and tea-garden coolies and savage hillmen, who speak strange languages, are sunk in ignorance and superstition, and require to be governed by primitive methods: and that the enlightened districts of

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Eastern Bengal were about to be handed over in perpetual bondage to these sons of Ishmael. I have even seen in papers or addresses the phrase that you are about to be ceded or annexed to Assam. Again, I wonder how many of the people who affect this sort of language have ever travelled one mile in Assam, or have any idea of its administration or people. For my own part I have seen both, and I have observed within a few hours' journey of this very place Bengal people living contentedly in Sylhet and Cachar under the Assam Administration, quite unconscious that they were the appanage of a backward province, or that they had been ceded or annexed to anyone at all. I have also spoken to Bengal officers who have served both in Assam and Bengal, and who have told me that the administration is brought much nearer home to the people in Assam than in Eastern Bengal. But even supposing that the fear were well-grounded, does it not argue the most extraordinary lack of self-confidence to urge that these enlightened districts, priding themselves as they do on their culture, their education, and their advancement, and counting millions of people, are going to be annexed by a province which is like an infant to them in respect of development and stature? Gentlemen, the population of the entire area in Bengal which it has been proposed to transfer amounts to 11½ millions of people. The entire population of Assam is only 6 millions as it is, and of these, nearly 3 millions are Bengalis already. Do you mean to tell me that these 14½ millions of Bengalis, representing as you tell me the flower of the race, are going to be absorbed, obliterated, and destroyed, because it is proposed to amalgamate with them, for administrative purposes only, less than 1½ millions of a race, *i.e.*, the Assamese, whom you declare to be in every way inferior to your own? Such an apprehension would be the most lamentable confession of weakness in the future of the Bengal race which it is possible to conceive. If I were an Assamese, I could understand his saying that he

dreaded being annexed and swamped by Bengal. But why Bengal should say that it is about to be swallowed up by Assam, I am wholly at a loss to imagine. It is a part of the same unreasoning fear that is responsible for the argument that the Bengalis will cease to be Bengalis and become Assamese, or that they will cease to speak the Bengali language. Gentlemen, as I travelled in the railway train yesterday, I saw batches of well-organised schoolboys holding up placards, on which was written, "Do not turn us into Assamese." Surely I need not point out to an intelligent audience that no administrative rearrangement can possibly turn one people into another, or make 14½ millions of people speak any language but their own: and really the alarms that I am describing seem almost too childish to deserve notice, were it not that I have found them to be seriously stated, and apparently genuinely entertained. Let me put before you for a moment another aspect of the case. Much use has been made in this controversy of history, and of all that it is supposed to teach. I also in a small way am a student of history: and if it has taught me anything of these parts, the lesson has been that under the present system of administration, Dacca, which was once the capital of Bengal, has steadily declined in numbers and influence, and that not until the jute trade was introduced some thirty years ago did it begin to revive. In 1800 Dacca was a city of 200,000 people. In 1870 it had sunk to 69,000. Since then it has risen, owing to the circumstances that I have mentioned, to 90,000 in the last census; but whereas the increase was 10,000 between 1870 and 1880, it has only been 11,000 in the ensuing 20 years. Will anyone here pretend that, even after this advance, Dacca is anything but a shadow of its former self? Is it not notorious that for years it has been lamenting its downfall, as compared with the past?

When then a proposal is put forward which would make Dacca the centre, and possibly the capital, of a new and

self-sufficing administration, which must give to the people of these districts, by reason of their numerical strength and their superior culture, the preponderating voice in the province so created, which would invest the Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Musulman Viceroys and Kings, which must develope local interests and trade to a degree that is impossible so long as you remain, to use your own words, the appanage of another administration, and which would go far to revive the traditions which the historical students assure us once attached to the Kingdom of Eastern Bengal—can it be that the people of these districts are to be advised by their leaders to sacrifice all these great and incontestable advantages, from fear of being tied on to the tail of the humble and backward Assam? Is it not transparent, Gentlemen, that you must be the head and heart of any such new organism, instead of the extremities, and do you really mean to be so blind to your own future as to repudiate the offer?

That these considerations have been apparent to many of your number is evident from the suggestion which finds a place in two of the addresses, namely, that if some rearrangement of existing conditions is inevitable, you would urge the constitution of a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue, under which the people of this part of Bengal would retain all the rights and privileges to which they attach so much weight. I need not pause to discuss what proportion of the leading persons of Dacca or of the population at large reflect these sentiments. I merely regard the suggestion on its merits. The Mahomedans in their address have gone further; for they say explicitly that they do not share in the recent vehement agitation, and they definitely recommend the constitution of a new province, whose districts and boundaries they proceed to name. Now, Gentlemen, it would be premature for me to discuss any such suggestion at the

present stage, because it has never yet been placed officially, and I have no knowledge whether it will be so placed, before the Government of India; nor have I heard fully expounded or declared the arguments by which it may be supported. I will merely observe to-day that many of the objectors to the present scheme have themselves furnished the strongest reasons for a more ambitious one, by insisting that the relief which we proposed to give to Bengal will be swallowed up in a few more censuses, and that the evil which we desire to redress will then be as bad as before. Further, if we find upon examination that the other territorial rearrangements which were proposed in our original scheme, and which relate to Orissa and Chota Nagpur, call for any modification, and if such modification leaves Bengal much as it is, or does not substantially reduce its administrative burden, then it is clear that the case for a larger readjustment in the east of Bengal will be greatly enhanced. I must admit, too, that there are certain objections taken, not without considerable plausibility, to the present more restricted scheme, from which the larger one would be exempt. I think, therefore, that such a scheme, if put forward, will be deserving of attentive consideration.

Now as regards the objections that are entertained to the present proposal, I said just now that some were plausible. Further I think that some are reasonable. I have not time this afternoon to examine all these objections, though I propose to continue the task in my reply at Mymensingh, which I daresay that you will be good enough to read in continuation of this. I will here deal only with three which are among the most popular. The first of these is plausible but fallacious. The second is reasonable. The third is entirely mistaken.

The first objection is as follows. It is apprehended that if a new province is formed, the people will lose the Board of Revenue, in which they place great reliance as the final court of appeal in revenue matters. Now the Board in

Revenue cases does not sit as a Board. Ever since Sir George Campbell's day, one member has taken the revenue cases, and it is before him that the cases come, and that Counsel plead. I cannot see, therefore, that there is much difference between this officer, sitting as a Board, whereas he is really an individual, and a Chief Commissioner sitting and hearing Counsel, as the present Chief Commissioner of Assam does, except that the Chief Commissioner has many other duties to perform, and that when he is not a Bengal officer he may not to start with possess a full acquaintance with the revenue system of Bengal. However, it is unnecessary to pursue this point, because whether a Chief Commissionership or a Lieutenant-Governorship be created, I think that he should certainly have a Financial or Revenue Commissioner, as already exists in other provinces, who will play exactly the same part as is now filled in Bengal by the Revenue Member of the Board. This objection therefore has no foundation.

The second objection is that the people of this part of Bengal would lose their representation, such as it is, in the Local Legislative Council, their power of asking questions and making speeches there, and of discussing the legislation affecting the province that is passed in Writers' Buildings at Calcutta. It should of course be remembered that this representation is only enjoyed by the District Boards once in every eight years, and by the Municipalities once in ten years. But I understand the answer to this point to be that though it is quite true, yet local interests, if not directly represented by local members, are fairly represented by the provincial members in general, who take an interest in each other's districts; while if the further point be made that the new province, though not endowed with a local Legislative Council, would probably possess the higher distinction of representation in the Imperial Legislative Council, I learn that the answer to this is made that highly as that distinction would no doubt be esteemed,

representation on a local Council is of even greater practical moment. I think that there is some force in these objections, though not as great force as appears to be believed by those who have raised them. It is to be observed, however, that they would disappear entirely if, instead of being placed under a Chief Commissioner, the new province were held to be entitled to a Lieutenant-Governor—an appointment which would naturally carry with it the creation of a Legislative Council.

The third objection, on which I find that great stress has been laid, is the fear that the transferred districts will become scheduled districts for which the Governor General in Council can legislate by Regulation, and that the Chief Commissioner will substitute the laws at present in force in certain parts of Assam for the laws in force in Eastern Bengal. I may say at once that there is not a word of truth in this apprehension. The areas that have hitherto been dealt with by legislation in the Imperial Legislative Council will continue to be so treated, and the extraordinary suggestion that has found expression in so many quarters of a sort of conspiracy for the issue of regulations between the Viceroy and the Chief Commissioner, is purely fanciful.

I may go further and say that there is no advantage of law, government, or administration, which these districts at present enjoy, of which there is any desire to deprive them; and that the whole of the argument to the contrary upon which this agitation has in the main been built up, is without basis or justification. Indeed, the truth is in the other direction; for it cannot be disputed that the nearer the administration is brought to the people—and that would be the first and most immediate result of the projected change—the greater would be the regard for their interests that they could claim, and the closer the protection that they would enjoy.

I must now, Gentlemen, bring these remarks to a close. The further branches of the subject I will pursue at Mymen-

singh. I have at any rate, I hope, said enough to convince you that the proposals of Government are a very different thing from what has been widely represented, and that they have been seriously put forward, not with the object of injuring the people of any district or division or class of the community, but rather with the idea of promoting their security and development in the future. I am sure that you will give as much attention to what I have said as I have done to the views and criticisms of other parties: and I am confident that you will join with me in desiring that the solution should depend not upon ignorant agitation or unworthy prejudice, but upon a careful and dispassionate scrutiny of the real merits of the case.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE NEW COLLEGE AT DACCA.

[On Friday afternoon, the 19th February, His Excellency the Viceroy laid the foundation stone of the new College buildings at Dacca, in the presence of a large assembly. An account of the College and of the reasons for its removal to a new site having been read by the Principal, Dr. Prasanna Kumar Roy, His Excellency, before laying the stone, spoke as follows :—] 19th Feb. 1904.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad to see this large gathering assembled on the actual site of which, though it is a little jungly now, we expect so much in a few years' time; and to have heard the Address of your excellent Principal, Dr. Roy. I think that there is something not inappropriate in my being asked to perform this ceremony, for as Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, I cannot but be greatly interested in one of its principal protégés; and less than a week ago I was delivering a speech at the Convocation there in which I was enunciating and defending principles of which the enterprise that we are inaugurating this

Laying the foundation-stone of the new College at Dacca.

afternoon is a direct and practical illustration. Education is everywhere important in India. In fact it is the first of national needs; for with it comes everywhere moral fibre and national progress. But it is nowhere more important than in these parts of Eastern Bengal, where as much as 70 per cent. of the population are Mahomedans,—a community that has hitherto somewhat lagged behind in the intellectual race, and that requires every stimulus and encouragement that we can provide. It is now more than sixty years since this College was instituted, and nearly fifty years since it was affiliated to the Calcutta University. During that time it has done much good; the teachers have as a rule been inspired by a high sense of duty; and the instruction that is given compares favourably with other institutions. But the staff is inadequate, the buildings are cramped, and the accommodation is insufficient. The figures prove this incontestably; for there is only room for 400 boys, whereas the present number attending the College is 434, and this figure used to be 600, and in one year actually touched 700. Further, there are no play-grounds for the physical recreation of the students; and, the site of the building being in the heart of the city, where land is very expensive, they cannot be acquired except at a prohibitive price. There is no hall or building as a meeting ground for intellectual intercourse, where the professors and the students can mix together and get to know each other well. Above all, the most crying evil, amounting almost to a scandal, in the present situation, is that more than half of the students live in wretched boarding-houses in the town, many of them unlicensed and uninspected, not always kept by the best of characters, and amid insanitary and undesirable surroundings. There the youths are exposed to constant and insidious temptations, to which it is a wonder if they do not succumb. You might as well expect a young and sensitive plant to grow to maturity in an atmosphere tainted by noxious gases or exhalations.

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All these evils have been long recognised. But, as often happens where money is the stumbling-block, things doze along until one fine day somebody communicates the impulse, everyone wakes up, and in a few months more is accomplished than has been done for years. Your Commissioner, Mr. Savage, has long worked to bring about this end. But it was reserved for the appearance of your new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir A. Fraser, in December last, to strike the iron while it was hot, and with his characteristic energy to indicate the lines on which to proceed. There are to be no half measures. The College and all its surroundings are to be moved to this new site outside the city, where it is proposed to acquire some 65 acres of ground. Hither will be transferred the main buildings, and here will be built the other institutions, such as the Technical School already sanctioned, which will grow up around it. Here will be laid out wide and open play-grounds for the students. Here will be raised the hostels for their board and lodging; and I hope in proximity to them, residences for the professors as well: and here finally, owing to the timely munificence of Kumar Ranendra Narayan Roy of Jaydebpur, are to rise the walls of the combined Meeting Hall, Lecture Room, and Common room, the foundation stone of which I am laying this afternoon.

Now, this is a good beginning: but let me impress upon you that it is a beginning only. The Kumar's generosity is admirable and opportune; but it will be more admirable and more opportune if it acts as an incentive to others. The site here is excellent, but there have still to be erected the other buildings upon it. The hall will do a great deal for the students while they are attending the courses of study at the College. But where are they to live? Remember that that is the great question in the background. I have heard of benefactions promised or rumoured on behalf of the hostel. Let us hope that they will turn out to be true. The provision of these boarding-houses for students I look

Laying the foundation-stone of the new College at Dacca.

upon as the most urgent immediate need of Indian education. They are no foreign invention and no new thing. The underlying principle is the ancient Indian tradition—familiar in all parts of this country—that the pupil should live in the charge of his teacher. Already they have been founded in many parts of India, often by missionary bodies or by private enterprise of some description, often by Local Governments and by official action. There are nearly 1,500 of them, with over 47,000 boarders, in different parts of the country. I should like to see the numbers in both respects multiplied by 10. If the essential principles of hostel life are duly observed—and the first of them is that residence in the hostel is to include supervision by resident teachers—then I believe that the expansion of the system will do more for student life in India, and will exercise a more profound influence upon the future of the race, than any other reform that can be conceived. I am glad to hear that a beginning has been made here; and that the excellent clergymen of the Oxford Mission are adding hostel accommodation, with the assistance of Government, to their new building. But this will only provide lodging for 40 boys out of 400, and it is upon the 360 that I have my eye.

In the process of reconstruction and regeneration which I have described, the Local Government will, I am sure, play its part. It remains for the nobility and gentry of Eastern Bengal to follow the example that has been set to them to-day, and to play theirs also. It would be the sincerest pleasure and satisfaction to me if I could think that my visit to this place had been associated with a forward movement that would not be arrested until it had accomplished all that is included in the plan, and that a definite stage had thus been recorded in the intellectual and moral progress of Eastern Bengal. (*Cheers.*)

ADDRESSES AT MYMENSINGH.

[His Excellency the Viceroy arrived at Mymensingh on Saturday, the 20th February, at 8-30 A.M., and at noon was presented with a joint Address by the members of the District Board, the Municipal Commissioners, the members of the Mymensingh Association, and the Anjuman Islamia. The Address, after mentioning that Mymensingh had never before had the honour and privilege of welcoming a Viceroy, gave expression to the feelings of alarm and anxiety which the proposal to separate Dacca and Mymensingh from Bengal had aroused, and concluded by a reference to certain matters of local interest. 20th Feb. 1904.

His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—It is now my agreeable duty to reply to the combined Address which has been presented by the leading public bodies and Associations of Mymensingh. A warm welcome has been given to me as the first Governor-General of India who has ever visited this place: and complimentary reference has been made to several incidents in the recent administration of the Government of India, for which I will do no more than return you my thanks, seeing that I have already dealt with the same matters in reply to the addresses at Chittagong.

Three subjects of local interest have been brought to my notice, and I will briefly refer to each.

The first is the extension of railways in the three subdivisions of this district. This is not a matter about which I can go into detail on the present occasion. Railways are being surveyed for in the directions that you name, and I have little doubt that there will one day be a chain of connection from the direction of Shillong on the East to the main stream of the Ganges or Padma on the West. But this will not be just yet.

Next you desire to devote the entire proceeds of a local ferry to help to pay for your drainage and waterworks. I am informed that before you begin to solicit assistance of this description it would be well if the Municipal Commissioners of Nasirabad made rather more use of the powers

already open to them, the local rate of personal taxation being only half of what it is in most other Municipalities in the district, and admitting of enhancement without the least hardship.

The third request is the familiar complaint of the Anjuman that the Mahomedans have not as many appointments as their numbers would appear to justify. This is quite true. But it is all a matter of education: and as long as the Hindus are ahead of you in that respect they will also out-distance you in the race for employment.

The subject, however, that is chiefly filling your minds is evidently that of the so-called partition of Bengal—although that is not exactly the phrase that I should employ: and the views that are held on the matter are fairly summed up in a sentence in your address in which you say that the proposed measure "would subject the people of these districts to manifold evils and disadvantages in matters social, religious, educational, linguistic, legislative, political, and in those connected with the administration of justice, and would deprive them of rights, associations, and privileges which they cherish most dearly."

This sentence seems to me to sum up very concisely all the ideas and alarms that the people of these parts have been told that they ought to entertain about the Government scheme, and I am quite content to take it as a definition of the popular view. Now I am sure you will agree with me that the first essential in criticising a case is to understand it: and that it is not only unfair, but even foolish, to condemn proposals which have been put forward by a responsible Government in the interests of the community at large, upon a complete misrepresentation of their character and consequences. Two days ago at Dacca I showed that some of the principal fears which have been instilled into the people are wholly illusory; that they will not, should the scheme be adopted, lose the Board of Revenue or its equivalent; that there will be no change in the laws or the

method of making the laws by which they are governed; and that as regards a local Legislative Council, if the scheme is somewhat expanded so as to allow for the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship instead of a Chief Commissionership, this privilege also will be retained. Here at one swoop disappeared three of the principal planks of the platform upon which the leaders of the local agitation, which is said to find its chief home in Mymensingh, have taken their stand. I ask you to read my speech at Dacca, and instead of repeating it, I propose to-day to follow up the same line of thought and to show you how much or how little of foundation there is for the other apprehensions that are expressed in the sentence which I have quoted from your address.

These alarms may be epitomised in the phrase which has been paraded on flags and streamers before my eyes in many places, since I crossed the frontier of Eastern Bengal: "Save us from Assam." It is impossible to imagine a sentence which more aptly condenses the whole of the misconceptions upon which the attitude of the people rests, and I will therefore proceed to analyse it. The general impression sought to be conveyed is that the money and labour and interests of Eastern Bengal are going to be seized hold of and diverted to the uses of an alien, a backward, and an impoverished Administration. It is rather difficult to combat an allegation that is at once so vague and so baseless. But I find from the studies that I have made, that it has also taken the following concrete forms, which it is quite easy to confute.

First.—I learn that the Zemindars have been told that they will lose the Permanent Settlement. There is of course no foundation for any such statement.

Second.—The raiats have heard that they will lose the Bengal Tenancy Act and other remedial legislation of which they now profit by the benefits. This is equally fictitious.

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Third.—The raiats have been led to think that they will be taken away from their fields and made to work as coolies on the tea-gardens of Assam, and I have no doubt that a great many of them honestly believe it. It is scarcely necessary to characterise such an invention.

Fourth.—I have seen the equally absurd suggestion that the plan is devised in order to provide billets for the planters, who are to be converted into Managers of Court of Wards Estates, and other desirable posts.

Fifth.—The argument has been used that the advanced districts of Bengal will be placed under uncovenanted military officers. It is enough to say in reply that no such officers have been recruited in Assam for ten years, and that they will of course be debarred, as they are in Sylhet, from any post the tenure of which is at present confined to the Indian Civil Service in Bengal.

Sixth.—I see the argument freely employed that the local cesses of Eastern Bengal will be filched away and devoted to making roads in the jungly parts of distant Assam. This argument is not a very fortunate one: for in the first place the Road Cess is a district asset, and cannot be spent anywhere else than in the district where it is raised. Furthermore it led me to enquire how much of the Public Works Cess that comes from this division is spent here or is taken elsewhere now; and this led to the discovery that under the present system the greater part of this Cess, the total of which amounts to about 6 lakhs per annum, is taken away from the division and is spent in other parts of Bengal, which may include Calcutta, Orissa, or Behar. No one seems to have found this out or to have thought it at all wrong for all these years. But now it is represented as a fresh ground of objection to the new province, whereas, if this were created, the funds in question would be likely, for the first time in their history, to be spent in the main in the locality where they had been raised. The argument, therefore, recoils upon those who have used it.

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Seventh.—It is said that in the summer it will be so difficult to obtain access to the head of the Administration at Shillong. Why more difficult than at Darjeeling I do not see. In a few years' time when the railway connections are established of which you spoke in your Address, it will of course be much easier. Moreover the argument omits to notice that a head of the Government at Dacca will always be a good deal nearer than the Lieutenant-Governor at Calcutta.

Eighth.—It is said that the new province will be run by Assam officers, who will know nothing of Bengal revenue or land tenures. Well, as a matter of fact, Assam is run by Bengal officers as it is. It is sufficient, however, to reply that at the start the staff will be and must be entirely drawn from Bengal: and that later on the new province, possessing as it would a Commission of its own, recruited from England, would be administered by exactly the same class of officers, and on the same scale of pay, as Bengal is now.

Ninth.—I have actually seen it said that the money of Dacca and Mymensingh is to be taken to provide pay and pension for the Civil Servants in Assam. Of course this is a mere fabrication.

I have now taken the nine most popular versions of the argument that Bengal is about to be sacrificed to Assam, and have shown that in each case they are without any foundation. If the defence be attempted that these arguments are not seriously employed, I can only reply that I have myself seen them all in print in papers or pamphlets that are in circulation among the people. They are just the sort of argument that is being used to deceive the ignorant and credulous classes: and it has seemed necessary therefore to expose them, so that the outside public may form an idea of the methods by which the agitation is being pursued.

Your Address spoke also of Educational losses as resulting from the change. If I thought for a moment that this would be the result, I should hesitate greatly in recommending it.

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Here again it is rather difficult to gather what is signified by a mere generalisation; for when it is said that Calcutta is the centre of light and leading to which all educated Bengal naturally turns, the answer is that of course it will continue to be so in the future, and that parents, if they choose, will send their sons there as before. I have ascertained, however, that this apprehension takes three definite shapes. The first is that Bengal Colleges might in future turn away students from an outside province, in order to keep the preference for local men. The second is that boys from a new province would not be eligible for scholarships reserved for Bengalis. The third is that the new province would only attract mediocrities to its Educational Service. In reply to these fears I may say at once that the Government of India would undertake that no injustice or loss of advantage should ensue, and that one province did not profit to the detriment of another. As regards the Educational Service of the new province, it will be recruited in precisely the same way and will be as good as any other. If, however, we are to regard the question of partition from the Educational standpoint, then I must say frankly that it seems to me that Dacca and Mymensingh have not only nothing to lose, but almost everything to gain by the change. The ideal of educational advancement is the multiplication of centres of tuition and learning, so that boys and young men may be well taught in reasonable proximity to their homes. It cannot be doubted that if a new province were created, there would be an immense development of local institutions, and that this would be a source of untold benefit to the people. Everyone knows that under the present system the Dacca College has been starved, the professors have been few and underpaid, and progress has languished. I hope that a fresh start is being made there, as I said in a ceremony in which I took part yesterday. But in a new province that experiment will have an even greater prospect of success. It appears to me therefore that one of the main

advantages of the suggested change will be the great impulse that it must give to Education.

I have not here or at Dacca said anything about the jurisdiction of the High Court, because it is not proposed to remove the new province from it. To this I observe it is replied that there is no guarantee that that may not some day be done. No more, I may answer, is there now. The jurisdiction of the High Court is quite as likely to be affected by the congestion of its own business as it is by any administrative rearrangement.

There is one source of local objection to which I may allude in passing. The hostility to the proposal is said to be largely fomented by the people of Bikrampur, who supply a number of very admirable subordinate native officers to the Government offices at Calcutta, and who think that they might lose this field. I suppose I might answer that the fate of provinces can hardly be decided by the interests of small individual classes within them. But I prefer to point out that the excellent Bikrampur men, who are found, I am told, as far as Shillong on the East, and Behar on the West, are not at all likely to lose the openings which they have won by their abilities, and that, as good native officials are a continual necessity in this country, so, where they are produced, may they rely upon continual employment.

There remain the considerations which you describe as social, religious, and linguistic. How anybody's religion can be affected by administrative rearrangements I do not readily grasp; nor have I found any explanation in the papers that I have studied. The social objection I understand to be that some difficulty may be experienced in respect of marriages between persons of the same caste, and the fear that Eastern Bengalis may not be able to marry their daughters in the more restricted area of a new province. I should hesitate to pronounce on such a subject myself, though I should have thought that in a province with a Bengali population of the size that is contemplated such a

difficulty would have been inappreciable. But I am assured by those who are familiar with these matters that there is no validity in the objection at all. The relaxation of caste restrictions, admitting of marriages between different parts of Bengal, is itself the result of increased communications, which produce greater intercourse and render social fusion easier: and, if this be so, then as the institution of a new province must inevitably be followed by a still further improvement in communications, the movement is likely to be, if anything, in the opposite direction from that which is feared.

As regards the loss of language, this is a criticism which I have sought, without success, to understand. Why a Bengali should cease to speak Bengali because a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant-Governor came to reside at Dacca, or why, as I said at Dacca, 14½ millions of Bengalis should abandon their own tongue because they enter into partnership with 1½ millions of Assamese, I cannot see, nor has anyone succeeded in explaining it to me. Probability would seem to point entirely in the opposite direction, and to suggest that Assamese, whether it be a dialect of Bengali, or whether it be a separate language—as to which the experts appear to differ—will be the one to disappear.

Finally I come to the sentimental objection, which is based upon the conception of nationality, and which expresses dismay at the partition of what is called the Bengali nation. I found the streets at Dacca placarded with mottoes, expressly sent for the purpose from Calcutta, containing the words "Pray do not sever Bengalis." As the people of Dacca do not, with very few exceptions, understand English, I am afraid that they did not fully comprehend what the placards meant that they had been instructed to put up. This morning also, upon my arrival here, I saw crowds of men holding up placards—also sent from Calcutta and also written in English—with the inscription "Divide us not." I should like, therefore, for a moment

to discuss this question. Pray do not think that I wish to disparage in the smallest degree the force of sentiment in human affairs, and still less that particular form of sentiment that springs from the pride of race. On the contrary, it has spurred mankind to some of the noblest and purest deeds; and the man who is not attached to his country and his race is not fit to exist at all. There is no reason why Bengalis should entertain this sentiment one whit less warmly than any other people. But I cannot see how the argument applies in the present case. If a Scotchman crosses the Tweed and comes into England, he does not cease to be a Scotchman. If a Sikh comes to Bengal, he does not cease to be a Sikh. But here the case is not even one of crossing a border. For so far from a single Bengali being taken away from his present place, or town, or district, or division, he would remain there precisely as before, with the sole difference that the Bengali people, instead of being the predominant element in one local Administration, would in future become the predominant element in two. We offer to the Bengal nation the opportunity of forming a second unit round a second centre; and if a reduplication of its political existence is to be regarded as injurious to its future, Bengal nationality must, I think, be very distrustful of its own powers. It is curious that among the appeals that have been addressed to me, frequent allusion is made to the fact that Eastern Bengal once constituted an independent kingdom, the people of which, I believe, still call themselves Bangals, and not Bengalis. And yet, when the offer is made of a resurrection of that unit, the objection is raised that history and nationality are both being flouted and ignored.

Gentlemen, I have now, I hope, said enough to show you that the majority, and indeed I think the whole, of the fears which you have been instructed to entertain are unreal; that there is no right or privilege to which you attach value among those that you now enjoy that is in any risk of being

forfeited by the suggested change; but on the contrary that Eastern Bengal would acquire a status and a prestige greatly in excess of any that it can at present claim. Several thousands of good people were brought in here to demonstrate a few weeks ago. I have little doubt that every one of them had been told that something dreadful was going to happen to him. And yet if this so-called partition were carried out to-morrow, I do not believe that there is a single man among them to whom it would make the smallest difference, except for good, in his daily life.

I should like before sitting down to bring the matter rather more closely home to you by indicating a further respect in which the change not merely would benefit, but is indeed essential to, yourselves. You profess to be thoroughly satisfied with the administration of Bengal. This is a discovery which it appears to me, as a careful student of your papers, that you have only quite recently made. And yet under that administration the whole of the Mymensingh District, with a population of close upon 4 millions of persons, has been left with a single British executive officer, the Collector of this place. Orissa contains approximately the same number of inhabitants in British territory, but Orissa possesses 1 Commissioner, 3 Collectors, and other officers in proportion. The Chittagong Division is only a little more populous, and is equipped on the same scale as Orissa. Do you mean to tell me that this is a satisfactory state of affairs? Do you suppose it would have been tolerated for all these years had you possessed a Local Government at Dacca, instead of in remote Calcutta and Darjeeling? Is it not a commonplace that the officers in Eastern Bengal are so undermanned and so overworked that it is the object of nearly every one among them to get away as soon as possible to some lighter and more agreeable charge? The same applies to the judicial and the subordinate executive services. Even if you do not realise the consequences of this state of things—and they cannot help being loose and

inefficient administration—the Government is bound to do so, and we cannot acquiesce in the continuance of conditions so prejudicial to good government and to all progress.

But I do not believe that the people in these parts, as soon as they understand the facts, will allow themselves to be misled, or will fail to see where their real interests lie. In this speech, and in that which I delivered on Thursday at Dacca, which I again beg the leaders of local opinion here to peruse, I have dealt frankly with every aspect of the case as I have gathered it from a careful study of the publications of those who are opposing the change. If I have anywhere failed to understand or have mis-stated their arguments, it has certainly not been from intention; and I submit that the entire case is altered by the statements that I have made on behalf of the Government of India and after full consultation with my Colleagues; and that if our proposals are still to be resisted, it must be on some other grounds than those which I have shown to be sometimes ignorant and often unjust. We shall of course attentively consider any representations that are made to us; but do not let the public put into our mouths what we have never said, or into our minds what has never entered them. Let it be remembered by all parties that the true and only criterion is better government for you in your own areas, for Bengal as a province, and therefore, as a consequence, for British India as a whole.

VICTORIA MEMORIAL EXHIBITION.

[The ceremony of opening the Exhibition of objects which are ultimately to find a place in the Victoria Memorial Hall was performed by His Excellency the Viceroy on Thursday, the 3rd March, at 5 P.M. The proceedings took place in the spacious grass court of the Indian Museum in the presence of a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Members of the Viceroy's Council, the Trustees of 3rd Mar. 1904.

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the Victoria Memorial Hall, and Sir William Emerson, the Architect, were seated with the Viceroy on the daïs. His Excellency in opening the proceedings addressed the assembly as follows :—]

Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Our meeting this afternoon marks a definite stage in a great undertaking. It is now three years since the late Queen Victoria died, and since it was decided at a public meeting in Calcutta to commemorate her by a memorial to be erected in this place, as the capital of the Indian Empire, by the subscriptions of all classes of the Indian peoples. The three years that have since elapsed have been busy years. No one who has not been engaged in the task can appreciate the amount o' work involved in raising a fund from all parts of so vast a Continent; but when I tell you that the sums contributed amount with interest on investments to 58 lakhs, you will be able to form some idea both of the magnitude and the success of the undertaking. But there has been a more difficult task still. You will recollect it was decided that the Memorial should take the form of a great marble hall known as the Victoria Hall, which was to be erected on the Calcutta Maidan and to serve primarily as a Monument to the Queen, and, secondarily, as a National Gallery and Valhalla for the Indian Empire. The first thing that we desired to do was to provide a shrine of becoming splendour and dignity to contain the statue, and to perpetuate the memory, of this great and beloved sovereign: and the second thing was to frame the plans and to make arrangements for the construction of a building to contain the collections that we hoped one day to assemble within it. All this had to be done by correspondence with an architect at a distance of 6,000 miles; and you can imagine the labour and the detail involved. But we were fortunate in having recommended to us as our architect Sir William Emerson, recently President of the British Institute of Architects, who is with us this afternoon, and who added a thorough knowledge of India to the most eminent professional qualifications; and

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after two years of anxious discussion and deliberation we have now settled all the preliminary points with him, and have been enabled, during his present visit to Calcutta, to start matters definitely on their way.

You may like to receive some rather more detailed account of the exact stage at which we have arrived. When I presently open the door of the neighbouring galleries, which have been most courteously placed at our disposal by the Trustees of the Indian Museum, we shall see hung on the walls the ground-plans, elevations, and perspective drawing of the great structure that Sir William Emerson has designed. He will himself add a few words, after I have concluded these remarks, in explanation of the style and conception. This great building, to be made of pure white marble, of which we propose to use as much as possible from India, will be erected on that part of the Maidan where is the avenue running up to the west end of the Cathedral. As you will remember, this site was finally decided upon a year ago as the one which satisfied the largest number of the public. The actual site of the Hall will be the spot between the two lakes and the north wall of the present jail; and when the latter is pulled down, as it presently will be, the whole of the grounds belonging to it will be thrown into the surroundings of the Victoria Hall, so that that corner of the Maidan will be converted from an eyesore, which it now is, into a beautiful and spacious park in the middle of which will rise the glittering marble structure, standing upon a terrace of white marble and facing northwards across the Parade Ground, with its central dome of white marble soaring into the air to a height of 160 feet, and visible from every part of the river and the Maidan. I daresay it will take several years before the fabric is completed. But a substantial beginning has already been made. The tests that were ordered to ascertain the nature of the foundations have been more satisfactory even than we hoped for; and if anyone here were to proceed to

that part of the Maidan and to procure admittance to the space that has been fenced off, he would find hundreds of coolies at work inside; there would be our friend, Sir Acquin Martin, superintending the operations; and in the excavated space below the surface of the ground he would see the bed of concrete being laid, which is to provide the solid and indestructible base that will sustain the huge weight of the marble halls and colonnades that are later on to rise above it.

So much for the building and the site. Now let me say something of the contents. It may be remembered that three years ago it was often said "You may erect your Hall easily enough, but what are you going to put inside it?"—to which my answer always was that, when once the building was raised, the difficulty would be not what to admit, but what to exclude. I pointed out that there already were in Calcutta and in India the materials ready at hand for one of the noblest and most interesting historical collections in the world; statues and paintings, documents and manuscripts, arms and accoutrements, trophies and relics, which, when brought together, would be an epitome of the history of India, and would keep alive the names and memorials of great events and great men. Ladies and Gentlemen, India has been one of the foremost stages of the panorama that we call human history. Why, then, here alone should its relics not be collected in order to tell its tale, to stimulate the sentiments of national patriotism and self-respect, and to demonstrate to the world that we have a past to be proud of, and a future to look forward to?

However, as years must elapse before the building could be finished and the collections installed, the more practical thing seemed to me to be to begin with the germ of the collection at once, and so to supply a concrete illustration of what it will ultimately become. His Majesty the King-Emperor was himself our first donor and patron. He sent out to us as his personal gift a number of oil paintings

depicting the chief scenes in the life of the late Queen. They will ultimately be hung in the vestibule of the Central Hall, which will be called the Queen's Vestibule, and will be set apart for memorials personal to herself. You will see the pictures in the collection that I am about to open, and I hope in the course of my forthcoming visit to England to procure a number of objects to add to them.

Next, one of the chief features of the Memorial will be the Hall of Princes, which will be set apart for the contributions and collections of the Indian Chiefs. Some of them will be given ; others placed there on loan. I have not yet brought here a single one of these objects, though it would have been easy to collect a large number, because they are in so many cases of great value, and it would be a heavy responsibility to be answerable for their safety during the next seven or eight years. But, during my tours, I have found the most extreme anxiety on the part of the Indian Princes to contribute from the immense stores of arms, historical relics, and objects of art hidden away in their treasuries and *tosha-khanas*, and had there been any point in doing so, I could have filled several galleries in this Museum several times over. The difficulty, when the time arrives, will be to select from the articles that may be offered, so as to make the collection thoroughly representative and of the finest quality. For you will remember that to everything that is to be placed in the Victoria Hall, one of two tests is to be applied : personal interest, because the thing is connected with some illustrious man ; or historical value, because it is connected with some notable incident or some remarkable scene.

However, as I could not at once begin with the Princes for the reasons that I have named, I set about making such collections as were more readily at hand, and as seemed likely to furnish a clue to the class of objects that we shall want later on. In our Government archives here we possess a series of most interesting historical documents, seals, etc.,

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which have been placed on view. A number of generous donors, among whom I must specially mention the Raja of Hill Tippera, have already presented to us several valuable engravings and prints. Mr. Wilson, who was my right-hand man in all the enquiries connected with the identification and commemoration of old Fort William and the Black Hole, has had made a most beautiful and interesting model of the Fort which you will presently see, and which will be the first, I hope, of a series of similar models that the Victoria Hall will ultimately contain. He has also written an admirable little explanatory monograph which will be procurable within. A number of busts and paintings have been given by individual well-wishers. There is the nucleus of a collection of objects connected with the Delhi Durbar of 1st January 1903. Some Indian gentlemen of scholarly tastes, such as Maulvi Khuda Baksh of Patna and others, have presented us with exquisite Oriental manuscripts. Finally the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, whose eldest son is here to-day, has presented to us a magnificent collection from the store-house of treasures in his palace at Murshidabad, illustrating the history of his famous predecessors when they represented the Mogul Sovereigns on the *musnud* of Bengal. Here you will see the black marble throne on which Clive took his seat side by side with Nawab Nazim Nujmud Dowlah when the British took over the Dewani of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in 1766. You will see the embroidered *kanat* which surrounded the camp of the invading Mahrattas and was carried off by Aliverdi Khan in about 1746; and you will see fire-arms, guns, historical documents, and illuminated Korans and manuscripts of the utmost rarity and value. The Nawab presented all these objects to us unsolicited, and declared that he would far rather that they were seen by hundreds of thousands of persons in the year at Calcutta than by a few stray visitors at Murshidabad.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, this is only, as I have said, the germ and beginning of what we hope to collect

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later on. But it will, I trust, serve a double object. It will give to the public some idea of the nature of the collections that the Victoria Hall is intended to contain, and it will act as a spur to the generosity of others. Large though the sum is that we have already collected, we shall want more if the building is not only to be raised and completed, but to be adequately decorated inside and out, and to be furnished with spacious and befitting surroundings. Then as to our collections, they must necessarily be largely dependent on the liberality of individuals. There are hundreds and even thousands of persons in India and in England who have in their possession objects of the very character that we desire, or who perhaps know where they are to be found. We must be greatly dependent upon their interest and aid. I think, if I may say so, that the principal need of the immediate future is a band of enthusiastic fellow-workers who will help to distribute the labour and will co-operate even from the most distant parts. I will not now detain you further, but will mention that the Trustees hope to bring out in a short time a second number of the Victoria Memorial Journal, which will contain our history up to date; as well as a list and description of all the objects hitherto presented. The successive numbers of this journal will thus in time provide a *catalogue raisonné* of the collection as soon as the Hall is opened. It only remains for me to bespeak the friendly interest of the public in the future progress of events. The realization of big schemes, such as this, depends almost entirely on voluntary effort. Though the subscriptions have come from all parts of India, yet it is in Calcutta that the activity must necessarily be centered; and I hope that there will never be wanting enthusiastic and cultivated spirits in this place, such as have worked with me so energetically during the past three years, to carry to successful completion the great and responsible enterprise which we have taken in hand. (*Loud cheers.*)

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[The Viceroy having called on Sir William Emerson to address the meeting, Sir William rose and spoke as follows :—

"*Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—Before entering on a description of the plans for the Victoria Memorial, I should like to express in public my very deep appreciation of the honour Your Excellency and the Trustees have conferred on me by entrusting to me the designing of so notable a work. I may say it is an opportunity for an architect which scarcely occurs once in several hundred years.

"Feeling well the great responsibility of such an undertaking, I can assure Your Excellency and the Trustees, and those of the public who take an interest in the project that no effort, on my part, shall be wanting to bring it to a successful issue and to create a monument which, I hope, may be proved worthy of our Great Queen Victoria, the best and greatest Queen the British Empire has ever had, and under whose beneficent rule India has attained to peace and prosperity.

"On considering the noble and clearly defined lines which His Excellency laid down in some early speeches as those on which the Memorial was to be schemed, naturally the first consideration was, what style should be adopted, whether it should be in Classic, Gothic, Renaissance, or some type of architecture indigenous to this country.

"This was considered carefully, and the conclusion arrived at that a severe Classic type could not be used, first because were a very large and grandiose scale adopted, it would involve such large stones that the funds would be insufficient; further, the necessity to shade the walls by large projecting cornices would involve a departure from strict precedent in detail causing scholarly critics to feel it to be unscholarly architecture. Gothic architecture seems out of place for such a monument, which should be grand, and the scale of Gothic detail, if at all rich, is somewhat destructive of repose and breadth.

"An Oriental style designed by any Western architect could never have the true Oriental feeling, but were it even possible to attain to this, it was felt it would be an unsuitable style for a Memorial to a Western Queen. It seemed that a style, Occidental in character, which, however, might admit freedom of treatment, and have blended with it a suggestion of Oriental feeling in some details, would best express the sentiment of a Western Monarch reigning over this splendid country, the most brilliant jewel in the British Crown. It was, therefore, decided to adopt Italian Renaissance as best fulfilling these conditions, and in the design I have made I endeavoured to give a

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suggestion of orientalism, by the arrangement of the domes and in the details of some smaller features as cantilevers under the cornices, etc., which, while being Italian, may well have some feeling of the beautiful forms found in many parts of India.

"Now as to the plan. The requirements and objects described by His Excellency in the aforesaid speeches, worked themselves out naturally into the shape the plan exhibits; in fact I do not think any other arrangement would have answered to the conditions propounded.

"A Central Hall was desired to enshrine a white marble statue representing the Queen in her youth. This I felt should be surmounted by a dome as the principal external and internal feature of the group.

"Then there were required galleries for the exhibition of sculpture, paintings, arms, trophies, prints, manuscripts, coins, and other things indicative of the connection of the British Empire with India. Also quadrangles were suggested with Loggia, or verandahs, in which, if funds are forthcoming, might be mosaics representing certain historical subjects. Further, a Durbar Hall was asked for, and a Princes' Hall for Rajahs' exhibits.

"It will be noticed that the plan is in the form of a capital H, the ends being joined by curved arcading. The cross of the H forms the Central Hall, and the Galleries and Durbar the sides.

"There are two entrances, that on the north facing down the Maidan towards Esplanade Row, giving access to the vestibule and Central Hall, in front of a person entering;—on the left to the Sculpture Gallery and on the right to the Picture Gallery.

"The south entrance, which is a carriage porch, gives access to the Princes' Hall and Central Hall in front of a person entering, and on the right to the Durbar Hall, on the left to the galleries for arms and trophies, naval models, manuscripts, prints, etc. This last named wing has two floors, in each other wing the gallery is the whole height of the building, and all are lighted from windows high up.

"There would be staircases at the corners of the dome giving access to the galleries in the Durbar Hall, Princes' Hall, Central Hall, and vestibule, and to the Curator's Office over the north entrance, also to the top of the dome.

"At each corner of the building would be a tower some 30 feet square, which is a trifle larger than those shown on the plan, and in the perspective view—the slight alteration I am making will not affect the general appearance.

"The Plan, No. 1, shows the original idea somewhat different in the arrangement of the Central Hall to the one to be adopted, which

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is the alternative plan coloured green. The ambulatory round the dome will be omitted, as the cost had to be reduced.

"The whole structure will stand on a terrace, some 6 or 7 feet high, extending some 40 feet in width all round the building. The north porch is approached by a grand flight of steps surmounted by the bronze statue of the Queen by Mr. Frampton, now standing at the north end of the Red Road.

"The whole terrace and building will be faced with white marble from Mekiana and Greece, those portions which admit of being easily worked by hand being prepared here of the beautiful Indian marbles, while the other portions that require the use of expensive machinery, which it would be too costly to erect in India, will be procured from Greece. It would take many years, and an enormous initial outlay before the Indian quarries could supply the whole. Internally the Queen's Hall will be lined with white marble and coloured panels of Indian marbles and some frescoes or mosaics in the lunettes over the gallery.

"The other rooms and Durbar will be lined with dadoes and piers of light coloured Indian stone; and the portions of the walls not stone, and the ceilings will be faced with the fine native shell plaster.

"If the necessary funds are forthcoming, the decorations of the Durbar would also be in mosaic.

"The quadrangles would have grass and shrubs in them; but if money were forthcoming it would be better no doubt to have marble flooring with bronze or marble fountains. The subjects for sculpture will be selected by His Excellency and the Trustees later on. I have simply suggested the points at which it might be advantageously introduced.

"As to the construction, you will be pleased to hear that the soil is better than I had anticipated, and has never been disturbed, there are no soft spots, though of course there is the difficulty of the blue clay at a certain depth which has to be contended with.

"The concrete is spread so that there will be $1\frac{3}{4}$ tons on every superficial foot of soil under the concrete at every point. The walls will be of solidly built brick-work faced with marble externally, and marble and stone and plaster internally.

"The slope given to the sides of the dome is to give it a better base for vibration in case of earthquakes, there will be iron ties also in various walls of the building for a similar purpose.

"The dome will be surmounted by a gilded figure of Victory.

"The extent of and laying out of the ground immediately surrounding the building will be a matter for later consideration.

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"I think, Gentlemen, I have said now all that I can in explanation of the design generally without going into wearisome detail.

"In thanking you for the patient hearing you have given me, I should desire to express how greatly I am indebted to His Excellency for much information on many points, and the clear and definite manner in which at infinite trouble to himself he has explained what was wanted, and helped me with many suggestions of the utmost value in the preparation of such a design." (*Cheers.*)

The whole assembly then proceeded upstairs to the galleries where the various objects exhibited were inspected with the keenest interest.]

OFFICIAL SECRETS BILL.

4th Mar. 1904.

[At the Legislative Council held at Government House on Friday, the 4th March 1904, the Official Secrets Bill came up for final discussion, on the motion of Sir Arundel Arundel that the Report of the Select Committee be taken into consideration. A large number of amendments were brought forward, the movers being Mr. Morison, Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya, Rai Sri Ram Bahadur, and Mr. Gokhale, the discussions of them occupying some hours. A prolonged discussion ensued on the motion of Mr. Morison for the complete omission of the sub-clause on the Bill relating to civil affairs. His Excellency closed the discussion on this amendment by speaking as follows :—]

Before putting the motion to the Council, I must add a word. The excellent speeches delivered by my Hon'ble Colleagues on the right and left (Sir E. Law and Mr. Raleigh) have dispensed me from saying much from the point of view of Government, but I desire to make one observation from the point of view of the Bill itself and of its future. If the Hon'ble Mr. Morison's motion were carried, the motion would be fatal to the Bill. He has argued that the civil affairs under sub-clause (*b*) to which he refers, are not of major importance, and that their protection is not essential to the interests of the State. After some slight experience now of the Government of this country, I must beg

respectfully but emphatically to disagree with him, and I submit that probably we, who are Members of the Government, are better qualified to express an opinion on a matter such as this than he. The Hon'ble Sir E. Law has given us a most convincing illustration of the class of cases connected with the Department which he administers so well, that ought to receive—that are entitled to receive—protection in any civilised State. I need not add anything to what he said upon that point. Then comes the category of questions relating to Native States. Upon this matter I have perhaps a right to speak with some authority, and I say deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility that I can conceive of nothing more unfortunate than that the relations of the Government of India, which in reality means the Viceroy, with the Native Princes of India, relations prized by both of them, and in the vast majority of cases honourable to both of them, should be made the subject of disclosure and discussion in the press with absolute impunity. Such a condition of affairs would not merely be distasteful to us, but would be repugnant to them, and would be injurious to the interests of the State. The Hon'ble Mr. Morison submits to us an alternative suggestion. He says, instead of providing the protection which you are so anxious to secure under the Bill, exhaust every device you can for improving your Departmental administration. Well, this is sound enough advice over the limited range to which it extends, but how, I would ask, could a superior staff of chaprasis or policemen protect the Government of India from the illicit disclosure of confidential information, we will say, about the succession to a Native State, about the administration of justice inside it, or about the condition of its finances? However, the point upon which I desire to lay stress before Hon'ble Members vote is this, that if the Hon'ble Member's motion were carried, this Bill would be reduced to a nullity, because civil affairs would be left, it is true, but they would be confined to the relations only

between the British Government or the Government of India and Foreign countries. In that case we might just as well drop the Bill altogether, because to lay down that the only civil affairs that require protection are those relating to the exceedingly exiguous class that I have described would be manifestly absurd. I therefore think that the Council may with confidence throw out the motion of the Hon'ble Member.

[The amendment was put to the Council and negatived. After the rest of the amendments had been disposed of, Sir Arundel Arundel moved that the Bill as amended be passed. Several native members spoke on the motion, His Highness Agha Khan addressing the Council strongly in support of the Bill. The Lieutenant-Governor also spoke very decidedly in support, and His Excellency the President closed the debate in the following speech :—]

I should like to make certain observations in summing up this debate. I have observed a marked and agreeable contrast between the tone of the speeches that have been delivered to-day and that have been characterised by very general moderation, and the criticisms of this Bill that were popularly made when it was first introduced, and that have even survived in some quarters up to the eleventh hour. I attribute this contrast to two reasons. In the first place, the modifications that we have introduced into the Bill have, I believe, removed the greater part at any rate of the objections that were entertained to it; and nowhere, I am sure, is the difference between the Bill, as it was originally framed, and the Bill as it is now, better appreciated than by the acute intelligence of the Hon'ble Dr. Asutosh, though in his concluding speech he affected to shut his eyes to the fact. Secondly, it is my experience that it is much more difficult to make exaggerated statements at this table than it is to write them in the press. For here an answer is possible, and both sides of the case are heard. This is the first occasion upon which the Government have had an opportunity of stating their case upon the details as well as the principles of this Bill, and I think that as a result of this

discussion, it stands out in a different and clearer perspective.

Nevertheless, we have had in the debate that has just closed an echo of some at any rate of the apprehensions and alarms that found such wide expression in the earlier phases of the case. To these I desire, before we take the final vote upon the Bill, to offer some reply. Though I think, and have already argued, that the Bill is a necessary, and is certain to be a useful, measure in practice, I am not one of those who regard it as an extremely important or a heroic piece of legislation. It most certainly does not mark, on the part of the Government of India, any sudden change of policy, or desire to enter upon a course either of official secrecy or of anxiety to punish or proscribe those who may not agree with them. As I remarked when I spoke on an earlier stage of the Bill, it is a measure that has long been on the stocks, with a view to remove the anomaly of the present situation under which, as I shall presently show, the existing Act was intended to do something which most authorities are agreed that it does not do: and it was an accident that the actual amending Act was proposed this year rather than at any time during the past six or seven years. Ever since the Act of 1889 was passed, it has been inoperative, both here and in England, owing to the extreme ambiguity and carelessness of the language that was employed. It was long ago decided to revise the Act in India, whenever the occasion presented itself, and I think it would be found that the same question has been discussed in England, though the conditions of Parliamentary life render it difficult to carry through the House of Commons any measure that is not imperatively called for by the political exigencies of the hour. The Government of India desired to amend the Act for two reasons; firstly because in practice they had found it to be absolutely useless in the naval and military cases which it was supposed to cover, and, secondly, because they had been informed by their

legal advisers that it could not be put into operation in any civil cases, should this require to be done, owing to the extremely imperfect way in which it had been framed. Now it does not appear to me to be good statesmanship to leave a measure which, owing to such causes as these, has become a dead letter, on the Statute Book, any more than it is good horticulture to leave a dead bough on a tree. The Act required amendment some time or other, and the opportunity was taken to amend it. I readily admit that we did not at first proceed very skilfully about it. When a Bill is badly drawn in the first place, it is very difficult to amend it by a well-drawn Bill; and I think that our first attempt was open to well-merited criticism. I am far from claiming that this is a perfect Bill now. But, at any rate, it expresses what the original Act meant very much better than the original Act expressed it, while by virtue of its greater precision of language it should be less and not more obnoxious to those who resent any interference by the State at all.

It will be obvious from what I have said that the Government mainly rest their case on the proposition that the Act of 1889 was intended to cover civil secrets, though it failed to do so; and that we are merely, therefore, carrying out the original intention, though we are doing it in a manner that affords, as I have said, greater protection to the individual than was ever contemplated in 1889. That this view of the original object is the correct one, is, I think, incontestable. I was in the House of Commons in 1889, when the Bill was passed in England. In so far as it was explained at all, stress was laid, as the Hon'ble Sri Ram Bahadur has pointed out, upon the naval and military origin of the Bill. But nobody paid much attention to it; and it passed through almost without comment. In the House of Lords, however, the Lord Chancellor clearly stated that the objects of the measure were two-fold, namely, first, to punish the disclosure of naval and military secrets, and, secondly, the disclosure in certain circumstances of

official secrets. The Lord Chancellor only described one set of circumstances, but it is quite clear from his remarks that he did not regard the Bill, as claimed by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, as exclusively confined to naval and military affairs. When the Bill was enacted in India in the same year, the Indian authorities were much more explicit: though I observe that the critics of the Bill to-day have observed a judicious silence as to what was said on that occasion. Sir A. Scoble, who has been quoted, spoke in the most clear and unmistakable way. He said that the offences which the Bill was intended to reach were the wrongful obtaining of information in regard to any matter of State importance, and the wrongful communication of such information. How in the face of this is it possible for anyone to argue that the Indian Act of 1889 was not expressly intended to protect civil secrets? Lord Lansdowne was scarcely less explicit, for he based his defence of the measure exclusively upon the publication in a native newspaper of a garbled version of a confidential Note by a high officer of Government, not about naval or military matters, but about the policy of the Government of India towards Kashmir, and he said that this was an illustration of the kind of malpractices against which the Bill was directed, and that it should be generally known that the new law was intended to be put in force in such cases in future. If this were not clear enough by itself, I might refer to the title of the Act, which was not Naval and Military Secrets Act, but Official Secrets Act, and to the preamble, which recited the expediency of preventing the disclosure, not of naval and military secrets, but of official documents and information. The same inference is to be deduced from the language of the Act about offices and official places. Indeed, it is really inconceivable that anyone should hold an opposite opinion.

Now, having, as I think, conclusively established that the Act of 1889 was directed quite as much against the

disclosure of civil secrets as of naval or military secrets, I want to put the question:—Is there a single Hon'ble Member at this table, or a single fair-minded person in this country, who would take up the position that the State is entitled to protection for its naval and military secrets, but not for its civil secrets, and that any one of its citizens is to be at liberty to disclose these with absolute impunity, except in so far as they may fall incidentally under the ordinary criminal law? With all respect I say that I cannot conceive of such a position being taken up by any sensible man. It would mean that any secret treaty or negotiation might be divulged, any change in taxation let out in advance, any steps to check or defeat some insidious conspiracy revealed—for fear of invading the so-called independence of the individual, which very often means no more than the immunity to do wrong without being punished for it. We hear a good deal now-a-days about the rights of the individual, and everybody is naturally interested in defending them. But there is such a thing also as the rights of the State, and it seems to me to be part of the elementary conception of a State, *i.e.*, an organised body appointed to administer the affairs of a community, that it should be at liberty to protect its own confidential secrets. Well, then, I ask next, is there anything in the circumstances of India that should render this country exempt from the application of this simple and elementary rule? Is it not notorious that this is a country where it is very difficult to keep matters confidential, and where there are frequent and sometimes most reprehensible disclosures? Till the Bill was introduced I never heard of anybody who doubted this, and only the other day I read this passage in a Bombay newspaper, the *Bombay Gazette*, which is by no means a friendly critic of the Government of India or of the present Bill, but which speaks with an experience of the country much greater than any temporary resident here, like myself, can possibly claim.

Official Secrets Bill.

"To say that the measure now on the legislative anvil is likely to be the terrible instrument that some critics pretend to fear, is ridiculous. That there is urgent necessity for some such measure—not essentially the same in detail as the present one—is undeniable. Information which it is in the interest of every one of us should be temporarily kept strictly secret, leaks out, and infinite mischief is done thereby. Instances occur with great frequency. The utmost care is taken to prevent information of this class becoming known to the undue advantage of unprincipled persons, but in vain. The contents of documents are known in the bazaar before they reach the person to whom they are addressed. Even "coded" telegrams are unsafe, and we doubt if there is a single journal in India which cannot quote instances in which complaints of such occurrences have reached it. As a case in point, we may mention that of the annual Financial Statement, which is again almost due. Year after year a certain number of copies are printed in the Government Press, placed under cover and sealed, forwarded to the Accountant-General in Bombay with instructions that they must not be delivered until twelve noon on the day the Statement is presented to the Council. These instructions are most religiously followed; yet the whole contents of those documents can be ascertained in the bazaar the previous day, and the information to be found under the heading "Ways and Means" is publicly discussed and operated upon. Opium figures find their way into the bazaar with even greater celerity, and it is a matter of common notoriety, that items of greatest importance outstrip the recognised sources of communication. We are unwilling to believe that subordinate officials in Bombay are responsible. We imagine, that if the Official Secrets Bill, with all its present imperfections, were in force, it would not injure the subordinate nearly so much as we are asked to believe. The man to get at is he who, having official secrets in his

possession, fills his pockets by speculation on the strength of them."

The argument contained in the above extract has further received the most emphatic and authoritative corroboration at the hands of my Hon'ble Colleague Sir Edward Law and also from the Lieutenant-Governor, speaking from his own experience. I hope, therefore, now to have established three propositions: firstly, that in amending the Act of 1889, we are merely putting back into it what was always intended to be there; secondly, that the protection of civil secrets is among the primary rights of a civilised State; and, thirdly, that in India there is not less but admittedly greater need for the exercise of this right than in many other countries.

There only remains for me to examine whether under the terms of our Bill the reassertion of this right has been made in a manner that is likely to be fraught with any real danger to the individual. We heard a good deal in the debate this morning about the presumption of the English law that a man is innocent until he is proved to be guilty. Is there anything in this Bill that will put the innocent man in peril?

I have said nothing so far about the concessions that we have made to public criticism in the modifications that we have introduced in this Bill: nor have I time to allude to them now. In the opinion of many of the foremost of our original critics they have taken the whole sting out of the measure. But there is one concession that I must point to with reference to the question that I have just asked. Our endeavour to define civil affairs, which were not defined at all in 1889, has been undertaken exclusively with the object of removing popular apprehension, and of restricting our own rights. But you may then reply that we have not been particularly successful. Well, from the point of view from which this remark is made, nothing, I am afraid, that we could do would be successful. We might go on specifying and specifying the sort of thing that is a civil affair. But however

far we went, there would always be an unspecified residuum; and if this were exempted from the operation of the Act, then we should probably find the most flagrant and culpable offence of all perpetrated in the very unnamed category which we had been foolish enough to omit. That is the reason why we have left in those words "or other matters of State," though we have still further limited our power of intervention by requiring that they shall in all cases be important matters of State. If the words had been left out altogether, the chances are that the Bill would have once more proved to be a dead letter; for when we wanted, if we ever did want, to apply it, we should probably have found that we had just failed to provide for the one case in which protection was essential. I have seen it asked, if so wide a definition is to be left in the Bill, of what use is it to specify the relations of Government with Foreign States, or Native States, or fiscal arrangements, in particular? The answer is that the more you specify, the more you restrict, that the cases named are illustrative as well as specific, and that they afford a clue to the Courts and to the public of the nature of offences which it is intended to penalise under the Bill. When these cases are specifically mentioned in the first place, and when all other matters of State which they do not cover are further restricted to important cases, and when in the case of all of them it has to be established to the satisfaction of the Court that they are of such a confidential nature that the public interest would suffer by their disclosure, so far from thinking that these provisions are ever likely to be used for harassment, I should be inclined to say that the Government has so tied itself up as to render action well nigh impossible, except in circumstances of such extreme heinousness that we hope that they will never occur, while if they did occur, no two opinions could be held about them.

It seems to me that in matters of this description there is a very common tendency to assume the most far-fetched

hypotheses, and to argue as if everybody were likely simultaneously to act in a manner in which as a matter of fact people do not act. For instance, from some of the criticisms that have been made upon the Bill in the public press, it might be inferred that the people of India exist under a Government which allows no freedom of thought or utterance, and which is a scarcely disguised engine of oppression. Similarly, one might assume that the press and the public are every day already, or are capable of being, guilty of acts qualified to keep them perpetually under the ban of the law. And yet we all of us know that both of these hypotheses are purely fanciful; that we have the freest Government in the world, and that though bad cases sometimes occur, and in India, as I have said, much more frequently than in England, yet the sense of public honour and civic duty is more highly developed under British institutions than in any other country. British Governments do not readily assume the rôle of prosecutor, much less of persecutor, and even if they did, they would very speedily repent of the enterprise. May we not assume in looking at the future operation of this Bill that the factors we are dealing with are Governments possessing some sense of responsibility, Courts retaining some share of independence, and, I would add, a public which, whatever it may say when excited, has a very considerable confidence in both? If this assumption be a fair one, I think it impossible that any real injustice should be perpetrated under this Bill, and if it were, then I would add that from that moment the Act would be doomed.

My own view, therefore, of the Bill is a relatively very modest one. I regard it as a measure of justifiable precaution, investing the State with a power for the protection of important interests which every State ought to possess, and which but for an ambiguity in the existing law we should possess already. Further, I think that the real value of the Bill will be negative rather than positive, that is, it will

act as a deterrent rather than as a penal weapon. People will be more careful than they have hitherto been about disclosures, which every man at the bottom of his heart knows to be dishonourable and injurious to the public interests. Lord Lansdowne's Bill has been in operation for nearly 15 years, and there has never been a prosecution under it. This has been because, even if the prosecution had been attempted, it would have been inoperative owing to the imperfect nature of the Act. If the present Bill be passed under scrutiny 15 years hence, so far from the intervening record being one of arrests and trials, I should not be surprised if it were equally blank. But this would be for the much more creditable and satisfactory reason that infringement of the law had been prevented by the power to punish it, and that important official secrets had not been divulged, because divulgation had been made unpleasant and even perilous. If my anticipations are in the least correct, then I think that the Council may pass this measure into law with a perfectly clear conscience, and with the conviction that they are adding not an instrument of terror, but only a weapon of the most elementary self-protection, to the armoury of the State.

[The Bill was then passed into law.]

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

18th Mar. 1904. [In the Legislative Council held at Government House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 18th March 1904, the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments and objects of archæological, historical, or artistic interest was taken into consideration, and the Bill was subsequently passed into law. On the motion that the Bill be passed His Excellency the President spoke as follows:—]

In a session which embraces a good deal of contentious business, it will, I think, be a pleasure to all of us to pass

into law a Bill which has been received without a discordant note by all classes of the community, to which no one has come forward to move an amendment, and which will presently take its place, to use the classical phrase, *nemine contradicente*, on the Statute book. The principle of the Bill is the sound, and, as I think, irrefragable, proposition that a nation is interested in its antiquities—an interest which is based on grounds alike of history, sentiment, and expediency, and that it is reasonable and proper to give statutory sanction to the maintenance of this principle by the State. In the somewhat frigid language of the Preamble, the object of the measure, more specifically stated, is "to provide for the preservation of ancient monuments, for the exercise of control over traffic in antiquities, and over excavation, and for the protection and acquisition of ancient monuments and of objects of archæological, historical, or artistic interest." In pursuing these ends we have endeavoured, as far as possible, to enlist private co-operation, to exercise the minimum of interference with the rights of property, to ensure a fair price in the event of compulsory purchase, and to pay most scrupulous deference to religious feelings or family associations. The Bill will require to be administered with sympathy and discretion. But I trust the awakened conscience of all sections of the community in respect of our duty to the past to save us from friction or trouble, and I believe myself that private effort will gladly combine with Government for the furtherance of objects in which both are equally concerned. For the individual owner is as much the trustee for his particular archæological possession as the Government is the general trustee on behalf of the nation at large.

The Bill is, however, even more than its stipulations imply. It is in reality the coping-stone of a policy in respect of archæology and the remains of the past which the Government of India have pursued, with fits and starts, throughout the past half century, but with sustained and

unremitting ardour during the past few years. I had been in India more than once as an ordinary traveller before I came out as Viceroy, and had observed the state of its antiquities with pain and regret. Fresh as I then was from my University days, I remember thinking how pertinent to India, and to my countrymen in India, were the words of reproach in which the Roman poet, Horace, had addressed his countrymen in what he thought the decadent and indifferent days of the early Empire: and at the risk of being so unfashionable as to quote a language which is said to be now tabooed in public life, I must cite the passage—

> Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
> Romane, donec templa refeceris,
> Ædesque labentes deorum, et
> Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.

In India it was not so much a case of recovering the favour of the Gods—for our theology is not quite the same as that of the Romans—as it was of expiating the carelessness of the past, and escaping the reproaches of posterity. But the obligation was just as strong and urgent; and this Council, while giving the authority of law by its vote of to-day to the culminating phase, may like to hear something of the manner in which we have interpreted its remaining injunctions.

It seemed to me, when I began to enquire exhaustively into the matter five years ago, that the Government of India had made three mistakes. In the first place, they had not recognized that any obligation lay upon them. They had devolved it entirely upon Local Governments, leaving to the latter to spend much or little or nothing at all, and contenting themselves with paying for an inadequate supervisory staff. Secondly, they had set no standard to which Local Governments ought to conform. There was neither co-ordination, nor system, nor control. In one province an enthusiastic administrator might do his duty by the archæological treasures temporarily committed to his care. In

another, there was no idea that archæology existed as a science, or, if it did, that Government had anything to do with the matter. The third mistake was that conservation, or the task of preserving the memorable relics that we still possess, had been forgotten in the task of research for those that no longer exist, or of writing about objects that were fast falling into decay. Our first step, accordingly, was to revive the post of Director-General which had been in abeyance since 1889, and to procure a competent person to fill it. The next was to set an example to Local Governments, which we undertook to do by the grant of sums aggregating one lakh a year, to supplement the local expenditure of which their own funds might permit. The third step was to stimulate them and the Native States also to renewed efforts by a definite programme of conservation and repair. By the end of 1900 our proposals had gone home to the Secretary of State. A year later his answer was received, and a Director-General, Mr. Marshall, who has since thrown himself with scholarly energy and enthusiasm into his task, was on his way out to India; and in February 1902 we were in a position to publish a Resolution in the Gazette, defining our policy, and foreshadowing the programme of work that lay before us, as well as the legislation which we are carrying to completion to-day. Two years have passed since that date, and the new system is now firmly established, and has already justified itself by its fruits. I can, perhaps, best bring home to this Council the extent to which we have advanced by giving the concrete figures of then and now. In the year 1898-99, the total expenditure of the Government of India upon archæology was less than £3,000, and this was almost exclusively devoted to salaries; the total expenditure of all the Local Governments added together was only about £4,000 in the same year. A sum, therefore, of £7,000 per annum represented the total contribution of the Government of 300 millions of people towards the study or preservation of the

most beautiful and valuable collection of ancient monuments in the Eastern world. The Government of India is now spending upon this object 2½ lakhs per annum, and the Local Governments 3 lakhs per annum, or a total of some £37,000 a year. Thus, not little by little, but by leaps and bounds, are we catching up the errors of the past, and purging our national reputation of this great stain.

It is given to but few to realise, except from books and illustrations, what the archæological treasures of India are. I know of Civilians who have spent a lifetime in the country without ever seeing Agra, and who make a pilgrimage to visit it when their 35 years are done. A Governor General's tours give him a unique chance, and I should have been unworthy of the task which I undertook at the first meeting of the Asiatic Society that I attended in Calcutta five years ago, had I not utilised these opportunities to visit all the great remains or groups of remains with which this country is studded from one end to the other. As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them, but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and their studious repair.

Our labour may be said to have fallen into four main categories. First, there are the buildings which demanded a sustained policy of restoration or conservation, with most diligent attention to the designs of their original architects, so as to restore nothing that had not already existed, and to put up nothing absolutely new. For it is a cardinal principle that new work in restoration must be not only a reproduction of old work, but a part of it, only reintroduced in order to repair or to restore symmetry to the old. Of such a character has been our work at all the great centres of what is commonly known as the Indo-Saracenic style. We have, wherever this was possible, recovered and renovated the dwellings in life and the resting-places in death of those master builders, the Musulman Emperors and Kings.

Ancient Monuments Bill.

The Taj itself and all its surroundings are now all but free from the workmen's hands. It is no longer approached through dusty wastes and a squalid bazar. A beautiful park takes their place; and the group of mosques and tombs, the arcaded streets and grassy courts, that precede the main building, are once more as nearly as possible what they were when completed by the masons of Shah Jehan. Every building in the garden enclosure of the Taj has been scrupulously repaired, and the discovery of old plans has enabled us to restore the water channels and flower beds of the garden more exactly to their original state. We have done the same with the remaining buildings at Agra. The exquisite mausoleum of Itmad-ud-Dowlah, the tile-enamelled gem of Chini-ka-Roza, the succession of Mogul palaces in the Fort, the noble city of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, his noble tomb at Sikandra,—all of these have been taken in hand. Slowly they have emerged from decay and in some cases desolation, to their original perfection of form and detail: the old gardens have been restored, the old water courses cleared out, the old balustrades renovated, the chiselled bas-reliefs repaired, and the inlaid agate, jasper, and cornelian replaced. The skilled workmen of Agra have lent themselves to the enterprise with as much zeal and taste as their forerunners 300 years ago. I have had there the assistance of two large-minded and cultured Lieutenant-Governors in the persons of Sir Antony MacDonnell and Sir James LaTouche. Since I came to India we have spent upon repairs at Agra alone a sum of between £40,000 and £50,000. Every rupee has been an offering of reverence to the past and a gift of recovered beauty to the future; and I do not believe that there is a taxpayer in this country who will grudge one anna of the outlay. It will take some three or four years more to complete the task, and then Agra will be given back to the world, a pearl of great price.

At Delhi and Lahore we have attempted, or are attempting, the same. The Emperor Jehangir no longer lies in a

neglected tomb at Shahdera: his grandfather, Humayun, is once again honoured at Delhi. The Military authorities have agreed to evacuate all the principal Mogul buildings in the Delhi Fort, and the gardens and halls of the Emperors will soon recall their former selves. I might take you down to Rajputana and show you the restored bund along the Ana Sagar Lake. There a deserted stone embankment survived, but the marble pavilions on it had tumbled down, or been converted into modern residences. Now they stand up again in their peerless simplicity, and are reflected in the waters below. I might bring you much nearer home to Gaur and Pandua in this province of Bengal, in the restoration of which I received the enthusiastic co-operation of the late Sir John Woodburn. A hundred and twenty years ago the tombs of the Afghan Kings at Gaur were within an ace of being despoiled to provide paving stones for St. John's Church in Calcutta. Only a few years back these wonderful remains were smothered in jungle from which they literally had to be cut free. If the public were fully aware of what has been done, Malda, near to which they are situated, would be an object of constant excursion from this place. We have similarly restored the Hindu temples of Bhubaneshwar near Cuttack, and the palace and temples on the rock-fortress of Rhotasgarh. At the other end of India I might conduct you to the stupendous ruins of the great Hindu capital of Vijayanagar, one of the most astonishing monuments to perished greatness, or to Bijapur, where an equally vanished Mahomedan dynasty left memorials scarcely less enduring. If I had more time to-day, I might ask you to accept my guidance to the delicate marble traceries of the Jain temples on Mount Abu, or the more stately proportions of the mosques at Jaunpur—both of which we are saving from the neglect that was already bringing portions of them to the ground: or I might take you across the Bay of Bengal to Burma, and show you King Mindon's Fort and Palace at Mandalay with their timbered

halls and pavilions, which we are carefully preserving as a sample of the ceremonial and domestic architecture of the Burmese Kings.

A second aspect of our work has been the recovery of buildings from profane or sacrilegious uses, and their restitution either to the faith of their founders or at least to safe custody as protected monuments. Here we have a good record. The exquisite little mosque of Sidi Sayid at Ahmedabad with the famous windows of pierced sandstone, which I found used as a tehsildar's cutcherry when first I went there, is once more cleared and intact. The Moti Musjid in the Palace at Lahore, into which I gained entrance with difficulty because the treasury was kept there in chests beneath the floor, and which was surrounded with a brick wall and iron gates, and guarded by sentries, is once more free. The Choti Khwabgah in the Fort is no longer a church, the Dewan-i-Am is no longer a barrack, the lovely tiled Dai Anga Mosque near the Lahore Railway Station has ceased to be the Office of a Traffic Superintendent of the North Western Railway, and has been restored to the Mahomedan community. At Bijapur I succeeded in expelling a Dâk Bungalow from one mosque, the relics of a British Post Office from another. The mosque in the celebrated fort at Vellore in Madras is no longer tenanted by a Police Instructor. The superb *mantapam* or Hindu temple in the same fort is now scrupulously cared for. A hundred years ago the East India Company presented it to George IV, when Prince-Regent, for erection in the grounds of the Pavilion at Brighton, and only failed to carry out their design, because the ship, which had been chartered for the purpose, very happily went to the bottom. (*Laughter.*) Next it was used as an arsenal, and finally Commissariat bullocks were tethered to its pillars. At Lucknow I recovered a mosque which had been used for years as a dispensary. At Ahmedabad I have already mentioned that the marble *baradari* on the bund is no

longer the dining-room of the Commissioner's House. At Mandalay the Church and the Club are under notice of removal from the gilded throne-rooms of the Burmese Sovereigns.

In this policy, which I have so far described in relation to monuments in British territory, I have received the most cordial support from the Indian Princes in their own States. The Nizam of Hyderabad was willing to do all that I asked him—I only wish that it had been a quarter of a century earlier—for the unique Caves of Ajunta and Ellora. He undertook the cataloguing and conservation of a most interesting collection of old china, copper ware, and carpets that had been lying neglected for centuries at Aurungabad in the tomb of the wife of the Emperor Aurungzeb. The Maharana of Udaipur has willingly undertaken the restoration of the exquisite Towers of Fame and Victory on the hill fort of Chitor, one of which could hardly have survived for many more years. The Maharaja Scindia threw himself with characteristic zeal into similar works in his magnificent fortress at Gwalior. The Begum of Bhopal did all that was required at the Sanchi Tope. Finally, there stands in the remote State of Dhar the huge rock-fortress of Mandu, certainly one of the most amazing natural spectacles in the world. Rising to a height of 1,500 feet above the Nerbudda plain, it carries upon its summit, which is 30 miles round, a splendid group of deserted Mahomedan fortifications, palaces, and tombs. These we are assisting the State, which is not rich enough to assume the entire responsibility itself, to place in order. They were fast perishing, victims to the ravages of the jungle, and to unchallenged decay.

There is yet another aspect of the work of conservation to which I hope that the Bill that we are about to pass will lend a helping hand. This is the custody in collections or museums of rare or interesting objects that have either been torn from their surroundings or whose surroundings have

disappeared. Hon'ble Members will be familiar with the larger museums in the capital cities of India, where are collections not without value, but, as a rule, sorely mutilated, often unidentified and uncatalogued, and sometimes abominably arranged. The plan has hitherto been to snatch up any sculptured fragment in a Province or Presidency, and send it off to the Provincial museum. This seemed to me, when I looked into it, to be all wrong. Objects of archæological interest can best be studied in relation and in close proximity to the group and style of buildings to which they belong, presuming that these are of a character and in a locality that will attract visitors. Otherwise if transferred elsewhere, they lose focus, and are apt to become meaningless. Accordingly we have started the plan of a number of local museums, in places of the nature that I have described. I may instance Malda in Bengal, Pagan in Burma, the Taj at Agra, Bijapur in Bombay, and Peshawar, as localities where these institutions are being called into being, and I hope that in future any local fragments that may be discovered in the neighbourhood of such places instead of being stolen, packed off, or destroyed, will find their way into these minor collections. Of course the larger provincial museums will continue to attract all classes of objects that do not easily find a local habitation.

These remarks will, I hope, give to Hon'ble Members an idea of the scientific and steadfast policy upon which the Government has embarked in respect of archæology, and which they are invited to assist by passing this Bill to-day.

By rendering this assistance all will join in paying the debt which each of us owes to the poets, the artists, and the creators of the past. What they originated, we can but restore; where they imagined we can but rescue from ruin. But the task though humble is worthy, and the duty though late is incumbent. A hundred and thirty years ago Samuel Johnson in England used to keep up a correspondence with Warren Hastings in Bengal, and in one of

his letters the philosopher thus addressed the Governor-General—"I hope that you will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East, that you will survey the corridors of its ancient edifices, and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities, and that, on your return, we shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men from whom very little has hitherto been derived." It is in this spirit that my archæological coadjutors and I have worked. All know that there is beauty in India in abundance. I like to think that there is reverence also: and that amid our struggles over the present we can join hands in pious respect for the past. I like to think, too, that this spirit will survive, and that the efforts of which I have been speaking will not slacken in the hands of our successors, until India can boast that her memorials are as tenderly prized as they are precious, and as carefully guarded as they are already, and will in the future be even more, widely known.

UNIVERSITIES BILL.

18th Mar. 1904. [At the Legislative Council held at Government House on Friday, the 18th March, the Universities Bill came up for final discussion, the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh, the Member in charge of the Bill, moving that the Report of the Select Committee be taken into consideration. This motion having been agreed to, the amendments to the Bill (there were 106 altogether on the list) were then proceeded with, the Council sitting till 6 P.M. On the motion by Mr. Gokhale that in clause 4 of the Bill, sub-clause (2), for the word "five" the word "ten" be substituted, there was considerable discussion in which the mover, Mr. Raleigh, Dr. Bilderbeck, and Nawab Saiyid Muhammad took part, the amendment being subsequently put to the Council and lost on a division. His Excellency the President closed this discussion as follows:—]

This is one of a series of amendments that seem to me to raise a principle so important, and so directly to impugn the conduct of high officers of Government, and more

especially of those high officers who already fill, or who will fill in the future, the posts of Chancellors of the various Universities, that I should not like to give a silent vote upon it. The reasons in favour of fixing a five years' term seem to me to be overwhelming. First there are the reasons of practical expediency which were summarised by my Hon'ble Colleague sitting upon my left. A short term is necessary in order to secure the due and proportionate representation of the various interests which we desire to see upon our Senates in the future. It is necessary, in order to effect the strengthening of an interest that has become unduly weak, or the reduction of one that has become unduly strong. As the Hon'ble Mr. Pedler remarked, it will be a task of the first importance to maintain a proper balance of interests, sections, and denominations upon the Senates. Life Fellowships would fail to effect this. A ten years' term of Fellowship would not effect it: even a seven years' term would, I believe, be ineffective. That is the reason why, on grounds of expediency, we have decided in favour of the five years' term. Then there is another point. Surely it should be of great importance in the future to keep a stream of new blood perpetually flowing through the veins of our new Senates, for two reasons, both in order to interest in the Senates the community at large, and, still more, to keep the Senates themselves in touch with public opinion. There is the further point that in adopting the five years' term we are after all only accepting that term which is familiar in the practice of almost all the high offices of Government in India and which is best suited to the conditions of Indian life. There can be no doubt that a longer term would be unduly unfavourable to the European and favourable to the Indian element.

These are the practical reasons for which we have decided in favour of this term.

I now come to the larger question of principle. It has been alleged by the Hon'ble Dr. Asutosh Mukerji

and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in favour of their proposals, that the fixing of a short term must impair, if not destroy, the independence of the Senates of the future. I had imagined that this argument applied exclusively to those Fellows who will be nominated by the Chancellor, but I learn to my surprise from the Hon'ble Dr. Asutosh Mukerji that in his view the argument applies also to those Fellows who under the new Bill will be elected by the large constituency of graduates which we are going to set up. He told us just now that this provision will keep away the quiet scholarly men from the turmoil of a contested election liable to recur at intervals of five years. Now, will he tell me how many out of the 24 Fellows who have been elected for the present Calcutta University since the year 1890, with no quinquennial term of re-election to disturb their quietude, can be so described? With the exception of two doctors, two teachers, and one engineer, who were only elected because the Chancellor ordered them to be chosen from those categories, the whole of the rest of these gentlemen have been drawn from the profession of the law, and it is no disparagement to that profession, of which the Hon'ble gentleman is himself a most distinguished ornament, to say that quiet scholarship is not one of its principal characteristics. The quiet scholar argument is in fact a mere after-thought, and I do not hesitate to say that in the future the quiet scholar, if he wants to get on to the Senate, will not go to the constituency of graduates which we are going to set up—he will get small mercy from them—but it will be to the Chancellor that he will have to look for protection and nomination.

So much for the category of elected Fellows: but the argument of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is rather different. As I understand him, it is confined to those Fellows who will be nominated by the Chancellor. The argument, as supported by the Hon'ble Dr. Mukerji, is that these Fellows will find it necessary to shape their conduct (those

were his words) in a manner to suit the Government, in order to ensure the re-nomination which they may desire at the end of their term. As I said at the beginning, this seems to me most directly and explicitly to challenge the probable conduct of the Chancellors of the future. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale met this remark by saying—"We may have very good Chancellors and very good Vice-Chancellors now, but we must not show too much faith in their successors: it may be that future Chancellors and future Vice-Chancellors will not be men of the mental elevation of the present occupants of those two posts." I am sure the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh and I are very grateful for this compliment, but I cannot accept it to the detriment of our successors. They will act upon the principles which have actuated their predecessors, and to nobody are they better known than to the Hon'ble Member himself. If there is one thing that we welcome in this country, it is frank and fearless criticism, so long as that criticism is bestowed upon us with responsibility and without venom. Now, my Hon'ble Colleague on my left said that his reference to Mr. Gokhale was in the nature of a joke; but if I may say so, it was a very apposite joke; and if this amendment does not come with a good grace from him, still less does it proceed with a good grace from the Hon'ble Dr. Mukerji. That Hon'ble Member was only the other day elected to this Council by the votes of the non-official Members of the Legislative Council of Bengal. No sooner did this news reach us here, than we at once placed him upon the Select Committee of this Bill, though we knew that it must add considerably to the length and contentiousness of these proceedings. But so anxious were we to give full scope to reasonable and competent criticism, that we at once took advantage of his services. Let me take another case, that of the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Mahomed, who spoke just now. The other day he delivered himself at this table of a speech against the Official Secrets Bill. Immediately, in

the twinkling of an eye, we put him on the Select Committee to deal with that Bill. These are but typical cases—typical of instances which are continually occurring in every aspect and sphere of administration in this country. For my own part, I think that at the end of a five years' term, the fearless critic of Government policy, provided that his criticism is honest, will stand a very much better chance of re-appointment than the time-server or the sycophant, and I should be very much more afraid that instead of proving servile in order to escape rejection, a man may develope an exaggerated independence in order to secure renewal. On these grounds I deprecate as exaggerated and unreasonable the charges that have been brought against Government by both Hon'ble Members, as a ground for protesting against the term of tenure that is contained in this Bill; and I think the Council may, with confidence not only in the present occupants of high offices in this country, but in their successors, agree to the shorter term proposed.

21st Mar. 1904. [The debate on the Bill was resumed on Saturday, the 19th March, the Council sitting till 2 P.M. and being entirely occupied in the discussion of amendments. By this time more than half the list had been got through. His Excellency the President adjourned the Council to the following Monday at 10 A.M., when the debate on the amendments was again resumed. Progress was rapid and at 12 o'clock the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh moved that the Bill be passed. Most of the Members (including the Lieutenant-Governor) spoke on this motion, and after Mr. Raleigh had addressed the Council in reply to some of the previous speakers, His Excellency the President closed the debate in the following speech :—]

We have now reached the final stage of a controversy that has been going on for nearly five years; and we are about to pass into law a Bill which is intended to have, and which, I believe, will have, a profound effect upon the future of the Indian people. It might be thought that there is no matter upon which public opinion ought to be more unanimous than reform in education. The subject is so

tremendous, so vital, I may almost say so sacred; and yet experience shows that there is no subject in all countries upon which thoughtful and patriotic men are more sharply divided, and that education shares with theology the distinction of provoking passions and recrimination almost beyond any other human concern. Such has, to some extent, been our fate in India in respect of this Bill. A great many hard and some bitter things have been said of the Government in the discussion of the last few years. I wish at this final stage to pass the sponge over these. No reform in India can be achieved without a prolonged and often painful struggle, and no reformer, as I know, can quit the field without his scars. On the present occasion my desire is rather to present to the public, and even to those Hon'ble Members who have conducted the fight against us with so much assiduity, and I would add, with reference more particularly to this concluding debate, with so much equanimity and self-control, a view of our action which, even if it does not mitigate their suspicion, will perhaps lead them to recognise that the Government have been proceeding throughout upon principles as clear, as definite, and as honest as any which it is possible for men to entertain. I will not go back into the old story of the state into which University Education had fallen in India. When I first came out here, I was implored to take it up by many of those who have since fought the hardest against the changes for which they then appealed. Nothing would have been easier than to let it alone. Matters would merely have gone drifting along. The rush of immature striplings to our Indian Universities, not to learn but to earn, would have continued till it became an avalanche ultimately bringing the entire educational fabric down to the ground. Colleges might have been left to multiply without regard to any criterion either of necessity or merit; the examination curse would have tightened its grip upon the life of the rising generation; standards would have sunk lower and

lower; the output would have steadily swollen in volume, at the cost of all that education ought to mean; and one day India would have awakened to the fact that she had for years been bartering her intellectual heritage for the proverbial mess of pottage, and no more. My Hon'ble Colleague, Mr. Raleigh, and I set ourselves to defeat this destiny. I venture to say that no one of the many distinguished Englishmen who have come out to serve in India have been imbued with a greater enthusiasm for education or a finer grasp of the academic ideal than he. His perfect knowledge and admirable temper have been freely illustrated in the debate that is now drawing to a close, and when the day comes, as it will come, when the country will rejoice that a Government of India was found with the courage to take up this problem, it will also congratulate itself that the main burden was committed to such capable hands.

What is the principal charge that has been reiterated at all stages of this debate, inspiring the majority of amendments, and pointing every peroration? Is it not that this Bill is merely intended to rivet the control of Government upon the Indian Universities, and that our reforms, however well-meaning, are misguided and will not succeed, because they place in the hands of Government what ought to be entrusted to others? This is the first point that I should like to discuss.

In so far as the charge is to the effect that Government has taken the power of the last word in the entire programme of reconstruction, it is true, and this is, in my opinion, the best guarantee that the programme will not be inoperative. I constantly regret that Government is compelled to be so dominant a factor in the settlement of Indian problems. I feel of the Government in India what Wordsworth said of the material world, namely, that it is too much with us. But so it is, and so for long it will remain. Where so many divergent interests and classes exist, there are required the combined control and stimulus

of some powerful and impartial central force, and there is no force in India that answers to that description, at any rate at the present stage of Indian evolution, except the Government. The consequence is that, though this is a country where everybody claims the liberty to denounce the Government for what it does, everybody also appeals to the Government who wants anything to be done. I often see it supposed that because we have to do so much, we therefore think that we are right in all that we do. No one connected with the Government would, I am sure, make so absurd a claim. Governments are very apt to err, and we assuredly claim no immunity from the general law. But the fact remains that if progress is desired in any branch of the national development, the Government is compelled to associate itself with the task, and to exert itself strongly in the desired direction. If the Government had not taken up this particular problem of higher education, I ask therefore who would have done it, and if we had not made ourselves responsible for seeing it through, who will give me any guarantees that it would not have proved abortive? Even the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who is the strongest opponent of Government interference, said in his note of dissent that if University chairs, laboratories, and museums had to be provided, the money would have to be found by Government. Exactly, but why? There is plenty of wealth among his own countrymen if they are willing to devote it to these objects, as I am myself hopeful that they will one day do. Dr. Mukerji said that they would not come forward because of this Bill. Is he quite sure that they came forward before? Anyhow I should be slow to believe that they will be actuated by such petty motives. Again in his speech in December last the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale gave us his own idea of University reform, which was that the Government should reform its own Colleges. Once more, it was the Government, not private enterprise, or public opinion, that was to move. It is futile, therefore, to attack

Government for exercising a final control in these matters, when you know perfectly well that there is no one else to do it, and when in the same breath you appeal to Government to do what you are unable or unwilling to do yourselves.

In the concrete cases contained in this Bill, it does not, in my opinion, involve any unreasonable distrust of the new Senates or Syndicates that the Government should claim the last voice in affiliation or disaffiliation, or in the formation of the important body of rules. I daresay Government will not require to interfere at all. Anyone who imagines that we are likely to embark upon a policy of actively quarrelling with the Senates and humiliating them, must think either that we are very curious parents or that we have a great deal of spare time on our hands. It is quite likely that the Senates and Syndicates will be perfectly competent to stand by themselves, and will make no mistakes. I firmly hope that this will be the case. But if it is not—and, until they are created, the matter must necessarily be in doubt—the Government must in common prudence retain the power which it has done. I rather wish that those Hon'ble Members who are so satisfied with the constitution of 1857, that they deprecate any departure from it, would look back to the first list of Fellows of the Calcutta University, and to the part that was claimed by Government in the control of the University at that time. Out of the first Senate of 30, all but 5 were Europeans, and out of the 5 Indians 4 were officials. It seems to me that we have marched a long way forward since those days, and not in the direction of Government control, but away from it.

There are two other criticisms which I have heard in these debates to which I take leave to demur. The first is Mr. Gokhale's assumption, repeated more than once, that it is the desire and intention of Government to place the Indian element in so hopeless a minority on the future

Senates as to dissociate them for all practical purposes from the Government of the University. Why should he assume this to be the case? What does he know of the way in which the various Chancellors will exercise their prerogative? What do any of us know until we see? I once before upbraided Mr. Gokhale with the suspicion with which he regards our proposals, and he was rather pained at my reproach. But I could not point to a more striking instance of gratuitous suspicion than this. Let me remind him further that it is not while Europeans, but while his own countrymen, have enjoyed the practical monopoly of power upon the Senates, that matters, at least in the University which I know best, have reached a stage which calls so urgently for reform. Up to a quarter of a century ago, the Europeans were in an immense majority upon the Calcutta Senate. But during the last 15 years the balance has veered in the opposite direction, and the majority has been overwhelmingly Native. Is the Hon'ble Member so satisfied with the state of affairs that has accompanied this change—I will not go so far as to say that it has been wholly the consequence of it—as to claim that the Indian element should be placed in a position of permanent predominance in the future? His second argument, which I think rather an ungenerous one, is that the control of the Universities ought not to be placed in the hands of those whose interest in this country is only a temporary one. Only temporary—yes, but there is many an Englishman who gives 35 years of the best of his life to this country, and who is willing to work himself even unto death for the sake of duty to an alien people. Are the Indians quite confident that there would be many of them willing in the converse case to do the same? I venture to think that, if there were set down in two tables the services that have been rendered to India by her temporary and her permanent friends, the former would not come so badly out of the comparison.

Universities Bill.

Now let me suppose for a moment that Government had the design that has been attributed to us by our critics, *viz.*, to officialise the Universities, and to render them merely a department of the State. There are a few questions that I should like to put in that case. If this was our intention, I have been wondering why we did not make a much better business of it while we were about it? Why should we have given away 20 per cent. of the new Senates to election? Why should we have gone out of our way to create for them a far wider and more popular electorate than now exists in any Indian University—an electorate which is a concession to an almost unanimous public demand, but which I should not be surprised if public opinion itself will one day find cause to regret. Why did we not insist upon bringing the Director of Public Instruction everywhere to the front? Why did we agree on Friday last that the Chancellor's choice of Fellows should be fettered by restrictions as to two-fifths being drawn from the teaching profession? Why have we left so much to the Senates in respect of the regulations instead of doing it at once ourselves? And why, above all, did we not tighten our clutch upon each University by passing a special Act for it, in which we could have brought it finally and effectively under our thumb? The argument to which I listened in this debate about the separate Acts for the separate Universities seemed to me a most surprising one. It must surely be quite clear that a series of individual Acts must have been much more stringent than a general one, inasmuch as we only apply in the latter what is common to all, and leave each University to frame its own regulations in accordance with its own needs, and subject only to Government sanction. Our object, indeed, may be defined in Lord Macaulay's well-known dictum about the Indian Codes: "Uniformity when we can have it; diversity when we must have it; but in all cases certainty." And yet the same Hon'ble Members who complain of Government inter-

ference in general are those who complain of us for not having exerted it in each of these particular cases. As a matter of fact the charge that Government secretly desires to officialise the Universities breaks down the moment that it is closely examined; for it is inconceivable, if that were our real object, that we should have done it in so clumsy and imperfect a fashion. My own view, therefore, of Government interference is that we have taken the powers, if we did not already possess them—and it has frequently been pointed out that they are already implied, if not actually given, in the original Acts of Incorporation—that are absolutely necessary to ensure that the new reforms shall be given a fair trial, and that they shall not be broken down by any hostile or unfriendly influences. As soon, however, as the new Senates have started on their way, and the new regulations been approved, my belief is that Government will be able very soon to relax its control. The reason is two-fold. If you will look at the Bill, you will see that a very large measure of independence is left to the Senates, and that the real power for the future will be vested in them. Secondly, the last thing that the Government can want is to go on dry-nursing the Senates for ever. The stronger and more influential they become—provided they do not fall a prey to sectarian animosities, or to sectional intrigues—the better will Government be pleased. The ideal that we look forward to is that of self-governing institutions watched parentally by the Government in the background. If the institutions play their part, the control will be nominal. If they do not, it will be there as a check.

I dealt at an earlier stage of the Debate with our insistence upon a five years' term of Fellowship, and need not repeat the arguments which I there employed. But here, again, I think that there is a certain inconsistency in the position of our critics. For if they are right in arguing that Government desires only to put its own puppets upon

the Senates, and is certain to resent independence of any description, surely it would be better, from our point of view, to have a ten years' puppet or a life-long puppet than a five years' puppet. But the point is not really worth pursuing. The whole tenour of this discussion, and the successive changes that have been introduced into the original Bill, must surely, by this time, have convinced our critics that what we want to get is not a servile Senate, but an expert Senate, not one of place-hunters, but of educationalists. The argument has been constantly employed that future Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors here or elsewhere may not happen to take the same interest in education that Mr. Raleigh and I are generously credited with doing. If that be the case, so much the more likely are they to leave the educationalists alone, and to let the new Senates stand or fall on their own account.

Then we come to the point about affiliation and disaffiliation. Here, again, the same distrust has been expressed, and a picture is drawn of Government intervening in order to exact impossible tests from struggling or impoverished institutions. I am tempted to make two remarks about this. Firstly, the Hon'ble Members to whom I am referring, in their anxiety to depict the dangers ahead, have been relatively silent as to the shortcomings and blunders behind. I make one exception. In one of his speeches this morning, the Hon'ble Dr. Mukerji let in a few rays of cold light upon some of the strange proceedings of the Bengal colleges in recent years. Now why has greater stringency in respect of affiliation and disaffiliation been called for? Because, at any rate in some parts of the country, there has been the most culpable laxity in both respects in the past. Many wholly unworthy institutions have been allowed the privilege of affiliation, and have retained it for years. Except in extreme cases it would have been useless to go to the Senates for drastic remedies; for the Senates, under the influences to which I have referred, would have refused to

move. It requires but the slightest acquaintance with the facts to know that in many affiliated institutions the professors and teachers have been underpaid, the appliances inadequate, the buildings insanitary and unsuitable, the teaching superficial, and the college banking account very likely insolvent. And this brings me to my second point. Our Bill contains provisions expressly designed to check this state of things in the future. The conditions that are henceforward to be required for affiliation are contained in Clause 21 of the Bill. They are couched in the most reasonable terms, and have been invested with an elasticity that might even be thought likely to render them ineffective. Let us suppose that some visitor from a foreign clime were to come to India and to be shown this clause. I venture to say that his first remark would be one of astonishment that these provisions had not been insisted upon for years; and if he were then told that upon being introduced in this Bill, they had excited no small amount of suspicion and alarm among a certain section of the population, he would reply that the sooner such people were guided into a proper frame of mind the better. It is at the bad and unworthy institutions that this clause is aimed: not at the young and struggling venture. Advanced standards are no more likely to be exacted from the latter, than we demand the muscles or the character of a man from a boy. It is not the weak but earnest aspirant that will suffer. But the hoary offender—well, I rather differ from the Hon'ble Mr. Morison, for I hope that we shall bring him down. I certainly do not contemplate any campaign of what he described as general suppression. But there is something I think even worse than that, and it is a policy of impotent condonation, excused by the mistaken plea that the transgressor only injures himself.

As regards the general character of our Bill, I think that its moderation might not unreasonably be deduced from the fact that such entirely opposite and contradictory

verdicts have been passed upon it by its critics. While some of the Native Members here have been denouncing it as a retrograde and pernicious measure, I have seen it described elsewhere as a barren and petty effort, more fit for ridicule than for indignation. Both of these estimates cannot be true, and both are obviously coloured by party predilections. Those who characterise it as retrograde merely mean that the progress which it must lead to is not precisely in the direction which they would like. Those who denounce its ineptitude have failed, I think, to recognise that the Bill does not itself sum up the history or the capacities of reform; but that these are not obscurely concealed in the consequences that will immediately flow from it. The Universities Commission dealt with many subjects, besides constitutional reconstruction. If you refer to their Report, you will find entire sections—amounting to nearly two-thirds of the whole—devoted to the subject of teaching, to courses of study, and to the nature and conduct of examinations. All of these matters we have excluded from this Bill. But they have not, therefore, been ignored or lost sight of, and Clause 25 of the Bill, which provides for the regulations to be drawn up within a year of the passing of the Act, is, in my view, almost its most momentous section. This is a point of which I think that public opinion has scarcely grasped the full meaning. The truth is that this Bill only raises the walls of the new house, it does not furnish its chambers. Or let me put it in another way. We provide the machinery for reform; but we leave the Universities to carry it out. We give them new governing bodies as competent for the purpose as we think that we can make them in India,—anyhow incomparably more competent than any that have hitherto existed,—we invest these reconstituted bodies with adequate powers, and we bid them discharge the task. Here, again, may I not urge that if Government had been so avaricious of control, would it not have been simple for us to have grasped all this in

the Bill, and to have laid down the law once for all as to Faculties, and Boards of Studies, and examinations, and curricula, and fees? And yet, to the confounding of our critics, not only have all these immensely important subjects been left to the Universities under the Bill, but they have actually been left to be dealt with in a different way in each University according to its own circumstances and needs. This seems to me to deal the final death-blow to the theory of Government autocracy, which having played to the full the part that was expected of it in these debates, may now, I hope, be allowed to expire.

On the whole, however, I think that the most remarkable feature of the Debate has been the striking contrast that it has presented in its concluding stages to the declamation of less responsible criticism outside. I did indeed make a special effort by the composition of this Council to provide for the consideration of the Bill by the most competent body, European and Native, that I could procure. A more representative assembly for the special purposes of an individual Bill has, I believe, never taken its seat at this table. And what has the discussion by these experts shown? Indian opinion has not been ranged exclusively on one side, and European on the other. This Bill has received its strongest support from some of the Indian gentlemen who are here. We have still in our recollection the bold and emphatic testimony that was borne by that veteran educationalist, Dr. Bhandarkar. Mr. Bose gave the weight of his thoughtful support to the Bill. Some of those Hon'ble Members who have been our most constant critics have not concealed their frank sympathy with many of the objects and provisions of our Bill. The Hon'ble Dr. Mukerji's final speech was, in my view, a conclusive admission of its necessity. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's concluding remarks were in the nature of an exception, and I think that every one of us must have been startled at the sharp contrast between the tone of those

remarks and all the speeches that had preceded. After doing his best at an earlier stage of the Bill, and with success, to place experts in a majority on the Senates of the future, he indulged in a denunciation of experts which seemed to me not quite gracious or apposite. Alone of all of us he also has made the discovery that this Bill involves a condemnation of the educated classes in India without a fair hearing. Without a fair hearing! They have been talking for five years, and we have been listening for five years. We have given to their representations a hearing unprecedented in length and in consideration. As for the condemnation of the educated classes, it is sufficient for me to confront the Hon'ble Member with the opinion of the Hon'ble Dr. Bhandarkar, at whose feet Mr. Gokhale told us that he himself once sat, and of the Hon'ble Mr. Bose. They welcome this Bill, not as a condemnation of the educated classes of their countrymen, but as a decree of emancipation which will free the energies and activities of those classes from the clogs and fetters that have done so much to drag them down.

Finally, we have had the unanimous and enthusiastic witness of the European educationalists on the Council, who see in the passing of this measure a great and important step forward in the progress of the education to which they have devoted their lives. I think, therefore, that this has been a most instructive debate; and I shall leave this Council room to-day with the gratified consciousness that we are placing upon the Statute book an enactment that is welcomed and valued by the leading authorities to whom it has been in our power to refer.

I will not further detain the Council. I am not so sanguine as to think that, because we pass this Bill, a new heaven and a new earth will straight away dawn upon Higher Education in India. We shall still be confronted with conditions inseparable from Indian character, Indian economics, and Indian life. Other reformers will be called

for after us, and will perhaps do better work than we. But our effort will mark a definite stage in the educational advancement of the country: it will check tendencies that were leading to demoralisation, if not to ruin; and it will provide opportunities which it will rest with others, Indian as well as European, to turn to good use when we have disappeared and are forgotten.

[The Council rose at 4-30 P.M., having during the three days given altogether 16 hours to the discussion on the Bill—a discussion unprecedented in the proceedings of the Legislative Council.]

AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

[In the Legislative Council which was held at Calcutta on 23rd March, the Bill to provide for the constitution and control of Co-operative Credit Societies was passed into law on the motion of the Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson. A discussion ensued on the motion and was brought to a close by His Excellency the President, who addressed the Council as follows :—] 23rd Mar. 1904.

It is a pleasure to find to-day that we are all so unanimous, and that in the contemplation of this measure the lion has lain down with the lamb. The Hon'ble Dr. Mukerji remarked that this Bill is our first serious effort to deal with the problem of agricultural indebtedness in India. That is not quite the case. In October 1900 in a speech upon the introduction of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill at Simla, I made the remark that that Bill was the commencement of a series of ventures upon which I hoped that the Government would embark to deal with this very problem. I described it as a canker eating into the vitals of the national life, and as one of the questions which I hoped to do a little to press forward to solution during my time. A year later, we passed that Bill into law amid the most dismal prophecies from the Punjab Native representative on the Legislative Council, as to the irreparable ruin that it was going to bring

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upon the peasantry of the Punjab. I am glad to say that those predictions have been entirely falsified by events; and only the other day, I was called upon to sanction the extension to the greater part of the North-West Frontier Province of the provisions of the Act, which have, on the whole, proved so acceptable in the Punjab that an agitation for their application across the border had been growing ever since. Last year we took similar action in Bundelkhund, where not only has the power to alienate land been restricted in future, but an effort is being made to clear off the existing debt of the agricultural population. Similar measures were recommended for Bombay by the Famine Commission. These undertakings relate to one aspect of the problem of indebtedness. To-day we are giving the authority of the law to an attempt to deal with another. From one point of view it is the inverse aspect; for while such measures as the Punjab Land Alienation Act must necessarily, however successful they may be, involve some curtailment of credit—a drawback compensated twenty times over by the accompanying gains—the object of this Bill is not to curtail credit but to increase it, while avoiding the evils which have sprung from the great expansion of credit caused by the conferment of the full right of transfer of land upon classes untrained to its exercise.

The promotion of agricultural enterprise by an increase in the available capital may be described as a prime duty of any Government administering a large rural population. All producers, even the poorest, require capital, and the Indian raiat by no means least. But the conditions under which alone he can procure it in this country are so onerous, he is so apt to dissipate it when acquired by a sort of traditional improvidence, and the consequences of his indebtedness are so disastrous and even appalling, that there seems to be a special obligation upon the Government of India to come to his assistance in such ways as we legitimately can.

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One of the methods that we adopt for this end in India is by *takavi* loans under the Land Improvement or Agriculturists' Relief Acts. I doubt if the public is fully aware of the extent of the assistance that is thereby given, particularly in times of distress. In 1902-03, for instance, the total advances to cultivators amounted to three quarters of a crore or half a million sterling, of which more than half was in Bombay. But it is difficult for this form of assistance to reach all who are in need, and there are practical drawbacks in the operation of the system which are now under the independent consideration of Government.

Here we are initiating an independent but allied experiment which is to make the cultivating classes themselves the borrowers, improving their credit, developing their thrift, and training them to utilise for their own benefit the great advantage which the experience of other countries has shown to lie in the principle of mutual co-operation. I used the word experiment. But I am not sure that this is not rather too strong: for undoubtedly the reports of able officers, such as Sir Frederick Nicholson and Mr. Dupernex, and the practical working of a limited number of institutions in different parts of the country, some of them started by enthusiatic officers on their own account, have already provided us with some measure of guidance as to what we ought to aim at, and what to avoid.

A year ago in my Budget Speech I stated some of the fundamental differences of opinion that had emerged from the reference to Local Governments which we had just undertaken. There was really nothing surprising in this. Many of those whom we consulted had had no practical experience and were only able to give *a priori* replies. Moreover, the co-operative system is itself not at all widely understood: and the degree to which Government assistance should be given was as much in dispute as were the nature and limitation of the objects for which loans should be

allowed. During the year that has passed each of these disputed points has had to be examined by Government, and has since been further elucidated by the labours of the very competent Select Committee whom we were fortunate enough to assemble for the consideration of the Bill. The principles that have characterised the great majority, if not the whole, of the changes that have been introduced by them, have everywhere been the same—greater simplification and more freedom. Let the measure be hampered by as few restrictive provisions as possible; and let it be adaptable to the varying conditions of different parts of the country and sections of the people.

There is one point on which there seems to have been some misconception, and which it is desirable to make clear. I have seen it complained, and at an earlier date I heard the complaint from the lips of an Hon'ble Member of this Council—that Government might have been a good deal more liberal in initiating so great an experiment—and that part of what we take from the people in land revenue we might very appropriately give back to them in capital for these societies. These views, plausible as they may seem, rest upon a complete misconception both of the co-operative system, and of the policy of Government with regard to this particular scheme; and I desire to supplement what fell from the Finance Minister on this point.

It is not primarily because the financial contribution that might have been required to assist every new institution would be great, or because we grudge the money, that so little is said about grants-in-aid by the State, but because the best advice and the teachings of experience are at one in the conclusion that unrestricted Government assistance is a dangerous and may be a fatal gift. "Prolonged or indiscriminating State aid," says Mr. Henry Wolff, who is an unrivalled authority on the matter, "is destructive of self-help. The State aid given in Germany, France, and Austria has been productive of much mischief,—the creation

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of a great deal of bogus co-operation, which has resulted in loss and done no good to the people." For similar reasons no special powers of recovery of debt have been given to the societies. The object is to foster a spirit of responsibility and self-reliance; and it is because the societies must be dependent for their success on their own care and caution in the disbursement of their funds, that it has been possible to dispense with restrictions on their powers in the Bill that would otherwise have been necessary. Government aid will be forthcoming when necessary, and there is more danger to be apprehended from excessive liberality than from the withholding of assistance where there is a prospect of its proving advantageous. It will be necessary rather to restrict the extent to which Local Governments may give subventions than to urge them to generosity. If the societies fail in the absence of State aid, and from not having more arbitrary powers of recovering their debts, it will not be because those conditions are essential to the success of the movement, but because there is an organic weakness in the co-operative system as understood and applied in this country.

I am hopeful, however, that this will not be the case. Like my Hon'ble Colleague Sir D. Ibbetson, who has evolved and conducted this measure with equal insight, ability, and sympathy, I refrain from any confident predictions. I think it quite likely that in some parts of the country the experiment will fail, and that societies will either not be started or after a short existence will disappear. Even where they succeed, I do not imagine for a moment that borrowing at high rates of interest will be done away with altogether, or that we shall replace destitution by relative affluence. But let us assume the most modest degree of success. Let us contemplate in districts or towns or villages, here and there, a few of these institutions coming into existence and gradually striking their roots into the soil. Each tree so rooted will ultimately cast its own shade, and will be the parent of

others; and if in a few years' time I were to hear that the experiment had never germinated at all in one province, while it was bearing humble but healthy fruit in another, I should yet think it justified.

What I desire to point out, however, is this. Here is a sincere and patient effort to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry of what we are constantly being told is the poorest country in the world. Not a day passes in which hundreds of articles are not written in the Native Press to prove that the material interests of those poor people are neglected or ignored by an alien Government, and are only correctly understood by the leaders of the Native community. I am far from accepting this statement of the case. When I find a European Member of this Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Hamilton, spontaneously offering a loan of Rs. 20,000 to finance a number of small banks at the start, and when I hear of a distinguished Civil Servant, such as Sir F. Nicholson, coming back after his retirement from the service to reside in this country and to help a number of these societies on their way, it seems to me that European sympathy is capable of taking a very practical shape. As to Native sympathy, I cannot believe that for an object so beneficent, and in interests so unselfish, it will not equally be forthcoming. If these societies could be firmly established even in a hundred places in India, greater good, I venture to think, would be done to the people in those areas than by a decade of political agitation. More places on this or that Council for a few active or eloquent men will not benefit the raiat. What he wants is the loosening of the bondage of debt which bows him down. Anything that will give him greater self-reliance, and teach him to look not only to Government or to its officers, but to himself will be to the good. If the feeling that he should be helped is as strong and as sincere as I believe it to be among the Native community, they have in this Bill, as pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Adamson, an unrivalled opportu-

nity of giving a practical and unostentatious demonstration of their sympathy with the most deserving and the most helpless class of their own countrymen. Will they take it? Government has played its part. I invite them to play theirs.

FAREWELL DINNER TO SIR T. RALEIGH, SIR H. PRINSEP, AND OTHERS.

[One of the largest and most brilliant functions that had taken place at Government House for some time was that on Monday evening, the 28th March, when His Excellency the Viceroy entertained the Hon'ble Sir Thomas Raleigh, the Hon'ble Justice Sir Henry Prinsep, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Amir Ali, and Mr. F. W. Latimer at a farewell dinner on the eve of their departure from India. About 80 guests were invited to meet them, including His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Lady Fraser, His Excellency Lord Kitchener, the Hon'ble Sir Francis Maclean, the Members of the Viceroy's Council, the Judges of the High Court, the Secretaries to Government, etc. 28th Mar. 1904.

After the health of the King had been drunk, the Viceroy rose to propose the toast of the guests of the evening and was warmly cheered. His Excellency said :—]

Your Honour, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—This is a dinner of farewells. I have invited you here to bid good-bye to four gentlemen who in different capacities have rendered good service to India, and are now leaving the country. But for an accident the number would have been six. The four guests of this evening are Sir Thomas Raleigh, who has just reached the end of a five years' tenure of the post of Law Member of the Council of the Governor-General (*cheers*), a post that, after being filled by Lord Macaulay, and Sir Henry Maine, and Sir James Fitz James Stephen, has now been further adorned by himself. (*Cheers.*) The second is our old friend Sir Henry Prinsep, who is retiring from the High Court after an experience that makes most of us look and feel like schoolboys. (*Laughter.*) The third is another Judge of the same High

Court, Mr. Amir Ali. (*Cheers.*) The fourth is Mr. Latimer, who has been Assistant Private Secretary to no fewer than eight Viceroys and has earned the regard and affection of each. (*Applause.*)

The two other guests who would have been here, had they not already started home, were also Judges of the High Court, Mr. Justice Stevens and Mr. Justice Hill. Both of these learned Judges were greatly respected and greatly loved, and they have left most fragrant memories behind them. (*Cheers.*) I told them that I would have asked to include them in this banquet, had it been possible. But their passages had been taken, and it could not be done.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I venture to think that the almost simultaneous occurrence of these six departures supplies an eloquent commentary on the conditions of our Indian life. We come to India, some to return in five years, some for the best part of a lifetime, but in the end we all go, except such, and they are not few, as are left behind. I sometimes see it said that Englishmen are drawn to India by nothing more than the pay, and the whole connection is represented as though it were a commercial transaction. Well, payment for work done is one of the conditions of labour all the world over, and India has no claim to get her administration conducted for nothing any more than any other country. But this is a mean and sordid view to take of the connection. Look behind it, and you will find the sense of responsibility, of devotion to duty, of love for the country, and sympathy with its people, developed to a degree that is without parallel in the history of any other empire. (*Cheers.*) These are the sentiments that draw the Englishman to India, that keep him working on here very often till he breaks down, and that send him home at the end, glad perhaps at his relief from a life of toil, but sorrowful at leaving a country which has entwined its tendrils round his heart and been to him a second home. (*Cheers.*)

Farewell Dinner to Sir T. Raleigh, Sir H. Prinsep, and others.

These, I think, are the experiences of our guests of this evening. In their different spheres of work they have given freely to India of their industry and abilities, and she has given to them honour and happiness in return. (*Cheers.*)

Just five years ago my Hon'ble Colleague, Sir Thomas Raleigh, came out here. When I drew him from the sequestered retreats of the Privy Council and of Oxford (*laughter*), he perhaps little thought that he would be the protagonist in a great educational struggle, which would stamp his name indelibly on the future of higher education in this country. But so it has been. He has been Vice-Chancellor of the University, President of a Commission, and the chief parent of our recent Bill. But in the Government of India we know him to have been more; a broad-minded statesman, a sagacious and dispassionate critic of men and things, a ready and practised but an always courteous debater, a loyal colleague, and a true friend. (*Cheers.*) He has earned the affection of all who have been brought into close contact with him, and the respect of every class and race. (*Cheers.*) The honour which was bestowed upon him this morning by His Majesty, and with which I am about to invest him when I leave this room, is, I think, a proof of the manner in which his services have been regarded. (*Cheers.*)

Then I turn to the distinguished Judge who has also been honoured by His Majesty to-day, the senior Civil Servant in India, the last of the Haileybury men, the bearer of a famous name on which he has conferred additional lustre. (*Cheers.*) I almost feel it to be an impertinence that I should be standing here to propose the valedictory health of Sir Henry Prinsep. He entered the service before I entered life. (*Laughter.*) He once told me upstairs that he had seen Lord Dalhousie walk up the Ball Room,—Lord Dalhousie who, to most of us, is only a great name in the dim records of the past. He and two generations of

Prinseps before him have been prominent men in India. Think of what his memories must be, what he could tell us, what stores of experience are hidden away in the recesses of his mind. All the Viceroys, all the Members of Council, all the Chief Justices, all the learned Judges of half a century—he has known them all. One feels almost inclined to say that he owes a duty to the world to spend the evening of his days in writing a biography of these eminent men, or, perhaps better still, the autobiography of himself. It is not for me to speak of Sir Henry Prinsep's work as a Judge. At the farewell banquets that have been given to him during the past few days by the members of his own profession, I have no doubt that much has been said on that point by those who are better qualified to speak than I. What has always struck me has been the elasticity of intellect and temperament that has made and kept him young to the end, always abreast of the times, never losing in freshness what he gained in experience. (*Cheers.*) Upon the bank of our river in Calcutta stands the monument to his celebrated uncle. But the stream has flowed away from it and left it high and dry. No such fate has befallen the nephew. He has stood on the very brink of Indian life for fifty years; through all that time its waters have laved his feet; and now that he crosses over to the opposite side, though the river will roll on unchecked, it will not be quite the same to those who have so long connected its movement with the strong personality, the robust common sense, and the popular graces of Sir Henry Prinsep. (*Cheers.*)

Our third guest is Mr. Justice Amir Ali, who after a long connection with India is about to retire to the land where he married, where his sons are being educated, and which he intends to make his home. For years Mr. Amir Ali has successfully represented on the Bench the remarkable and virile community to which he belongs, and whose character is the reflex of their history. (*Cheers.*) He has further

managed what so many find difficult to do, namely, to combine the accomplishments of the scholar and the historian with the professional attainments of the Judge, and has given to the world a series of volumes which will deserve to be read when the majority of law reports are happily forgotten. (*Laughter.*)

Finally, I turn to my Assistant Private Secretary, Mr. Latimer, a man as modest as he is popular (*cheers*), as widely respected as he is widely known, a man who never made an enemy, and never lost a friend. (*Cheers.*) It is often the little wheel that has most to do with the movement of the big engine, though its revolutions may be inaudible and unseen. Thirty-five years ago Mr. Latimer came out to India with that great Viceroy, Lord Mayo. He has served every Governor-General since with equal loyalty and devotion. Think of the secrets that are buried in that bosom. Think of the memoirs that our friend could write. I venture to think that they would run to even more editions than those of Sir Henry Prinsep! But his fidelity is, if possible, excelled by his discretion, and no qualms of apprehension have ever agitated the complete confidence of my predecessors or myself, a confidence that has been associated in the case of all of us with a sincere gratitude for services rendered, and a warm personal esteem. (*Cheers.*) We shall often think of our old Assistant Private Secretary when he has retired with his wife to a quiet home in the mother country, and shall recall the days when his unfailing urbanity and willing tact were at the other end of the electric bell. (*Cheers.*)

These, Gentlemen, are the four toasts that I give you—Sir Thomas Raleigh, Sir Henry Prinsep, Mr. Amir Ali, and Mr. Latimer. (*Loud Cheers.*)

[The Hon'ble Sir Thomas Raleigh in rising to reply was received with cheers. He said :—

"*Your Excellencies, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—One consolation of my position is that I am the first of four, and therefore

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you will expect me to be brief. It is no conventional phrase, it is the simple truth, for me to say that the honours conferred, and about to be conferred, upon me, have come upon me with a shock of surprise; and Your Excellency's speech, with its generous and all too friendly estimate of my public services, is not calculated to restore my self-possession. If a great artist were to paint my portrait, using all his skill to impart dignity and charm to a somewhat unpromising subject, (*laughter*), I should feel it my duty to retire for a season into obscurity that the public mind might not be disturbed by unkindly comparisons between the picture and the facts; and after listening to Your Excellency's speech I would fain preserve silence, lest this distinguished company should discover that the Law Member who stands out so boldly and so attractively upon the Viceroy's canvas is only the Law Member with whose defects and limitations they have all been familiar during the last five years.

"Your Excellency has spoken of the great tradition of the office which I have still the honour to hold. Just seventy years have passed since Mr. Macaulay took up his abode in Chowringhee as the first Law Member of Council. He came to India imbued with the ideas which he had derived from Bentham—full of the idea that law could be made perfectly simple, that everything ought to be codified, and that, however complicated the rules under which men lived, it only required good-will and sufficient knowledge of the subject to reduce those rules to an intelligible system.

"In that and in some other respects I envy the first and most famous of my predecessors. Since his time we have had great Law Members of Council—Sir Barnes Peacock, Sir Henry Maine, Sir James FitzJames Stephen—and I am not quite sure that any of them has effected quite all that Mr. Macaulay expected to effect when he landed upon the shores of India. But the history of this office, I think, is enough to show that there is no more interesting and no more important duty to which an English lawyer can aspire than that of helping the Government of India to suit English forms of law and justice to the needs of the many races and communities who make up the Empire of India. That is the task in which for the last five years under Your Excellency I have had the honour to be engaged. I am quite aware that in some quarters there is an impression that under a Viceroy of commanding ability and great force of character the Council is more or less a superfluity. We are sometimes described as a body of amiable and well-meaning persons who are more or less hypnotised, reduced to a collective nullity, and compelled to obey the behests of a superior executive authority. I think Your Excellency will bear me out in saying that the inner history of the last

five years does not entirely confirm this view of the relations between the Governor-General and his Council. As Law Member of Council, I have always felt that my office was that of an adviser, but I have never given an opinion which was worth hearing which did not obtain a fair hearing with Your Excellency. If I have come through my five years of office without serious misadventure, I attribute it partly to the great examples to which I have already referred, and still more to the fact that I have lived under a most exacting and at the same time a most considerate master. After all, anybody who has studied legislation or Government knows this, that nothing can be done without concurrence of wills; and if I might take upon myself to describe the characteristics of the present administration I should say that the mastery of the present Viceroy consists not merely in the power of forcing his own will upon others, but still more in the power to utilize the experience, the knowledge, the opinions of others for what they may be worth, turning everything to a concurrence of wills, and framing out of differences of opinion, it may be after argument, in which the Viceroy has been as ready to give and take as though he were an ordinary Member of Council—framing out of all these differences of opinion a constructive and a progressive policy for the Government of India. (*Cheers.*)

"It is one of the privileges of the Law Member of Council that whatever his merits or his demerits may be, and however small his personal importance may be, he is a link in the connection between the two great Services that rule British India—the Judicial and the Executive. It has often been my task to explain the decisions of the Judicial Service to the Executive. Many times, and sometimes I fear without success, I have endeavoured to convince Your Excellency that Law is only common sense, although it is sometimes common sense in a crystallised, one might say in a petrified, form (*cheers*), and when our Executive decisions have brought us into relations with the High Courts—occasions which have always been very anxious moments in my own career—I have always felt it a privilege, that being a member of the legal profession, I might speak to my friends of the Bench and Bar in their own language. They have always received my suggestions with the greatest possible kindness, though it may be that occasionally I have been the subject of a mild and friendly suspicion. I have been regarded, that is, to some extent as the tame elephant in the *kheddah*, who is trying to persuade the chartered monarchs of the jungle to part with their accustomed liberties. (*Laughter.*) But whatever my success, or want of success, may have been on those occasions, I have always been animated first by loyalty to the profession, which I joined a long time ago, and

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secondly by loyalty to the Government of India, whom I have the honour to serve.

"Five years may be regarded as a very long or a very short period according to the mood of the moment. If I think only of the great affairs in which, under Your Excellency's impulse and direction, I have been engaged, of the friendships which I have had the good fortune to make, of the experiences through which I have passed, the five years look like a long time. But if I think of my own work, of my plans when I came to India, and of the fraction of those plans which I have been able to carry out, then five years seem a very short time indeed. It is sad to part, as I shall have to part in the course of a few days' time, with the friends whom I have made in India. My consolation is this, that the world now-a-days is so small and the inhabitants thereof are so restless, that I shall almost certainly meet a great number of this company again. My wish for them is that we may meet under happy circumstances. I acknowledge, nobody has more reason to acknowledge, the hospitality and kindness which have made my time in India so pleasant. From the officers of my own Department, from my Colleagues in Council, from the business community, and from all services and all communities, both English and Indian, I have received kindnesses too many to recount, in this short space of five years. And whatever the worth of my service, and sometimes it seems to me that its worth is very small, this recollection remains with me, and will remain as an abiding element in my life. For the many acts of kindness which I have received from Your Excellency and for these final expressions of your goodwill, accept my best thanks: I only wish I could express them better. As a Balliol man, and an All Souls man, I welcomed the prospect of serving under Your Lordship, and I shall cherish the memory of this strenuous time. At such a moment as this, the shortcomings of my own service rise to my mind and embarrass my tongue: but there is only one word more to say. I wish Your Excellency, and all the friends I have made, and hope to keep, in India a regretful farewell. (*Cheers.*)"

The Hon'ble Sir Henry Prinsep in rising to speak was very warmly received. He said:—

"*Your Excellencies, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I am sure that there are few in this room who envy my present position in being called upon to express in suitable language the fulness of my heart on hearing the highly complimentary terms in which you, Sir, have been pleased to describe my career and the services of several members of my family in this country. I shall always regard this moment as the proudest event of my life in being the recipient of such

high praise from you. Since my retirement from Indian service has been made known, I have received several entertainments in token of regret at my approaching departure, but to-night the edifice which my good friends have been raising for me has been crowned. I am the last of the Haileyburys, and I have spent nearly half a century in public service in India. I attribute to this combination, more than to any merit of my own, the tribute that I have received at your hands that my life has been usefully employed. Standing beside my two ancestors, my father and my grandfather, I am a dwarf; although the term of my service in India almost equals both of theirs combined, I have not lived in times when India was being made what it now is.

"My grandfather lived in Calcutta when Warren Hastings governed Bengal. My father was in Government service from 1809 to 1844, and filled the highest offices under Government in the Secretariat and in the Council of the Governor-General. My lot has fallen in less conspicuous paths. Except when trying a sensational case in which my work has been open to severe criticism, it has been done where it has been known only to a small circle of men to whose advice and assistance I own very many acknowledgments.

"If I have been so fortunate as to earn their confidence and to receive as to-night your approval, I shall always have the satisfaction of knowing that my long years in India have not been misspent. I find myself unable to express in appropriate terms my feelings of gratitude for the great generosity in which the approval of my labours in the public service has been expressed by many sections of our community and by the forbearance with which my own shortcomings have been overlooked. To you, Sir, I am especially indebted, not only for many kindnesses done to me, but for the high honour which you propose to bestow on me in recognition of my services to India. I can only hope that during the few years which may still be left to me I may retain my present vigour, and that I may still be found a useful member of the community, having my interest in India undiminished. (*Cheers.*) And if I can be useful in any way, I shall be proud to exercise whatever abilities may still be left to me, to accomplish whatever I may be called upon to undertake. (*Cheers.*) I thank you, Sir, from the bottom of my heart, for the most kind words in which you have spoken of me. (*Cheers.*)"

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Amir Ali in rising to reply was received with cheers. He said:—

"*Your Excellencies, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I shall not attempt to express in words my grateful appreciation of Your Excellency's kind reference to me. Fifteen years ago I was selected

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as the first Mahomedan Judge of the High Court of Calcutta to succeed many distinguished Judges of another nationality. I have tried to maintain their reputation, and if I have succeeded, much of my success is due to the assistance I have received from the Members of the Bar who have appeared before me, and from my colleagues. Thirty-one years ago I came to Calcutta almost as a stranger, as I am not a native of this place—scarcely a native of this Province. I have received many kindnesses both from English and Indian friends, of which I retain a pleasant recollection: but the memory of Your Excellency's kindness this evening will always form the brightest spot in my memory. I beg to thank Your Excellency again for your kindly reference to me, and all my friends assembled here for the manner in which they have responded to Your Excellency's toast. (*Cheers.*)"

Mr. Latimer next rose to reply and was greeted with cheers. He said:—

"*Your Excellency, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I desire to express my heartiest appreciation of the kindly manner in which Your Excellency has included me in your remarks on this occasion of farewell, and for the generous terms in which you have spoken of my service here.

"I am comforted in the severance of this long connection with Government House, and its official duties (which I may say represents my life work), by such words, which, whatever my shortcomings, have seemed to blot them out.

"I have seen many changes here—many come and go—in my service with successive Viceroys during the past 35 years, and now that I come to the point myself where for me the curtain falls, and I too pass off the stage, it is, and always will be, a matter of the sincerest gratification to feel that, in the closing period of my work, I have had the honour of serving a Viceroy so distinguished, and I may say at the same time so kind and so considerate as Lord Curzon.

"In parting from the Staff I should like to express for them, one and all, my kindly feeling. I shall not soon forget their friendly attitude towards me, and I shall carry away with me the happiest memories of our relations.

"Sir, I thank you again very heartily, and you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for the manner in which you have received His Excellency's references to me. (*Cheers.*)"

After dinner the guests adjourned to the Throne Room where the Viceroy held a private investiture of the Star of India and the Indian Empire, at which His Excellency invested the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh as

a Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India, and the Hon'ble Sir Henry Prinsep as a Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire.]

DEBATE ON THE BUDGET, 1904-5.

[In the Legislative Council held at Government House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, 23rd March 1904, the Hon'ble Sir Edward Law introduced and explained the Financial Statement. The discussion of it took place on the following Wednesday, most of the Members of Council taking part in it. The attendance was probably the largest ever seen at a Budget Debate. His Excellency the President closed the discussion in the following speech :—] 30th Mar. 1904.

I do not propose to say much about the figures of the Budget. They speak for themselves. Hon'ble Members have found no complaint to make; and nearly every speech to which we have listened has been in the nature of a beatitude. In my remarks I propose to look rather at the Budget as the culminating point for the moment in an era of recuperation which has now been proceeding for five years almost without a halt, and to contrast the position which we occupy to-day with that which was presented when I came to India at the end of 1898. My predecessor had to fight—and he fought with great courage and cool-headedness—against many drawbacks, famine, pestilence, earthquake, and war. Recurrent deficits appeared in the Budget. The exchange value of the rupee touched its lowest point, only a fraction over 1*s.* in 1895. In the summer of 1898 it was proposed to borrow 20 millions sterling in order to strengthen exchange. The year 1898-99 witnessed the turn of the tide and the first of a series of surpluses that have never since failed us. But even then exchange was an uncertain quantity, and we had no guarantee that the pendulum would not swing back. It was in the summer of 1899 that Sir Henry Fowler's Committee reported, and in September of that year

we introduced and passed the legislation at Simla which gave us a gold standard in India, and started our present currency system on its way. Nearly five years have gone by, and we have almost forgotten the anxieties of those days. We have secured practical fixity of exchange at the rate of 16*d.* to the rupee. The lowest point touched has been 1*s.* $3\frac{27}{32}$*d.* in July 1901, and the highest 1*s.* $4\frac{5}{16}$*d.* in January 1900: but the ordinary fluctuations have been within much narrower limits. This has been the first and most beneficial result of the change. Hon'ble Members will recollect that another of the Committee's proposals was the creation of a Gold Reserve Fund from the profits of Indian coinage. It was reserved for Sir E. Law to put that plan into execution in 1900. We began with 3 millions in the first year: but we now have nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions invested in Consols and other gold securities in England, and bringing in an interest of £166,000 per annum. Before many years have passed I anticipate that this reserve will have reached the figure of 10 millions sterling, which will be sufficient for our purpose, and will give us a permanent guarantee for stability of exchange. The fund is valuable to my mind from another point of view. Constituted as it is from the profits on coinage, it points to a steadily-growing demand for currency, and, therefore, to an increase in the industrial activity and prosperity of the country. While I am speaking of our reserves, I must also not lose sight of our Currency Reserve, which, though it exists for a different purpose, *viz.*, to secure the stability of our note circulation, and to provide for a demand for gold as distinguished from rupees, is yet an important buttress to our financial position. This fund now contains upwards of $10\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling in gold.

But it is in my power to point to other and more direct symptoms of progress in a comparison of our present Budget with its predecessors. Our revenue has risen from $68\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1899 to 83 millions in 1904, and this notwith-

standing one very severe year of famine and in parts of India two years, as well as the continued prevalence of plague. Nevertheless, whatever head of revenue you examine you will find the same marks of growth. The only heads under which there is a decrease in the present year are those of Salt and Assessed Taxes, and that only because of our reduction of taxation a year ago. For five years we have had a succession of surpluses, amounting to an average of 3 millions sterling per annum. Last year we gave to India the first remission of taxation that she has enjoyed for 20 years. We sacrificed thereby about £1,400,000 annually in respect of the Salt Tax and the Income Tax: but we gave to the people what in my judgment was their due, and we so arranged our remissions as to bring relief as far as possible to those classes that best deserved it. If our resources continue to expand, I should like to look forward to a day when we may proceed even further. It would, perhaps, be too much good luck for one Viceroy to give two considerable reductions of taxation in his time. But if I am not so fortunate, then I shall hope to bequeath the opportunity to my successor.

Another evidence of our improving credit has been the figures at which we have been able to issue our rupee paper loans for Public Works expenditure. In 1900 the average rate was just over 94 rupees; last year it was a fraction over 98 rupees 1 anna. The Bank rate has never exceeded 8 per cent., nor fallen below 3 per cent. During the past year it has not exceeded 7 per cent.

During the quinquennium our total debt, both here and in England, has been increased by less than 16 millions. But against this must be set an expenditure on capital account of nearly 20 millions on Railways and $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions on Irrigation, the increased revenue from which more than repays the interest on the capital outlay. As regards Railways and Irrigation, let me analyse a little more closely. At the end of this year 27,150 miles of railroad will be open, or an increase of 4,650 miles in my time—the largest total that

has yet been recorded. But a more important feature still is that having for the first time obtained a surplus from our Railways in 1899-1900—a modest bantling of £76,000—our net Railway revenue has now risen to £855,000—a most healthy adult—or an average surplus of £466,000 in each of the five years.

In the same period the average net revenue from Irrigation has been £823,000. Thus on the two accounts we obtain an annual surplus of 1¼ millions sterling. In fact, we have now secured the whole of our Indian railways and canals for nothing, and instead of costing us money they have become a steady source of income to the State. These figures might, I think, encourage us to borrow with even greater confidence in the future.

From a calculation that has been made for me I further learn that the net imports of gold and silver into India, which between the years 1894—1899 amounted to 25 millions sterling, have risen to over 46 millions sterling in the succeeding five years. I do not say that I regard this influx of the precious metals with unqualified satisfaction. For I often wonder what becomes of it all, how much of it goes below the ground, and how much is left above, and what proportion is reproductive. But when I read the familiar jeremiads about the alleged drain of capital away from India, it is at least open to me to remark that there is also a great deal coming in, and the drain always seems to me to resemble a flow at one end of a pipe which is perpetually being replenished at the other. Again, I do not see how it is possible to overlook the enormous increase in Savings Banks deposits in India. In India these have risen from less than 1 million sterling in 1870 to over 7 millions sterling in 1903, out of which $\frac{9}{10}$ths are owned by natives. Within the same period the private deposits in the Presidency, Exchange, and other Private Banks have risen from £6,600,000 to £28,500,000; and the quantity of Government paper held by natives has risen from 13¾ millions to 33½ millions sterling.

Debate on the Budget, 1904-5.

Is it not time, therefore, that instead of repeating hypothetical figures and calculations that have been exposed until exposure has become tedious, our critics should recognize the fact that India is, on the contrary, exhibiting every mark of robust vitality and prosperity? These gentlemen remind me rather of an amiable eccentric whom I knew at school, and who always put up his umbrella and insisted that it was raining when the sun shone. In my view there are few, even among the most advanced countries of the world, that would not welcome an economic position as sound as that which India now enjoys. There are, no doubt, calls coming upon us, urgent, incessant, and irresistible; for, as I shall presently show, we are raising the administrative standard all round; and administrative efficiency is merely another word for financial outlay. But so far as I can forecast, we shall be able to meet these calls without any addition to the burdens of the people; and if I were to leave India to-morrow, I should yet be proud of the good fortune that had enabled me to indulge in the brief analysis of our financial position which I have undertaken this afternoon.

There are two other items in the Budget to which I desire to refer, and they are both aspects of the same question, *viz.*, our attitude to Local Governments. One theory I hope that we have effectively killed; and that is the old idea that Local Governments are stinted by the Supreme Government when money is forthcoming. Year by year we have subsidised them for the many calls, administrative and otherwise, that are made upon their purses, and there is not a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor in India from whom I have not received frequent expressions of gratitude. In the present Budget our bounty has reached its maximum; for in addition to the 1½ crores, or 1 million sterling, which has been given to four of the Local Governments to start their new settlements, and the 40 lakhs which we have supplied for Education, we have given them 13½ lakhs for the increase of minor establishments, and 87 lakhs for such

purposes as the Calcutta Improvement Scheme in Bengal, the Simla Improvement Scheme in the Punjab, and important public works in other provinces. Finally, I had been so much struck in my various tours by the degree to which local institutions, such as hospitals, museums, libraries, public parks, and the like, have been starved or cold-shouldered for more urgent needs, that I persuaded Sir E. Law to give a grant aggregating 22 lakhs for these purposes, carefully framed lists having been submitted to me by the various Heads of Administrations. These are just the sort of object that ought, in my view, to profit when funds are available; for they represent the less material and more cultured aspects of the national life. The Hon'ble Dr. Bhandarkar seemed to think that Bombay and other parts of India had been neglected in this respect, and that Calcutta, from its proximity to the Government of India, had alone got its fingers into the national purse. I think that he must have overlooked the items to which I have referred. We have endeavoured to give proportionate treatment to every province: although the fact that Calcutta is an imperial as well as a provincial capital, necessarily enhances its claim.

The second subject is the new Provincial Settlements, which have been explained in considerable detail both by Sir E. Law and by Mr. Baker. I alluded last year to the hope that we were on the eve of a noteworthy change in this respect—no less than the substitution of a permanent, or relatively permanent, settlement for the present five years plan. The latter has existed for a quarter of a century. It was better than the system that preceded it, but it admitted of much improvement. It was not an economical plan, because it encouraged extravagance in the concluding years of each term, and it was not a satisfactory plan, because it led to a rather unseemly squabble with the Supreme Government at the end. The better method was clearly to give to Local Governments a permanent instead of a temporary interest in the revenue and expenditure under their

control, subject to certain broad principles in fixing the provincial assignments. This we have succeeded in doing in the cases of Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces, and Assam, and have thereby laid the foundations of a financial autonomy that, I hope, will steadily develope and will enable the Local Governments in the future to undertake enterprises from which they are now debarred. I mention the matter here, both because of its intrinsic importance, and because I agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that it furnishes a conclusive answer to those who are always accusing the Government of India of undue centralisation. I would point out that efficiency of administrative control is not centralisation, though it is often mistaken for it. Centralisation is the absorption by a central body of powers or privileges hitherto enjoyed, or capable, if created, of being exercised, by subordinate bodies. I acknowledge no such tendency. We have kept Local Governments up to the mark, because I do not believe in lax or sluggish control, or in the abdication of powers which have been provided for special objects. But if an occasion has anywhere arisen where it was possible to devolve or depute powers, we have gladly taken it, and these new settlements constitute, in my view, the most important step in the nature of decentralisation that has been adopted for many years, and will, I hope, be the forerunner of others in the future.

Five years ago at this table I spoke of a category of questions which I hoped to take up and press to solution in my time. Two years later I indicated the progress that we had then made. I have not the time, and there is no present need, to complete the review now. But a few remarks may be made distinguishing between those that have been more or less disposed of, and those that will occupy us during the forthcoming year. Of course, the task would not then be complete. There is no standing still in administration, and no administrator can mark the

point at which his work is done. New spirits start up as soon as old ones are laid: and the horizon lengthens out as we proceed. I think, however, that it is possible to frame a category of cases in which we have either definitely carried our object or reached such a point that continuity is assured. The first of these I desire to detach for special consideration in a few moments. It is Frontier Policy. I have already dealt with the second, and third, and fourth, namely, Currency Reform, Provincial Settlements, and Reduction of taxation. A few days ago I was explaining what we had been able to do in respect of the preservation of antiquities and Archæological reform; and there the lines have been laid down from which no departure should now be possible. The same applies to the changes in the Leave Rules, that were designed to prevent the frequency of official transfers, and to the reduction of Reports. I have lately had conducted a special examination of every Report that reaches the Government of India from whatever quarter, and I am gratified to find that the orders about reduction have been faithfully carried out, with the result of an immense saving of work to overburdened men, and at no sacrifice of value or merit in the Reports themselves. The reduction in the Telegraphic rates to Europe, to which I pledged myself in 1899, and which brought down the charge from 4*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a word, has been so successful that we have lately addressed the Secretary of State with a proposal for a further reduction to 2*s.*, with a corresponding reduction in the Press rate. I do not know if we shall succeed. But I think that the result of the first experiment is distinctly encouraging. We were prepared for a loss on the first year's working of £67,000. It was only £33,000. We estimated for a 10 per cent. increase in the traffic. The increase amounted to 26½ per cent. On the 1st of January of the present year we carried out a further reduction in inland rates, which, I believe, has proved beneficial to all classes of the community. The figures of January

show that there was an increase of 25 per cent. in deferred messages alone over the corresponding month in the previous year.

Next I pass to the large category of questions connected with Education. Our Universities Bill is now the law of the land. But I should have felt that we had acted in a very one-sided and inconclusive manner had we held that Educational Reform was summed up in the reconstitution of the Universities. Our recent Educational Resolution crystallises the principles that result from an examination of every branch of educational activity, and that will, we hope, inspire our educational policy in the future. It may surprise those Hon'ble Members at this table who sometimes hint at the Simla Conference of 1901, as though it had been a sort of Star Chamber that promulgated dark and sinister decrees, to learn that the results of the Simla Conference, as finally shaped after consultation with Local Governments, are embodied in the recent Resolution. I observe in India that if people do not approve of a policy, they denounce it as reactionary. If they cannot disapprove of the official statement of it, they describe it as a platitude. As our Educational Resolution has had the good fortune to be so designated, I conclude that it has been found generally satisfactory. Perhaps, however, I may point out that so far from being a perfunctory statement of obvious principles, it is really the result of nearly two years' hard work. It summarises for the public information the position which we have at present reached in educational progress, and it endeavours to lay down the lines of future advance. Many important aspects of the subject, such as Education in European Schools, Agricultural Education, Commercial Education, Industrial and Technical Education, Examinations for Government service, as well as the entire problem of Primary and Secondary Education in India, find a place in it. Some of these matters we have also dealt with independently. Our scheme for Industrial Schools and

for State Technical Scholarships has gone to Local Governments, and is before the public. I rather agree with those Hon'ble Members who were arguing here the other day and who repeated to-day that Educational Reform in India is mainly a matter of money. I think it is. We have shown this by the extra grant of 40 lakhs, or nearly £270,000 a year, that we have now made for three years running to the Local Governments. These grants are in addition to the ordinary Educational assignments in the Provincial Settlements. We have also, as is known, promised a contribution of 25 lakhs to the Universities. I should like, however, to go further, and to provide for a serious and sustained expenditure upon educational improvement extending over a long series of years.

There is another very important group of subjects to which we have given great attention. I allude to Economic Development, which may again be subdivided into Agriculture, Industries, and Commerce. Our recent Resolution on Agriculture sums up the practical steps that have been taken for the encouragement and improvement of agriculture, and for the active prosecution of scientific research. We now have our Inspector-General of Agriculture with a staff of scientific experts, we have the new institution at Pusa springing into being, where research, the training of students, and experimental farming will be simultaneously taken in hand, we have strengthened the Provincial Agricultural Departments, reorganised the Civil Veterinary Department, so as to undertake the investigation of cattle diseases and the improvement of breeds of cattle, and created a Board of Scientific Advice to co-ordinate the work that is being done in these and all other branches of scientific research in India. We have centralised bacteriological research at Kasauli and Muktesar. Then I pass to those measures that more directly affect the economic condition of the agrarian classes. We have dealt with the system of Land Revenue Assessments in India, tracing the historical

growth of the present system and its steady modifications in the interests of the land-owning or land-cultivating classes, and formulating reasonable and lenient principles for observance in the future. By legislation in the United Provinces we have endeavoured to improve the relations between landlord and tenant. We have attacked the problem of the increasing indebtedness and gradual expropriation of the proprietary body from many sides, by the Land Alienation Bills in the Punjab and Bundelkund, and by the Bill to institute Co-operative Credit Societies, which we passed in this Council last week. We have endeavoured to provide against the break up of landed properties by legislation instituting a modified system of entail in Oudh, in the Punjab, in Madras, and in Bengal. Finally, in 1902, we gave direct benefit to the cultivators by remissions of Land Revenue amounting to nearly 2 crores of rupees, while, in the past five years, we have advanced between 5 and 6 crores to the people for the purchase of seed and the provision of capital.

The Government of India have watched with anxious interest, and have done all in their power to develope, the commerce and industries of this country, some of them securely established, others struggling but hopeful, others again nascent or still in embryo. I might refer to our legislation in the interests of tea-gardens, and the institution of a tea-cess, the passing of the Mines Act, the constitution of a Mining Department, and the issue of more liberal Mining rules, the countervailing Sugar Duties, grants for indigo research, the passing of an Electricity Act, the opening up of the Jherriah coal-fields, reductions in coal freights, the steady increase in railway rolling-stock, for which, as Sir A. Arundel has mentioned in his Memorandum, no less a sum than 3 crores, or 2 millions sterling, has been set aside. We are proposing the creation of an Imperial Customs Service. We have also endeavoured to develope our trade with adjoining countries, by the Nuskhi route

with Seistan, by a Commercial Mission which we are arranging to send to South-Eastern Persia, and by new contracts with the British India Company for improvements in their service to the Persian Gulf. I am also hopeful that the Tibet Mission will result in an improvement of trading relations with that country. We have succeeded in obtaining greater advantages in the new contract with the P. and O. Company. We also have a proposal now before the Secretary of State to supersede the Commercial Bureau, for which we at first asked, but to which he objected, by some larger and more powerful organisation, involving the creation of a new Department of the Government of India for Commerce and Industry, and the appointment of a new Member of Council for those purposes. It is to me almost incredible that the Government of India should have got along for all these years with functions and duties huddled together in such haphazard fashion and thrust upon the shoulders of over-worked Departments and harassed men. Commerce has got mixed up with Finance: Industries and Emigration have been grouped with Revenue and Agriculture. The Post Office has been under one Department, and Telegraphs under another. These are only casual illustrations. But they indicate a want of method and co-ordination in our system that are inconsistent either with business-like administration or with the progress that lies before us. If I can get this new Department created while I am at home, I shall return with greater confidence in our capacity to meet the demands of the future.

I remarked just now that I should have something to say about Frontier Policy. I have, I think, only spoken twice about this subject in these Debates in six consecutive sessions. It is perhaps scarcely realised in this country that the Foreign Department, which is under the direct charge of the Viceroy, is the most laborious of all. But it pursues its path in a silence which I should be the last to regret, and which is only broken by the storm of criticism

that bursts forth when there is an outbreak of trans-frontier war. It is not without some feeling of congratulation that I look back upon five years, unmarked by a single expedition on the entire North-West Frontier, unless the brief military sallies that were undertaken in order to close the Mahsud Waziri Blockade can be so described. This is the first time that such a claim could be made for a quarter of a century. In the petty operations that have taken place on a frontier over 1,200 miles in length, only 42 of our men have been killed during that time; 67 more lost their lives in the course of the Mahsud Blockade. But I should be reluctant to measure results by lives alone, or even by money alone, although the economies that have resulted both from withdrawal of troops and from absence of fighting have been very great. I would prefer to look at the spirit of increasing harmony and contentment among the tribes and at the relations that are growing up along the entire border.

At the end of 1898 the embers of the Tirah conflagration were only just cooling down. New agreements had not yet been entered into with the tribes. Large garrisons of British troops were cantoned in posts far beyond the frontier, at Chitral, at Lundi Kotal, and in the Tochi; great schemes for costly fortifications were on foot, and we seemed likely once more to tread the vicious circle that has beguiled us so often before. My Councillors and I set ourselves not so much to prevent future war by preparing for it as to produce peace by creating the requisite conditions. Our policy was summed up in these principles: withdrawal of British forces from advanced positions, employment of tribal forces in the defence of tribal country, concentration of British forces in British territory behind them as a safeguard and a support, improvement of communications in the rear. A necessary condition of the successful execution of this policy was the creation of a new administration on the frontier, specially equipped for the

purpose, and invested with a more direct responsibility than a Local Government of the old type. Perhaps those who are so severely denouncing the Government of India as a province-maker just now might cast their eyes back to the events of three years ago. We were scarcely less attacked in some quarters for the creation of the Frontier Province then. But who would now go back from it, or who would dispute that Frontier affairs are conducted under it with infinitely superior despatch, with greater smoothness, and so far with better results, than under the former system.

Let me now ask Hon'ble Members to accompany me on a brief tour round the North-West Frontier, from Gilgit to Beluchistan, so that they may see in each case how we stand. We have withdrawn all regular troops from Gilgit, which is exclusively garrisoned, along with its subordinate posts, by Kashmir Imperial Service Troops. If we pursue our way westwards towards Chitral, we come to Mastuj, which is the head-quarters of a corps of Chitrali irregulars, or scouts, whom we are training up for the defence against invasion of the many defensible positions in their narrow and rugged ravines. Chitral itself is a point upon which I look with some satisfaction. Before I came out to India I was one of the foremost combatants in the movement to retain that place within our political and strategical boundary. We won the day in England, though only by the accident of Lord Rosebery's Government being turned out at the critical moment. However, even when I arrived here, I remember being warned that Chitral was the point of danger, that the line of communication between Dir and Chitral was one of extreme tenuity and risk, and that if the connection gradually faded into nothing, no one would be the worse. I, on the contrary, declared my fervent intention to maintain this connection, as absolutely essential to our scheme of frontier defence, and my conviction that it could be done, I will not say without risk, but with success.

Debate on the Budget, 1904-5.

Since that time we have five times marched our reliefs up and down the Dir Road—quite the most fanatical corner of the mountain border—without a shot being fired. Our troops have been concentrated at the extreme southern end of the Chitral country at Drosh, and the force has been reduced by one-third: while the posts vacated and all outlying posts are now held by levies raised for the purpose from the Chitralis themselves. The young Mehtar of Chitral has three times been down to see me in India, and if anyone were to propose a British withdrawal from Chitral, I know very well from whom the first protest would come. Further we have just connected Chitral by telegraph with Gilgit. Continuing southwards, I find that in Dir and Swat we had a garrison, in 1899, of 3,550 men. I withdrew the Khar Movable Column in 1902, and our troops, who are now concentrated at Chakdarra, where is the bridge over the Swat River and the starting point of the Dir-Chitral road, at the Malakand and at Dargai, have been reduced by more than one-half, the outlying posts being held by levies from Dir and Swat. The Chiefs of Dir and Nawagai have twice visited me in India, and they, in common with all the border chieftains from Hunza to Swat, were included among our guests at the Delhi Durbar. We have fortified the Malakand, and connected Dargai by a narrow-gauge line with Nowshera on the Peshawar Railway, the Kabul river being bridged at Nowshera for the purpose. We are, therefore, in an immeasurably stronger position to meet any sudden or fanatical outbreak in those parts. The elements of unrest are always there, and we shall probably some day have trouble again. But for the moment the omens are favourable: and trade, which has sprung up in a surprising manner, is a great pacificator. Then I come to the Khyber, where in 1899 we had a British garrison of 3,700 men. The whole of these have long ago been withdrawn: and the Khyber Rifles, raised from the Pass Afridis and neighbouring tribes, which had dwindled to

a total of 800 after the campaign, have now been reorganised into two battalions officered by Englishmen. With them we hold the entire Pass with its connected posts and fortifications. These we rebuilt at an outlay of 5 lakhs, instead of the 15 which had been estimated for in 1898. We have also made, by agreement with the tribes and by tribal labour, the alternative route from Peshawar to Lundi Kotal through the Mullagori country that was so vainly pressed for 15 years ago, and have connected Peshawar by the broad gauge with Jamrud. We have opened the route through the Kohat Pass from Peshawar to Kohat by arrangement with the tribes: and Kohat has been connected with the Indian railway system at Kushalgarh by a 2′ 6″ line, which, as soon as we have completed the new bridge over the Indus at Kushalgarh, will be converted into broad gauge. Continuing southwards we have created a body called the Samana Rifles, nearly 500 strong, who have already taken over nearly the whole of the posts upon and below the Samana that were held by regulars five years ago. Our own forces there, which were 1,700 strong, have now been reduced to 600, and will, I expect, before long be altogether withdrawn. Simultaneously we have created a flank support to this position by running the railway from Kohat to Thal at the mouth of the Kurram Valley. From this the regulars have been altogether withdrawn, and the two battalions of the Kurram Militia, 1,400 strong, organised on the same lines as the Khyber Rifles, and commanded by British Officers, are its sole garrison. In the troubled mountain region between the head of the Kurram and Waziristan we have also settled our border disputes by friendly arrangement with the Amir. Then we come to Waziristan. Here we have cleared out, at the second attempt, the nest of murderous outlaws who had created an Alsatia at Gumatti near Bannu. We have made agreements with the tribes for the opening up of the turbulent corner between Thal and the Tochi, and we have thus been

able to proceed at leisure with our policy of conciliation and concentration in the Waziri country. There we were delayed for a long time by the turbulent contumacy of the Mahsuds; and the militia experiment, which we had introduced, also proceeded somewhat slowly. The blockade, however, vigorously and unremittingly pursued, and followed by a series of sharp and unexpected punitive counter-raids into the Mahsud valleys, brought the tribe to reason, and matters are now proceeding so evenly that we have recently raised the North Waziristan Militia, which holds the line of the Tochi, to a strength of 1,200 men, and the South Waziristan Militia, which holds the line of the Gomal, to a strength of 1,450. In 1899 the British garrisons of these two valleys numbered 4,000. Before next cold weather the whole of these will have been withdrawn. Waziristan will for some years to come be a section of the frontier that will require careful watching. But the consciousness of the tribes that they are trusted to bear arms in defence of their country, the security of good employment and regular pay, the tranquillising influence of improved communications, and the knowledge that we want to live at peace with them, rather than at war, are all agencies on the right side. The withdrawal of the garrisons that I have named has been balanced by the concentration of the requisite supporting columns at Kohat and Bannu, and the military garrisons in these two Districts number 4,200 and 2,700, respectively. Similarly the Gomal is supported from Dera Ismail Khan with a garrison of 3,000. Thus along the entire stretch of frontier which I have been describing the situation is completely revolutionised since 1899. If we regard the case from the point of view of British troops, there are now only 5,000 across the administrative border of British India as against 10,200; but the supporting garrisons within our border have been increased from 22,000 to 24,000, and have been strengthened by railway connections which were not then in existence. On the tribal side we have called

into existence a body of men representing three grades of organisation—Levies over 1,000 strong, Border Military Police over 3,000, Border Militia 5,800. The experiment may still be said to be, if not in its infancy at any rate in its childhood, and I will not indulge in premature laudation. But five years is a long time on the frontier and every year gained there is worth two elsewhere. This part of India may not be much interested in what is passing so far away. But I am speaking to-day through this representative assembly to a wider audience, and I am venturing to inform the entire country how its defences stand.

I have not much time to pursue my course southwards and westwards through Beluchistan towards the Persian frontier. But I may mention in a sentence that we have done much to consolidate our position there. We have taken Nuskhi on perpetual lease from the Khan of Kelat: we are constructing the Quetta-Nuskhi Railway and shall finish it next year; we have built up and popularised the Nuskhi-Seistan trade route, and have planted our officers in Seistan and on the Eastern borders of Persia in sufficient number to watch over our interests and to resist hostile designs. Finally we are consolidating our position in Mekran. Perhaps however the measure of the frontier security which we have enjoyed can best be estimated by the ease and safety with which we have been able during the past five years to find troops for service elsewhere, in South Africa, China, and Somaliland. At one time our Indian Army was short, in the interest of these Imperial campaigns, for which of course the Home Government paid, by over 31,000 men. Increased security here has therefore meant increased power of assistance elsewhere.

About Foreign Affairs in their wider application I do not propose to say much. I spoke last year about the increasing range of our responsibilities in Asia, and a good deal has happened in the interim to point those remarks. My own view of India's position is this. She is like a fortress

with the vast moat of the sea on two of her faces, and with mountains for her walls on the remainder. But beyond those walls, which are sometimes of by no means insuperable height and admit of being easily penetrated, extends a glacis of varying breadth and dimensions. We do not want to occupy it, but we also cannot afford to see it occupied by our foes. We are quite content to let it remain in the hands of our allies and friends: but if rival and unfriendly influences creep up to it, and lodge themselves right under our walls, we are compelled to intervene, because a danger would thereby grow up that might one day menace our security. This is the secret of the whole position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and as far eastwards as Siam. He would be a short-sighted commander who merely manned his ramparts in India and did not look out beyond; and the whole of our policy during the past five years has been directed towards maintaining our predominant influence and to preventing the expansion of hostile agencies on this area which I have described. It was for this reason that I visited that old field of British energy and influence in the Persian Gulf: and this also is in part the explanation of our movement into Tibet at the present time; although the attitude of the Tibetan Government, its persistent disregard of Treaty obligations, and its contemptuous retort to our extreme patience, would in any case have compelled a more active vindication of our interests. I should have thought that the record that I have quoted on the North-West Frontier would have saved me from the charge of a dangerous or impulsive policy on any part of the Indian frontier. I have had no desire to push on anywhere, and the history of the past five years has been one, not of aggression but of consolidation and restraint. It is enough for me to guard what we have without hankering for more. But I would suffer any imputation sooner than be an unfaithful sentinel at my post, or allow the future peace of this country to be compromised by encroachment

from the outside as to whose meaning there cannot be any question. If the Tibetan Government is wise it will realise that the interests of Indian defence and the friendship of the Indian Government are entirely compatible with the continued independence and autonomy of Tibet, so far as these may be said at present to exist. But it should also realise that they are incompatible with the predominance of any other foreign influence, carrying with it insecurity on our frontier and adding gratuitously to our cares.

It seems a natural transition from the object at which we aim in our Frontier and Foreign Policy to the means that we possess for securing them, and I pass therefore to the question of our Military Estimates. The military expenditure is going up. Year after year I have foretold it at this table. But it is not going up at so high a rate as in foreign countries: and it is not going up at a higher rate than our necessities demand. I am well aware of the cry that is always raised against military expenditure anywhere, and I yield to no man in my desire to secure to the peaceful millions their due share in the improving prosperity of the country. We are giving it to them in no small measure. But their tranquil enjoyment of what we give is in itself dependent upon the guarantees that we can provide for its uninterrupted continuance, and he would be a faithless guardian of the interests of the people who shut his eyes to what is passing without in the contented contemplation of what is going on within. The matter could not have been better put than it was in the terse and effective remarks of the Hon'ble Sir E. Elles. We are fortunate in possessing as Commander-in-Chief the first soldier in the British Army. He comes to us here with his unrivalled experience and energy. He is addressing himself to the problem of providing India with the army that she needs, and of equipping and distributing that army in the manner best adapted to secure the defence of the country. For this purpose the army must be efficient, not in units

alone but as a whole, and not efficient alone, but as highly efficient as it is possible to make it: it must possess the latest armament: it must be adequately officered: its superior officers must be scientifically trained: it must be as far as possible self-supporting in its ammunition, its weapons, and its stores: its subordinate establishments must be not less effective than the fighting front: and the maximum available force must be capable of being directed to the vulnerable point at the moment of danger. All of these points are engaging the attention of the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member, and I venture to say that their efforts, supplementing those of the two eminent Commanders who have preceded them and who alas have both passed away, are steadily placing the Indian Army more and more in a position to play its part should the occasion arise. I saw the other day a criticism in a well informed quarter which said, Why does not the Viceroy, instead of spending money upon internal reform, turn his attention to adding British officers to the sadly under-officered Indian Army? The critic was right in his ideas, but he was wrong in his facts. The Viceroy to whom he alluded had not forgotten this elementary need: and during his term of office he can point to the fact that no fewer than 484 British officers have been so added. This is only one of many conspicuous needs that we have filled. Were I to attempt to recapitulate either what has already been done, or what is in the mind of the present Commander-in-Chief, I might detain this Council long. Many of these schemes are alluded to in the memorandum of the Hon'ble Military Member. To me it will always be a gratification to think that I have assisted in measures for providing India with the factories at Ishapore, Cossipore, Jubbulpore, and Wellington, that will practically render her independent of external supplies in guns, rifles, and gunpowder, for raising the reserves of our splendid Native Army by 100 per cent., for equipping the entire army with the latest

weapon, and for providing out of our surplus resources for such cardinal needs as coast and other defences. We live in days when even the strong man cannot leave his castle undefended; and when our international rivals are closing in around us with intentions which he who runs may read. I am also glad to have been instrumental in relieving the hardships and reducing the risks of the British soldier's life in India by providing an electric-punkah installation in all our largest barracks, the cost of which will figure in our Budgets for some years to come.

In the forthcoming year there are many objects which I look to push forward, before I can contentedly lay down my task. Three of these are on a footing of almost equal importance. We have already done a good deal during the past few years to bring our Railway Administration into closer touch both with the commercial community and with the public at large. But we have not yet reached the final stage. Mr. Robertson's Report was placed in our hands last year; and it embraced so many aspects of reform, bringing in both the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the Companies, and raising such large questions both of administration and finance, that we could not deal with it rashly or hurriedly. Our views went home to the Secretary of State at the close of last year, and are now being considered by him. They involve an entire reconstitution of our administrative machinery, and an attempt to manage our railways in future on less strictly departmental lines. The object that we have in view can only be attained by the surrender of considerable powers by existing authorities to any new authority that may be constituted: and this is not a matter that can be easily or speedily concluded. I am hopeful, however, that a decision may be given in the course of the forthcoming summer, and that this most important project may be duly launched.

Irrigation is also one of the works of the coming summer. Our sympathies with an expanded irrigation programme

have been sufficiently shown by the increased grants that we have given for construction in each year since I came to India. Next year they touch the unprecedented total of 1¼ crores. People sometimes talk as though practically unlimited sums could be spent upon irrigation with little or no trouble. They could perhaps be spent, if experiments were rashly made in every direction, and if there were no objection to flinging money away. No science, however, demands for its practice more careful forethought and planning or more trained supervision. An untrained or inadequate establishment cannot suddenly begin to spend lakhs on tanks and canals. There is no analogy in this respect between irrigation and railways: for private enterprise is ready to help us with the latter, and the question is only one of terms. With irrigation the case is so different that whereas in the last two years we have given two crores to Local Governments, they could only manage to spend, in 1902, 85 lakhs, and in 1903, 81 lakhs. This summer, however, we hope to address ourselves to an exhaustive examination of all the numerous projects that were worked out by the recent Irrigation Commission for the whole of India. Great expenditure will be required, and much of it will be unproductive in the technical sense of the term. But protection from drought rather than acquisition of revenue is our object, and I venture to think that we shall have it in our power to initiate a comprehensive and far-reaching policy that will do more good to the cultivating classes than any Bills that we can pass in this Council, or any remissions of taxation that the Finance Member might announce in the Budget.

The third question is Police Reform. I should have been glad had we been able to make public our proposals upon the Report of the Commission without delay. But the Secretary of State desires to see the views of Local Governments upon them before he comes to a final decision, and this must inevitably occupy some time. No one

need imagine that the matter is being burked or shelved. But it is of such supreme importance that undue haste would merely prejudice the ultimate solution. I am impressed with the remarks that fell from the Hon'ble Mr. Adamson about the Police in Burma. I am aware of the condition of affairs that he has described, and I will look into his request that we should consider it independently of the general reforms which we hope to introduce.

There are two other subjects to which His Highness the Aga Khan has alluded in his excellent and patriotic speech, and which have been for some time under my consideration. The first is the contributions made by the Indian Princes in the shape of Imperial Service Troops and otherwise to the cause of Imperial Defence. There are anomalies and inequalities in the present system which must strike the eye of any observer : and I contemplate, when I come back to India, taking the Chiefs into consultation on the matter. The second is the future of the young officers in the Imperial Cadet Corps. I hope to arrive at definite conclusions on the matter before I leave for England a month hence. In the meantime let me assure the Aga Khan that there is nothing, in my view, wild or visionary in the ideas that have occurred to him. To what degree they may be practicable I cannot at present say. But they appear to me to be eminently deserving of consideration.

There are other matters which we have in view, such as legislation for the better protection of game in India, a most difficult subject upon which we have for long been engaged, and many other items of administrative reform. I will not weary the Council with these. But as regards administrative reform in general, I should like to add a remark. When I came out to India every public body or society without exception that addressed me urged me to pursue a policy of administrative reform. Spare us, they said, adventure on the North-West Frontier, extend railways and irrigation, give us a sound currency, develope

the internal resources of the country, promote educational and industrial advancement, manage plague and famine with a due regard to the feelings of the community, free the Government machinery from the many impediments to its proper working. I took these authorities at their word, and I have ever since pursued administrative reform, though not, I hope, to the exclusion of other and equally important objects, with an ardour that has never slackened. I have done so, because I think that these advisers were right. Efficiency of administration is, in my view, a synonym for the contentment of the governed. It is the one means of affecting the people in their homes, and of adding, only an atom perhaps, but still an atom, to the happiness of the masses. I say in no spirit of pride, but as a statement of fact, that reform has been carried through every branch and department of the administration, that abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and standards raised. It has not always been a popular policy; but if I am at liberty to say so, it has been whole-hearted and sincere. And yet what criticism is now more familiar to me than that no one in India desires administrative reform at all, and that the only benefactor of the people is he who gives them political concessions? Those are not my views. I sympathise most deeply with the aspirations of the Indians towards greater national unity, and with their desire to play a part in the public life of the country. But I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development, and it is not my conception of statesmanship to earn a cheap applause by offering so-called boons, for which the country is not ready, and for which my successors, and not I, would have to pay the price. The country and its educated classes are, in my view, making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress, and they have every reason to be proud of what they have achieved. That progress will be continued, so long as they

listen to the wise voices among their own leaders: but it will be imperilled and thrown back if it is associated with a perpetual clamour for constitutional change, and with an unreasoning abuse of those who do not grant it.

The charge, however, that we give an inadequate representation to the ability of the country in our Government is one that, though frequently repeated, has always seemed to me so fallacious that I have made a special attempt to analyse it, and I will conclude my speech by presenting to this Council the results of an investigation which I have had conducted into every branch of the administration, and which is so interesting, and I think to many people will be so surprising in its results, that I propose to publish it on behalf of Government.

Let me begin by stating what I conceive to be the general principles that regulate the situation. They are two in number. The first is that the highest ranks of civil employment in India, those in the Imperial Civil Service, though open to such Indians as can proceed to England and pass the requisite tests, must, nevertheless, as a general rule, be held by Englishmen, for the reason that they possess, partly by heredity, partly by up-bringing, and partly by education, the knowledge of the principles of Government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character, which are essential for the task, and that, the rule of India being a British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who have created and are responsible for it. The second principle is that outside this *corps d'élite* we shall, as far as possible and as the improving standards of education and morals permit, employ the inhabitants of the country, both because our general policy is to restrict rather than to extend European agency, and because it is desirable to enlist the best native intelligence and character in the service of the State. This principle is qualified only by the fact that in certain special departments, where scientific or

technical knowledge is required, or where there is a call for the exercise of particular responsibility, it is necessary to maintain a strong European admixture, and sometimes even a European preponderance.

Now let me show how these principles are vindicated in practice. I will not recapitulate the history of the case or conduct the Council through the successive stages of Government policy and pronouncement from the Act of 1833 down to the present day. I will give—what is much more eloquent—the concrete figures and proportions. They have been compiled for a period of 36 years, the figures not being available before 1867.

In 1867 the total number of Government posts in India with a salary above Rs. 75, now equivalent to £5 a month, was 13,431. It is now 28,278. In 1867 Europeans and Eurasians held 55 per cent. of the total; they now hold 42. Hindus held 38 per cent; they now hold 50. Mahomedans held 7 per cent.; they now hold 8. Further, while the total number of Government appointments has thus increased by 110 per cent., the figures show that the number of posts held by Hindus has increased by 179 per cent., by Mahomedans 129 per cent., by Eurasians 106 per cent., and by Europeans only 36 per cent. In the proportion of total posts Indians have gained 13 per cent., Europeans and Eurasians together have lost 13 per cent., and 12 per cent. of this loss has been European.

Next let me give the results of an examination by grades. More than half of the appointments in India are and always have been posts on less than Rs. 200 a month. The European element in these was always small, and is now less than 10 per cent. Of posts on Rs. 200 to Rs. 300, the native proportion has risen from 51 per cent. to 60 per cent.; from Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 from 23 per cent. to 43 per cent.; from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 from 21 per cent. to 40 per cent.; from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 from 9 per cent. to 25 per cent.; from Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 from 15 per cent. to 27 per cent.;

from Rs. 700 to Rs. 800 from 5 per cent. to 13 per cent. Thus in no single grade has the proportion of Europeans increased, while the native increase has been continuous and striking, and has been larger in the higher grades than in the lower. The Rs. 800 line may be said to mark the limit of the Provincial Service. Between Rs. 800 and Rs. 1,000 there were, in 1867, 4 natives in Government employ; there are now 93. Posts on Rs. 1,000 and over may be regarded as superior. In 1867, out of a total of 648 such appointments 12 were filled by natives, all Hindus, or a percentage of 2. In 1903, out of 1,370 such appointments 71 were filled by Hindus and 21 by Mahomedans; the native percentage being, therefore, 7.

If I take the standard of pay, I find that the aggregate pay of the total number of posts has risen by 91 per cent. since 1867; but in the case of the aggregate pay drawn by Europeans and Eurasians the increase is only 6 per cent., while for natives of India it is 191 per cent., and for Hindus 204 per cent. The average pay of the total number of posts has fallen by Rs. 31, or 9 per cent., since 1867. But the average drawn by natives has risen from Rs. 175 to Rs. 188, or a rise of 7 per cent., while that drawn by Europeans and Eurasians has fallen by Rs. 2, or 4 per cent.

Whatever standard therefore we apply, whether it be number of posts, proportion of posts, or averages of pay, the results are the same. There has been a progressive increase in native employment and a progressive decline in European employment, showing how honestly and faithfully the British Government has fulfilled its pledges, and how hollow is the charge which we so often hear of a ban of exclusion against the children of the soil.

In the figures which will be published will be contained the calculations of each decade from 1867 to the present day, so that the movement may be traced stage by stage, and of each province and each department. Summarising the totals, I find, as might be expected and as I have said,

that of the 1,370 Government servants drawing salaries higher than Rs. 1,000 a month, or £800 a year, 1,263 are Europeans; of the remainder 15 are Eurasians, and 92 natives. But if I take the ranks below Rs. 1,000 a month and between that total and Rs. 75 a month, *i.e.*, from £60 to £800 year, than I find that out of a total of 26,908 Government servants, only 5,205 are Europeans, while of the remainder 5,420 are Eurasians, and the balance, or 16,283, is native.

It therefore appears that the British Empire employs less than 6,500 of its own countrymen, whether brought from abroad or recruited in this country, to rule over 230 millions of people; but that for the same purpose it employs 21,800 of the inhabitants of the country itself. If we went below Rs. 75 a month, the disproportion would, of course, be overwhelming. Will anyone tell me in the face of these figures that our administration is unduly favourable to the European or grudging to the native element? I hold, on the contrary, that it is characterised by a liberality unexampled in the world. You may search through history, and since the days of the Roman Empire, you will find no such trust. I have endeavoured to procure from Foreign Governments the corresponding figures for their foreign possessions, the Russians in Central Asia, the Dutch in Java, the French in Algeria, in Cochin China, and Tongking. I have not, unfortunately, been successful. But I have visited the majority of those countries, and have seen what there prevails: and if anyone thinks that they show proportions even remotely comparable with those which I have quoted, I can assure him that he is gravely mistaken. For my own part I think that the progressive growth of confidence that is revealed by the tables which I have quoted, is honourable to the British Government and honourable to the people of this country. It reveals a European system of Government entrusted largely to non-European hands: what is called a subject country, though I dislike the

phrase, administered far less by the conquering power than by its own sons; and beyond all it testifies to a steady growth of loyalty and integrity on the one part, and of willing recognition of these virtues on the other, which is rich with hope for the future.

I will now bring these remarks to a close. The Government of India in my time has been involved in many controversies, and has had to bear the brunt of much attack. Perhaps when the smoke of battle has blown aside, it may be found that from this period of stress and labour has emerged an India better equipped to face the many problems which confront her, stronger and better guarded on her frontiers, with her agriculture, her industries, her commerce, her education, her irrigation, her railways, her army, and her police brought up to a higher state of efficiency, with every section of her administrative machinery in better repair, with her credit re-established, her currency restored, the material prosperity of her people enhanced, and their loyalty strengthened. We shall not deserve the main credit, because we have profited by the efforts of those who have preceded us. But perhaps we may be allowed our share; and may feel that we have not toiled, and sometimes endured, in vain.

ADDRESS FROM THE BURDWAN MUNICIPALITY.

2nd April 1904. [The Viceroy, accompanied by his Staff, arrived at Burdwan on Saturday, the 2nd April, at 8 A.M. His Excellency was received at the railway station by Mr. Inglis (Commissioner of the Burdwan Division), the Maharaja Dhiraj of Burdwan, Mr. O'Brien (Collector), Raja Bun Behari Kapur, C.S.I., and other gentlemen, the principal of whom were presented to him by the Commissioner. The Viceroy stayed in the Palace, where at 1 o'clock in the Durbar Hall the Members of the District Board and Commissioners of the Municipality presented His Excellency with an address of welcome. The

Address from the Burdwan Municipality.

address was read by Babu Dibendra Nath Mitter, and dealt with a number of matters of municipal and local interest. The Viceroy's reply was as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I am really at Burdwan on a holiday after the labours of the most exhausting session that I have yet passed through at Calcutta; and I have come here in the main as a compliment to my friend, the Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur, who has often pressed me to include Burdwan among the many places which, when I leave India, I shall have had the good fortune to visit in Bengal. You will, therefore, hardly expect me to-day to go at length into the numerous questions of Municipal politics that you have raised in your address, and which, though they quite legitimately express what are your main pre-occupations in Burdwan, and are, therefore, of much interest to me to hear, are hardly of a nature upon which the head of the Supreme Government can comment with advantage. I am aware that the recent history of the Burdwan Municipality has been of a rather chequered description, and that steps had to be taken a short time ago to bring about a better state of affairs. In fact, the history of Local Self-Government in this country is in itself one of ups and downs. I do not complain of this, so long as it can be shown, as I think it can, that the general trend is forwards and upwards. I would point out, however, that the membership of a Municipality presents three aspects: a duty, a responsibility, and an honour. It is a duty to the place of which a man is a citizen that he should place his services, if invited to do so, at the disposal of his fellows. It is an honour, because all representative work is in the nature of a compliment to the person selected. But most of all is it a responsibility; and this can only be discharged by active work and attention to detail. There is no higher service than that which a man can render to his native place. In England some of the foremost public men take an active part in the humblest details of parochial or urban administration. That is the

spirit that we desire to inculcate in India. Local administration is just as honourable a task as provincial or imperial administration, though the scale is relatively small; and those who come forward to take part in it seriously are doing their duty, just as those who abstain are not. I hope that the Municipal Commissioners and the Members of the District Board whom I see here to-day, will continue their exertions in the interests of the public, and will bear in mind that by their success or failure they are contributing to the general reputation of Municipal institutions in this country. In this respect deeds are a better test than words. When, for instance, I read in your address that you spend a considerable sum annually upon Primary Education, and learned on enquiry that this contribution has only amounted, in the past three years, to an average of Rs. 840 per annum, I felt that there was opening for an improvement.

I wish that Lady Curzon had been here to join me in receiving your friendly welcome. I thank you, gentlemen, for this, and for your assurances of loyalty and respect.

SPEECHES DELIVERED WHILE IN ENGLAND,
JULY-AUGUST 1904.

SPEECHES

BY

LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

JULY-AUGUST 1904.

PRESENTATION OF THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

[On Wednesday, the 20th July 1904, Lord Curzon was admitted to the Freedom of the City of London in the Guildhall. In making the presentation the City Chamberlain (Sir Joseph Dimsdale) addressed His Lordship as follows :— 20th July 1904.

"*Your Excellency*,—From time to time it has been the privilege of the Citizens of London to receive in this ancient Hall, statesmen, orators, heroes, and others, to whose efforts the safety, honour, and greatness of our country are due.

"It is with a complete recognition of the dignity of the occasion that we desire to place our Freedom to-day in the hands of one who acts for our King, the Emperor of India, as a fit representative in the greatest Viceregal position in the world, and whose name and triumphs are associated with the maintenance of peace, the preservation of unity, and the spread of prosperity throughout our Eastern Empire.

"To the Citizens of London, India must always command a special and constant interest. It was the action of the merchant adventurers of the City in the past that gave these great possessions to Great Britain, and thus placed the Imperial Crown upon the brow of our Sovereign. We feel that in conferring the Freedom of the City of London upon your Excellency, we are joined by every race in India, who, equally with ourselves, are desirous of showing gratitude and appreciation for signal services rendered by you to your country and your King.

"Your Excellency from early youth seemed marked out as destined to play no small part in your generation. From your Eton and University career you passed on to your marvellous self-imposed education, involving travels and researches in distant climes and careful study of political, linguistic, and ethnological subjects. You

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thus not only fitted yourself for the commanding place you subsequently occupied in the Imperial Parliament of your country, but for your installation as Viceroy of India, where you were at once called upon to supply troops for both South Africa and China—troops which astonished the world by their complete organization, promptitude, and efficiency. Vividly do we remember your struggles against famines of the most serious order, which in 1900 affected an enormous proportion of the native population, and at one time, so fearful were its ravages, that it was necessary to provide relief for six millions of our Indian fellow-subjects. It is difficult to picture what the anxiety and trouble of your Excellency and those surrounding you must have been at this epoch, but we cannot fail to recall that you, in all difficulties and doubts, enjoyed a more intimate and effective consolation than could be afforded by any council in the person of Lady Curzon, whose official absence to-day we all deeply regret, and particularly do we deplore it on account of sad domestic bereavement. I know I state the feelings of all present when I tender to her our heartfelt sympathy.

"We cannot here—although always mindful of them—enlarge upon the legislative changes and important reforms carried out during your busy term of office, involving important questions of frontier government and the creation of a whole new province. The expedition to Tibet is still unfinished; we hope ere long to look back upon it as an ensurer of peace and the settlement of many difficult questions. To-day we can at least say that the expedition was admirably conceived and boldly carried out by your Excellency and another Citizen of London—Lord Kitchener. The zenith of your fame so far, however—for we trust there is still a long and prosperous future in store—was attained at the moment of the historic Durbar, when you received, in the Emperor's name, the most resplendent homage probably ever shown to any ruler, in which you accomplished the difficult task of dealing with many States, races, religions, and manners, and, nevertheless, giving all cause to unite in upholding with unstinted loyalty and patriotism the most beneficent rule the world ever knew or heard of.

"It is now with pleasure we Citizens of London place another stone to the pile of our monument of greatness by the addition of a name worthy to be added to our roll of fame. In conferring upon your Excellency the Freedom of this great City—the first City of the Empire—we are giving the most forcible expression in our power to the admiration, the affection, and gratitude felt towards you by your fellow-Citizens, your fellow-countrymen, and the subjects of our King-Emperor in his dominions beyond the seas.

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"I have the honour to offer you the right hand of fellowship as a Citizen and Grocer, and to ask, on behalf of the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the Court of Common Council, your acceptance of this Gold Casket containing a copy of your Freedom."

After Lord Curzon had signed the Roll of Burgesses, he replied in the following words:—]

My Lord Mayor, My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Let me begin by thanking the Chamberlain very warmly for his kind reference to Lady Curzon. Though, as he remarked, not officially present here to-day, she is yet in this hall to hear the courteous things that he said about her, and with which, in reference to the assistance she has rendered to me and to the work that she has done in India, I venture cordially to associate myself.

My Lord Mayor, I do not suppose that there is any honour which a public man can value more highly than the Freedom of the City of London. No fee can purchase it, no conqueror can claim it as his own; it is the free gift of the corporation of the greatest city in the world, and it has the added dignity of the associations that accompany it, and the memory of the illustrious names with which each fresh recipient is proud to find his own enrolled. But the honour seems to me to carry an especial grace when it is conferred upon those servants of the Crown who have been serving their country in distant parts, for it shows them that in their absence they have not been altogether forgotten, and that those of you who are at the heart of the Empire are not indifferent to what is passing on the outskirts.

By a law which was designed for different times, and which, in my opinion, is now obsolete, no Viceroy of India can leave India for England, whatever the urgency, public or private, without vacating his office; and so it is that a man may be absent, as I have been, from his country for an unbroken period of five and a half years without sight or sound of home. During his long exile the weight and isolation of his great post tell heavily upon him. Fatigue

of body and spirit often press him down; the volume of work that he has to discharge is such as no man who has not undertaken it can well imagine. You may judge, therefore, what a reward—I had almost said, what a tonic to body and soul—is such a reception as this to such a man; how his heart warms within him at the sympathetic recognition of his countrymen, and how fresh courage and spirit are infused into him to go forth again and renew his task.

My Lord Mayor, the City Chamberlain in his speech has drawn an appreciative and flattering picture of some of the aspects of the administration with which I have been concerned. If I detected in some of his remarks the too generous partiality of one old Etonian for another, I am yet conscious of the service that he has rendered to India by inviting the attention of this representative assemblage to some features in our recent administration.

May I also take advantage of the present opportunity to say a few words to my countrymen about that great charge—the greatest that is anywhere borne by the English people, nay, more, in my judgment, the most onerous and the most impressive that has ever rested upon the shoulders of a conquering and civilized race? I sometimes think that the most remarkable thing about British rule in India is the general ignorance that prevails about it in England. Seventy years ago Lord Macaulay said, in his speech about the Government of India, that a broken head in Coldbath Fields produced a greater sensation amongst us than three pitched battles in India. Twenty years later Lord Dalhousie, that celebrated pro-consul, wrote that nothing short of a great victory or a great defeat in India was sufficient to create in English society even a transient interest in Indian affairs. If these are the tests of English interest in India, then, my Lords, any such service as it may have been in my power to render must be, indeed, unknown. But I think that things have somewhat advanced since those days.

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Communications have greatly improved between the two countries; postal and telegraphic charges have been cheapened; more cold-weather visitors come out to us in India every year; and there is always an intelligent minority of persons here who follow, with the utmost interest, everything that goes on there. Yet, in its main essentials, the indictment still remains true, and you have only to look at the morning newspapers, with rare exceptions—and there are exceptions; for instance, I was delighted to see, only a day or two ago, that *The Times* has announced its intention of recommencing the series of periodical articles upon India which those of us who are interested in that country used to read with so much delight in bygone days—I say you have only to look at the newspapers to see that, with rare exceptions, the average Englishman is much more concerned in the latest football or cricket match, in a motor trial, or a wrestling encounter, than he is in the greatest responsibility that has been undertaken by his fellow-countrymen on the face of the earth. Even if he looks abroad he sees more and hears more about the 11,000,000 who inhabit the Colonies than he does about the 300,000,000 who inhabit India. In the happiness of our insular detachment, or in the pride of racial expansion, he forgets that the greatest constituent of the Empire in scale and in importance lies neither in these islands, nor in the Colonies, but in our Asiatic dependency. It is true that for this ignorance and want of proportion on his part there is abundant excuse. Here are our own people; this is the hearthstone of the Empire and the nursery of the race; these islands must always be our first concern; even the Colonies are, in a sense, only one stage more distant, because they are peopled by our own kith and kin. India, on the other hand, is very remote and very unintelligible, and the average Englishman, if only he hears nothing about it from day to day, is apt to think that matters must be going on sufficiently well.

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My Lords and Gentlemen, I have always ventured to hold a different idea about British rule in India. To me it is the greatest thing that the English people have done, or are doing now; it is the highest touch-stone of national duty. If the nations of the earth were to stand up to be judged by some supreme tribunal, I think that upon our European record, or upon our colonial record, we should survive the test. But if there were the slightest hesitation on the part of the judge or jury I would confidently throw our Indian record into the scales. For where else in the world has a race gone forth and subdued, not a country or a kingdom, but a continent, and that continent peopled, not by savage tribes, but by races with traditions and a civilization older than our own, with a history not inferior to ours in dignity or romance; subduing them not to the law of the sword, but to the rule of justice, bringing peace and order and good government to nearly one-fifth of the entire human race, and holding them with so mild a restraint that the rulers are the merest handful amongst the ruled, a tiny speck of white foam upon a dark and thunderous ocean? I hope I am no rhapsodist, but I say that I would as soon be a citizen of the country that has wrought this deed as I would be of the country that defeated the Armada, or produced Hampden and Pitt.

But we all live in a severely practical age, and I can afford to be rather more concrete in my illustrations. I should like to convey to this audience some idea of the part that India is capable of playing, nay, of the part that it has recently played in the Imperial burden. As I say, my illustrations shall be drawn from recent history and from my own experience. Two of them have been mentioned by the City Chamberlain in his speech. If you want to save your Colony of Natal from being overrun by a formidable enemy, you ask India for help, and she gives it; if you want to rescue the white men's legations from massacre at Peking, and the need is urgent, you request the Government of

India to despatch an expedition, and they despatch it; if you are fighting the Mad Mullah in Somaliland, you soon discover that Indian troops and an Indian general are best qualified for the task, and you ask the Government of India to send them; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling stations of the Empire, Aden, Mauritius, Singapore, Hong-kong, even Tien-tsin or Shan-hai-kwan, it is to the Indian Army that you turn; if you want to build a railway to Uganda or in the Soudan, you apply for Indian labour. When the late Mr. Rhodes was engaged in developing your recent acquisition of Rhodesia, he came to me for assistance. It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Demerara and Natal; with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile; with Indian forest officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam; with Indian surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth.

Speaking before an audience such as this, I should wish, if I had time, my Lord Mayor, also to demonstrate that, in my opinion, India is a country where there will be much larger openings for the investment of capital in the future than has hitherto been the case, and where a great work of industrial and commercial exploitation lies before us.

Then, again, how familiar we are in recent times with the argument that India is the vulnerable point of the Empire. And assuredly it is true that if we were engaged in a great international war—which God forbid—it is not at Dover or London that one, at any rate, of your possible antagonists would strike. He would not bombard Quebec or land a force in Sydney Harbour. It is in Asia that the pressure would be applied; it is your Indian frontier that would bear the brunt. It is there, or thereabouts, in all probability, that the future of your dominion might be decided.

There is an old proverb which says, "He that England fain would win, must with Ireland first begin." I have always thought that this was rather a dubious compliment

to our brothers across St. George's Channel, but I suppose it alludes to the times when the foreign enemy who had aggressive intentions upon us used to begin his invasion in that quarter. At all events, if you were now to substitute "India" for "Ireland" in the refrain, I do not think you would be so very far from the mark. I hope I have said enough, therefore, my Lords and Gentlemen, to show you that you cannot afford to leave India out of your calculations. She is as important to you as you are beneficial to her. In the world politics of the future believe me that India will play an increasing part, and a time will come when in our reformed Board Schools the average English boy will require to know more about India than he does now, will require to know as much about India as he now does about Marathon or Waterloo.

I grant, my Lord Mayor, that the features of government in the two countries are very different. And perhaps this is the main cause of the ignorance and misconception to which I have referred. We have in India a good many of the problems that you have here, but they are magnified almost beyond recognition by the complexity of the factors and the immensity of the scale. We also have our own problems, to which, in the tranquil uniformity of life in these islands, you are fortunately strangers. You have not the perpetual and harassing anxiety of a land frontier 5,700 miles in length, peopled by hundreds of different tribes, most of them inured to religious fanaticism and hereditary rapine. A single outbreak at a single point may set entire sections of that frontier ablaze. Then, beyond it, we are brought into direct contact with the picturesque but perilous debility of independent, or quasi-independent, Asiatic States, some of them incurably diseased, and hastening to their fall; and behind them, again, are the muffled figures of great European Powers, advancing nearer and nearer, and sometimes finding in these conditions temptations to action that is not in strict accordance with the interests

which we are bound to defend. That, my Lord Mayor, is the external problem of India.

Then, if we look within, whereas you in England have a population that is relatively homogeneous, we have to deal in India with races that are as different from each other as the Esquimaux is from the Spaniard or the Irishman from the Turk, with creeds that range between the extreme points of the basest animalism on the one hand and the most exalted metaphysics on the other, and with standards of life that cover the whole space between barbarism and civilization. You have here an aristocracy that is drawn from the people, and that goes back to it. Our aristocracy in India consists of native chiefs of diverse races, many of them as much aliens to the people as we are ourselves, presenting every variety of *status* and privilege, from the magnificent potentates that you sometimes see in this country to the pettiest landed proprietor.

You hardly know here what the phrase "land revenue" means. In India it is the be-all and end-all of millions of the population, and it is the mainspring of our internal administration. In England your railways are built, managed, and financed by private enterprise; in India they are one of the chief charges of Government. I remember that it fell to me, as Viceroy, to issue orders, on my own responsibility, for the better accommodation of native passengers in third-class carriages. Here, in England, your education problem, as any Parliamentarian present will bear me out, is thorny enough; but it is as nothing compared with ours in India, where we are trying to graft the science of the West on to an Eastern stem; where we have to deal with religious differences, compared with which all your sectarian animosities sink into the shade; where we have a chaos of languages, and stages of mental organization that extend, as I have remarked, from the transcendentalist to the savage.

Then, here in England, you do not know what famine is. My Lord Mayor, I thank the Chamberlain for the remarks

that he made on that subject in his address. It is quite true that I had to administer in India the greatest famine that has befallen that country in modern times within the range to which it applied, and I can assure you that it is an experience that would wring blood from stone. You have your sunshine and storms, your drought and floods, in this country, but you do not know the awful possibilities that are summed up in the single word "monsoon," and which spell the difference in India between life and death to areas in any one of which the whole of the United Kingdom might be swallowed up. You have your suffering and destitution, but you have not such an appalling visitor as the plague—the plague, now in its seventh year in India, defying analysis, defeating the utmost efforts of medical skill and administrative energy, inscrutable in its origin, merciless in its ravages, sweeping off, as our records show, very often thousands in a day and tens of thousands in a week. Then, above all, your public men in England have not before them the haunting question that is always before us in India, like a riddle of the Sphinx—what is in the heart of all those sombre millions, whither are we leading them, what is it all to come to, where is the goal?

Such, my Lord Mayor, are some of the superficial differences between the problem of government in India and in England. They are, I think, sufficient to show you that those who are charged with the government of that great dependency can seldom have a careless moment or an idle hour. They are weighed down with incessant anxiety, with an almost overpowering responsibility, and with unending toil. But I can assure you that every one of them, from the Governor-General down to the youngest civilian, is proud of the duty, and resolved to do justice to it; and when the commander is called up and praised, a thrill runs down the ranks, and encourages the latest-joined private in the lines.

Sir Joseph Dimsdale said something about the character of the work in which we have been engaged during the past

five years. My Lord Mayor, it has been a work of reform and reconstruction. Epochs arise in the history of every country when the administrative machinery requires to be taken to pieces and overhauled, and readjusted to the altered necessities or the growing demands of the hour. The engines are not working to their scheduled capacity, the engineers are perhaps slack or overborne. I agree with those who inscribe on their administrative banners the motto "Efficiency." But my conception of efficiency is to practise as well as to preach it. It is with this object that we have conducted an inquiry in India into every aspect of the administration. First we began with the departments themselves, the offices of Government, revising the conditions under which they work, freeing them from the impediments of excessive writing, with its consequences of strangulation of all initiative and dilatoriness in action. Then we proceeded to investigate every branch of the Government in turn. We endeavoured to frame a plague policy which should not do violence to the instincts and sentiments of the native population; a famine policy which should profit by the experience of the past and put us in a position to cope with the next visitation when unhappily it bursts upon us; an education policy which should free the intellectual activities of the Indian people, so keen and restless as they are, from the paralyzing clutch of examinations; a railway policy that will provide administratively and financially for the great extension that we believe to lie before us; an irrigation policy that will utilize to the *maximum*, whether remuneratively or unremuneratively, all the available water resources of India, not merely in canals—I almost think we have reached the end there—but in tanks and reservoirs and wells; a police policy that will raise the standard of the only emblem of authority that the majority of the people see, and will free them from petty diurnal tyranny and oppression. It is impossible to satisfy all classes in India or anywhere else. There are some people who clamour for boons which

it is impossible to give. But the administrator looks rather to the silent and inarticulate masses, and, if he can raise even by a little the level of material comfort and well-being in their lives, he has earned his reward.

I am glad that our finances in India have placed us in a position to give the people the first reduction of taxation that they have enjoyed for twenty years. We have endeavoured to render the land revenue more equable in its incidence, to lift the load of usury from the shoulders of the peasant, and to check that reckless alienation of the soil which in many parts of the country was fast converting him from a free proprietor to a bond slave. We have done our best to encourage industries which little by little will relieve the congested field of agriculture, develop the indigenous resources of India, and make that country more and more self-providing in the future. I would not indulge in any boast, but I dare to think that as the result of these efforts I can point to an India that is more prosperous, more contented, and more hopeful. Wealth is increasing in India. There is no test you can apply which does not demonstrate it. Trade is growing. Evidences of progress and prosperity are multiplying on every side. Six years ago, just before I left England, a committee of experts was sitting in London to provide us in India with that which is the first condition of economic advance—that is, a sound currency policy. I thank Sir Henry Fowler, the chairman of that committee, and the authorities co-operating with him, for the great service that they rendered to India. Profiting by their labours, we have introduced there a gold standard and established fixity of exchange, and we seem to have put an end to the fitful and demoralizing vagaries of the silver rupee.

But I think I can point to more satisfactory symptoms still. I believe there to be a steady and growing advance in the loyalty of the Indian people. When the late Queen Victoria died there was an outburst of sorrow throughout

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India almost equal to anything that you could see here in England. A little later, when the present King succeeded and we celebrated his Coronation at Delhi, there was a similar display of national feeling, not at Delhi alone, but in every village and hamlet throughout that vast continent. I know it has been the fashion in some quarters to deride that great ceremony at Delhi as a vain and unprofitable display. My Lord Mayor, if we spent about as much, and I do not think we spent more, in crowning the Emperor of 300,000,000 as you spent here in crowning the King of 42,000,000, I do not consider that we need reproach ourselves very much for our extravagance. But we did much more than that. Already the people of India knew and revered the Prince of Wales, because they had seen him. We brought home to them at Delhi that that Prince was now their ruler, and that in his rule were their security and salvation. We touched their hearts with the idea of a common sentiment and a common aim. Depend upon it, you will never rule the East except through the heart, and the moment imagination has gone out of your Asiatic policy your Empire will dwindle and decay.

There is another respect in which India has been advancing by leaps and bounds, and on which I should like to say a brief word. In the point to which I am about to refer I doubt if modern India would be recognized by those who knew it a generation ago. The British public knows that between one-fourth and one-fifth of the population there is under the rule of native princes and chiefs, though subject, of course, in all essentials to the British Power. There are many hundreds of these chiefs all included, but the most important of them number less than one hundred. In this country you know all about their ancient lineage, their costumes and courts, their liberality and loyalty to the Crown. But it has been too much the fashion here to regard them as so many picturesque excrescences from the dull uniformity of Indian life,

to look upon them as survivals of an obsolete era, without any practical utility, and sometimes sunk in selfishness and lethargy. My Lords, that is not my idea of the Indian princes. I have always been a devoted believer in the continued existence of the native States in India, and an ardent well-wisher of the native princes. But I believe in them not as relics, but as rulers; not as puppets, but as living factors in the administration. I want them to share the responsibilities as well as the glories of British rule. Therefore it is that I have ventured to preach to them the gospel of duty, of common service in the interests of the Empire, of a high and strenuous aim. But you cannot expect them to attain these standards unless you give them an adequate education; and accordingly, in consultation with them, we have revised the entire curriculum of the Chiefs' Colleges in India, which have been set up for their instruction. And if you thus train and educate them you must give them an object and a career. It is for this reason that, by permission of His Majesty the King, I founded the institution known as the Imperial Cadet Corps, where we give military education to the pick of the Indian aristocracy, and which will eventuate as time goes on in the bestowal for the first time of commissions as British officers upon Indian chiefs, nobles, and gentlemen. This is a policy of trust, but I am confident that it will be repaid, for already the princes of India are giving to our efforts the reply that might be expected of their nobility of character and their high traditions. They are coming forward in response to our appeals. They welcome and do not resent these changes, and we are gradually, nay, I think we are quickly, creating there the spectacle of a throne supported by feudatories who not only render military service—they do that without stint—but who also vie with it in administrative energy and devotion to the welfare of their people.

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My Lords and Gentlemen, I ought not to conclude these remarks without saying a word about another and a wider aspect of our policy—the problem of Frontier Defence. It is not necessary for me to sing the praises of the Indian army. The Indian army has written its name on the map, not only of India, but of the British Empire. It is writing its name in the windy passes of Tibet at this moment. Army reform is very much in the air, and I can assure you that in India we are not free from the contagion. We are doing our best there in respect of equipment, organization, and armament, in readiness to mobilize, and in facilities of communication, to carry out the lessons of the most recent science and the most recent experience. And since, as we have been told, you have banished our modern Hercules to the Himalayas we are not letting him rest, but are utilizing him in the execution of labours every whit as important as any on which he might be engaged here.

We have had a period of almost unbroken peace for six years on that stormy frontier of India which looks towards the North-West and Afghanistan. And I think the reason is this—that, abandoning old and stale controversies, we have hit upon a policy in India that is both forward and backward—forward in so far as we hold up to our treaty frontier, neither minimizing nor shirking our obligations, backward in so far as we do not court a policy of expansion or adventure, but depend rather on a policy of co-operation and conciliation than one of coercion or subjugation of the tribes. I do not prophesy about the future. No man who has read a page of Indian history will ever prophesy about the frontier. We shall doubtless have trouble there again. Turbulence and fanaticism ferment in the blood of those races. But we have given you peace for a longer period than you have enjoyed at any time during the last thirty years, and I believe that slowly and surely we are building up the fabric of local security and contentment on the border.

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But I am not sure that some student of public affairs will not interpolate at this moment the question—What, then, are you doing in Tibet, and how do you reconcile this with the policy of peace and conciliation that you have described? My Lord Mayor, the instruments of Government often cannot speak their own minds, and my lips are tied by obligations which you will be the first to recognize. At the same time, as the recent head of the Government of India, I may perhaps say this. Though we shrink in India from expeditions, and though we abominate a policy of adventure, we had not the slightest hesitation or doubt in recommending the policy that we did to His Majesty's Government. We felt that we could not afford any longer, with due regard to our interests and prestige on that section of the frontier, to acquiesce in a policy of unprovoked insults, endured with almost unexampled patience, at the hands of the Tibetan Government ever since they, and not we—please remember this, ever since they, and not we—assumed the aggressive, and first invaded British territory eighteen years ago. And still less could we acquiesce in this treatment at the very time when the young and perverse ruler of Tibet, who it seems to me has shown himself to be the evil genius of his people, while refusing to hold any communication with us, or even to receive letters from the representative of the British Sovereign, was conducting communications with another great Power, situated not at his doors, but at a great distance away, and was courting its protection. I was sent to India, amongst other objects, to guard the frontier of India, and I have done it. I was not sent there to let a hostile danger and menace grow up just beyond our gates, and I have done my best to prevent it. There are people so full of knowledge at home that they assure us that all these fears were illusory, and that we could with dignity and prudence have gone on turning our other cheek to the Tibetan smiter. These fears were not illusory. The danger was imminent

and real. Perhaps the frontier States may be taken to know something about it, and if we have, as we have never had before, the frontier States of Nepal and Sikkim and Bhutan, the majority of them allied by religious and racial affinities to Tibet, all supporting our action and deploring the folly and obstinacy of the Tibetan Government, there must be strong *primâ facie* ground that we are not entirely mistaken in our views. No one regrets more than myself the fighting with innocent people or the slaughter of ill-armed but courageous men. I should have liked to carry the matter through without firing a shot, and we did our best to do so. Months were spent in the sincere but futile effort to avoid a conflict. But only the meanest knowledge of the frontier is required to know that it is not vacillation that produces respect, and that the longer you hesitate and palter the severer is the reckoning you have to pay. I hope that as a result of these operations we shall be able to introduce some measure of enlightenment into that miserable and monk-ridden country, and without adding to our own responsibilities, which the Government of India are without the least wish to extend, that we shall be able to ward off a source of political unrest and intrigue on this section of our border, and gradually to build up, as I believe it to be in our power to do, harmonious relations between the harmless people of Tibet and ourselves.

My Lords and Gentlemen, these have been the main incidents of the policy of the Government in India during the last six years. There is only one other feature of the situation to which I wish to allude, if you will bear with me, because it is in one sense the most important of all. I have been speaking to-day about the acts and symptoms of British rule in India. What is its basis? It is not military force, it is not civil authority, it is not prestige, though all these are part of it. If our rule is to last in India it must rest on a more solid basis. It must depend on the eternal

moralities of righteousness and justice. This, I can assure you, is no mere phrase of the conventicle. The matter is too serious on the lips of a Governor-General of India for cant. Unless we can persuade the millions of India that we will give to them absolute justice as between man and man, equality before the law, freedom from tyranny and injustice and oppression, then our Empire will not touch their hearts and will fade away. No one is more ready to admit than I that if you put side by side the rulers of a European race and the ruled of an Asiatic, and particularly such races as the Indian and the English, where you have a small minority face to face with a vast alien conglomeration, you cannot expect to have complete coalescence. On the one side you have pride of race, the duty of self-protection, the consciousness of power; on the other you have struggling sentiments and stifled aspirations. But, my Lord Mayor, a bridge must be built between the two, and on that bridge justice must stand with unerring scales. Harshness, oppression, ill-usage, all these in India are offences, not only against the higher law, but against the honour and reputation of the ruling race. I am as strong a believer as any man in the prestige of my countrymen. But that prestige does not require artificial supports; it rests upon conduct and conduct alone. My precept in this respect does not differ from my practice. During the time that I have been in India the Government have taken a strong stand for the fair treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects, who are equal with us in the eyes of God and the law. I rejoice to say that the conduct of Englishmen in general in India towards the Indians is exemplary, even in trying and provocative circumstances; but where exceptions occur I think that the sentiment of the majority should be as quick to condemn them as is their conduct, and that the Government, which is above race or party, and against whom any injustice is a reproach and a slur, should receive the unhesitating support of the entire community. That is the policy which the Government has

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pursued in my time, and by my conduct, my Lord Mayor and Gentlemen, I am willing to be judged.

I will now bring these remarks to a close. It is seventeen years since I first visited India; it is thirteen years since I first had the honour of being connected with its administration. India was the first love, and throughout all that time it has been the main love, of my political life. I have given to it some of my best years. Perhaps I may be privileged to give to it yet more. But no man could do this unless he saw before India a larger vision or were himself inspired with a fuller hope. If our Empire were to end tomorrow, I do not think that we need be ashamed of its epitaph. It would have done its duty to India, and justified its mission to mankind. But it is not going to end. It is not a moribund organism. It is still in its youth, and has in it the vitality of an unexhausted purpose. I am not with the pessimists in this matter. I am not one of those who think that we have built a mere fragile plank between the East and West which the roaring tides of Asia will presently sweep away. I do not think that our work is over or that it is drawing to an end. On the contrary, as the years roll by the call seems to me more clear, the duty more imperative, the work more majestic, the goal more sublime. I believe that we have it in our power to weld the people of India to a unity greater than any they have hitherto dreamed of, and to give them blessings beyond any that they now enjoy. Let no man admit the craven fear that those who have won India cannot hold it, or that we have only made India to our own or to its unmaking. That is not the true reading of history. That is not my forecast of the future. To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom—that our work is righteous and that it shall endure.

I thank you, my Lords and Gentlemen, for the encouragement that has been given by the citizens of London through me to all those who are engaged in this great and noble

undertaking. I shall go forth again refreshed and reinvigorated by your sympathy.

SPEECH AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

20th July 1904. [Following the ceremony at the Guildhall, the Lord Mayor entertained a distinguished company at the Mansion House at luncheon to meet Lord Curzon "on his admission to the Freedom of the City of London."

The Lord Mayor read the following letter from Mr. Balfour :—

"My dear Lord Mayor,—The House of Commons is still sitting, and seems likely to sit. Under these circumstances, to my profound regret I am unable to take part in a ceremony to which I had been greatly looking forward. I had two motives in desiring to be present at the first ceremonial, which is, I suppose, while I am writing, actually taking place. One of these was my lifelong affection for your distinguished guest, the other was my great admiration for the genius and energy with which he has administered the highest and most responsible post outside the United Kingdom which his country can confer. I much wished to give expression at the Mansion House to both these sentiments, but as hard necessity makes this impossible I hope you will, at all events, consent to read this letter to your guests."

Continuing, the Lord Mayor proposed the health of "The Youngest Citizen of London," to which Lord Curzon replied in the following terms :—]

My Lord Mayor, your Highness, and Gentlemen,—I have already detained a large audience, some of whom I believe are also present here, at no inconsiderable length in the Guildhall, and I am afraid that I should ill requite your hospitality if I were again to trespass at any length upon the indulgence of your guests. I have yet to find the audience in England that would stand two long speeches on India in the course of the same summer afternoon. I expect that they would call aloud for an allopathic treatment. I remember reading a story of Lord Macaulay when he was first appointed a Member of the Board of Control in England ; while he was still studying the question

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of India he wrote a letter to his sister in which he said : "Am I not in fair training to become as great a bore as if I had been in India myself—that is, as great a bore as the greatest?" With this warning ringing in my ears, I fear that I must not show any great eagerness to respond to the lead which you have given me in the graceful and complimentary remarks to which I have just listened. Your speech was in itself a high compliment to me. It contained a statement of further compliment, about which until the moment that you announced it, I was not myself certain—namely, that I am at this moment the youngest Freeman of the City of London. It was accompanied by yet another compliment in the shape of the letter which you read from the head of His Majesty's Government. I was sent out to India by one Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury; when I left England my health was proposed at a valedictory banquet by another Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery; and now to-day you have read out the language of compliment of a third, Mr. Balfour. Lord Salisbury had a peculiar acquaintance with India, for not only was he twice Secretary of State for that great dependency, but his despatches and minutes about the Government of India are among the very best models of official literature in the English language. Lord Rosebery is, I believe, the only English Prime Minister who has been out to India since the days of the Duke of Wellington, and I should like to commend his example to the many embryonic Premiers who are possibly seated at this table. Mr. Balfour has never yet done us that honour, but I should like also to suggest to him a visit to that great dependency as a preferable alternative to some of the experiences which will possibly lie before him in the ensuing years. However that may be, Mr. Balfour has devoted to the military and political problems arising out of our Indian Empire an amount of attention unequalled by any of his predecessors, and likely, in my opinion, to be

fraught with inestimable advantage to the interests of the Empire as a whole.

My Lord Mayor, I detect only one omission in your remarks, and it has reminded me of a still greater omission in the speech that I made in the Guildhall this morning. When any assemblage of Englishmen meets together to extol the manner in which India is governed, do not let them forget the men by whom it is governed. This is the more necessary, because, owing to the conditions of their work, the majority of them are unknown at home. The Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and a few high officials more or less fill the public eye and earn praise for the work which is done by others. Sometimes, it is true, they are criticized for acts on the part of their subordinates of which they have never even heard. But there can be no question that the balance is largely on the other side, and that many an official name has been written in characters that have lasted on cairns that others have raised. And who, if I may pursue the subject for a moment, are these men of whom I speak? They are drawn from every part of this country and from every rank of society. They are typical of the best of the British race and of British life. Some of them are the pick of your Universities. Others carry to India names that have already been borne in that country by generations before them. Accident, no doubt, takes some into the Civil Service, hereditary associations take others, but I believe that it is the Englishman's passion for responsibility, his zest for action on a large field, that is the ruling motive with most. And I think that they are right. For in India initiative is hourly born. There great deeds are constantly being done, there is room for fruition, there is a horizon for results. I do not mean to say that it is not so at home, but to one coming back from a long service abroad those considerations are less patent to the eye. In the Guildhall this morning I saw men who had administered provinces with a population double that of the United

Kingdom, with a population half again as great as that (India excluded) of the whole British Empire. I have myself served with colleagues in India who would have been entitled to a place in any Imperial Cabinet, and who would have risen to high place in any Government in the world. It is true that the names of these men are not on the lips of their countrymen—their faces are unknown—but allow me to say for them, on this rare occasion when I have the opportunity of speaking, that they are the real Empire builders, for in the sweat of their brow have they laid the foundations of which you in England only see the fair and glittering superstructure as it rears its head into the sky.

I sometimes think that in the catalogue of our national virtues we hardly lay sufficient stress upon the enormous administrative ability of the English race—I speak of ability as distinguished from the moral ingredients of character and courage, which are the more obvious elements of success. And yet, in all parts of the Empire, and more especially in India, we have an amount of administrative ability which could not be purchased for millions of pounds sterling, and which is the envy of every other empire-possessing nation in the world. I hope that in what I have just said I have not given the impression that I think the service of such men is unrecognized at home. I do not believe there is any deliberate lack of interest or want of pride in their work. It arises rather from the Englishman's familiar indifference to the great things that he is doing on the face of the earth, and his fussy and parochial agitation about the small.

If I may keep you a moment longer, there is one other aspect of the work of the Civil Service in India to which I should like to refer. I spoke this morning about the magnitude of the undertaking; let me add a word about the industry that it entails. I sometimes hear people at home speak about the members of the Indian Civil Service

as though they were persons who had little else to do in India but perspire. At least, that is their idea about the men who live and work in the plains, and as for those happy ones, including myself, who go up to Simla or the hill stations, we are regarded as the lucky denizens of places where a mild frivolity alternates with an almost Olympian repose. That is not my experience of any seat of government in India, whatever its altitude. There is a story told of two eminent Frenchmen—I believe they were M. Littré, the great lexicographer, and M. Dumas, the novelist. They are said at one time to have occupied the same residence, and to have kept such different hours of work that when one of them was going upstairs in the early morning, after completing the labours of the night, he used to meet the other coming downstairs to commence the work of the day. I do not say that we have reached that standard in India—*consule Planco*,—but there are many among the admirable officers by whom I have been served who would not find it so very startling.

While I am speaking of the service in India, let me add one word about the men in the plains. I do not think anyone ought to make a speech about India without remembering the men in the plains. All through the heat of the summer, when the earth is like iron and the skies are like brass, when during the greater part of the day every chink and crevice must be closed to keep out the ravening air, these men and their wives with them—for Englishwomen in India are just as capable of devotion and heroism as are their husbands—remain at their posts devoted and uncomplaining. They sometimes remind me rather of the men who are engaged in the engine-room of a man-of-war; there they are stoking the furnaces while the great ship is being manœuvred and the big guns are thundering overhead. Sometimes they go down with the vessel without ever having seen the battle or the fighting; but, if their commander wins the victory, up they come, begrimed with

smoke, to take their share in the rejoicing. My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, these are the real organizers of victory; and never let any of us think of the service of his son, or brother, or relative in India, without turning a thought to the men and women in the plains. Such is the character and such is the work of the men with whom it has been my privilege to co-operate during the last five and a half busy years. We have been living in strenuous times in India. I have heard it whispered that they have been too strenuous for some, but, if this be so, it is not from the members of the Civil Service that I should ever have learnt the fact. Though the work of reconstruction and reform which I was speaking about in the Guildhall this morning is one which must have imposed a heavy strain on their energies, I have never, from any one of them, young or old, high or low, heard one murmur of protest or complaint. You will pardon me if I refer to this fact on the present occasion, and if I say that, in accepting the compliment you have offered to me, I think much more of them. It is on their behalf, even more than on my own, that I gratefully acknowledge the gracious words that you have spoken, and thank you for the manner in which you have proposed my health.

PRESENTATION OF THE FREEDOM OF THE BOROUGH OF DERBY.

[On Thursday afternoon, the 28th July 1904, the Freedom of the Borough of Derby was presented to Lord Curzon, in the Drill Hall at Derby, before a large and distinguished audience, drawn from all parts of Derbyshire, his native county. After speeches by Alderman Sir T. Roe, M.P., and Alderman Sir H. Bemrose, the Mayor (Mr. Councillor Boam) invited Lord Curzon to sign the roll. This he did, and then spoke as follows :—] 28th July 1904.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I am very grateful for the great reception that was accorded to Lady Curzon

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and myself as we drove through the streets of the town this afternoon, and for the references that have been made to her in the speeches to which we have just listened. I acknowledge with sincere thanks the great honour that has just been conferred upon me by the Mayor and Corporation of this ancient borough. That beautiful casket there, which contains the certificate of the freedom, will always remain in my family, and will be highly prized and jealously guarded by them in generations to come. I hope I am not fanciful in detecting a certain difference in the character of the reception which you have accorded me to-day from those which I have been fortunate enough to meet with elsewhere during the past few weeks. On those occasions I have felt that the compliment that was offered to me was paid quite as much to the post which I have been filling during the past five years, to the service of which I have been the head, and to the Government which it has been my duty to administer, as it was to myself. But to-day I seem to recognize a more personal and, I should like to say, even a domestic, flavour about these proceedings. It is true that the honour that is being bestowed upon me is the freedom of the borough of Derby, an honour not, I believe, given during the past seventy years, and one which any public man might be proud to receive. The practice of conferring this distinction is one of the few means left to representative bodies and institutions in this country of showing their consideration to those public servants whom they desire to honour. It is a practice that I hope may never be abrogated or done away with. But it has a separate value when it emanates from those who have known a man from childhood, and when it represents the verdict, not of strangers or outsiders, but of lifelong friends. For it shows, not merely that they are generous in their recognition of public service—that is a mark for which the people of England have always been distinguished—but that the recipient of the honour has survived the test of a

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long experience, and has not been found wanting by those who have had an opportunity of watching every stage of his career.

It is true, ladies and gentlemen, it is unfortunately true, that I have not been in Derby much of recent years. Twenty years ago, when I was engaged upon an enterprise that had a somewhat unpropitious ending, I was more frequently in this place. The first speech that I ever delivered to a large public audience was delivered from this platform, in this very hall. In those days I used sometimes to have mimic encounters—very mimic encounters—with your distinguished representative, Sir William Harcourt. Then I recollect going one day to the Midland Railway Station to address the railwaymen during their luncheon hour. I am afraid that they were not in very close sympathy with my political views. Anyhow, I remember that my remarks were received with considerable disturbance, and with volleys of small paper pellets filled with soot, which freely struck me over the face and shoulders. One more recollection I possess, and that is my speech in the County Hall of Derby, when, after the election of 1885, it was my duty to thank the electors of this division of the county for having placed me in a minority of two thousand at the bottom of the poll. On that occasion I had the temerity to offer a wager to my successful antagonist that I would address the House of Commons before he did. With some prudence he declined the wager, which, I may say, if he had accepted it, I should most certainly have won. All these memories come surging around me to-day, and many more to which I have not the time to allude; but point is lent to them by the fact that the two principal speakers whom we have here this afternoon, and who have talked in such gracious and kindly terms about myself, were also the two protagonists in those bygone days, and have been, ever since, the leaders of the two political parties in this borough. I do not think the occasions have been very numerous upon

which the three of us—Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Henry Bemrose, and myself—have appeared upon the same platform in Derby. Two of us used frequently to be there, but the third was somewhere else. These two gentlemen were engaged for many years in trying to convince the free and enlightened electors of this borough that each was the best-qualified person to represent it in the House of Commons, and the electors, with an admirable discrimination and impartiality, responded to that appeal by electing each in turn. Now, ladies and gentlemen, that we are all reconciled and meet together as a happy family, I find in this fact an illustration of that good humour which is one of the most cherished possessions of the British people, and also a tribute to the purely non-party character of the post that during the last five and a half years I have been privileged to hold.

I do not think I can exaggerate the importance of the consideration to which I have just drawn attention. Party has nothing whatever to do with India, and ought never to have anything to do with it. India stands outside of party. We know nothing there of the party labels of Liberal and Conservative, or Unionist and Radical, or even of those more recent metaphors drawn from the farmyard which fill so large a part in the political controversy of the day. During the time that I have been serving in India I have almost forgotten to what party I originally belonged in this country, and I have received—and am grateful for the fact—the support of both political parties at home. I should like myself to go further. I should like to place a ring-fence round the whole British Empire, with a notice board, on which should be written, "Any party man will be prosecuted who trespasses here." For to me the Empire is so sacred and so noble a thing that I cannot understand people quarrelling about it, or even holding opposite opinions about it. But I know as a matter of fact that they do, and that what to one man appears to be a splendid and beneficent conception strikes another, some others, at any rate, as a vulgar and

even contemptible form of greed. Therefore I am afraid that I must remain an idealist in respect of the Empire. But as regards India let there be no dispute and no doubt that party and India ought never to have anything to do with each other, and must never be brought into the same connection.

There was a time in the past when the Government of India was made the sport of political parties in this country. Indeed, there have been two periods in British history when this was pre-eminently the case. The first was at the end of the eighteenth century, when the government of India, or the mis-government of India, whichever it was, was undoubtedly treated as a move in the political game. That great and ill-used man, Warren Hastings—one of the most eminent although the most suffering public servants that we have ever known—was prosecuted, not for what he had done or what he had not done in India—for most of the charges against him were false—but in order to do injury to the political party that had appointed and supported him at home. Then later on, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Manchester school of politicians—that school of high aspirations and futile performance—took up the question of India, and once again nearly converted it into a party cry. Fortunately the danger of both these periods has passed away, and I hope that it is now impossible to revive them. The reasons for which it would be so pernicious to introduce anything like party into the government of India are very obvious, and must be known to all of you. In the first place remember this: the lines of cleavage in India are entirely different from what they are here. Here they are mainly political, between the two parties, both of whom I am glad to see represented in this hall. In India they are racial, religious, and social. In so far as they are political at all, they represent the inevitable line of cleavage between the rulers and the ruled, and that is a gap which in India we are always doing our best to bridge over, and to fill up.

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You may imagine, therefore, what a mistake it would be to add another to the numerous causes of fissure that already exist in that country, and particularly one so mischievous in its character and so deleterious in its results. The second reason is this: If there is one thing that India wants for its gradual recuperation, and that the Government of India more than anything else desire in their effort to carry it out, it is continuity of administration. Nothing can be more fatal than that violent oscillations of policy should either occur, or should be expected to occur, when one party goes out and another party comes in in this country. It has been one of the main sources of the weakness and even of the failure of our frontier policy in India that the two parties in this country have held different views about it, and that one party was supposed to be always wishing to push forward, whilst the other was credited with a desire to hang back. More than one of my predecessors in the Governor-Generalship of India have been recalled or have retired for this reason, when their party was defeated at the polls in England, and this fatal system has been the cause of more blunders and bloodshed on the Indian frontier than any other cause that I can for the moment think of. But the third reason is, I think, the most important of all. In the tremendous task that confronts us in India we want all Englishmen to be united. We cannot afford to have any divisions amongst ourselves. If I may take an illustration from another sphere, we have many of us seen how terribly handicapped the Christian Church is in its struggles with pagan religions by its own sub-divisions into so many sects and denominations and creeds. Do not let us repeat that mistake in the sphere of Imperial statecraft. Let every man who works for India in India, or who thinks about India in England, do it not as a party man, but as a national man. Let India be regarded as so sacred a thing that it ought never to be fought about on British hustings, and never introduced as a plank into a party programme in this country.

Presentation of the Freedom of the Borough of Derby.

I was wondering a day or two ago upon what particular aspect of Indian government I should say a few words to this audience this afternoon, when I found in my library a volume of the collected speeches of John Bright. He, as you know, took a great interest in India, and his speeches upon that subject which were contained in this volume were delivered between forty and fifty years ago, just after the great Mutiny had swept like a tornado across the face of India, and when the ideas of men were in a state of fluidity as to what the future was going to bring forth, or what form the Government of India ought to assume. These speeches of Mr. Bright were characterized by great and unaffected sympathy for the Indian peoples, by those lofty principles which seem to me to have invariably inspired his public action, and by that beauty and simplicity of language which remind one, in the ordered flow of his argument and the rhythmical cadence of his words, of the plash of waves upon the sea shore. But these speeches almost without exception were striking illustrations of the proposition that I have just been discussing, for they were all of them dominated by the narrow and, as it seems to me, mistaken tenets of a particular political school.

To me it has always seemed a remarkable thing that the three most powerful intellects in the sphere of British politics that have ever seriously devoted themselves to the study of Indian problems should all have been so wrong in their verdicts, and, as it seems to me, all for the same reason. I speak of Burke, Macaulay, and Bright. The eloquence of Burke poured like a stream of lava across the whole field of Indian administration. But it very often scorched and disfigured quite as much as it illumined what it touched, and his presentation of the Indian incidents of his day, whatever it be as rhetoric or as literature—and in my view it is magnificent as both—was most certainly not history. Then fifty years later we come to Macaulay. Just now I mentioned to you the name of Warren Hastings, and I said

with truth that Warren Hastings was a man greatly to be pitied, and perhaps chiefly to be pitied for this: During his lifetime he was exposed to the passionate and unjust invective of Burke, and when he died and all this calumny ought to have been hushed in the grave, his reputation was, so to speak, exhumed again, and subjected to the unfair and partisan censure of Macaulay. Lord Macaulay rendered great service to India, particularly in the domain of law and education. He did what men of genius almost invariably do. He made everything round him palpitate and glow with the reflex of his own intellectual force. But his Essays, which I suppose are the foundation of all that nine out of ten of us in this hall know about India, contained quite as much fiction as fact, and are often most vexatiously inaccurate and misleading. Finally, we come to the time of John Bright. His views about India, which I shall briefly mention to you in illustration of the position that I take up, were, in some respects, the most erroneous of all. I do not allude to the picture that Mr. Bright drew of the Government of India in his day, though I believe it to have been grossly exaggerated. He described the Civil Service of India as arrogant and tyrannous, the military service as clamorous and insatiable for expenditure, the people as crushed and downtrodden, education as trampled upon, crime as rampant, trade as stifled, communications as non-existent. I believe that that was not a true picture in his time, and it is certainly not a true picture now. He said that the Government of India was not a Government for watching over the people or conferring blessings upon them. I believe that that remark was not wholly true then; I believe it to be wholly untrue now. But I think that his forecasts were even more erroneous than his opinions. He held that the post of Governor-General was one so high and so great that it ought not to be filled by any subject of the Crown, and he laid down that the indispensable preliminary to the good government of India was the abolition of that

Presentation of the Freedom of the Borough of Derby.

post. I should not be addressing you here this afternoon if that advice had been followed, although it is not on personal so much as on public, grounds that I greatly rejoice that it was never done. He went on to say that the only way by which good government could be secured in India was to split up that country into a number of separate presidencies or provinces, each with a separate and almost independent Government, and with a separate army of its own. I greatly rejoice that that advice was never carried out. I believe it would have been almost disastrous in its results. In 1858 he said: "The immense Empire that has been conquered by you in India is too vast for management; its base is in decay." When he spoke those words the population of India was 150 millions; it is now 295 millions. When he spoke, the revenues of India were 30 millions; they are now nearly 80 millions. And yet the Empire of India is no nearer dissolution than it was in his time. On the contrary, I think it is a great deal further from it; and so far from its foundations being based in decay, I believe that every year that passes it is striking its roots deeper and deeper into the soil.

Then I come—and I have only one more quotation—to the famous passage in which he said: "Does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country, with its twenty different nations, and its twenty languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring Empire? I believe such a thing [he said] to be utterly impossible; we must fail in the attempt if ever we make it." Well, we have added a good many nations and a good many languages to that Empire since then, and I am here to-day to say that in my opinion, and, I believe, in the opinion of most of those who know anything about India and who have worked with me during the past five years, that which Mr. Bright regarded as an utter impossibility is neither a chimera nor a dream. Let me at once concede the extreme difficulty of the task. I do

not say that we have attained our goal. Perhaps we are not even in sight of it. It is impossible to produce absolute unity among 300 millions of people. Sir Henry Bemrose alluded in his remarks to the speech which I made the other day at the Guildhall. In that speech I said something about our rule in India covering the whole space between barbarism at one end and civilization at the other. Let me tell you a little story which, in a parable, will indicate that which otherwise might take a great many words. I remember hearing of an English sportsman in India who examined the arrows in the quiver of a native *shikari* belonging to one of the aboriginal tribes. He found the first arrow tipped with stone—a relic of the neolithic age; the next arrow was tipped with electric telegraph wire, a theft from the twentieth century. That story is typical of the whole of India. It conveys to you the amazing synthesis of anthropology, of history, of human experience, which is gathered within the boundaries of that great area. You may imagine that with a people so diversified, representing such opposite poles of creed and civilization, complete unity is a thing which we cannot aspire to produce. India must always remain a constellation rather than a single star, must always be a continent rather than a country, a congeries of races rather than a single nation. But we are creating ties of unity among those widely diversified peoples, we are consolidating those vast and outspread territories, and, what is more important, we are going forward instead of backward. It is not a stationary, a retrograde, a downtrodden, or an impoverished India that I have been governing for the past five and a half years. Poverty there is in abundance. I defy anyone to show me a great and populous country, or a great and populous city, where it does not exist. Misery and destitution there are. The question is not whether they exist, but whether they are growing more or growing less. In India, where you deal with so vast a canvas, I daresay the lights and shades of human experience are more vivid and

more dramatic than elsewhere. But if you compare the India of to-day with the India of any previous period of history—the India of Alexander, of Asoka, of Akbar, or of Aurungzeb—you will find greater peace and tranquillity, more widely diffused comfort and contentment, superior justice and humanity, and higher standards of material well-being, than that great dependency has ever previously attained.

I am sometimes lost in amazement at those critics who fail to see these things, who protest to us that our rule in India is ruining the country and crushing the people; and I am still more amazed when I reflect that that class of critic is, as a rule, to be found among a small set of my own countrymen. It seems to me so perverse—I had almost said so wicked. The cant of self-praise is a disagreeable thing, but the cant of self-depreciation seems to me to be even more nauseating. Of the two types of Pharisee, the man who takes pride in his virtues is often a less offensive spectacle than the man who revels in imaginary sins. If it were strangers or foreigners or outsiders who held these views, and announced to us that our rule in India was a failure and a crime, we perhaps should not be so much surprised; we might attribute it to jealousy, or ignorance, or suspicion. But the very reverse is the case, and sometimes while I am reading the almost ferocious diatribes of a small number of my own countrymen about the alleged iniquity of our rule in India, I am simultaneously receiving letters from thinkers and men of action in other countries asking me to tell them what is the secret of our wonderful and unparalleled success. Year after year a stream of intelligent foreigners comes to India from France, from Germany, from America, from distant Japan, to study our methods and to copy our institutions. Book after book records the results of their inquiries and the admiration which they feel at the results. I take heart when I feel that I can appeal to this enlightened international jury in justification of the work that the rulers of India are doing. And whenever you meet any of the critics of

the class whom I am describing, I commend to you this particular form of confutation.

I am not so bold as to say that we make no mistakes in India. I daresay we make a great many. I am quite willing to claim a most liberal share for myself. Our rule is sometimes inflexible and harsh and unyielding, or, if it is not so, it appears to be so to the people. It is so difficult to understand them; it is so much more difficult sometimes to get them to understand us. The points of view of the governor and the governed, and still more of the Asiatic and the European, are so wide apart that one hardly knows where to find a hyphen to connect them. It is impossible to explain everything that we are doing in India, or to meet and to check every form of misapprehension and attack. Let me give you an illustration. It is widely believed in many parts of India that the Government has purposely introduced the plague into that country in order to decimate the population, and thereby to render our task of government more easy. Well, you will say to me, "A most extraordinary thing! But, of course, that can only apply to the very ignorant." Quite true. But the very ignorant are the enormous majority, the overwhelming majority, of the entire population. Even among the educated and intelligent classes, the most astonishing misconceptions prevail. For instance, if I take any particular branch of the administration and endeavour to reform it with the object of producing a higher state of efficiency and that alone, I find myself at once exposed to the charge that I am creating a number of unnecessary and lucrative billets to be filled by my countrymen from England. As if an administrator cares one snap what is the nationality of the man whom he wants for a post! What he wants is the best man for the post, and the work to be best done. If he can get a native, so much the better. The service of the native is cheaper; they know the language, the traditions, the customs of the country; they are inured to its climate. We

take them where we can, but if we cannot find a native with the requisite scientific knowledge or the expert training, then we have to come to this country to get the man, even if we have to pay rather more for him. Well, the whole thing seems to me—would seem to any of us—so obvious as scarcely to require explanation. Yet I can assure you that it is one of the most fertile causes of misrepresentation and attack from one end of India to the other.

In this state of public feeling we have to be very patient in India, and to be indifferent to the various forms of misrepresentation and abuse. For my own part I think the highest duty that a ruler of India can set before himself is to create, if I may so describe them, special interpreters between the people and ourselves, to explain our ideas to them and theirs to us. It is with this object that while I have been there I have done my best on all occasions to take the public into my confidence, and to explain to them what I have done or what I meditate doing. The one thing in governing an Asiatic country is to break down the barriers between the hearts and consciences of men; and the man who can bring together the hearts of the peoples or races who are on either side of the barrier, and make them beat more closely together by a single pulsation, is a greater public benefactor than the conqueror of kingdoms. I have only one more thing to say. When I hear eulogies passed, as I did three-quarters of an hour ago, upon the administration in which I have taken a part during the past five years, I am sometimes afraid lest people should think that it differs very much from that which has preceded it, or from that which will follow. No one man is necessary in any post in the world. I have come to the conclusion that no one man is very important. One who may be younger and tougher may carry on his work longer and more energetically before he breaks down. One man may enjoy good fortune and opportunities that are denied to another. But that is about all the difference. The machine in India is so vast that it is independent

of the individual, or, rather, it is composed of the concentrated energies and abilities of so many individuals that to single one out for praise is merely to follow the recognized practice of rewarding troops in the person of the commander. I should not have been standing here to receive the freedom of the borough of Derby to-day if great and distinguished Viceroys and Governors-General, with whom I do not venture to compare myself, had not preceded me and built the foundations upon which I have only laid another course. And when I have passed away and am forgotten, other and abler men will come after me, who will produce better results, and earn a more-deserved applause. My sole ambition has been, during the time allowed to me, to add something to the solidity of that marvellous fabric of British rule in India, to repair, if possible, some of its weak places, and to leave it more enduring. No greater reward do I desire, or can I receive, than that the people of my native country, and perhaps even more the inhabitants of my native county and native town, should recognize that my intentions have been sincere, and that I have not laboured altogether in vain.

LUNCHEON GIVEN BY THE UNITED CLUB.

1st Aug. 1904. [On Monday, August 1st, Lord Curzon was entertained, at the Constitutional Club, at luncheon, by the members of the United Club. The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P. (the President), occupied the chair, and was supported by Lord Roberts and a large number of members of the House of Commons. Mr. Balfour proposed the health of Lord Curzon, but was obliged immediately afterwards to return to the House of Commons. Lord Curzon rose shortly afterwards to reply, and said—]

Mr. Vice-Chairman and Gentlemen,—When the Committee of the United Club first asked me to be their guest at a public dinner, shortly after I returned to England, I felt greatly tempted to accept the invitation, both because of

the compliment it conveyed and also for the opportunity that it would give me of meeting so many members of the party with which I used to be associated, and among which I count so many friends; but at that time I felt compelled to refuse, partly for a reason which Mr. Balfour would find a difficulty in understanding—namely, that I was not in good health,—but still more because I was very doubtful whether during the short interval that I am spending in England between two periods of my Indian administration it would be at all right or proper for me to attend at a public function which might be thought to present a party character. Then your committee pressed me to attend at a more informal gathering, and I really did not think there was anything in the compunction that I had previously felt that need deprive me of the pleasure of coming to an entertainment like the present, or prevent me from meeting so many to whom I was attached in the days now long gone by, and with whom I hope to work again in the future. Of course, it is a great additional compliment to me to have been supported as I have found myself at this table. On my right hand I have had the most distinguished of all Indian commanders, on my left has been the Prime Minister. And I must really set it down as an additional bad point to the many with which we are already familiar in the party system, that for the second occasion during the last fortnight has that system deprived me of the privilege of his presence at the very moment when I was about to reply to the compliments that he had lavished upon me. Mr. Balfour said in his remarks that he and I were very old friends. That is quite true. Mr. Balfour possesses, as we all know, the rare quality of attaching men to him, not only by the strongest ties of political loyalty, but also by those of personal affection. In him all parties in this country regard with respect the first Minister of the Empire. His own party follows him with unquestioning confidence as its leader. But there is another sentiment, warmer,

I think, and stronger, which is the happy and peculiar prerogative of his personal friends. When Lord Salisbury died there was not the slightest strain or effort on the part of any of us who were servants of the Crown, in transferring our allegiance to Mr. Balfour, and if he were present I could assure him that he has the devoted adherence of followers in all parts of the Empire quite as much as any he can lay claim to at home. We who serve the Empire abroad recognize in him a statesman who is imbued with the larger spirit, the finer sense, of Empire, who lifts every subject that he touches on to a higher moral and intellectual plane, and who, we believe, is actuated in governing the country, not by any petty or transient motives of expediency, but by a wide and far-seeing conception of the public good. Mr. Balfour was kind enough to make some remarks about myself to which I do not quite know in what spirit or manner I ought to reply. I feel almost tempted to say that for the first time in my experience Mr. Balfour dipped his brush in the colours of the impressionist school; indeed, it was the only political portrait I have known him to draw which seemed conspicuously wanting in fidelity to the original. However that may be, I am, of course, very grateful for the kind remarks that he made about myself. I am really not conscious of having done anything in India except that very obvious and simple thing, my duty, and I can only attribute it to the generous recognition of public service, to which we are so accustomed in this country, that I have received anything in the nature of acknowledgment or reward.

I spoke just now of the extent to which I have been the victim in the past few weeks in England of the party system. Those who occupy the sort of position that I have been filling in India in the past five and a half years stand in a very peculiar relationship to that system. From that great distance we see the political game going on here—I need hardly explain that I do not use the word in an invidi-

ous sense—much as a sailor may look on at the manœuvres of a fleet from the crow's-nest of a man-of-war; but we occupy a position towards it all of quite curious detachment. Getting our papers, as we do, some three weeks after the events they record, I am sorry to say that we skim very cursorily the debates in the House of Commons. We are even so impertinent as sometimes to doubt whether the House of Commons is either the best or the most sacred institution in the world. Those of us who have been in the House in former days see our old friends still at the mill—see the two sides engaged in saying much the same things and doing pretty much the same things as they were doing years before. Probably it is all quite necessary and quite right, for we are told that this is the only system in the world that can provide a constitutional country not only with an actual Government, but with a potential Government in reserve, although I am not sure that recent events have not thrown some doubt even upon that hypothesis. In India the case with us is quite different. There we think a great deal, and every day, about the Empire, but we are not so much concerned with party; and in so far as we turn our attention to the latter, the party that we want is the one which will remember that the Empire has a circumference as well as a centre, and that, although the lifeblood goes out from the heart to the extremities, it also comes back from the extremities to the heart. The ideal party for us in India, that is the ideal party at home, is the one that will recognize the place of India in the Imperial system—namely, as an organic factor, not as a troublesome appendage, which will act both as the impartial umpire as well as the superior authority in the disputes that sometimes arise between us, and that will not unduly favour the home country at our expense. That is the sort of party that we desire. I should probably be making a partisan observation if I were to indicate whether we have or have not such a party in office at home at present.

Luncheon given by the United Club.

I have very little to say to you about India to-day. The fact is, I doubt if anywhere India would make a very good luncheon dish; it lies a little heavy on the palate. During the last ten days I have been called upon to discharge what I think is one of the most onerous duties that I have ever had to perform—that is, to make three long speeches about India to audiences on hot summer afternoons. The experiment is one that does not bear repetition either in the interests of the speaker or of the audience: besides which, I know that many of you have engagements a little distance from here, from which I must not keep you.

But there is one observation which I should like to make. My main object during the past few years in India has been identical with that which I take to have been the object of every Governor-General before me and of every patriotic Englishman who knows India, namely, to render the foundations of our rule in that country more secure; and, if you ask me why, the reason is not for the honour and glory of the thing, still less for the selfish advantage of England or Englishmen. We must remain in India, because, if we were to withdraw, the whole system of Indian life and politics would fall to pieces like a pack of cards. We are absolutely necessary to India. That is recognized by the best of the people themselves, just as it is by us; and I think that the bitterest foe of England, if he were also a true friend of India, would be the first man to vote against our departure. I cannot myself conceive of a time as remotely possible in which it would be either practicable or desirable that we should take our hand from the Indian plough. Carlyle once posed a curious question—namely, whether the British people would sooner lose their Shakespeare or their Indian Empire, and he decided in the favour of the latter, because, he said, "your Indian Empire in any case must go sooner or later, but this Shakespeare cannot go; he lasts for ever with us. We cannot give up our Shakespeare." Well, I find it somewhat difficult to decide between such incongru-

ous factors as an author and an Empire, but I venture to submit that no comparison is necessary. There is no reason why we should lose either. Let us keep both. Let India remain our India just as much as Shakespeare is our Shakespeare—that is to say, as a part of the inalienable heritage of Englishmen and the lasting glory of the British race.

I believe I see before me many of the rising members of one of the great parties in the State, and a good many also of the risen. Some of you are in Parliament already; others, we hope, will follow their footsteps towards that desirable goal. Is there any message that I can give to you from India? I think it is this—in the first place, come out and see us. Should any of you find yourselves at no remote distance of time in what are euphemistically called "the cold shades of Opposition," come out and get a touch of the Eastern sun. A hospitable welcome will always await you in Calcutta, and we will show you there and elsewhere a great deal that will interest you, inspire you, and make you proud of your country. Then, when you come home again, keep a warm corner for India in your hearts; but do not bother us with an excessive display of Parliamentary affection. There was a distinguished Indian statesman, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who recorded his opinion seventy years ago that India would be lost on the floor of the House of Commons. I think that that was an exaggerated sentiment. I do not see why India should be lost there or anywhere else. Indeed, if any such crisis were impending, I should be disposed to look to the patriotism and common sense of the House of Commons to avert any such disaster. But no such question, happily, arises, and meanwhile we appeal to the practical sympathy, the interest, and the sense of justice and of duty of the House of Commons. Parliamentary interference we do not require, but a high and lofty sense of Parliamentary responsibility I think we have a claim to expect, for, wherever the ultimate and sovereign power rests, there also the rights of dependencies find their security and

Luncheon given by the United Club.

protection. I will not detain you further; but among the compliments that I have received since I have been in England there is none which I value more highly than this informal gathering of old associates and old friends, and I shall always look back upon it with the utmost pleasure.

SPEECHES

BY

THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL
OF INDIA.

SPEECHES

BY

THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

1904-1905.

ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

[Lord Curzon of Kedleston landed in Bombay on Friday, the 9th December 1904, after an absence from India of rather more than seven months, to assume for the second time the Viceroyalty of India. Great public interest was manifested in His Lordship's arrival and a marked feature in his reception was that a large number of the principal Native Chiefs had assembled at Bombay to welcome His Lordship back to India. These had gathered together in a pavilion on the Apollo Bunder, where there were also many civil, political, naval, and military officers, and a large gathering of the general public. In the pavilion the following address, read by Mr. James Macdonald, was presented by the Municipal Corporation :— 9th Dec. 1904.

To the Right Hon'ble George Nathaniel Baron Curzon of Kedleston, G.M.S.I., etc.,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, DESIGNATE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

"We, the President and Members of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, beg most respectfully to tender to your Lordship our cordial and loyal welcome on landing on these shores to assume the duties of the high office to which you have been again appointed by our Most Gracious Sovereign.

"It was with the deepest concern that we learned of the grave illness of Lady Curzon and our sincere sympathy has followed her and you throughout. We rejoice to hear she has recovered, and we earnestly hope to welcome her Ladyship to India in renewed health and strength at some early date.

Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

"When your Lordship arrived in Bombay in 1898, you were pleased to say, in reply to our address, that the loyalty, of which we spoke, to the person and throne of the Queen-Empress, you believed to be as wide-spread as it was profound and intense. The same feelings of loyalty are now entertained to our Gracious Sovereign the King-Emperor, and we pray your Lordship to lay them at the feet of his Imperial Majesty.

"It is our earnest trust that with your high intellectual accomplishments, your marked personality, and especially your great interest in everything pertaining to this country, you may be able to devise and promote measures which will conduce to the welfare and happiness of its people.

"As your Lordship is doubtless already aware, by the good Providence of God, immediate fear of famine was removed by a timely fall of rain; and although there is yet cause for considerable anxiety, we have the assurance that the Government of this Presidency are fully prepared to meet with prompt and vigorous action any emergency which may arise.

"Since this Municipality presented its last address to your Lordship the ravages by plague have been continuous, notwithstanding the heavy expenditure and ceaseless efforts of our Municipal authorities to carry out every suggestion giving promise of alleviating, if not altogether removing, this evil, so disturbing to the people, to the commercial prosperity of this City, and to the financial arrangements of this Municipality.

"This Corporation has suggested to the Local Government the advisability of appointing a Committee of Scientists to investigate the sources and causes of plague, for any advance in knowledge of the disease would be beneficial far beyond the bounds of this City and Presidency. We therefore confidently commend the matter to your Lordship's favourable consideration.

"We would also beg leave to commend for similar consideration a memorial which we have addressed to the Government of India praying to be relieved to a greater extent than we have so far been of the burden of plague expenditure.

"In conclusion, we would again bid you a hearty welcome and express the hope that your health has recovered from the strain of the recent anxiety, and that it may continue vigorous for many long and useful years."

Lord Curzon replied as follows:—]

I thank you, Sir, and the members of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, for the address which you have just

Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

read, the third with which this body, so worthily representative of this great and renowned city, has honoured me during the past six years.

Landing on this quay again this morning, I cannot but recall the occasion when I stood here almost exactly six years ago. There is one great difference which must be apparent to all, but which is most apparent to me. I land alone to resume this great burden, without the sympathy and the solace at my side that have been my mainstay during these hard and often weary years. But that fact, so sad and so serious to me, reminds me of the comfort that has come to me from India in such rich measure during the past few months of anxiety and suffering, and which you, Sir, have echoed in your address this morning. I desire to thank all classes—the Princes of India, several of whom have journeyed to meet me here to-day, and with whom I have just shaken hands, public bodies and societies, the officers of the Services, and Indian sympathisers of all classes who have written to me in such numbers—for their tender interest and solicitude. There is warmth of heart in India as great and as life-giving as there is of sky: and neither Lady Curzon nor I can readily forget the wealth of it that has been given to us in our hour of trial. I endeavoured to answer as many of these messages as I could with my own hand or through that of others. But if anywhere I failed, I beg the kindly correspondent whom I have unwittingly ignored to accept this acknowledgment.

Gentlemen, the question may, perhaps, be asked why in these circumstances I should have come back at all. It is true that I have already exceeded the longest term of office since that which sent Lord Canning home, more than forty years ago, to die. Only once before in a hundred and thirty years has a Governor-General for a second time taken up this office: and in the fate which awaited him there was to be found little encouragement for a successor. May I give the answer in all humility as it rises in my own heart?

Address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Since this country first laid its spell upon me, I have always regarded it as the land not only of romance but of obligation. India to me is "Duty" written in five letters instead of in four. All the servants of Government, European or Native, are also the servants of duty. The Viceroy himself is the slave of duty as well as its captain. We have all to do our work irrespective of minor considerations.

I do not know, Sir, for how long I may continue to hold this office, for the past six years have left their mark upon my own health, and I must for some time be very dependent upon what I hear from home. But within the space permitted to me, be it short or long, there are a few things which I should like to carry some stages further towards completion, because I believe, rightly or wrongly, that they will contribute to the strength of the Empire and the welfare of this country. (*Cheers.*) We still have to carry through the reform of the Police, the most vital and imperative of domestic reforms, touching the very core of the life of the Indian people. There has been no undue delay, and we are only awaiting the final orders of the Secretary of State in the matter. We have to translate into fact, so far as our resources permit, the findings of the Irrigation Commission. We have to start the new Department of Commerce and Industry, which will take special charge of those interests that must play so large a part in the future prosperity of India. We have to inaugurate our new Railway Board, and to speed our Educational reforms on their way. There are several administrative reforms, already initiated, still to be carried through to conclusion. We have to rivet tighter the bonds of steel that constitute our land defences, so that none may rashly force an entrance, and threaten the security or dissipate the slowly garnered prosperity of the people. (*Hear, hear.*) We are in train to do this by the great scheme of military re-organisation to which the present Commander-in-Chief in India is devoting his unique experi-

ence and authority, by a policy of friendly alliance and understanding with our neighbours on all our frontiers from Lhasa to Kabul, and by a better co-ordination of our military resources within our borders, both those which are under the Imperial Government and those which are supplied by our loyal co-adjutors the Native States. If, when the time comes for me to go, I can feel that these plans are either realised or are sure of their ultimate issue, I shall contentedly depart, and shall leave what I hope will be quieter days and less laborious nights to my successor.

Gentlemen, during the time that I have been in England I have found many signs among my own countrymen of a warm and steadily growing interest in India. There is not, I believe, a single thoughtful Briton who looks at the connection between the two countries from a selfish or sordid or purely materialistic point of view. (*Hear, hear.*) There are few, if any, among them who do not realise the responsibility and desire that it should be discharged faithfully. I pray you, I pray the native community in India, to believe in the good faith, in the high honour, and in the upright purpose of my countrymen. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) In England there are no two parties about India. It is the desire of all parties that the Government of this dependency should be conducted with insight and sympathy, and that our guiding stars should be mercy and justice. (*Cheers.*) Some perhaps would advance more quickly, others more slowly, but all would advance, as we are advancing. Is it an impossible aspiration to ask that in India there should be no two parties about England? (*Hear, hear.*) Disagreement there may well be as to methods and details. But in principles and essentials let us be one.

Gentlemen, while I have been away I have not failed to watch very closely what was passing in this country. I have observed one Presidency Governor, Lord Ampthill, conducting with equal discretion and ability the highest

affairs of State, which had been temporarily committed to his charge. In Bombay I have seen another Governor, Lord Lamington, whom I am fortunate enough to count as almost my oldest personal friend—(*hear, hear*)—identifying himself in every conceivable way with the interests and welfare of the people. (*Cheers.*) I scrutinised very anxiously your rain-chart a few months ago, and there was a moment when we all trembled for long-suffering and sorely-tried Gujerat. But that danger was happily averted; and though in India we live more constantly on the brink of vicissitudes than in any other country in the world, and though we never know what a month may bring forth, I see no present symptoms that need cast a shadow on our outlook; and should Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales be able to carry out their long-cherished intention to visit India before another year has expired, we hope it will be to a contented and peaceful as well as to a loyal and enthusiastic country that they will come. (*Cheers.*)

You have mentioned, Sir, in your address just now, the desirability of a scientific investigation into the etiology of plague, that horrible canker which is gnawing at the vitals of the poorest classes of our population. There sometimes comes a moment when from opposite quarters public opinion seems to converge by a sort of instinct upon a single line. This is an illustration. Not knowing what was passing here I was in communication with the heads of the Royal Society and with the authorities of the Lister Institute on the subject in England. No sooner had I done this than I received a despatch which showed that the Government of India, acting upon the initiative of the Punjab Government, had arrived independently at a similar conclusion, and had made official proposals on the subject. And now, Sir, I come here to find that the Corporation of Bombay had, equally independently, pressed similar views upon the local Government. I hope that with this con-

currence of authoritative opinion we may be able to do something in the direction that you desire. (*Cheers.*) The question of plague expenditure is one that I remember discussing with the Corporation of this city when you last addressed me in 1900. (*Laughter, in which the Viceroy joined.*) I cannot of course speak without the advice of my colleagues on the subject.

In conclusion, Sir, let me remind you that, since I first came out as Viceroy to India, I have been brought into official contact with three successive Governors of Bombay. I do not think there is one of them who would deny that the Government of India has endeavoured during this period to deal fairly and generously with Bombay. We recognize your distinctive character, your historic traditions, your enterprise and importance, and we sympathise with the afflictions that have so often dragged you down. In thanking you, Mr. Chairman, for the address and for the friendly wishes that you have expressed on my behalf, permit me to indulge in the hope that an era of recovered and continuous prosperity may lie before this ancient Presidency and this famous city. (*Loud cheers.*)

RESUMPTION OF VICEROYALTY BY LORD CURZON.

[At the first Meeting of the Legislative Council at which Lord Curzon presided after his return from England His Honour Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, before the proceedings commenced, made the following speech :— 16th Dec. 1904.

"My Lord, I crave permission to express in a sentence, on behalf of this Council and also of the Province to which I belong, the cordial welcome which we give Your Excellency on your return to the office of Viceroy. In common with the rest of His Majesty's subjects in India, we have deeply sympathised with you in the trial through which you have passed, and in the circumstances of your return. We earnestly hope that you may be strengthened for the

Resumption of Viceroyalty by Lord Curzon.

discharge of your duties, and that you may continue to be cheered by good news from home, so that you may be happy in all your work among us."

H. E. the Viceroy then spoke as follows :—]

I am very much touched by the kind words that have just fallen from the lips of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. Sad and lonely as are the circumstances in which I have come out to India again, and by no means free from anxiety, I do derive consolation from any such words of encouragement and hope. At this table I have never received anything but fair and courteous treatment from the Hon'ble Members of this Council. This is now the seventh consecutive Session in which it has been my privilege to preside over the deliberations of this Council, and during the whole of that period, at times of the greatest strain, even during a session of the most laborious, and I am afraid I must say contentious character, such as we had a year ago, I never remember any occasion on which any Hon'ble Member of this Council deviated at all from the dictates of good humour and of self-restraint; and I believe further that there is no Hon'ble Member, European or Indian, official or non-official, who comes to this room, who is not inspired by the most sincere desire to work for the interests of the class or community which he may happen to represent, and of the Indian people at large. I am glad to say that, in contrast with the circumstances of a year ago, the Government are placing before you a mild and almost a holiday programme during the forthcoming Session. Very little strain will be placed on your time and I hope none at all on your tempers.

There is one other matter to which, as I happen to be speaking, I should like to allude. Since this Council last met we have lost by death one of our former Presidents, Lord Northbrook, and I think that you would hardly expect me to pass that event in silence or to miss the opportunity of paying a brief parting tribute to his memory. It is more

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than 30 years ago since, on the assassination of Lord Mayo in the Andamans, Lord Northbrook came out, a relatively untried man, although in the prime of life, to take up the great post of Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He was only here for four years, and he then departed, amid universal expressions of regret, owing to a disagreement on matters of foreign policy with the new Government that had come into office at home. While in India, however, he distinguished himself greatly by his unselfish devotion to the administration of a great famine, which kept him down in the plains of Bengal through an entire hot weather season, by his uncommon financial ability, and by his sympathy with the people of the country. When he went back to England he filled high office there for a period, but during the latter part of his life, although he was concerned with no great administrative charge, he always exercised no inconsiderable influence over the minds of his countrymen by reason of his high character and of his administrative capacity. Of all the ex-Viceroys of India whom we have been fortunate to retain after they have left the service of India in India itself, Lord Northbrook struck me as the one who followed with the most active and insistent interest the progress of events in India. He was always ready to serve upon Royal Commissions or other enquiries, he was always ready to lift his voice in the House of Lords, and on both sets of occasions he interpreted his responsibilities as laying upon him the duty of defending the rights of India and of seeing that no derogation was made from her position in the Imperial partnership to which she had been committed.

During my first term of office as Viceroy, I was honoured with Lord Northbrook's friendship and correspondence throughout. It was a source of extreme gratification to me that he gave his approval to all the main acts of the Administration of the Government of India during that period. Indeed, had he failed to do so I should have felt

doubtful of their propriety, so high was the conviction that I had of his sagacity and prudence.

The last time that I saw him was in the course of the past summer, when I was lying ill in London myself, and when he came into my room, looking somewhat frail and shrunken, but at the same time alert and keen as ever, and when he strongly urged upon me the duty of coming back to India in order to carry out the remainder of the programme which I had set before myself. The last time that I heard from him was only a few days before his death.

I do not think that amid the many distinguished Englishmen who have given their services to India there has ever been a more chivalrous or high-minded champion of Indian rights than Lord Northbrook was, and I am certain that all of you who are in this room this morning and a much wider circle outside will agree with me in deploring his loss.

DINNER TO DELEGATES OF THE CONFERENCE OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

5th Jan. 1905. [His Excellency the Viceroy entertained the Delegates of the first Conference of Indian and Ceylon Chambers of Commerce to dinner at Government House, Calcutta, on Thursday evening, the 5th January, 1905.

At the end of dinner the Viceroy, after the health of the King-Emperor had been drunk, proposed the following toast :—]

Gentlemen,—If I may judge from the newspapers, commerce has been so very articulate during the last two or three days that you will probably welcome, and not resent, some respite this evening. I can assure you, therefore, that I shall cut the speech-making part of this entertainment down to the narrowest possible limits. At the same time, I cannot deny myself the privilege of welcoming you here, and of saying how greatly I esteem the honour that you confer upon me by coming as my guests to-night. It seems to me an excellent thing that representative

members of the Chambers of Commerce of India should meet in Conference at Calcutta as you are now doing. You exchange useful ideas and you pass resolutions relating to the commercial and industrial condition of the country. The interests that are represented by the gentlemen who are sitting at this table are, in my judgment, very important ones, for they are commensurate with the whole field of economic development upon which the future prosperity of this country so largely depends. (*Hear, hear.*) Your meetings therefore and your discussions concern a much wider class than the members of Chambers of Commerce alone, because they affect the vital interests of the country at large. (*Applause.*)

From a careful study of your proceedings in the morning's newspapers I am glad to note how general a recognition there now appears to be of the community of interest between Government and Commerce in this country (*applause*), and of the extent to which both the Supreme Government and the Local Governments endeavour to co-operate with your aims. (*Applause.*) We do not hear so much nowadays as we used to do about the alleged antagonism between Government and trade, about the indifference of Government to commercial interests, and the crass obtuseness of the official mind. (*Laughter.*) Speaking as an official myself and on behalf of many other officials, I willingly recognize our stupidity (*laughter*), but I decline to admit that we have any monopoly of stupidity. (*Laughter.*) I am not going to make the claim this evening that, as time goes on, Government is becoming more intelligent; neither will I flatter you by suggesting that commerce is more broad-minded. Rather I think we may say that, by an inevitable and mutual approximation, both Government and commerce recognize the identity of their common interests and learn the advantage of understanding each other's attitude and point of view. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

Dinner to Delegates of the Conference of Chambers of Commerce.

I rejoice particularly that it has been my good fortune to be the head of the Government which has taken what I think may be described as the most practical and far-reaching step that has been adopted, at any rate in recent years, for the furtherance of commerce in India. (*Hear, hear.*) I allude of course to the creation of an independent Department of Commerce with a separate Minister at its head. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) In this country we are often supposed to be very backward and torpid in the movement of our ideas, but here I think we may claim to be a little bit ahead of some other parts of the British Empire, for we may boast of having created a Ministry of Commerce before Great Britain has found it necessary to provide herself with the same commodity. (*Applause.*)

Now, Gentlemen, some of you may perhaps be inclined to think that the creation of a new Department is a very simple thing. A note from the Viceroy, or from an Hon'ble Member of Council, or from a Secretary, is put in at one end of the machine, a handle is turned, and out comes the finished product of Mr. Hewett at the other. (*Laughter.*) I have observed that those who are outside of great concerns, whether they be those of business or of Government, are rather apt to think that everything inside proceeds with an almost mechanical rapidity and accuracy, and that with the minimum of labour is produced the maximum of result. And yet I do not think that any of those who have experience of the working, either of business or of commerce, will bear out that impression. It is certainly not true of Government; I do not believe it to be true of business; and least of all is it true of a country like India, where my experience is that any novel proposal cannot be carried through without a prodigious amount of exertion. (*Hear, hear.*)

So it has been in the present case. You may know, if you recollect the by-gone history of the case, that we first went up to the Secretary of State with a proposal for a

Commercial Bureau. He rejected it because it was too large. I think it argued a creditable amount of spirit that we replied to that challenge by going up with a still larger. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) The fact is that, the further we conducted our investigations, the more we found that our administrative machinery in India was altogether inadequate for the duties that are required from it, that the division of labour between the different Departments of Government was antiquated and unscientific, and that we were exacting impossible tasks from overworked men. (*Hear, hear.*) This necessitated a complete revision of the work of the various Departments of the Government of India, and it soon brought us face to face with the absolutely indispensable creation of a new Department. We had to redistribute the work of the other Departments, to extract from them that which belonged more distinctly to your functions and your needs, and slowly but surely to build up the new structure from the base. Then we had to go to the Secretary of State and to procure his assent, not only to our proposals themselves, but to the introduction of legislation in the British Parliament: because, anomalous though it may seem, it is the case that you cannot add to the functions of the Government of India, or, at any rate, you cannot create a new Department, without passing a Bill through the Houses of Parliament at home.

These were the preliminary stages. When I went home last summer, I found the Secretary of State, as he had been throughout, most sympathetic, but there was still considerable doubt as to whether the requisite legislation could be squeezed through the House of Commons, and I remember on one occasion being roused up from my sick-bed in England to go down to that Chamber to have a few words of tender exhortation with certain Hon'ble Members who were supposed to be not altogether favourably inclined towards our Bill. (*Laughter.*) The upshot of it all was that the Secretary of State passed his Bill, the Department

was constituted, and then we were face to face with the momentous question of how to fill it. Now, Gentlemen, I have never concealed my own desire, and I know that it was shared by the Secretary of State, that we should, if possible, have appointed a business man to be the head of a business concern, a commercial man to be the first Member for Commerce in India, an expert to guide and control our ignorance. Six months were spent in the effort to satisfy that desire; but just as it is one thing to take a horse up to a trough and another thing to compel him to drink, so it is one thing to ask a man to come out to India, even for a post with the magnificent opportunities and the not inconsiderable emoluments of this, and another thing to persuade him to accept it. Accordingly it was with no great surprise, although it was with regret, that soon after I came back to India the other day I heard by telegram from the Secretary of State that he had not been successful in his endeavours, and that there was no alternative but to appoint a Civilian. As soon as that decision was announced to me, all doubt and hesitation was at an end. For I knew that I had in Mr Hewett, who is seated at my left to-night (*applause*), a Civilian possessing quite exceptional abilities and breadth of view, a man who was already in close touch with the commercial community, not only in Calcutta but in other parts of the country (*applause*), and a man possessing so much versatility and power of assimilation that, backed by the knowledge which long official experience must have given to him, he would in a very short time be discharging the duties of his new office in a manner satisfactory to the business world. (*Applause.*) I believe, Gentlemen, from indications that have fallen from you at the meetings of your Chambers during the last few days, that you share these feelings (*applause*), and I confidently look forward to the time when the new Department will be shaped by Mr. Hewett, with the sympathy and insight with which I credit him, into a form that will make the

mercantile community in India quite content that the missing expert did not appear upon the scene. (*Applause.*) I will only say in conclusion that it marks one of the few remaining milestones that lie before me in India that I should have been able to see this new office, in the creation of which I have taken so deep an interest, started in my time, and I bespeak for the new Department and for the first Hon'ble Member who presides over it the generous and sympathetic assistance of the community at large. (*Loud applause.*)

I now propose the toast of the Delegates of the Conference of the Indian and Ceylon Chambers of Commerce, and I will couple it with the name of the Hon'ble gentleman who sits upon my right. Mr. Apcar is a man peculiarly fitted for the honourable position which he occupies to-day by reason of his distinguished position in the mercantile world, by reason of tastes and pursuits (*applause*) with which we all sympathize (*applause*) and which we hope have been a source of as much profit to everybody at this table (*laughter*) as they are alleged to have been to himself (*laughter*), and as enjoying a popularity not more widely spread than it is thoroughly deserved. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

[Mr. Apcar then rose and responded to the toast on behalf of the Delegates.]

FAREWELL DINNER TO SIR EDWARD LAW.

[On Thursday evening, the 12th January 1905, His Excellency the Viceroy entertained the Hon'ble Sir Edward Law to a farewell dinner on the occasion of the resignation by the Hon'ble Member of his seat as Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council. The Lieutenant-Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Rivaz (Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab), and many of the leading officials and members of the mercantile community were present, as well as a number of ladies. After dinner, when the health of the King- 12th Jan. 1905.

Farewell Dinner to Sir Edward Law.

Emperor had been drunk, His Excellency the Viceroy proposed the toast of Sir Edward Law in the following speech :—]

Your Excellency, Your Honours, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The strains of the beautiful song to which we have just listened, Schubert's immortal "Adieu," lead me by a natural transition to the toast of the evening. How quickly our official generations in India come and go may, I think, be illustrated by our experience of to-night. Scarcely six years ago I was entertaining a company in this hall, some of whom are perhaps present here now, to bid an official good-bye to that capable financier, Sir James Westland. Only a year after I was offering a similar farewell to his successor, Sir Clinton Dawkins. And now we are here again to extend the right hand of friendship and farewell to our distinguished guest, Sir Edward Law, who, after completing almost a full term of service in India, is about to retire. To have enjoyed official relations, as I have done, with no fewer than five Finance Ministers—for Mr. Finlay, and now Mr. Baker, must be added to my list—makes me feel incredibly old (*laughter*) from the official point of view, and at the same time reminds me that in addressing Sir Edward Law this evening I may almost say to him, *Moriturus te saluto.*

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is one feature in which Sir Edward Law has been singularly unlike his predecessors. Since first a Finance Member was appointed in India, he is the only Minister from the outside who has spent anything like his full term of office in this country. Mr. Massey and Lord Cromer, who each stayed the best part of three years, come a respectable second. But the rest are comparatively speaking nowhere. I regard this fact as a testimony both to the interest which Sir Edward Law has taken in his work and to the success which has attended him. (*Applause.*)

There is another respect in which our guest has enjoyed an almost unique position. He has been in closer touch with Commerce (*hear, hear*) than any Finance Minister of

modern times—as indeed any Member for a Department that bears the name, or till lately bore the name, of Finance and Commerce ought to be. Sir Edward Law has been almost as well known to the merchants, let us say of Karachi and Bombay, as he has been to those of Calcutta (*applause*), and it may be said with truth that the mercantile community throughout the country have appreciated his frank accessibility, his shrewd acumen—based upon no common experience of men and Governments—and his invariable and practical common sense. (*Applause.*)

Then there is another point. Sir Edward Law has taken a very genuine and consistent interest in the development of the natural resources of India—in indigo, cotton, sugar, jute, and tea; in the manufacturing industries of this country, such as iron and steel, which he has done his best to promote; in railway progress; and last, but not least, in that which is the staple industry of the millions of India, namely, agriculture. Now it may perhaps seem to some of you here present a rather curious thing to claim that a Finance Minister should take an interest in objects not purely financial in their character and application, but I can assure you that is not the case. The Finance Minister in India, who merely devotes himself to figures and to book-keeping, will never leave his mark upon the history of this country; and it is because Sir Edward Law has not looked at his work in India through the narrow spectacles of the accountant but from the wider standpoint of the statesman and man of affairs, that he has attained the success which he has achieved. (*Applause.*)

I have not much to say to-night about pure finance. That is a tolerably stiff dish at any time, and I conceive that to serve it up between a dinner and a dance would be positively inhuman. (*Laughter.*) None the less, we all know that Sir Edward Law's term of office has synchronised with a period of stability in our national resources, of prosperous budgets and reduced taxation, of expansion in the principal

sources of revenue, and of a steady strengthening of our financial reserves. He made a speech himself only the other day to the Conference of the Chambers of Commerce here in which he showed how broad is the basis upon which in his judgment the finance and the credit of this country ought to stand; and it is no exaggeration to say that Sir Edward Law has done much by his own labours to realize his own ideal. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is one presence the loss of which to-night we all deplore, and that is the beautiful and accomplished lady, if I may so speak of her, who has shared her husband's labours in India, and who has brightened our dull Northern wits with a more than Athenian vivacity and grace. (*Applause.*) I request Sir Edward, on my behalf and on that of many others, to convey to her our tender and respectful messages of good-will and farewell. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

I have sometimes heard our guest talk darkly about dim days in the past, I believe in the early seventies, in which he is alleged to have been a somewhat rowdy gunner subaltern in Calcutta. (*Laughter.*) I do not know whether concrete evidences of this strange metempsychosis will ever find their way into the galleries of the Victoria Memorial Hall. (*Laughter.*) These stories, however, though they find little confirmation in the present tastes and pursuits of Sir Edward Law (except that I see he is rarely absent from a race-meeting) (*laughter*) have never created in me any surprise, because they only illustrate that alertness of temperament and versatility of intellect which have in the past carried him through so many triumphs, and will, we hope, lead him to further successes after he has left us.

It is, I am sure, the sincere hope of all the ladies and gentlemen seated at this table, and of many others outside who are included in the ranks of his personal friends, that such successes, and much future happiness, may lie before him wherever he may be, and it is with these hopes for his

future and with grateful remembrance of the service that he has rendered to India, and of the friendship that he has given to those who have been his colleagues in the work of Government, that I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join with me to-night in drinking his very good health. (*Loud applause.*)

[After the toast, which was very cordially received, had been drunk Sir Edward Law briefly thanked His Excellency.]

INDIAN UNIVERSITIES (VALIDATION) BILL, 1905.

[At the Legislative Council held at Government House on Friday, the 10th February 1905, the Bill to validate action taken under the Indian Universities Act, 1904, was taken into consideration. Two amendments were moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, the first being that the consideration of the Bill should be postponed *sine die*, and the other that the clause "Nothing in this Act shall apply to the University of Bombay," should be added. Both amendments were rejected and the Hon'ble Mr. Richards then moved that the Bill be passed. In closing the discussion on this motion His Excellency the Viceroy spoke as follows :—] 10th Feb. 1905.

In spite of the heroics in which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale indulged in his concluding speech just now, I venture to think that the truest remark that has been made this morning fell from my Hon'ble Colleague sitting upon my left, when he said that the importance of this matter has been gravely exaggerated. As I understand the case, the question before us is essentially a small one. When we passed our Universities Bill last year it became necessary to provide for a transitional period before the new constitution came into final operation. For this purpose what are called the transitory provisions were inserted in Section 12 of the Act. I confess that I was never very much enamoured of those provisions myself. They contain a number of conundrums almost unintelligible to the mind of the average layman, and certainly unintelligible to myself. But I would remind the Council that they were not part of the original

Indian Universities (Validation) Bill, 1905.

Bill. We owe those transitory provisions in the main to the ingenuity of a learned Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, a Member of this Council a year ago, a member of the Select Committee that was responsible for turning the Bill into its present shape, and one of the most consistent allies of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale himself. Mr. Gokhale in one of his speeches said he wondered what Sir Thomas Raleigh would think of our procedure of to-day. I earnestly hope that Sir Thomas Raleigh in his peaceful retreat in England will not bother himself about anything so essentially trivial. But if he is in anxiety about the views of Sir Thomas Raleigh, what must be the mental position of the learned Judge?

Under one of the sub-sections of this Section 12 a provisional Syndicate was to be appointed to carry on the business of the University and to frame the necessary regulations, in the interval before the permanent Syndicate was appointed later on. The Provisional Syndicate was to be appointed by the Senate in such a manner as the Chancellor might direct. Upon this authority the various Chancellors in the various Universities proceeded to act, and the various provisional Syndicates were elected, not always in the same way. I know nothing of the proceedings that took place at the other Universities, because I was absent from India at the time: neither had I anything to do with the constitution of the provisional Syndicate here, beyond indicating the method of procedure for the election, as I was by the terms of the Statute bound to do. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is good enough to tell me that my action was irregular throughout. With all respect I must decline to take him as an authority upon a matter of law. I have other legal advisers whose opinions are perhaps equal to his own and whose views do not coincide with his. I knew nothing of the provisional faculties or of the elections that they made. The first I heard of it was when I saw their names in the

newspapers. Any suspicion, therefore, that the Government at large, or the Chancellor of the Calcutta University in particular, were trying to arrange matters in accordance with their views is absolutely groundless. We have not any certain knowledge whether our action was even illegal. Reading the Act as a layman I should be very much inclined to say that the action, in Calcutta at any rate, was strictly legal, and such, I believe, is the opinion of the Hon'ble Member who sits upon my left. But even if it was illegal, it is surely quite clear that the illegality was of the most petty description and was due to an ambiguity in the wording of the Act for which the Government were not mainly responsible.

Now what has happened? The question of legality has been raised, not here but in Bombay. There the matter seems, I agree with the Hon'ble Member in that respect, to be rather more open to doubt, though, while agreeing with him on that point, I must state that he had no right whatever to say in his speech the other day, and to repeat in one of his speeches to-day, that the Government by their action had admitted the illegality themselves. That is far from being our position. On the contrary, it was disputed by Mr. Richards throughout.

Anyhow, the matter was raised in Bombay and was brought before the High Court there. It might equally have been raised here; we had reason to believe that the friends of the Hon'ble Member in this city were waiting to see what happened at Bombay in order to raise the question here. An era of litigation appeared therefore to threaten. And what did litigation mean? It meant not only the sometimes dilatory process before the Courts of Law with which we are familiar in this country, but also suspension of the work of the Universities until the point was settled, perhaps months later on. I quite agree with what has just fallen from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on this point. I was surprised to hear the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale say

last week that this did not much matter, that he was even willing that months should be wasted before this question was settled. That phrase would come naturally enough from the lips of a professed enemy of the Government, but it does not come so well from the mouth of a sincere friend of education, which is the light in which we always prefer to regard the Hon'ble Member and in which he always depicts himself in this Chamber. This is the situation that the Government by the ordinary and obvious means placed at their disposal intervened to stop. Thereupon the Hon'ble Member tells us that our action is arbitrary, that we have assumed a position of practical irresponsibility which has produced a most deplorable effect, and just now, in a moving peroration, he even indicated that the reign of law was coming to an end in India, and I am not quite certain that he did not set it down to my discredit that I was to be the Viceroy under whom this disastrous state of affairs was about for the first time to arise.

Now I need hardly tell Hon'ble Members that when the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale made these remarks, he made them not for this assembly but for the benefit of his friends outside. The Government, in introducing a validating Bill, to resolve the doubts that have arisen, are not doing anything that they have not done before; there is no novelty in their action; they are not intervening to secure anything for Government which we want and which we ought not to seek. All that we are doing is to intervene to prevent the unfortunate consequences that have already in part resulted, and that might result in an even greater degree, from an ambiguity in the wording of the Bill; and as for the deplorable effect that is alleged to have been produced, I think a much more deplorable effect would have ensued had the Government not interfered, and had they allowed this state of suspended animation, of interrupted work, on the part of the bodies that we spent so much time in constituting last year, to continue.

Indian Universities (Validation) Bill, 1905.

Of course the Hon'ble Member sees in our action much more. In his eyes I am afraid that the Government are always guilty of dark deeds, which it is his duty to discover and lay bare. He said, for instance, this morning, that what had already happened showed how true were the prophecies of himself and his friends a year ago. He remarked that some of their fears had been more or less realised. Well, I was waiting to discover what those fears were; but he then passed away from the subject. I think it was prudent on his part to introduce these qualifications for this reason. The particular fear in which the Hon'ble Member habitually indulged last year, and which figured in almost all his speeches, was that the Government was going to pack the Senates of the new Universities. He wrote in his Note of Dissent that "the net result of the constitutional provisions of the Bill will be to place the Indian element in so hopeless a minority as to dissociate it for all practical purposes from the government of the Universities. This much is clear, the rest is doubtful." Then in one of his speeches later on, which I remember rebuking at the time, he said that the Senates of the future would be dominantly European with only a slight sprinkling of Indians just to keep up appearances. Now let us see how the fears of the Hon'ble Member have been more or less realised. In the Senate of the Calcutta University, for which I am in the main responsible, the Indians are in a majority over the Europeans of 3; in the Bombay University, which the Hon'ble Member knows so well, the Natives have a majority of 14. In other words, 57 out of 100 are what he described by anticipation as a slight sprinkling of Natives. In Lahore the Natives are in a majority of 3. In fact the Universities of Madras and Allahabad are the only two Universities upon the Senates of which the Europeans are in the majority; and their majority in Madras is only 4 and in Allahabad only 5.

The Hon'ble Member has been very eloquent to-day about

the attitude of Government, and I have ventured, I hope without offence, to reply to him. May I suggest to him that he should turn his attention for a moment to the attitude of his own friends? Is he quite sure that a disinterested love of education has been at the bottom of their action in this matter? It is difficult, I think, to believe it of all of them. To do them justice there is a certain class of opponents of Government who have never pretended it for a moment. The object of that class is quite clear and it has been stated in their organs. They desire, in the first place, to discredit the Universities which the Government created last year and to bring their work to a standstill, and, in the second place, they wish to bring about an election of new provisional Syndicates who would be more in sympathy with the views of the enemies of the Act than those who have been elected, and who might help them in practice to break it down. That, as we all know, is the scheme that has been devised in certain quarters, and it is now about to fail.

I could not help being a little amused last week when the Hon'ble Member called us to witness that he had been greatly moved by an appeal made by the Lieutenant-Governor last year; that since then he had been exercising all his energies to make our Bill a success, but that he had been diverted from this excellent enterprise by the arbitrary conduct of Government in once again bringing the matter into the arena of controversy. Considering that the whole matter that we are sitting here to-day to discuss is in consequence of action not taken by the Government but taken by the friends of the Hon'ble Member, this seems to me rather strong.

Now, however, that this move has failed, I hope that the Hon'ble Member and those who act with him, will return to the rôle of true friends of education in this country, and that we may expect his co-operation in future in defeating any further attempts to impair the success of the Act, which I really believe that, equally with ourselves, he has at heart.

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

[The annual Convocation of the Calcutta University for conferring Degrees was held in the Senate House of the University on Saturday, the 11th February 1905, at 3 P.M., the Viceroy presiding as Chancellor. His Excellency was received at the Entrance Hall by the Vice-Chancellor (Mr. Pedler), and the Fellows, and conducted in procession to the Daïs, where he took his seat with the Lieutenant-Governor on his right and the Vice-Chancellor and Chief Justice of Bengal on his left. After the presentation of degrees by the Vice-Chancellor, His Excellency the Viceroy, who on rising was warmly received, spoke as follows:—] 11th Feb. 1905.

I do not propose to address you to-day upon purely educational topics. I have often inflicted them upon previous Convocations. I would like to turn aside for half an hour from those dusty fields and to talk to you about something which is even more personal to the undergraduate body, namely, yourselves and the work that lies before you. The majority of you are about to do what I remember so well doing myself, though it is now rather a long time ago, namely, to gather up the advantages of such education as you have received and with this bundle on your back to start forth on the big road which we call life. What will it mean to you, and what are its lessons?

I do not pretend to know what lies in the mind of young India, or even of that small section of it which I am now addressing. Difference of race carries with it difference of ideas. The currents of the East and West may flow between the same banks, as I believe it is their destiny to do for long generations to come. But they never absolutely commingle; and I daresay when I try to put myself in your place and to see what is in your minds I altogether fail to succeed. I am confident sometimes that it is so when I have observed the obscure meanings attached by Indian commentators to what has seemed to me to be simple and true. Conversely, I am quite sure that the Englishman often fails to understand what the Asiatic mind has been pondering over, and is led perhaps by exaggeration of language

into thinking that there was corresponding extravagance of thought, whereas there may have been none at all. These are the dangers common to all of us who walk to and fro on the misty arch that spans the gulf between East and West. But there are certain ideals which are the common property of all humanity irrespective of country or race. These are of universal application, and among this class there are some that are peculiarly applicable to the Indian situation and the Indian character. In the contemplation of these we are on common ground, and it is to them that I wish to call your attention this afternoon.

I place in the front rank of these principles, truthfulness. The truth is not merely the opposite of a lie. A dumb man would find it difficult to tell a lie, but he might be guilty of untruth every day of his life. There are scores of people who pride themselves on never telling a falsehood, but who are yet habitually false—false to others, and, what is worse, false to themselves. Untruthfulness consists in saying or doing anything that gives an erroneous impression either of one's own character, or of other people's conduct, or of the facts and incidents of life. We all succumb to this. It is the most subtle of temptations. Men who make speeches, men who plead cases, men who write articles in the newspapers, men who are engaged in business, even the ordinary talker at a dinner table, each of us for the sake of some petty advantage or momentary triumph is tempted to transgress. The degree of non-truth is so slight that it does not seem to amount to untruth. We salve our conscience by thinking that it was a pardonable exaggeration. But the habit grows. Deviation from truth slides by imperceptible degrees into falsehood; and the man who begins by crediting himself with a fertile imagination merges by imperceptible degrees into a finished liar. But an even commoner form of untruth is the unspoken untruth—the doing something which conscience condemns as not quite straight, but for which the reason is always finding some-

thing as an excuse. Those who encourage this tendency end by becoming two human beings in the same form, like the Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde of Stevenson's story. Perhaps the guilty man prides himself on being complex. He is really corrupt; and one day he wakes up to find that he can no longer resume the good habit, but must remain the base or distorted deformity for ever.

I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception. I do not thereby mean to claim that Europeans are universally or even generally truthful, still less do I mean that Asiatics deliberately or habitually deviate from the truth. The one proposition would be absurd, and the other insulting. But undoubtedly truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute. We may prove it by the common innuendo that lurks in the words 'Oriental diplomacy,' by which is meant something rather tortuous and hypersubtle. The same may be seen in Oriental literature. In your epics truth will often be extolled as a virtue; but quite as often it is attended with some qualification, and very often praise is given to successful deception practised with honest aim. I remember reading in an Indian newspaper the following paragraph:—"There is not a question but that lying is looked upon with much more disfavour by European than by Native society. The English opinions on this subject are strong, distinct, and uncompromising in the abstract. Hindu and Mahomedan opinions are fluctuating, vague, and to a great extent dependent upon times, places, and persons."

Now the commonest forms which are taken by untruth in this country seem to me to be the following. The first is exaggeration, particularly in language, the tendency to speak or write things which the speaker or writer does not believe

or which are more than he believes, for the sake of colouring the picture or producing an effect. It is quite a common thing to see the most extravagant account of ordinary occurrences, or the most fanciful motives attributed to persons. Invention and imputation flourish in an unusual degree. There is a thing which we call in English a 'mare's-nest,' by which we mean a pure figment of the imagination, something so preposterous as to be unthinkable. Yet I know no country where mare's-nests are more prolific than here. Some ridiculous concoction is publicly believed until it is officially denied. Very often a whole fabric of hypothesis is built out of nothing at all. Worthy people are extolled as heroes. Political opponents are branded as malefactors. Immoderate adjectives are flung about as though they had no significance. The writer no doubt did not mean to lie. But the habit of exaggeration has laid such firm hold of him that he is like a man who has taken too much drink, and who sees two things where there is only one, or something where there is nothing. As he writes in hyperbole, so he tends to think in hyperbole, and he ends by becoming blind to the truth.

There are two particularly insidious manifestations of this tendency against which you ought to be on your guard. The first is flattery, and the second is vituperation. Flattery is much more than compliment in an extravagant form. It is often a deliberate attempt to deceive, to get something out of someone else by playing upon the commonest foible of human nature. We all like to be praised and the majority like to be flattered. A common-place man enjoys being told that he is a great man, a fluent speaker that he is an orator, a petty agitator that he is a leader of men. The vice is actually encouraged by that which is one of the most attractive traits of Indian character, namely, its warmth of heart. A man has a natural inclination to please, and so he glides into flattery; and flattery is only a few steps removed from sycophancy,

which is a dangerous form of untruth. Flattery may be either honest or dishonest. Whichever it be, you should avoid it. If it is the former, it is nevertheless false ; if it is the latter, it is vile.

But I think that in India the danger of the opposite extreme is greater still. I speak of slander and vilification of those with whom you do not happen to agree. I do not wish to be tempted this afternoon into anything that might be thought to have a political bearing: for it would not be proper to this Convocation. I will only say, therefore, that to many true friends of India, among whom I count myself, the most distressing symptom of the day is the degree to which abuse is entering into public controversy in this country. It is a bad thing for any State if difference of opinion cannot exist without innuendo and persecution, and if the vocabulary of the nation is trained to invective. Authority will never be won by those who daily preach that authority exists only to be reviled. National happiness cannot spring from a root of bitterness, and national existence cannot grow in an atmosphere of strife. I would like to urge all you young men, when you go forth into the world, to avoid this most dangerous of all temptations. Respect your opponents and do not calumniate them. Believe in the good intentions of others rather than the bad, and remember that self-government, to which you aspire, means not only the privilege of assisting to govern the community to which you belong, but the preliminary capacity of governing yourselves.

Therefore I come back to my original point. Do not exaggerate; do not flatter ; do not slander ; do not impute ; but turn naturally to truth as the magnet flies to the pole. It is better to be believed by one human being for respect of the truth than to be applauded for successful falsehood by a thousand. By truth you will mount upwards as individuals and as a nation. In proportion as you depart from it you will stagnate or recede.

Convocation of the Calcutta University.

Then my second word of advice is this. Try to form an independent judgment. The curse of our day is the dependence on others for thought and decision of every description, and the multiplication of machines for relieving a man of the necessity of independent opinion. The lowest and commonest of these machines is what school boys call a key, that is, a book in which they are saved the trouble of thinking for themselves by finding the work done for them by somebody else. The highest form is the article in the daily newspaper or the magazine which relieves you from thinking about the politics or events of the day by supplying you with the thoughts of another.

Advance in civilisation multiplies these instruments of selfish convenience. For an anna or less a man can purchase his opinions just as he purchases his food or his clothing. Of course books and the press do much more. They spread knowledge and stimulate intelligence, and without them we should sink back into brute beasts. I am only speaking of their questionable side. For the paradox is also a truth, that while they encourage intellectual activity they are also sometimes an indirect incentive to intellectual torpor. Of course this is truer of newspapers, which represent an ephemeral form of literature, than it is of books, which are often immortal. We all of us get into the habit of reading our favourite journal, and cherish the belief that we are thinking while we are really only browsing on the thoughts of others. Sometimes our anonymous mentor is a very wise man and we do not go far astray; sometimes he is the reverse and we err in his company.

But the great danger of second-hand thought is not merely that it is not original but that its tendency is to be one-sided and therefore unfair. The common instinct of mankind is to take a side. It is the survival of the old era of combat, when each man had to fight for him-

self and his family or clan. From youth upwards we find ourselves taking a side in the rivalries of school and college life, and in many ways these rivalries develop the keener instincts and the finer side of human nature. But the mind ought only to take a side as the result of a mental process. If we have examined the two sides of a case and are convinced that the one is right and the other wrong, or that one is more right than the other, by all means adopt and adhere to it; but to make your decision and to shape your conduct simply because a writer in a book or a newspaper has said it, whether it be right or wrong, is not thought, but very often an abnegation of thought. It is putting the authority of the mind in commission and setting up some other authority, of which you perhaps know nothing, in the judgment-seat. So I say to you young men that the first duty of a student, that is of a man who has studied, is mental independence. Strike out a line of thought for yourselves. Form your own judgment. Do not merely listen to the tinkling of the old bell-wether who leads the flock, but stand on your own feet, walk on your own legs, look with your own eyes.

This does not mean, of course, that you can afford to be self-opinionated, or conceited, or obstinate. Nothing is more offensive than arrogance or licence in youth. You remember the famous sarcasm of the Cambridge tutor at the expense of a youthful colleague, "We are none of us infallible, not even the youngest." But the excess of a virtue merges easily into a vice and nowhere more easily than in the case of freedom. Freedom involves not the absence of all restraint, but liberty within the limits of a reasonable self-restraint. Otherwise, as history teaches us, freedom usually degenerates into license, license into disorder, and disorder into chaos. Goethe, the German poet-philosopher, used to say that only in law can the spirit of man be free. So it is; and just as law is the condition

of independence of spirit, so are moderation and respect for others the condition of independence of judgment. This combination of qualities should come naturally to the philosophic Hindu. He should cultivate independence of mind, and thought, and action. But his great introspective power should save him from degenerating into intellectual self-sufficiency or insolence.

There is another tyranny which I think that you ought to avoid, and that is the absurd and puerile tyranny of words. It is not the most fluent nations in the world who have done the most in history. Every nation and every time have their orators and they are the secular teachers and apostles of their day. But when everybody talks, then as a rule few act, and when the talkers talk too much and too often, then finally nobody pays any heed and the impression gets abroad that they are incapable of action. When I read the proceedings of the Conferences and Meetings that are always going on in all parts of India, I am far from deprecating the intellectual ferment to which this bears witness, and I am not sure that it is not a direct imitation of English practice. But I sometimes think that if fewer resolutions were passed and a little more resolution was shown—resolution to grapple with the facts of life, to toil and labour for your country instead of merely shouting for it—the progress of India would be more rapid. Eloquence on the platform is very like soda-water in a bottle. After the cork has been removed for a little time all the sparkle has gone. Moreover, eloquence no more regenerates nations than soda-water gives fibre and strength to the constitution.

Now in India there are two sets of people, the reticent and the eloquent. I daresay you know to which class the people in this part of the country belong. I am sometimes lost in admiration at the facility with which they speak in a foreign language, and I envy the accomplishment. All I say to you is, do not presume upon this talent. Do not believe that the man who can make a speech is

necessarily a statesman; do not let your fluency run away with your powers of thought. Above all, do not think that speech is ever a substitute for action. The man who in his village or his town devotes himself to the interests of his fellow-countrymen, and by example and by effort improves their lot, is a greater benefactor than the hero of a hundred platforms.

There is a further piece of advice that I should like to give you. Strive to the best of your ability to create a healthy public opinion in your surroundings. Public opinion in India cannot for a long time be the opinion of the public, that is of the masses, because they are uneducated and have no opinion in political matters at all. In these circumstances public opinion tends to be the opinion of the educated minority. But if it is to have weight it must be co-ordinated with the necessities and interests and desires of the community, who are perhaps hardly capable of formulating an opinion of their own. Nothing can be more unfortunate than a divorce or gulf between the two. If what is called public opinion is merely the opinion of a class, however genuine, it can never have the weight of the opinion of the masses, because, like all class feelings, it is necessarily interested. Of course in India it is very difficult to create or to give utterance to a public opinion that is really representative, because there are so many different classes whose interests do not always coincide, for instance the English and the Indians, the Hindus and the Mahomedans, the officials and the non-officials, the agriculturalists and the industrialists. But I think that the great work that lies before educated India in the near future is the creation of a public opinion that shall be as far as possible representative of all the interests that lie outside of Government. If we take the Native element alone, it would be an immense advantage to Government to have a public opinion that was representative of Native sentiment generally, not of one section or fraction of it. For public opinion

is both a stimulus to Government and a check. It encourages energy and it prevents mistakes. But if it is to have this vivifying and steadying influence, then it must be public and not sectional, temperate and not violent, suggestive and not merely hostile. Surely this must be patent to all. We have all of us frequently seen a manufactured public opinion in India, which was barren and ineffective because it merely represented the partisan views of a clique and was little more than noise and foam. In my view the real work that lies before Indian patriots is the suppression of the sectional and the elevation of the national, in the life of the people. And I think that any educated young man can contribute to that end by the exercise of personal influence and balance of judgment. It is always a bad symptom when there is one public opinion that is vocal and noisy and another that is subdued and silent. For the former assumes a prerogative that it does not deserve, while the latter does not exert the influence to which it is entitled. The true criteria of a public opinion that is to have weight are that it should be representative of many interests, that it should see two or more sides instead of only one, and that it should treat Government as a power to be influenced, not as an enemy to be abused. Some day I hope that this will come; and there is not one amongst you who cannot contribute to that consummation.

The last question that I put to myself and to you is this—What scope is there for you in the life of your country? In my opinion there is much. When I hear it said that India is a conquered nation and that Indians are condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, I smile at the extravagance, but I am also pained at the imputation. When I see High Court Judges—some of them in this hall—Ministers of Native States wielding immense powers, high executive and judicial officers in our own service, leaders of thought and ornaments of the Bar, professors and men of science, poets and novelists, the nobility of

birth and the nobility of learning, I do not say that every Indian corporal carries a Field Marshal's *bâton* in his knapsack, for the prizes come to few, but I say that none need complain that the doors are shut. To all of you who have the ambition to rise I would say, Use your student days to study the history and circumstances of your race. Study its literature and the literature of Europe, and particularly of the country whose fate is bound up with your own. Compare the two; see what are their lessons or their warnings. Then equip yourselves with a genuine and manly love for your own people. I do not mean the perfervid nationalism of the platform, but the self-sacrificing ardour of the true patriot. Make a careful diagnosis, not only of how you can get on yourselves, but how you can help your countrymen to prosper. Avoid the tyranny of faction and the poison of racial bitterness. Do not arm yourselves against phantasms, but fight against the real enemies to the welfare of your people, which are backwardness, and ignorance, and antiquated social prescriptions. Look for your ideals not in the air of heaven but in the lives and duties of men. Learn that the true salvation of India will not come from without but must be created within. It will not be given you by enactments of the British Parliament or of any Parliament at all. It will not be won by political controversy, and most certainly it will not be won by rhetoric. It will be achieved by the increase of the moral and social advance of your people themselves, deserving that which they claim, and by their deserts making stronger the case for more. To you all therefore I say, Look up, not down. Look forward, not backward. Look to your own country first and foremost, and do not waste time in whistling for the moon. Be true Indians—that is the prompting of nationality. But while doing so strive also to be true citizens of the Empire; for circumstances have thrown you into a larger mould than that of race, and have swept you into the tides that direct

the world. As nationality is larger than race, so is Empire larger than nationality. Race weakens and gets overlaid in the passage of time and gives place to broader conceptions. For instance in India I see the claim constantly made that a man is not merely a Bengali or an Uriya or a Maratha, or a Sikh, but a member of the Indian Nation. I do not think it can yet be said that there is any Indian Nation, though in the distant future some approach to it may be evolved. However that may be, the Indian is most certainly a citizen of the British Empire. To that larger unit he already belongs. How to adjust race to nationality, and how to reconcile nationality with Empire,—that is the work which will occupy the British rulers of this country for many a long year to come. I am one of those who believe that it can be accomplished without detriment to race or nationality, and with safety to the Empire. I want the Indian people to play their part in this great achievement and to share the results. (*Loud cheers.*)

DEBATE ON THE BUDGET, 1905-6.

29th Mar. 1905. [In the Legislative Council held at Government House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, 22nd March 1905, the Hon'ble Mr. E. N. Baker introduced and explained the Financial Statement. The discussion of it took place on the following Wednesday, most of the Members of Council taking part. The attendance was very large. His Excellency the President closed the discussion with the following speech :—]

I should like to congratulate my Hon'ble Colleague Mr. Baker upon the reception accorded to his first Budget. He has assumed charge of his important office in a year which is the culminating point up to date of the process of financial recovery that has been proceeding uninterruptedly for the past six years, and whose origin may be traced back still further to the foresight and prudence of Sir D. Barbour and

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Lord Lansdowne six years earlier. I do not mean to say that a point has been reached from which we shall now decline. There is not, so far as I can see, the slightest ground for anticipating any such consequence. But the closer budgeting that has been employed in drawing up the estimates of revenue and expenditure for next year, the narrower margins that have been left, and the heavy and increasing calls that we have accepted for ensuing years in carrying out our great measures of administrative reform and military reorganisation, render it unlikely that my Hon'ble friend will always be able to count upon similar surpluses, even if an unlucky change of wind does not drive him sooner or later into the financial doldrums.

Of course the most satisfactory feature of the Budget has been that Mr. Baker has been able at one and the same time to provide the means for a great increase in administrative outlay and for a reduction in the burdens of the people. That is the dream of the fortunate financier, which all cherish but few realise. I remember saying in the Budget Debate a year ago that it would perhaps be too much good luck for one Viceroy to give two considerable reductions of taxation in his time; but that if I were not so fortunate I should hope to bequeath the opportunity to my successor. That successor has turned out to be myself: and I suppose that I may therefore congratulate myself, if not on my forecast, at least upon my good fortune. But in these remarks I must not be taken to assume the smallest credit for the surpluses that have been obtained year after year for the past six years. The head of the Government may, by the manner in which he conducts the affairs of the country at large and its foreign affairs in particular, exercise a considerable influence upon the scale of expenditure during his term of office. But apart from the general sense of confidence present in or absent from his administration, he cannot exercise much effect upon the revenue. Whether the price of opium per chest goes up or down, whether the railway returns are more

or less, whether the customs revenue expands or recedes, whether the Land Revenue is stationary or shrinks, depends in the main upon circumstances outside of his control. I always think it therefore a very absurd thing to give credit to any individual for what is really the result of outside circumstances; and if any speaker at a public meeting who wished to denounce the head of the Government were to do so by denying him all credit for the receipts of his Finance Minister, I should be the first to vote for the motion.

But, after all, surpluses are surpluses, and the case is not the same when it comes to disposing of them. I cannot therefore go so far as to agree with the critic who wrote the other day—"Unfortunately for our country its revenues have somehow or other been leaving surpluses year after year since the beginning of His Excellency's rule." I wonder whether this critic would have preferred a succession of annual deficits. One can imagine what he would have said of the Viceroy in such a case. It is in the disposal of surpluses that, in my opinion, the responsibility of the head of the Government does most definitely come in. It is one of the first of his functions, in consultation with the Finance Minister and his Colleagues, to consider the fair and equal distribution of the bounty which good fortune may have placed in their hands. I have found no more pleasing duty than this during the past six years: and in acting as we have done, it is no vain boast to say that we have proceeded throughout upon definite principles and on what seemed to us to be logical lines. My view has always been that as the revenue of this country comes in the main from the people of the country, it is to the people that the disposable surplus, if there be one, should return. And who are the people of whom I speak? They are the patient, humble millions, toiling at the well and at the plough, knowing little of budgets, but very painfully aware of the narrow margin between sufficiency and indigence. It is to them that my heart goes out. They are the real backbone of our economic prosperity.

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They give us nearly 20 millions sterling per annum in Land Revenue alone, or about one-fourth of our entire receipts.

And alongside of them are the artisan, the petty trader, the small shop-keeper, the minor official, the professional man of humble means,—numerically much smaller than the cultivating classes, but representing different and very important sections of the population—all relatively poor, and all entitled to some return when the State has the wherewithal to give. Hon'ble Members can scarcely realise how anxiously year by year we have considered the claims of all these classes and persons, and have endeavoured to apportion the relief equitably between them. A sufficient illustration may perhaps be found in the present Budget. What is the tax that touches all classes down to the very humblest? It is the Salt tax—and therefore we have brought it down to the lowest figure that it has reached since the Mutiny, certain that we have long passed the point at which middlemen can absorb the reduction, and that it must now filter down to the poorest strata of society. We thereby sacrifice nearly 1¼ millions sterling per annum in addition to the million sterling per annum that we surrendered when first we reduced the tax two years ago. A gift of 2¼ millions a year is one that, even with a population of this enormous size, is not to be despised. Then if we go on to ask what are the administrative needs that most affect the lower orders of the people in India, will not the reply at once be forthcoming—a purer, better paid, and more efficient police, superior opportunities for lifting themselves in the world by education, both in the rural and urban districts, the application of modern science and discovery to the one great staple industry by which the vast majority of them live, namely, agriculture, and provision for all those local needs in the shape of communications, sanitation, hygiene, etc., which mean the difference between comfort and destitution, health and disease, contentment and suffering, to millions of our fellow-citizens? And if for these purposes we have surrendered

on the present occasion more than another million sterling per annum, will anyone either grudge the existence of the surplus to start with, or the manner in which we have disposed of it? I daresay that there are other forms of relief which others would have preferred. In previous years we have benefited some of the classes who have now been left out. Who knows but that Mr. Baker may have a good turn to do to others some day later on? Speaking generally, however, my impression, surveying the entire field of Indian taxation as I draw near to the end of my time, is that though there may be other taxes which we should like to lighten, and which certain classes of the community would perhaps like to see lightened still more, there is no tax at present imposed in India which can fairly be called burdensome or oppressive, either because it takes out of a class more than they can reasonably pay, or because it cripples a trade or an industry. I think that there are very few even among the most advanced countries in the world of which such a statement could be made with equal truth.

Perhaps, however, as I have alluded to the present year as the culminating point in an era of financial progress, and as I have been discussing the means of remitting to the people the surplus product of their own industry, I may take the opportunity of pointing out to the Council what is the full measure of financial relief that the Government of India has been fortunate enough to afford to the taxpayer, since the period of surpluses began with the first Budget that I heard expounded at this table in 1899. The bounty of one year is apt to be swept out of sight by that of another, and totals are hardly realised until they are put before us in the naked reality of figures. I would divide the benefactions which have been made since 1899 under the following heads; and of course I only include in them those measures of relief which have been given outside of the ordinary expenditure of Government, and out of the surpluses which we have obtained.

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In remission of taxation we shall have given in the seven years, including the financial year for which we are now providing, a total sum of 7¾ crores, or over 5 millions sterling. In special remissions of Land Revenue, and of interest and capital of loans, in both cases in connection with famine, we shall have given over 3 crores, or 2 millions sterling. For increased expenditure upon Education, quite apart from the ordinary Imperial and Provincial grants, we shall have given over 2 crores, or £1,400,000. In grants for expenditure on purposes of local administrative amelioration, such as roads, bridges, water-supply, hospitals and dispensaries, sanitation, etc., we shall have given over 4½ crores, or 3 millions sterling. Minor grants for special purposes, such as the 50 lakhs which are still waiting to be spent on the scheme for improving the congested parts of this great city—a scheme which in broad outlines has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State—amount to nearly 1¼ crores, or £800,000. The total sum, part of it non-recurring, but the greater part of it to be continued year by year, that has been given back in my time to the people of India in the form of relief of taxation and other benefactions, amounts to over 19½ crores, or 13 millions sterling. I present these figures to Hon'ble Members as indications of the finance of what we sometimes hear described—though the remark does not appear to find an echo within this Chamber—as a reactionary *régime*. I am willing to let the figures speak for themselves. But there is a famous passage in a speech that was delivered in the House of Commons in 1858, that might be quoted also—"Where was there a bad Government whose finances were in good order? Where was there a really good Government whose finances were in bad order? Is there a better test in the long run of the condition of a people and the merits of a Government than the state of its finances?" That speech was delivered with direct reference to the Government of India, and the speaker was John Bright.

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In my speeches in these Budget debates I have been in the habit from year to year of indulging in what in the phraseology of trade is called stock-taking, and of taking the public into the confidence of Government as to the administrative responsibilities which we had assumed or hoped to carry out. In my earlier years these remarks had necessarily to be couched in the future tense, and many were the criticisms that were then passed upon abortive enquiries and over-ambitious programmes. We do not hear so much of these now. Next year, if I am spared till then, will be my last Budget debate, and it will then perhaps fall to me to review the entire field of work and to show where we have achieved our purpose, and where we have failed. I remember writing to the Prime Minister who appointed me that seven years would be required for the task unless it proved too much for the labourer's strength. I have sometimes wondered whether the onlookers ever weigh the latter consideration. We all look at the progress of the cart, and observe with shrill cries whether it is sticking in the ruts or getting on. But few spare a thought for the horse until perhaps it staggers and drops between the shafts, and then —why then—another animal is brought to take its place.

The first twelve reforms which I foreshadowed in 1899 are, I am glad to say, now accomplished; the next twelve have been carried also; and in the remaining year I hope we may carry to completion the third dozen also. When I speak of accomplishment and completion, I do not of course mean to suggest that there is, or can be, any finality in administrative work. It goes on like the seasons; and from each oak as it is planted fresh acorns fall. But there after all, is the tree, a living and sprouting stem, a unit in the forest to be reckoned up, and perhaps also to gain in value as the time goes on. For instance, an institution like the North-West Frontier Province, which has admirably answered its purpose and has so far falsified all the predictions of its enemies, is a realised fact which no one is in the

least degree likely to change, and which might give food for reflection to some who denounce the shifting of provincial boundaries as though it were a crime and an evil, instead of being, as it is capable of being if wisely and opportunely carried out, a very considerable blessing.

I have no more to say about the accomplished reforms on the present occasion, and even in what I have said I hope that no trace of false exultation has crept in. Reforms in India may sometimes require an external impulse to start them. But they are the work of hundreds of agencies, some important and others obscure: and well do I know that nothing could be achieved, were it not for the co-operation of Colleagues, to work with whom has been a six years' delight, for the wise counsel and cheerful industry of hundreds of faithful fellow-workers in all parts of the country, as well also—and I gladly make the admission—as for the sometimes embarrassing, but often stimulating, influence of public opinion.

Today I propose to confine my attention to such items of our programme as have been pushed several stages further towards completion during the past twelve months, and which, I hope, will be finally and firmly grounded before the year is over.

Hon'ble Members will recollect that in the year 1899-1900 we had the last great Indian Famine. That visitation must have left an indelible impression upon everyone who was brought into close contact with it, whether in relation to its effect upon the physical condition and sufferings of the people, or to the economic position of the country as a whole. I have often stated my conviction that it will not be the last Indian famine. We may compete and struggle with Nature, we may prepare for her worst assaults, and we may reduce their violence when delivered. Some day perhaps, when our railway system has overspread the entire Indian continent, when water storage and irrigation are even further developed, when we have raised the general level of social

comfort and prosperity, and when advancing civilisation has diffused the lessons of thrift in domestic expenditure and greater self-reliance and self-control, we shall obtain the mastery. But that will not be yet. In the meantime the duty of Government has been to profit to the full by the lessons of the latest calamity, and to take such precautionary steps over the whole field of possible action as to prepare ourselves to combat the next. It was for this purpose that we appointed the Famine Commission under that most expert of administrators, Sir Antony MacDonnell, in 1901. Nearly four years have elapsed since then, and the general public has perhaps almost forgotten the fact. But the intervening period has not been spent in idleness. There is no branch of the subject, of famine relief, famine administration, and still more famine prevention, which has not been diligently ransacked and explored, and there is no portion of the recommendations submitted to us by the able Chairman and his lieutenants which has not been discussed with Local Governments and been already made, or if not is about to be made, the subject of definite orders. Instructions were first issued explaining the principles of famine relief as deduced from the experiences of the latest famine and the findings of the Commission. Then came a revision of the existing Famine Codes in each Province—for the conditions and the practice vary to a considerable extent. This has been a work of great labour. It is now all but complete. But the value of these revised and co-ordinated Codes will only be seen when the next struggle comes. Then they will be found to provide the armament with which each Local Government in India will fight the battle.

The next stage was when the Irrigation Commission investigated the existing programmes of relief works throughout India and submitted recommendations for their improvement and maintenance. These also are in course of being carried out, and special establishments have been sanctioned for the purpose.

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Then there was a group of separate recommendations made by the Famine Commission which they included under the head Protective in the final Part of their Report. These were in some respects the most important of all, for they related to broad measures of State policy demanding either executive or legislative action on the part of the Supreme Government. I must say a few words about some of these. One of them, the relief of agricultural indebtedness in the Bombay Presidency, still remains to be dealt with. A second, namely, the degree and nature of Government aid by means of loans to agriculturists, has also been treated by the Irrigation Commission, and is about to form the subject of a communication to the Local Governments in which suggestions are made for rendering the present system more simple, liberal, and elastic. A third, namely, Agricultural Development, has been made the subject of a separate speech by one of my Hon'ble Colleagues, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, this afternoon. It would be superfluous for me to follow in his footsteps. Good fortune has presented us simultaneously with certain advantages for taking up this too long neglected branch of our duties in the last few years. Firstly, we have had the funds, which our predecessors have not: and Hon'ble Members have noted with particular approval the special grant of twenty lakhs which we have given for the purpose in the present Budget, and which is only the precursor, as we hope, of larger sums to follow. Then we have had for the last five years a Finance Minister in Sir E. Law who took the warmest interest in agricultural development, and I believe derived more sincere pleasure from a successful agricultural experiment than he did from the yield of any impost. And finally we have had in the Hon'ble Member for the Revenue and Agricultural Department a perfect master of his subject, who to profound knowledge of the cultivating classes has added both a warm appreciation of their needs and a statesmanlike grasp of large ideas. The stone which I am to lay at Pusa in two days' time, will,

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I hope, be the foundation-stone not only of a fabric worthy of its object, but also of a policy of agricultural development henceforward to be pursued systematically, in good years and bad years alike, by the Government of India: so that a time may one day arrive when people will say that India is looking after her greatest living industry as well, let us say, as she is now looking after her greatest inherited treasure, *viz.*, her ancient monuments.

There are two other objects which were recommended by the Famine Commission. The first of these was the institution of Co-operative Credit Societies, sometimes less correctly styled Agricultural Banks. Several Hon'ble Members now at this table will remember our legislation of last year, by which we provided for the foundation of such societies. There was no remark more frequently made in the course of the discussion or more obvious in its truism than that any steps in this direction must be slow and experimental, and that quick returns or striking results could not be expected. In many parts the spirit of co-operation has to be created before a co-operative institution can be built upon it. There is also a great deal of elementary preaching, or what an English statesman once called spadework, to be done before substantial results can be expected. But we have not been idle during the year. Specially selected officers have been appointed as Registrars of Co-operative Societies in the six main provinces, and they are now engaged in spreading a knowledge of the principles among the cultivating classes. The various concessions made by the Government of India in order to lend encouragement—concessions in respect of income-tax, stamp duty, registration fees, and Government loans, have all been notified and are in operation. Three provinces have framed their Rules under the Act, in four provinces societies have already begun to be registered, Madras and the Punjab having taken the lead. In addition to these is a much larger number of societies started, but not yet actually on the register. Here

the United Provinces, which initiated the experiment in Sir A. MacDonnell's time, and which now possess 150 societies, are to the fore. Even in such distant provinces as Assam and Burma, we hear of great interest being displayed and of applications being received. The statistical result is too immature to admit of quotation. But I have said enough to show that Government, having planted their seed, do not mean to let it perish from want of nurture. None of us can say whether it will develope into a healthy plant. But every chance shall be given to it.

The next matter to which I referred is one in which I have taken the keenest interest during my time in India, since it touches the marrowbone of that agricultural class of which I was speaking a little while back. I mean elasticity in Land Revenue collection, and greater liberality in suspension and remission of the fixed demand in times of distress, whether local or widespread. The Famine Commission dealt with this; and we also laid it down among the principles to be adopted as accepted canons of Government in our Land Revenue Resolution of January 1902. But something more was required than the mere statement of an orthodox principle: and we have since been engaged, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Local Governments, in elaborating its operation—with results that will shortly be published. Already a fluctuating assessment, *i.e.*, a demand that is capable of being varied from year to year, is accepted in practice by most Local Governments and is applied to precarious tracts. What I am now referring to is elasticity in collection, *i.e.*, an allowance for exceptionally bad seasons by the suspension or remission of payments due. This is an act of compassion on the part of the State, but it is compassion in a form little distinguishable from justice; for it relates to cases and seasons in which the cultivator cannot pay his fixed demand, because the crops which he has reaped barely suffice for his own sustenance, and where, if he is called upon to pay it, he can

only do so by plunging deeper into debt. In such a case rigidity of collection is not only a hardship but an injustice. It is to avoid such consequences, and at the same time to escape the opposite extreme of laxity in collection and the consequent demoralisation of the people, that we are about to lay down the principles underlying this method of relief.

Next I turn to Irrigation. It is five years since I last alluded at any length to this subject in a Budget Debate. I then discussed the possibilities of irrigational expansion that seemed to lie before us in India, and speaking upon the authority of my expert advisers, I indicated the limits, physical rather than financial, that appeared to exist to such expansion, and answered the popular misapprehension that because India is a land of great rivers and heavy rains, it is therefore possible to capture all that surplus water, and to utilise it either for the extension of cultivation or for the prevention of famine. After that came the Famine of 1900; and as a sequel to the Famine it seemed to me that this matter, so vital to the future of India, should be re-examined by the very highest authorities whom we could find, visiting every part of the country, examining into local conditions, programmes, and needs, approaching the matter from the point of view of protection against famine rather than of remunerative investment of State funds, and presenting us with an authoritative pronouncement upon the capabilities for further irrigation of the whole of British India, and of the extent of the obligation both in State irrigation and in the encouragement of private enterprise which Government might legitimately assume. That was the genesis of the Commission presided over by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff which was appointed in the autumn of 1901, and which, after an investigation that extended over two cold weathers, finally reported in April 1903.

I wonder how many of the Hon'ble Members whom I am now addressing, and still more how many of the outside public, have read their Report. To me the first Part of

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it, which relates to general considerations, is infinitely more interesting than a novel, for it deals not with the hypothetical problems of human character, but with the positive agencies that affect the growth or decline of human life; and it bases conclusions dramatic in their sweep upon premises of scientific precision. By slow but sure degrees ever since, we have been assimilating and taking action upon that Report; and our final views and orders upon it will shortly see the light.

As this is the last occasion upon which I shall ever speak at any length upon this subject in India, let me summarise the situation as it now stands. There are two classes of Irrigation in this country, State Irrigation, *i.e.*, works constructed or maintained by the State, and Private Irrigation, conducted by communities or individuals, largely by means of wells. I am here only concerned with the former. I need not before an Indian audience expatiate upon the distinction, so familiar in our Reports and Budget Statements, between Major and Minor works, Productive and Protective works. Major works are either Productive, in which case we find the money for them out of surplus revenue or from loans, or Protective, in which case we provide for them from the annual Famine Grant of 1½ crores; the distinction between Productive and Protective being that the former are expected to prove remunerative, though they have not always been so, while the latter are not expected to be remunerative at all. In other words, Productive works are, or may be, protective also; but protective works are not expected to be productive. Minor works are those which we undertake entirely out of the revenue of the year. Now let me say what our outlay upon all these works up till the present hour has been, and what the property thus created represents. The Government of India have spent in all 46½ crores or 31 millions sterling upon State Irrigation works in all the above classes. With it they have dug nearly 50,000 miles of canals and distributaries,

they have irrigated an area of 21½ million acres, out of a total irrigated area in British India of about 47 million acres, and they derive from it a net revenue of £2,700,000 per annum or a percentage of net revenue on capital outlay of approximately 7 per cent. If we capitalise the net revenue at 25 years' purchase, we obtain a total of 67½ millions sterling or considerably more than double the capital outlay. These figures are an indication of what has already been done. Next, what are we going to do or what are we capable of doing? In my first year in India I went to see the Chenab Canal in the Punjab, which had been finished a few years earlier. At that time it irrigated 1,000,000 acres, it now irrigates 2,000,000; at that time it had cost 1½ millions sterling, there have now been spent upon it 2 millions; at that time it supported a population of 200,000 persons, the population is now over 1,000,000, and this huge aggregate is diffused over an expanse, now waving with corn and grain, that but a few years ago was a forsaken waste. Since then we have completed the Jhelum canal, which already irrigates 300,000 acres, and will irrigate ¾ million. Everywhere these lands, once waste and desolate, are being given out to colonisation; and the Punjab Province, if it lost the doubtful prestige of the Frontier with its disturbing problems and its warring tribes, has gained instead the solid asset of a contented and peaceful peasantry that will yearly swell its resources and enhance its importance. Then you have heard of the fresh obligations which we have since undertaken in the same quarter; 5¼ millions sterling have just been sanctioned for the group of canals known as the Upper Chenab, the Upper Jhelum, and the Lower Bari Doab. Before another decade has elapsed 2,000,000 more acres will have been added to the irrigated area, with a proportionate increase in the population, and with an estimated return of 10 per cent. on the capital outlay. So much for the near future. Now let me look a little further ahead, and come to the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission. They

have advised an additional expenditure of 44 crores or nearly 30 millions sterling, spread out over 20 years, or an annual average expenditure of 1½ millions sterling. We accept that estimate; we regard it as reasonable; and we hope to be able to provide the funds. This will increase the area under irrigation in British India by 6½ million acres as compared with the 4 millions which I mentioned five years ago, the difference being explained by the fact that as we draw towards the close of this gigantic programme we shall no longer be able to talk glibly of remunerative programmes or of lucrative interest on capital outlay, but shall find ourselves dealing with protective works, pure and simple, where no return or but little return is to be expected, and where we shall have to measure the financial burden imposed on the State against the degree of protection from scarcity and famine obtained for the people. I do not think that we need shrink from that more exacting test: for we shall have approached, if the metaphor may be permitted, the rocky passes in which our forces will then be engaged across smiling plains and verdant pastures in which they will have derived strength and sustenance for the harder and less remunerative toil that will lie before them. I wish that we could proceed even faster. But that is out of the question. Canals are not like railways where companies are ready to find the money and to undertake the work, where an embankment can anywhere be thrown up by unskilled labour, and where the iron or steel plant that may be required can be ordered by telegram from Europe or the United States. In irrigation you have in the first place to find the funds from the borrowings of the State, which are not capable of unlimited expansion. You have to spend much time in preliminary investigations and surveys. You then have to obtain your labour for the particular work. It is estimated that to spend the amount which I have named a host of 280,000 workmen and coolies will be required for 250 days in each of the 20 years in addition to those required for the

maintenance of the existing works and of the new ones as they come into operation. And finally you have to engage and train your skilled establishment which is a matter of careful recruitment, spread over a series of years. These are the considerations that must always differentiate irrigation work from railway work in India, and that militate against the same rate of speed in the former. And then when we have done all this where shall we stand? We shall have done much, we shall have done what no other nation or country has done before. But the surplus water from the snows of the Himalayas and from the opened doors of heaven will still spill its unused and unusable abundance into the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. The calculations show that of the total average rainfall of India, as much as 35 per cent., and a much larger proportion of the surface flow, amounting to 87 per cent., is carried away by rivers to the sea. The programme that I have sketched will at the most utilise only 2¼ per cent. of this surface flow, and the remainder will still continue its aimless and unarrested descent to the ocean. Why is this? The answer is very simple, and to anyone who has any knowledge of the meteorological or geographical features of this continent very clear. Rain does not always fall in India in the greatest volume where it is most needed. What Cherrapunji could easily spare Rajputana cannot for all the wealth of Crœsus obtain. Neither does rain fall all through the year in India. It descends in great abundance, within narrowly defined periods of time, and then it is often very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to store it. Providence does not tell us when a year of famine is impending, and we cannot go on holding up the water for a drought that may never come. It would be bad economy even if it were not a physical impossibility. Sometimes where water is most plentiful there is no use for it, because of the sterile or forbidding or unsuitable nature of the soil. Sometimes it flows down in blind superfluity through a country already intersected with canals. Sometimes it

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meanders in riotous plenty through alluvial plains where storage is impossible. Sometimes again the cost of storage is so tremendous as to be absolutely prohibitive. These are some, though by no means all, of the reasons which place an inexpugnable barrier to the realisation of academic dreams. Facts of this sort we may deprecate, but cannot ignore; and the time will never come when we can harness all that wealth of misspent and futile power, and convert it to the use of man. What we can do, the Commission have told us; what we mean to do I have endeavoured imperfectly to sketch out in these remarks. Restricted as is the programme, when measured against the prodigious resources of nature, it is yet the maximum programme open to human agency and to finite powers, and it is one that may well appeal either to the enthusiasm of the individual, or to the organised ability of the State. We are about to embark upon it with the consciousness that we are not merely converting the gifts of Providence to the service of man, but that we are labouring to reduce human suffering and in times of calamity to rescue and sustain millions of human lives.

There are a few other subjects to which I must allude. The presence of the Hon'ble Mr. Hewett at this table and the speech which he has delivered indicate that we have in the past year obtained that which has for a long time been the cherished aspiration of the mercantile community, *viz.*, a separate Department and Minister of Commerce and Industry. Six years ago I should have said that this was impossible; two years ago I did not regard it as likely. But the facts of commercial and industrial expansion cannot be gainsaid; and as soon as the case began to be made out it was convincing in its logic and pertinence. The days are gone by when Government can dissociate itself from the encouragement of commercial enterprise. There used to be a sort of idea that business was an esoteric thing, to be conducted by a narrow clique, who were alone possessed of the oracles of wisdom, and with whom Government were

hardly supposed to be on speaking terms. That was an absurd theory at any time. It is additionally absurd in a country like India where the Government is responsible for so many forms of commercial and industrial activity, where it builds and works railroads, where it controls the sale of opium and salt, where it maintains gigantic factories, where it is engaged in undertaking the manufacture of its own cartridges and rifles and guns, and where it is the largest employer of labour in the country And most absurd of all is it at a time when the whole air is alive with movement, rivalry, and competition: and when we desire to push our products, our manufactures, and our industries upon the attention of the world. I believe India to be merely at the beginning of its commercial expansion, and if I could revisit this Council Chamber fifty years hence, I believe I should find the Commercial Member of that day delivering an oration that would be reported throughout the East. There is only one word of appeal in which I would ask leave to indulge. I entreat my Indian friends not to regard the creation of a Department of Commerce as an agency for the promotion of British commerce alone. They could not make a greater mistake. Indian commerce, industry, and enterprise are as vital to this country as British—nay, I think more so. They have a future as bright before them. When we have to deal with great pioneers of Indian industry, such as the Tata family, they will tell you that they receive the warmest encouragement at our hands, and for my own part I should feel far happier if for every present Indian merchant-king there were a thousand, and for every lakh of Indian rupees invested in mercantile undertakings, a crore. Our new Department and its Hon'ble Member know no distinction of race: they are concerned only with the development of the country.

It is a part of the same policy that has induced us in the past year to create the new Railway Board which is now entering upon its duties. The idea is no new one. We make no pretence to be original. It has been advocated for

years, by all those who wanted greater elasticity and less officialism in our system, and from the day that I surrendered temporary charge of the Public Works Department in 1899, having become conversant for a while with its working, I meant to get the reform sooner or later. It has taken six years to carry it out. Not that the old Public Works Department stands therefore condemned. That would be a most unjust and unfair assumption. It produced a series of brilliant and famous Engineers. It overspread India with a network of railways. It eventually converted annual deficits into an assured surplus that has reached this year the magnificent figure of 2¼ millions sterling, and it has handed over to the Railway Board a splendid property which it will rest with the latter to develope on commercial principles in the future. I have sometimes seen the present administration accused of centralising tendencies. I have not time to argue that contention this afternoon. But if it be true, it is at least remarkable that it has been associated with the two greatest measures of decentralisation that have been achieved during the last fifty years, *viz.*, the Permanent Financial Settlements with the Provincial Governments, and the institution of the Railway Board.

There is entered in the Budget the sum of 50 lakhs for Police Reform. That is only an instalment and a beginning. We accept with slight modifications the full recommendations of the Commission, and we intend to carry out their programme. The author of the Report is seated at my right hand, and I should like to take this opportunity of publicly thanking him and his colleagues for their labours. No more fearless or useful report has ever been placed before the Government of India. I would gladly have taken action upon it sooner. But a long time has been required to consult the Local Governments and to satisfy the Secretary of State. And now what is it that we have in view? I think that my feelings are those of every Member of the Government. We want a police force which is free from the temptation to

corruption and iniquity, and which must, therefore, be reasonably well paid, which must be intelligent and orderly and efficient, and which will make its motto protection instead of oppression. I confess that my heart breaks within me when I see long diatribes upon how many natives are to get employment under the new system and how many Europeans. For my own part I have never paused to count them up. The Police Force in India must be an overwhelmingly native force: and I would make it representative of the best elements in native character and native life. Equally must it have a European supervising element, and let this also be of the best. But do not let us proceed to reckon one against the other and contend as to who loses and who gains. The sole object of all of us ought to be the good of the country and the protection of the people. It is three years since in one of these Debates I announced the appointment of the Police Commission, and since Sir John Woodburn, who sat in that chair, said that it would be the most important and far-reaching of any that I had appointed in my time. I am glad that I appointed it and am proud of its work: and when the reforms come into full operation, I am hopeful that they will be felt under every roof in this country.

At this stage I may perhaps interpolate a few remarks in reply to the concluding portions of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's speech. He seems to think that in my speech of last year, and in the Resolution that followed it, were laid down new principles as regards the admission of Natives of India to the public service. He referred to the Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. I am familiar with both those documents, and I also remember—which those who quote them sometimes forget—that the late Queen's words contained a qualification, not indeed modifying their generosity, but limiting their application by the necessary tests, firstly of practical expediency, and secondly of personal fitness. These were the words: "It is our will, that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and

impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." There is not one sentence in that memorable paragraph from which any Government of India or any Governor-General has ever either desired or attempted to recede. But the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's historical references stopped short at 1858. He altogether forgot to mention the findings of the Public Service Commission of 1887, which deliberately laid down that the service in India should in future be divided into two branches, firstly, an Imperial Service called the Civil Service, to be recruited by open competition in England only, and, secondly, a provincial service recruited in India, and consisting almost entirely of natives of this country. Our pronouncement of last year was a mere reaffirmation of the findings of that Commission. Even the phrase *corps d'élite*, which the Hon'ble Member seems to think originated with me, is taken from paragraph 73 of their Report. Let me further ask him more particularly to peruse paragraphs 74 and 91 of that document. He will find that nothing was said last year, either by the Government of India or by myself, which has not been laid down with even greater authority by our predecessors: and for the inference as to a change of policy which Mr. Gokhale has drawn in his speech to-day, there is, I can assure him, no foundation.

I am myself particularly immune from the suspicions to which the Hon'ble Member refers. I frequently see attributed to me personally the appointment of this or that European or Eurasian to some post or other in some part of India. The responsibility of the Head of the Government of India is great, and I have never minimised it. But it is beyond human power that he should know every detail of the administration of 300,000,000 of people, and beyond reason that every subordinate act of the administration should be attributed to him alone. And really when I read of all the things that are explained by my personal intervention,

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while I appreciate the compliment, I am compelled to say that in quite 19 cases out of 20, I have never even heard of them at all. If the Hon'ble Member were to go into the Departments of the Government of India he would find that I am there known as a strong partisan not of European but of Native appointments, wherever these can be made with sufficient regard to the test of personal fitness for the post. But, after all, is it not rather a vain exercise to dispute as to the exact number of places that are or are not given to this or to that class in an administration? The Hon'ble Member will never find any reluctance on the part of Government to recognize and to forward the legitimate aspirations of his countrymen. But he must not be surprised if these generous tendencies are sometimes chilled, when almost every step that we take and every appointment that is made is liable to criticism that presumes the existence of a racial bias where none exists. He has cited the Despatch of the Court of Directors with which the Act of 1833 was sent out to India. Let me quote to him another paragraph from that Despatch. If I were to utter it as my own, I am afraid that I should be accused of illiberal sentiments. But with the distinguished imprimatur of the authors of the Act of 1833, it may carry some weight with the Hon'ble Member:

"We must guard against the supposition that it is chiefly by holding out means and opportunities of official distinction that we expect our Government to benefit the millions subjected to their authority. We have repeatedly expressed to you a very different sentiment. Facilities of official advancement can little affect the bulk of the people under any Government, and perhaps least under a good Government. It is not by holding out incentives to official ambition, but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by creating confidence, by ensuring to industry the fruit of its labour, by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights, and in the unfettered exercise of their faculties, that Governments best minister to the public wealth and

happiness. In effect, the free access to office is chiefly valuable where it is a part of general freedom."

With these words, which seem to me entirely wise, I will pass from the subject.

There is one duty that falls upon the Government of India to which I think that I have rarely, if ever, alluded in this Council, and that is the guardianship of Indian interests where they are liable to be impugned by external policy or influence. We resisted to the best of our ability the heavy charge of more than ¾ million sterling that was imposed upon Indian revenues by the increase of pay in the British Army—a measure about which we were not consulted and with which we did not agree. We protested more successfully against the placing upon Indian revenues of the charge for the entertainment of the Indian guests at the Coronation in London. We were also successful in resisting the suggestion that India should pay £400,000 per annum for a call upon a portion of the British Garrison in South Africa. We have now finally established the principle (disputed till a few years ago) that when we lend troops from India to fight campaigns for the Imperial Government in different parts of Asia and Africa, every rupee of the charge from embarkation to return shall be defrayed by the Imperial Government.

During the past few years we have been waging a similar battle in defence of the Indian emigrant in South Africa. For many years a system has prevailed under which unskilled Indian labourers have been encouraged to emigrate to the Colony of Natal for employment chiefly in agriculture, though a few of them are engaged in coal mines. The number proceeding yearly on five-year contracts is from 5,000 to 6,000, and there are now some 30,000 indentured Indians in the Colony. Their wages are good, and those of them who returned to India in 1903 brought back savings to the amount of over five lakhs of rupees, while Indians of all classes settled in Natal remit to their friends in India some thirteen lakhs of rupees annually. The indentured Indian is

well treated, and so far as this class is concerned, the system of emigration to Natal is advantageous to India as well as to the Colony. But there is now in Natal a considerable population of British Indians, estimated at about 50,000, who are not working under indenture and are therefore known as "free Indians." Some of them are men who have worked out their time, but have decided to settle in the country, or the descendants of such men; others are persons who have voluntarily proceeded to the Colony with the object of making a living there. Unfortunately the colonists entertain a rooted objection to this class of settlers, and have taken strong measures to discourage any increase in their numbers. Some of these measures have seemed to the Government of India to be unduly severe and inconsistent with the reasonable claims of the people of India as subjects of the British Empire; and we have lost no opportunity of urging that the restrictions imposed on free Indians should be relaxed. More especially two years ago, when the Government of Natal sent delegates to us to discuss an arrangement under which Indian labourers should be compelled to return to India on the expiry of the term for which they were engaged, we required as an essential condition that they should make certain concessions in favour of the free Indians who were then settled, or who might desire to settle, in the Colony. We stipulated for the eventual abolition of a tax of £3 a head which had been imposed on such persons for leave to reside; for the amendment of an Act placing traders, of however old a standing, under the power of local Corporations who had absolute authority to refuse licenses to trade; for the removal of Indians from another Act, under which they were classed with barbarous races; and for the provision of a summary remedy for free Indians who might be wrongfully arrested on the ground that they were coolies under indenture or prohibited immigrants. In reply we were given to understand that there was no prospect of obtaining the consent of the local legisla-

ture to these conditions, and the negotiations were therefore dropped. The only concession that has been obtained as regards free Indians in Natal is the exemption of those who have been resident in the Colony for three consecutive years from the restrictions imposed on "prohibited immigrants" under the Immigration Restriction Act. That Act still requires immigrants (except those under indenture) to be able to write in some European language, and our endeavours to get ability to write in an Indian language accepted as a sufficient test of literacy have been unsuccessful. We have informed the Natal Government that we reserve to ourselves the fullest liberty to take at any time such measures in regard to emigration to that Colony as we may think necessary in order to secure proper treatment for our Indian settlers, and we have recently again declined to take any step towards facilitating the emigration of labourers under indenture until the Natal authorities substantially modify their attitude.

In no other South African Colony is there in force any system of immigration of Indian labour under indenture, and the number of British Indians at present resident in the Colonies other than Natal is comparatively small. Those Colonies have, however, evinced a similar spirit of opposition to the immigration of free Indians, and we have had a considerable amount of correspondence on the subject, especially as regards the Transvaal. Soon after that country came under British administration we addressed the Secretary of State for India, and urged that the opportunity should be taken to remove the restrictions and disabilities imposed by the Boer Government on British Indian subjects. In the course of the correspondence that ensued we were asked to agree to a scheme for the employment of 10,000 Indian labourers on the construction of Government railways in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies; and recognising that the need for Indian labour thus displayed might prove a powerful lever in our hands in securing better treatment for Indians generally in South Africa, we expressed our readiness to

consider the proposal if it was likely to lead to substantial concessions in favour of Indians not under indenture. We said that the least that we could accept would be, (1) that Indian languages should be included in the literary test applied to new immigrants; (2) that residence in locations should be compulsory only upon those Indians in whose case the restriction is desirable for sanitary reasons; (3) that Indian traders who had established themselves under the former Government should be granted licenses permitting them to retain their present places of business; (4) that all Indians of superior class, including all respectable traders and shopkeepers, should be exempted from the Pass Law and the Curfew system and from the other restrictions imposed on the non-white population.

The Transvaal authorities declined to concede these demands in full, and we have therefore refused to establish a system of emigration of indentured labourers to that Colony. The outcome of the negotiations so far will be found in the despatch sent on 25th July 1904 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of the Transvaal, which was presented to Parliament in August last. In it the British Government supported all our main demands except the claim that future immigrants should not be required to be able to write in a European language. We have not yet heard what action has been taken on these instructions by the Transvaal Government.

I do not say that this is a pleasurable record. The problem is one for which it is exceedingly difficult to find a solution. Colonies possessing, or likely before long to possess, rights of Self-Government cannot be dictated to in such matters, and the feeling that exists among them is undoubtedly very strong. It has seemed to us to be our duty to do nothing to inflame that feeling, but to lose no opportunity of pleading the cause of those whose natural protectors we are, and to make no concession whatever until we obtain a full *quid pro quo* in return. I am confident

that in this attitude we shall have the support of the entire Indian community.

I may name one more respect in which the Government of India have, I think, faithfully championed the interests of the general community. I allude to their attitude on the Fiscal Question. I observe that the Hon'ble Mr. Cable, speaking to-day on behalf of the commercial community, has most strongly endorsed the correctness of the position that we took up in our Despatch of 22nd October 1903. A little while ago it was stated with some authority in England that that Despatch had been drawn up by us in a hurry, and that we were believed to have modified our views. There is no foundation for any such statement. We composed that Despatch with full deliberation. It represented our matured opinions. We have not departed from them in any particular; and if the Government of India were invited to enter a Conference, those I am confident would be the instructions with which our delegates from this end would proceed. Our claim is not merely that India should have a voice in the settlement of the question—that none will dispute—but that in any Imperial scheme there should not be imposed upon us a system detrimental to our interests or repugnant to our strongly entertained and unanimous views.

Before I conclude I may perhaps be expected to say a word about the military estimates of the year. We have had the familiar attacks upon them in this Debate. One Hon'ble Member spoke of the expenditure as inordinate and alarming. It is inordinate in the sense that it is beyond the ordinary. For now that we have ample means, we are utilising some of them, which in ordinary years we might not have been able to do, not merely to relieve the burden of the people, but to secure them from the possible future horrors of war. There is nothing to alarm in the increase. The situation would be much more alarming, if, with a rival Power building railways towards the Afghan frontier, we

were to sit still and do nothing. It was not by so regarding military expenditure and equipment that our allies in the Far East have won those great victories that have extorted the admiration of the world. They saw the danger impending, and they set themselves steadily to prepare for it—with what results we all know. The lesson of the Russo-Japanese War is surely the most supreme vindication of preparation for war as contrasted with unreflecting confidence that modern times have ever seen. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has presented us with a scheme, which is the ripe product not only of his own great experience, but of years of discussion and anticipation in India itself, and whose sole object is so to organise our forces in peace, as to place the largest possible body of men, with the least dislocation, in the field in time of war. Until universal peace reigns, which will not be in our day, the best custodian of his own house will still be the strong man armed; and the Government of India, assured that they have the means, and reposing confidence in the ability of their military advisers, have accepted the scheme submitted to them, not without careful scrutiny of its features and details, but in the conviction that the heavy charge entailed will be repaid in the increased security that will be enjoyed by the country.

As regards the view which has been expressed in this debate that the expenditure should be provided for by loan, I join my Financial Colleague in dissenting from that opinion. Reference has been made to English practice. No one would have denounced such a proposal, under existing conditions, more strongly than Mr. Gladstone. I do not say that a military loan is everywhere unjustifiable. Were we on the brink of war, or were it the case that large military expenditure could only be met by incurring a deficit, or by imposing additional taxation which it was considered essential to avoid, then there might be a good case for a military loan. But with a full exchequer, and

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with a simultaneous reduction of taxation, I feel sure that every financier of repute would pronounce such a proposal to be without excuse. Moreover, it should be remembered that in England the National Debt is being steadily diminished by processes which are not adopted here: and that a military loan is there obliged to run the gauntlet of Parliament. The Government of India is sometimes taunted with its irresponsibility. Might it not be a serious thing if you encouraged that Government to shift on to future generations a burden which it was capable of bearing in its own time? Might you not aggravate the very irresponsibility which is sometimes deplored?

I have now concluded my picture, of some at any rate, of the activities upon which we are or have lately been engaged. I ask myself, is this in truth an unsympathetic and reactionary *régime?* Is it likely that the individual who has allowed himself no rest or respite in his labours, be they successful or mistaken, for the Indian people, would endeavour to injure them or thrust them back? Is there a single class in the community who has been so injured? I will go further and say, is there a single individual? If there had been, should we not have heard of him to-day? Would a man who has devoted his whole life to preaching the lessons of the East, its history and traditions, who has often been rallied by his own countrymen for his enthusiasm for the religions and monuments and literature of the East, and who has, while in India, given such abundant proofs of his reverence for faiths and feelings that are not his own—turn round and assail what he had hitherto revered? These questions I must leave others to answer. As for reaction, I console myself with the wise saying of Macaulay, "Ever since childhood I have been seeing nothing but progress, and hearing of nothing but reaction and decay."

For my own part, as the last year of my work in India opens, I look back upon the past not with any self-complacency—because while much has been done, much also

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remains undone—but with gratitude that the opportunity has been vouchsafed to my colleagues and myself of giving so definite an impulse to all that makes up the growth and prosperity of a people, and the safety of an Empire, and with the sanguine conviction that none can sow as diligently and whole-heartedly as we have endeavoured to sow, without a harvest springing up—indeed the green shoots are already high above the ground—that will ten thousand times repay the exertion, and obliterate every scar.

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