SPEECHES

BY

LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

VOL. IV.

1904—1905.

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CONTENTS.

Subject.	Page
PRESENTATION of the Freedom of the City of London	1
SPEECH at the Mansion House	22
PRESENTATION of the Freedom of the Borough of Derby	27
LUNCHEON given by the United Club	40
ADDRESS from the Bombay Municipal Corporation	49
RESUMPTION of Viceroyalty by Lord Curzon	55
DINNER to Delegates of the Conference of Chambers of Commerce	58
FAREWELL Dinner to Sir Edward Law	63
INDIAN Universities (Validation) Bill, 1905 (Legislative Council)	67
CONVOCATION of the Calcutta University	73
DEBATE on the Budget, 1905-6 (Legislative Council)	84
AGRICULTURAL College, Pusa	114
LUNCHEON at Pusa	118
LAYING of the Foundation-Stone of the Agricultural College	122
MILITARY Administration	129
ADDRESS to Educational Conference	137
FAREWELL Dinner at the United Service Club, Simla	153
" Ball at Simla	170
" Address from the Clerks of the Government of India	177
FAREWELL Address from the Simla Municipality	181
DURBAR at Jammu	185
FAREWELL Address from the Lahore Municipal Committee	190
FOUNDATION Stone, Daly College, Indore	193
FAREWELL Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce	203
FAREWELL Address from the Agra Municipality	214
" Address from the Delhi Municipality	216
" Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay	221

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

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London.

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.

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London.

"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.

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London.

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.

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London.

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

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London.

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

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London.

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.

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London.

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.

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London.

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.

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of London.

That is the policy which the Government has 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 to-morrow, 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

Speech at the Mansion House.

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

Speech at the Mansion House.

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

Presentation of the Freedom of the Borough of Derby.

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

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.

Presentation of the Freedom of the Borough of Derby.

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,

Luncheon given by the United Club.

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 invidious

Luncheon given by the United Club.

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 incongruous

Luncheon given by the United Club.

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

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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 experience

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

concurrence 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."

His Excellency 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

Resumption of Viceroyalty by Lord Curzon.

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

Dinner to Delegates of the Conference of Chambers of Commerce.

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 something

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 himself

Convocation of the Calcutta University.

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 license 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

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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.

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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 benefitted 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.

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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.

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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.

To-day 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.

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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,

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

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,

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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,

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

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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 legislature

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

Debate on the Budget, 1905-6.

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

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.

THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, PUSA.

Addresses from the Behar Indigo Planters' Association and the Behar Landholders' Association.

1st April 1905. [The Viceroy visited Pusa on the 1st April in order to lay the foundation-stone of the Agricultural College. His Excellency was accompanied by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Mr. L. Hare, Member of the Bengal Board of Revenue, Mr. R. Nathan, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, and Colonel the Hon'ble E. Baring, Military Secretary.

His Excellency was received at the station by Mr. P. Lyon, the Commissioner, and was escorted to Pusa by the Behar Light Horse. On arrival there His Excellency was received by Lady Fraser as hostess and by a large number of ladies and gentlemen interested in the scheme who had preceded the Viceroy to Pusa. These included Mr. J. Wilson, Revenue Secretary, Mr. and Mrs. D. M. Hamilton, Mr. A. Pedler, F.R.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Mr. Scobie, Chief Engineer, Mr. S. Maddox, Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Mr. F. G. Sly, Officiating Inspector-General of Agriculture, Mr. Coventry, Director of the Agricultural College, the Pusa staff, the Collectors of the surrounding districts, the Maharaja of Durbhanga, and a large assembly of European planters and native gentlemen.

After inspecting the escort, His Excellency received addresses of welcome from the Behar Indigo Planters' Association and from the Behar Landholders' Association, to which the Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I have not previously been nearer to the planting districts of Behar than Patna: and I welcome the

The Agricultural College, Pusa.

opportunity, before I leave India, of making personal acquaintance with a part of the country of which I have heard so much and which has played so large a part in Indian history. Addresses have just been presented to me by two bodies, the Behar Indigo Planters' Association and the Behar Landholders' Association. These, I take it, represent two facets of the same industrial problem: the one the European planting element, the other the Indian landholding community. Both have united in giving me a warm welcome to Behar. It is true that I have not come here primarily to investigate indigo, sugar or cotton. My main objective is, as you know, our new Agricultural Institute at Pusa. But I should be unworthy of my position if I were not interested in your fortunes: three or four years ago I used to be a diligent student of the correspondence that went on in the columns of the Calcutta newspapers about the German synthetic indigo: and I had for years a colleague in Sir Edward Law whose cheerful optimism in respect of indigo never allowed him to admit, even when everybody else's umbrella was up, that it was really raining. In this way I learned a very fair amount about the synthetic indigo, and the natural indigo: and I believe that even now I could pass a very fair examination on the subject. Therefore when these two Associations expressed a desire to welcome me, I felt that I had a good reason for not declining the compliment.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the terms of your respective addresses. The Landholders' Association have given a general approval to the agricultural policy of the present Government. The Planters' Association have indulged in a little perfectly justifiable retrospect. One needs but a small acquaintance with Indian history to know that the indigo planters here represent the oldest British industry in rural Bengal, that their enterprise has given employment to hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of the country, and that their famous and traditional loyalty has for nearly half a century presented to the Government one of the finest

volunteer regiments in India, by some of whose members I had the honour to be escorted to-day, and who have carried the name of Behar and of its Light Horse to glory on the battle-fields of the Empire. These are the picturesque and honourable associations of the community by whom I have the honour to be received.

Now I come to your problem. I might easily expend upon it and upon you much sympathy: and assuredly such sympathy would be neither uncalled for nor misplaced. For an industry that, after a prolonged period of prosperity, suddenly finds itself face to face with disaster and almost with ruin, is indeed deserving of condolence. But I think that something more practical than sympathy is required; and the question, in so far as I have studied it, has always seemed to me to be one much less for sympathy than for science. I have often seen the phrase employed that when the German synthetic indigo was perfected, I think in about the year 1897, the discovery burst like a bolt from the blue upon the indigo-growers of India. I have sometimes wondered whether this was an innocent metaphor or a grim jest. But even if it was the latter, then I think that it carried with it its answering note of useful admonition. For if German chemists sitting in their laboratories could forge this blue terror, then a challenge was at once issued to British men of science to respond to it. From that time the problem has always been in the main a scientific one, although possessing of course a very marked commercial aspect. For the necessity that has confronted you ever since has been that, if possible, (1) of extracting more colouring material from the Indian leaf, (2) of deriving a greater yield from the land by improvement in the quality of seed and in the methods of cultivation, and (3) of securing a consequent cheapening in the cost of production. If the experts who have been so long at work upon this can give a satisfactory answer to these questions and can enable you to produce a natural colour at a price that

The Agricultural College, Pusa.

will enable you to compete with the artificial product, then the bolt from the blue will be hurled back and the situation may yet be saved. I imagine that on behalf of the natural product is always to be said that which is true of the natural as compared with the artificial everywhere. It has an indefinable quality which no art or artifice can quite imitate or reproduce. The sham tiara or the artificial pearl necklace never looks quite the same thing as the real one. Similarly I believe that the garment that is dyed with good Behar indigo will retain its colour longer and be a better thing than the finest product of Teutonic synthesis. The price, however, is the determining point. Science has got to help you to bring it down : and those of you who adhere to indigo should spare no effort, by assisting science and by the practice of all reasonable economies, to facilitate the common end. The Bengal Government has been a loyal and faithful friend to you in this matter ; and though the Government of India have come here to Pusa with other and wider objects in view, I doubt not that our researches will also prove of value to your interests.

You have alluded to the efforts that have been made in this neighbourhood to grow other crops, and more especially sugar and cotton, in place of indigo. I warmly sympathize with these endeavours, and as you know they have met with the practical assistance of Government. I cannot see why you should not compete successfully with the foreign importer in respect of refined sugar. Our countervailing duties have largely reduced the danger of Continental competition. But you have to face the cane imports of Mauritius and Java. There are many advantages in India. Labour is cheap, the demand for refined sugar is increasing, the processes of manufacture are improving, the means of transport are good. I hope therefore that the sugar experiment may be persevered in. Three conditions seem to be required — capital, courage, and skill. If the first is forthcoming, the Behar planters may be relied upon to furnish the second,

while the Government experts should help to provide the third.

As to cotton, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who keeps my agricultural conscience, made such an excellent speech on the subject in the Budget Debate two days ago that I am excused from making a bad one now. Here again the problem is a very similar one, commercial in its deciding features, scientific in its preliminary aspects. The selection and mixture and improvement of seed are for the expert. But the cotton which will pay the producer, be it short or long in the staple, will be that which commands a market. I hope that the same co-operation between Government and private enterprise of which I have already spoken may here also produce satisfactory results.

Gentlemen, I have perhaps said enough, as a newcomer and a novice, to show you that I feel a warm interest in your fortunes. I hope that the sun may shine again upon this once prosperous province and industry: and that you may receive in full measure the fruits of your own labour and of the capital outlay of earlier generations.

In conclusion let me thank you heartily for the kind reference in your Address to the recovery of Lady Curzon. We both of us know how much we owe to Indian good wishes and prayers.

LUNCHEON AT PUSA.

1st April 1905. [During the Viceroy's visit to Pusa on the 1st April 1905, in connection with the laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Agricultural College, His Excellency and all the visitors, numbering over a hundred, were entertained to luncheon by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Lady Fraser. After luncheon the Lieutenant-Governor proposed the Viceroy's health in the following terms:—

"*My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,*—I rise to give you a toast to which I am sure you will all heartily respond. With His Excellency's permission I ask you to drink the health of the Viceroy. We welcome the Viceroy here—as we have already told him in the address presented

Luncheon at Pusa.

by the Planters' Association and by the Landholders' Association—as the representative of His Majesty, and I am sure we also think of him as a Viceroy whom we have learned to love and respect for the work that he has done for India. (*Applause.*) There is a part of the Viceroy's career in India which is beginning to be forgotten, but which I for one will never forget, that is the time when he first came, and when we had famine in the land. His sympathy, his encouragement, I may venture with respect to say his co-operation, bound the hearts of all his officers to him by a tie that never can be broken. (*Applause.*) Since then we have known the Viceroy in what one may call times of less stress, more peaceful times, but he has given the same energy to the good of India, and I believe that there will be no record like his in regard to the measures that have been passed for the good of India, and which will be productive of the good that we anticipated for them. One of these measures is his identification with the progress of agriculture, and he is here, as we were told in one of the addresses, to sow the mustard seed in Behar. I am sure that if the Viceroy had the least idea of the depths of the heartiness of the welcome that Behar offers him to-day, he would go back very thoroughly satisfied with having come among us. (*Applause.*) I think we cannot drink the Viceroy's health without remembering with thankfulness and with prayer Lady Curzon also. We drink to his health and to the health of Lady Curzon also."

His Excellency replied as follows:—]

Your Honour, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have already had to make one speech this morning shortly after my arrival here, and another lies before me in half-an-hour's time. Two in one day seem to me quite a sufficient allowance, and to be asked to interpolate a third even on an occasion as agreeable as this is to place rather an unusual tax upon one's energies. At the same time, you will readily understand that I cannot listen unmoved to remarks such as those which have just fallen from the Lieutenant-Governor, while I should be wanting in the ordinary feelings of gratitude if I did not thank you for the way in which you received his words, and for the welcome accorded to myself. Sir Andrew Fraser, in his remarks, was good enough to speak of the work that I have done, or that he, at any rate, regarded me as having done, for India. It is not for me to speak about that. None of us know much of our work, or of the effect that it will

produce; and, indeed, that effect itself cannot be estimated with any accuracy until the time has passed, and perspective has been obtained. But a man is entitled to speak as to the motive with which he undertook his work and as to the object which he has had in view, and of myself I may say truly that, whether I have succeeded or failed, no man ever came to India with a more sincere and profound devotion for the people of this country and for the work that lay before him. (*Applause.*) No man ever tried to put into his work a greater personal zeal, industry, and energy. If in any respect success has attended these efforts, Sir Andrew Fraser, in the remarks which he went on to make, supplied the explanation. He spoke of my co-operation with my officers, but he did not mention the reverse side of the shield; that is, their loyalty towards me. He did not mention that were it not for their faithful work in all parts of India, discharging tasks in many cases heavier than have ever been laid upon their shoulders before, the harvest would not have been reaped; he did not say, because he was too modest, that among those faithful co-operators he has been conspicuous himself, and that the spirit of fidelity and devotion to duty and of desire to help me, which he has shown, has been characteristic of the whole of that service of which he is so distinguished an ornament. (*Applause.*)

I do not have many occasions of speaking about the Service in India. As a rule, when I speak at all, it is on some ceremonial occasion, when my remarks have to be strictly directed to the subject which for the moment is under discussion. It is only on an improvised occasion like the present that opportunities ever occur to speak in a more personal strain, and I am grateful to Sir Andrew Fraser for providing me with the opportunity of saying that I am truly and sincerely grateful for the work that has been done; that of the strain that has been imposed upon the labours of my officers I am conscious; that for the mistakes I have made I am sorry; and that for any results achieved I assign to

Luncheon at Pusa.

them the larger part and share of the credit. We are all assembled to-day on a very pleasant occasion, and I am grateful to the Lieutenant-Governor for having collected this delightful gathering of persons interested in the fortunes of agriculture and in the fate of Behar. He spoke very kindly of the feelings towards me in this part of the country, and undoubtedly they have been shown by the warmth of the welcome given to me to-day, and by the kindly reception given to his remarks about Lady Curzon. He knows how much a reference of that sort goes to my heart, and I thank him for having made it. I am sorry that the full enjoyment of our proceedings has been marred by an accident which occurred yesterday at the last moment, and by which we have lost the presence here this afternoon of Mr. Scobie, the Chief Engineer. I am sure that we should all wish to be conveyed to him an expression of our sympathy. If we condole with him, however, equally may we congratulate another gentleman who is here to-day, and that is Mr. Coventry. He is the head of our new institution, and although the institution has not itself as yet a very visible existence except in the shape of piles of bricks, yet, in a short time, it must materialise; and how gratifying it will then be to him, after he has spent so many years in this neighbourhood, at last to see this great scheme take effect and to find himself placed in charge of it. (*Applause.*) I earnestly wish him success in his endeavours, and I am certain that it is a source of gratification to the people of Behar that Mr. Coventry has been selected for the command. (*Hear, hear.*)

[Mr. Coventry then briefly thanked His Excellency for what he had said and the guests for the way in which they had received the remarks.]

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

1st April 1905. [At 2-30 P.M. on the 1st April 1905 the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Phipps' Research Laboratory took place in a large *shamiana* erected over the site.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson, in asking the Viceroy to lay the foundation-stone of the Laboratory, said :—

"In this India of ours, nearly two hundred million souls, two in every three of the whole population—just five times as many people as there are in the whole of Great Britain—depend directly upon agriculture for their daily bread. The mere statement of the figures shows the magnitude of the interests with which we are concerned to-day, and the measure of the benefits which will follow from anything that may improve the agricultural practice of these vast multitudes, and make it more productive. It has been roughly estimated that the annual crops of British India alone are worth some 345 millions of pounds sterling : so that if we could only increase their value by one per cent. we should add nearly £3,500,000 to the annual income of the Indian cultivator.

"In India, as in all countries, the art of agriculture is traditional. One generation after another has learned from its fathers the ways of Mother Earth, and how best to win from her the spoils of harvest ; and each generation has handed down to its sons the accumulated knowledge which it has inherited, increased and confirmed by its own labours. The best of our cultivators are as good as any ; and so far as rule of thumb is concerned, India has little to learn from other countries. But within the last half century, science has profoundly modified the practice of all traditional arts. It has taught us the reasons for those practices of which experience had already taught us the value ; and in doing so, has opened out infinite possibilities of further improvement. In England a little, and in many other civilised countries a great deal of progress has already followed upon the application of scientific methods to practical processes ; and year by year that progress is accelerating and increasing. It is time that India should share in it, and every day of avoidable delay is a wrong done to her and to her people.

"I wonder whether any of you have ever tried a simple and petty physical experiment. You dissolve a given salt in a tumbler of water till the water cannot hold any more : till it is *saturated* with the salt. But if this has been done carefully, the water, while quite full of the salt, will still remain fluid. Now drop into the solution a minute crystal of the salt, and the result is a transformation. The crystal

Laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Agricultural College.

acts as its nucleus or centre of crystallisation, an accretion of crystals forms around it, lines of crystallisation shoot out from it in every direction, and in a few seconds the saturated solution is transformed into a solid mass of crystals surrounded by the water in which they had recently been dissolved. In the beginning of 1903 our minds were very much in the state of that tumbler of water: we were saturated with the idea of agricultural improvement in India. And when I say we, I don't mean merely the Government of India: I mean the whole intelligence of the country. The Supreme Government, the Local Governments, the educated classes, both Indian and English, whose ideas are represented in the newspapers, the non-official Members of the Legislative Councils, the Chambers of Commerce as representing the mercantile community—all alike were impressed with the conviction that one of the next big things that had to be done in India, one of the most crying needs that had to be satisfied, was the wider extension to Indian agriculture of that scientific examination from which so many benefits had been reaped elsewhere. Our minds were saturated with that conviction, and all that was needed was the minute crystal, the nucleus, the determining circumstance which should precipitate the solution, and transform conviction into action.

"The determining circumstance was supplied by a Mr. Phipps, an American gentleman, who was staying with the Viceroy as his guest. He was a wealthy man, and imbued with truly American ideas about private munificence for the public good. He had travelled in India and was interested in the country and the people; and one morning he came to His Excellency and said that he wished to devote a certain considerable sum of money, to be utilised for their benefit in any manner which His Excellency might think most profitable. His Excellency, with the prescience which is the distinguishing mark of the statesman, devoted, without a moment's hesitation, three lakhs of the money thus placed at his disposal to the creation of a laboratory of agricultural research; and that is the laboratory of which we are met together to-day to witness the laying of the foundation. Such was the nucleus, and a very magnificent nucleus it was. But the accretions also are substantial. We have first this Pusa property, of which the value must be considerable. Upon it we propose to erect buildings which will cost in the aggregate some 16½ lakhs. The central building or laboratory alone will cost nearly 6 lakhs, and its fittings 1½ lakhs more. The fact is that the original idea has grown, as ideas do grow when they have any real vitality. The original conception was that of a laboratory pure and simple. But an agricultural expert cannot get far with test-tubes

Laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Agricultural College.

only. He wants to go out into the field and try his conclusions upon the growing plant, and not only upon the plant, but also upon the crop, grown upon an agricultural scale. Thus the first step of advance was to decide that the research laboratory should be placed in the middle of an experimental farm. But if the results of our experiments are to be of any practical value, they must be brought home to the cultivator, whose mind must be prepared to receive them by at least a modicum of education in the *rationale* of that agriculture which he practises so skilfully, but so blindly. And in providing him with this education we must begin from the top. Agricultural science at present exists only in European languages. To reach the cultivator we must translate it into the vernacular. We want teachers and we want text-books: and men competent to instruct the one and to compile the other, have still to be trained. We have added, therefore, an Agricultural College of a high class, fitted to complete the training which the Provincial Colleges will begin. And thus we have arrived at the threefold object of this Pusa institution: research in the laboratory, experiment in the field, and instruction in the class-room.

"A prophet has seldom honour. But I confess that I regard it as quite within the bounds of possibility that this institute, of which the foundation is to be laid to-day, may eventually confer upon the country benefits far greater and more lasting than any one of us here present is bold enough to conceive. I look to it for a body of experts chosen from among the natives of the country, who will regenerate the agricultural practice of their fellow-countrymen by their researches; for a host of teachers speaking the vernaculars of the country, who will help us to spread knowledge downwards until it reaches the husbandmen upon whom our agriculture depends; and for a class of men, trained in practice as well as in theory, who will assist in developing the great landed estates which abound in India. Perhaps I am too sanguine. But at any rate we have here an estate of 1,280 acres of soil on which almost any crop can be grown, with abundant water available, situated in the middle of one of the most populous and fertile parts of India, and surrounded by Englishmen of intelligence and enterprise who will repeat on their own estates such of our results as promise to be of value, and will thus supply us with practical demonstration farms to spread improvement over the country-side. And in the midst of it we propose to concentrate all the highest skill, scientific, practical, and educational, which we can procure. It will indeed be strange if great good does not result from such a combination. Such is the institution, Ladies and Gentlemen, which His Excellency has graciously consented to inaugurate auspiciously by his presence here to-day. Your Excellency, in the

Laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Agricultural College.

name of agricultural India, I invite you to lay the foundation-stone of the Phipps' Research Laboratory at Pusa."

The Viceroy, having declared the stone well and truly laid, spoke as follows :—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have just listened to a most eloquent and informing speech from Sir Denzil Ibbetson. With that instinct which is the highest art he has seized upon the broader aspects of the agricultural problem, has sketched to us its dimensions, has expounded to us its responsibilities, and has hinted at its possible future. In one respect I can add a little light to that which Sir Denzil has already thrown. For I remember well the circumstances in which we received the munificent bequest which was the origin of this institute. In one respect they were complimentary to me. But in another they were much more so to Sir Denzil Ibbetson. Mr. Phipps had been travelling about in India and he was familiar with the principles by the light of which I was endeavouring to conduct the administration. He said to me, "I believe in your principles and your work; and to show that I mean what I say, I will give you £20,000" (which he afterwards raised to £30,000) "to do what you like with for some public purpose for the good of the Indian people." I did not decide straight away. But I did what was much better. I consulted Sir Denzil Ibbetson; and it was upon his recommendation that I resolved to devote the bequest in the main to the present object. He therefore shares with Mr. Phipps the parentage of this scheme.

I think I have read somewhere that it was all wrong for an American gentleman to have to come to India and spur us to our duty. If the spur has had its effect, I do not think it much matters of what metal it was made. As a matter of fact, the scheme was already taking shape in our minds, and the gift of the money just provided the final stimulus that was required to start it. We had already appointed an Inspector-General of Agriculture, and a sustained policy of agricultural research and improvement was part of our

accepted programme. In fact the legendary princess was just about to awaken from her long sleep when the fairy prince appeared upon the scene.

I need not dilate to-day upon the duty that rests on the Government of India in respect of agriculture. It is so obvious as to amount to a platitude. Let me rather indicate what forms that duty should take. I will begin at the top. First there is the Government of India, to give the lead, to start the policy, to supply the central and model institute which it is our object to create here, to maintain the scientific staff and supervisory Board, and not to stint the funds. The first and most crying need is experts. Our present staff, excellent though it is, is hopelessly inadequate to the size and the demands of the country. It is in fact in its infancy. The number of respects in which science is capable of being applied to the agricultural and economic development of a continent like India is almost infinite. Then when we have collected an adequate staff, we have to co-ordinate their efforts so as to ensure that their various spheres do not overlap, and that each individual expert and each province of India are playing their due part in the combined scheme. Then let us go a stage lower down. Each Local Government will, we hope, follow our example, and in time possess its own staff, its own institute for research and experiment, in fact a properly organised Agricultural Department. Then from the Governments let us descend still further to the people. We cannot afford to have an expensive establishment of experts at one end, and an indifferent or uninterested peasantry at the other. The entire object of the movement is to bring the one class into direct relations with the other, and to utilize the discoveries of science or the results of education for the improvement of the position and the prospects of the raiat. I am not one of those who regard the latter as a stupid individual whom it is impossible to move. He is doubtless conservative. But I expect that his conservatism rests upon very considerable acquired or intuitive knowledge.

Laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Agricultural College.

After all his ancestors were probably engaged in tilling the same soil, when Julius Cæsar was conquering Great Britain ; and he is therefore the repository of a vast amount of traditional experience, which, though it may not be the result of a scientific induction, is scientific in its rational relation to facts. Apart from this I have always understood that the Indian peasant is receptive rather than obtuse, and that he is quite capable of taking to a new idea, as soon as it has been demonstrated to him that it is not a mere caprice, but that it is suited to the conditions of his holding, and still more that it possesses a money value. I do not think therefore that there need be any inherent difficulty in persuading him to profit by the results of science as soon as these have been brought home to him. The link of connection between the two already exists in the sufficient intelligence of the peasant and in his fundamental business instinct. Of course side by side with experiment and research we ought to proceed with the education of the raiat; not so much agricultural education *per se*, as agricultural education combined with or resting upon a basis of good ordinary primary education. By every degree that we raise the cultivator in the intellectual scale do we improve his economic chances.

Such, it seems to me, are some of the main features of the agricultural problem which confronts India. I always rather resent the comparisons that are made between India and America. As far as I can see, there is no condition except that of size that is common to the two countries. Still we may learn much from the concentrated effort, the passionate application of science to practice, and the willing expenditure of that great nation. Our efforts and establishments are in the nature of things very puny compared with theirs. But we have neither their wealth, nor organisation, nor a highly advanced agricultural population.

Pusa has its natural beauties, and when we selected it as the site of the present experiment, it appeared to us to be

better suited than any other to the combined objects that we had in view. But as the planters remarked to me in their address this morning, it is only a seed that we are planting to-day. I hope that they were right in comparing it to a mustard-seed: and I should certainly like to visit this place fifty years hence and see what sort of a plant it has grown to. Should I find Pusa the centre of a great organisation, with ramifications extending to all parts of the Indian Continent, training a series of native students who will devote their acquired knowledge to the practical pursuit of agriculture, and able to point to the tangible results of successful scientific experiment, both in the quality of seeds and plants, in the destruction of pests, and in improvement of breeds of cattle? That is the prospect that I should like to look forward to, and if it be at all realised, then, as Sir Denzil Ibbetson hinted, we may be assisting at a rather momentous childbirth to-day.

There is one concluding reflection which it occurs to me to make. I have been speaking almost exclusively about Government initiative and endeavour. But I do not see why Government should monopolize the field. Agriculture is not their interest only, though it is the source of one-fourth of their total income. It is at least equally important to the Indian community and notably to the zemindars. Several of the latter class are men of great wealth and possessing a high sense of patriotism and civic duty. Why should they not join hands? Why should not a great landholder conduct his own experiments, improve his own seed, experiment with the breed of his own cattle? Government, I am sure, would lend him every possible advice or guidance if he required it, and he could hardly spend his income derived from the land in a more practical or ultimately more remunerative way. The pace would be very appreciably quickened, if private enterprise were thus to join in: and I commend the idea to some of the wealthy landed proprietors of Behar and the adjoining province.

Military Administration.

I have now detained you long enough. I remember once reading the following paragraph in a representative Indian newspaper: "Any Viceroy who instituted a properly constituted Department of Agriculture and established experiment stations supplied with scientific staffs would secure for himself a name that would never be obliterated from Indian history." I do not aspire to that fame. I shall neither deserve nor obtain that immortality. But at least I feel that a forward move will have been made in my time: and as for the function of to-day, I can truthfully assert that I never took part in an Indian ceremony with greater pleasure or with a more assured conviction that, if properly supported and well managed, the institution that we are inaugurating will prove of real benefit to the people.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

[At a meeting of the Legislative Council, held at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the 18th July 1905, after the ordinary business had been disposed of, His Excellency the President spoke as follows:—] 18th July 1905.

The public will desire to be informed of the settlement that has been arrived at of the questions concerning our future military administration that have lately been under discussion between the Home Government and the Government of India. Seven months ago this question was referred to us, upon their own initiative, by His Majesty's Government: and the Government of India submitted their views to the home authorities in March last in papers which have since been published. The reply of His Majesty's Government reached Simla a month ago, and has similarly been made public. Upon receipt of this Despatch the Government of India learned to their regret that the advice which they had all but unanimously tendered to His Majesty's Government had not been so fortunate as to meet with the acceptance of the latter. They were instructed to introduce without delay a form of military administration, of which

Military Administration.

they learned only for the first time in the Despatch of the Secretary of State, and they may be pardoned if they were somewhat surprised at the manner in which it was thought necessary to convey these orders. With the utmost desire to carry out loyally a policy decided upon by His Majesty's Government, I was unable conscientiously to assume the responsibility of introducing an organisation in the practicability of which I could not bring myself to believe, and as to which I found that my colleagues were in agreement with myself. In these circumstances it became my duty respectfully to represent this position to His Majesty's Government, and to urge upon them such modifications as might remove the principal drawbacks from which the scheme appeared to us to suffer. These modifications have without exception been accepted by His Majesty's Government, and it is desirable that I should now explain them in some little detail to the Indian public, which is vitally concerned in the form and methods of our military administration, and which has followed every phase of the recent discussion with absorbing interest.

If a reference be made to the Despatch of 23rd March last, and the accompanying Minutes, in which the views of the Government of India were stated, it will be found that the points to which we attached the greatest importance in any system of Indian military administration were, firstly, that the statutory control over the army of the Governor-General in Council should remain unimpaired; secondly, that the Government of India should possess independent expert advice, to enable them to decide upon the merits of the military proposals brought before them; and, thirdly, that the head of the Government should not be placed in a position in which the responsibility of this decision should be shifted from the collective shoulders of the Government on to his. I may refer more particularly to paragraph 11 of our Despatch in which we wrote as follows:—

"The question may be thus stated: is it desirable that

Military Administration.

the Government of India should possess only a single and supreme Military adviser controlling the entire military organisation, or is it desirable that they should continue, as now, to have a second expert opinion upon matters which, in the ordinary course of administration, come before them for decision? We feel no hesitation in answering this question. We cannot too strongly or emphatically express our conviction that the Military Member is an essential element in the Government of India, and our reasons are the following. As long as the Governor-General in Council continues to be responsible for the government of the army, he requires expert advice in order to enable him to deal satisfactorily with the proposals that are submitted to him by the Executive head of the army. It is our experience that successive Commanders-in-Chief enter upon their duties with very different ideas and originate very different proposals. In these circumstances it is of extreme importance that the principles, the history, and the tradition of each case should be presented to the members of the Government before they are called upon to decide."

Those were our recorded views; and it was because the scheme sent out to us by the Secretary of State did not appear to us to satisfy these essential conditions that we felt bound to attempt to secure its amendment. We informed His Majesty's Government that unless modified in important particulars, it would, in our opinion, be unworkable in operation; that it would imperil the control of the Governor-General in Council, and that it would impose an undue burden upon the Viceroy while depriving him of indispensable advice.

The manner in which we sought to remove these evils was as follows:—

In the first place it seemed to us that the new Military Supply Member, as sketched in the Despatch of the Secretary of State, might be without the authority and experience, and would certainly be without the opportunities, that would

Military Administration.

enable him to give to the Government of India the independent assistance of which I have spoken. It appeared to us that he would be little more than a purveyor of military stores and supplies; and that his advisory functions on general military questions would not be called into existence until a case was brought before Council, or, in other words, until it might be too late to be of practical use. The language of the Despatch appeared to us further to be ambiguous in respect of his military qualifications and powers, for we were told that his functions were to be essentially those of a civilian administrator with military knowledge and experience—a definition that seemed on the whole to postulate a soldier, for how could a civilian possess military experience?—and yet that his duties were to be more of a civil than a military nature—a phrase that seemed to be not incompatible with the appointment of a civilian—and further that he was specially to advise the Governor-General in Council on questions of general policy as distinct from purely military questions—a distinction which seemed to contravene the previous definition of his duties, and which we thought that it would not be possible in practice to maintain.

We accordingly represented to the Secretary of State that the functions which His Majesty's Government proposed to assign to the Military Supply Member could not properly be performed except by a soldier, and that such, in our opinion, he ought always to be, just as the Military Member has hitherto invariably been. We did not ask that any alteration should be made in the existing law that regulates the appointment of Members of Council, but we represented that the nomination of a civilian would be fatal to the safeguards which we desired to create. His Majesty's Government have not of course the power to bind their successors except by the precedent which they are about to create. The first appointment, however, which will be that of a military officer, will set an example which I venture to

think that no future Government will be found to depart from. For from the day that a civilian is appointed to the office the administrative system which is now being set up will, in my judgment, even if it has lasted as long, be fated to disappear.

Secondly, in order to clear up the ambiguities in the position of the Military Supply Member, and to place the full benefit of his military knowledge and experience at the disposal of the Viceroy and his colleagues, we proposed that, outside the necessary functions of his department, he should be available for official consultation by the head of the Government on all military questions, without distinction, and not only upon questions of general policy or where cases are marked for Council. We proposed that identical conditions should apply to both Military Departments, and that upon the submission of any case from either Department, the Viceroy should, if he considers it necessary, refer it to the head of the other Department for advice. We informed the Secretary of State that we did not anticipate that this would become the general practice in either case; but that the power of reference was required in order to relieve the Viceroy of a burdensome responsibility, and that in our view it would, when resorted to, tend to promote co-ordination. His Majesty's Government informed us in reply that these proposals were consistent with the right of the Viceroy to consult any Member of his Council on any subject, and that there would, therefore, be no objection to concede them, without giving to either Member any special right to be consulted or to note upon the proposals of the other. How important this concession is may be seen by a contrast with the terms of the Secretary of State's Despatch, in paragraph 25 of which we had been informed that in future the Commander-in-Chief would be the sole expert adviser of the Government on purely military questions. I am myself of opinion that with two Military Officers of distinction upon the Executive

Military Administration.

Council, nothing could be more unwise than to separate them, so to speak, into watertight compartments and compel each to work in complete detachment from the other. The more they co-operate and know of each other's policy and views, the better it will be both for the Government of India and for the Indian Army.

It was with the same object in view, namely, to secure complete fore-knowledge of all important military questions by both our Military Advisers and to ensure harmonious co-operation between the two Departments and their heads, that we made a further proposal. The Secretary of State had suggested in his Despatch the revival of the Mobilisation Committee with the Military Supply Member sitting upon it. We proposed to lay down that all important changes in military organisation or conditions of service of all ranks, or in customs affecting the Native Army or its departments, which might originate from either Military Department, must of necessity be submitted for discussion to this Committee or to an analogous Committee with such other more suitable designation as might be decided upon, and that the Commander-in-Chief and Military Supply Member should be essential members of this Committee. This will mean that no important changes affecting the Native Army, or indeed any portion of the Army, can be put forward without running the gauntlet of a highly competent expert body upon which the principal Military Officers at the Head-Quarters of Government will sit, and at whose meetings both the Military Advisers of the Government of India must be present. This rule will provide for the exhaustive discussion from every point of view of all military proposals, and should relieve the Governor-General in Council of a good deal of preliminary work which might otherwise fall either upon the Viceroy or upon his colleagues.

Our next proposals were directed to securing that the Government of India should be effectively and powerfully represented in the new Army Department, and that means

Military Administration.

should be provided by which the head of the Government should be kept in the closest touch with its policy and proceedings. The Secretary of State's Despatch had been silent as to the rank of the new Secretary to Government in this Department. It will be this officer who will be the ordinary channel of communication between the Department and the Viceroy, who will possess the access to the latter enjoyed by all Secretaries to Government, and who will be the custodian inside the Department of the traditions and principles of the Government of India. We thought that it would be invidious if this officer, as the official representative of Government, were of lower rank than his colleagues at the head of other branches in the Department, and we accordingly proposed that he should be either a Major-General or, if a Colonel, that he should have the local rank of Major-General. This proposal was agreed to.

Finally, we proposed to draw up a definite schedule of all cases in the Army Department which it should be the duty of the Secretary to Government in the Department to submit to the Viceroy before orders could be passed upon them. This was intended as an additional safeguard to the full and complete knowledge and control by the Governor-General. The idea met with the approval of His Majesty's Government.

The whole of the above proposals, which were put forward with the concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief, were submitted by us to the Secretary of State as the minimum which in our judgment was necessary in order to render the new organisation practicable. The Secretary of State informed us in his final reply that they did not contravene the provisions of his Despatch, and that some of them were in exact fulfilment of the wishes and intentions there conveyed. We were very glad to make this discovery; since while securing points to which we attached the utmost importance, we learned that we were at the same time acting in accordance with the desires of His Majesty's Government.

Whether the system thus modified will be in any way

superior to that with which we have hitherto been familiar, or whether it will possess any permanent vitality the future alone will show. We have seen so many schemes of military organisation rise and fall in recent years, that prophecy is dangerous. The new scheme is not of our creation. All that we have been in a position to do is to effect the removal of some of its most apparent anomalies and to place its various parts in more scientific relation to each other. We have converted the position of the Military Supply Member into one of greater efficacy and utility. We have very considerably strengthened the guarantees for civil supervision and control. In the last resort I expect that the new system, like the old, will depend in the main upon the personal equation for its success or failure.

It is only necessary for me to add, upon the wider aspect of the case, that the sole object which my colleagues and myself have had in view since the commencement of the present discussion has been the maintenance of the constitutional authority of the Government of India. Individual views or susceptibilities are of minor importance. We hold that it would be incompatible with the proper conduct of Indian government if the full degree of intelligent and informed control over military matters conceded to the Governor-General in Council by the law were to be weakened. No one who has been responsible for the Government as long as I have can be blind to the importance of this consideration, and that Governor-General would, in my judgment, be untrue to his office who did not regard it as his bounden duty to sustain the prerogative which was conceded to the Government of India as far back as three-quarters of a century ago.

ADDRESS TO EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

[On Wednesday, the 20th September 1905, the Viceroy delivered the following address at a Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Kennedy House, Simla, which he attended at their invitation for the purpose of bidding them farewell:—] 20th Sept. 1905.

I was very much gratified when I learned that it was the desire of the Directors of Public Instruction who are assembled in Conference at Simla that I should attend one of their meetings to say a few words of farewell. This desire was conveyed to me by Mr. Orange in language so flattering that I could not resist it; for he said that he spoke for all the Directors, and that they spoke for the whole service of which they are members. Accordingly I accepted the invitation, and that is why I am here to-day. I feel rather like a general addressing his marshals for the last time, before he unbuckles his sword and retires into private life. For the task which has engaged so much of our energies during the past seven years has been like nothing so much as a campaign, marked by a long series of engagements which we have fought together; and though I am about to resign my commission, you will remain to carry on, I hope, the same colours to victory on many another well-won field. To you therefore I need make no apology for offering a few final remarks on your own subject. It would almost be an impertinence if I were to address you on any other. In a well-known work of fiction one of the characters is made to groan over that "bore of all bores, whose subject had no beginning, middle, or end—namely, education." Here, however, where we all belong to the same category, I must accept the risk of inflicting that form of penance on others in the hopeful assurance that I shall not be found guilty by you.

Gentlemen, when I came to India, Educational Reform loomed before me as one of those objects which, from such knowledge of India as I possessed, appeared to deserve a prominent place in any programme of administrative

reconstruction. I thought so for several reasons. In the first place, vital as is Education everywhere as the instrument by which men and nations rise, yet in a country like India, in its present state of development, it is perhaps the most clamant necessity of all. For here Education is required not primarily as the instrument of culture or the source of learning, but as the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity, and the sole stepping-stone for every class of the community to higher things. It is a social and political even more than an intellectual demand; and to it alone can we look to provide a livelihood for our citizens, to train up our public servants, to develop the economic and industrial resources of the country, to fit the people for the share in self-government which is given to them—and which will increase with their deserts—and to fashion the national character on sound and healthy lines. The man in India who has grasped the educational problem has got nearer to the heart of things than any of his comrades, and he who can offer to us the right educational prescription is the true physician of the State.

There is another reason for which Education in India is a peculiarly British responsibility. For it was our advent in the country that brought about that social and moral upheaval of which Western Education is both the symbol and the outcome. As regards religion we sit as a Government in India

> "holding no form of creed
> But contemplating all."

We have deliberately severed religion from politics: and, though we have our own Church or Churches, we refrain, as an act of public policy, from incorporating Church with State. But we do not therefore lay down that ethics are or should be divorced from the life of the nation, or that society, because it does not rest upon dogmatic theology, should lose the moral basis without which in all ages it must sooner or later fall to pieces. For Education is nothing unless it is a

moral force. There is morality in secular text-books, as well as in sacred texts, in the histories and sayings of great men, in the example of teachers, in the contact between teachers and pupils, in the discipline of the class room, in the emulation of school life. These are the substitutes in our Indian educational system for the oracles of prophets or the teaching of divines. To them we look to make India and its people better and purer. If we thought that our Education were not raising the moral level, we should none of us bestir ourselves so greatly about it. It is because it is the first and most powerful instrument of moral elevation in India that it must for ever remain a primary care of the State. The State may delegate a portion of the burden to private effort or to missionary enterprise. But it cannot throw it altogether aside. So long as our Government is in India what it is, we must continue to control and to correlate educational work, to supply a large portion of the outlay, to create the requisite models, and to set the tone.

As soon as I looked about me, but little investigation was required to show, in the words of a familiar quotation, that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark. For years Education in India had been muddling along, with no one to look after it at head-quarters or to observe its symptoms, till the men who had given up their lives to it were sick at heart and well nigh in despair. It was not that splendid and self-sacrificing exertions were not being devoted to the task ; it was not that any class, European or Indian, was indifferent to its claims, for I believe that in India there is a genuine passion for Education among all classes ; it was not that there had been deliberate or conscious neglect. But there was a deplorable lack of co-ordination ; there was a vagueness as to fundamental principles ; slackness had crept in, standards had depreciated, and what was wanting was the impulse and movement of a new life. It was for these reasons that I threw myself with a burning zeal into the subject of educational reform. I knew the risks

that had to be run—there was not one among them that could be apprehended that has not been incurred. I was aware of all the taunts that would be levelled; that we should be accused, when we were merely raising a debased standard, of wanting to shut the doors of Education in the face of the people; and, when we felt it our duty to assert the proper control of Government, of desiring to aggrandise the power of the State; and many other equally unfounded charges. But the object seemed to me to be worth the risk. The allies and fellow-workers were there who were only too ready and anxious to join in the struggle: and it merely remained to formulate the plan of action and to go ahead.

For the first two years we surveyed the ground and reconnoitred the position of the opposing forces, and then we began. I look to the meetings of the Simla Conference in the month of September 1901, just four years ago, as the first act in the real campaign. That Conference has often been denounced by those who knew not the real nature of its labours as a sort of Star Chamber conclave, that was engaged in some dark and sinister conspiracy. Some of you were present at its meetings, and you know how much of truth there was in that particular charge. I do not hesitate to say that a Conference more independent in its character, more sincere in its aims, or more practical and far-reaching in its results, never met at the head-quarters of the Indian Government. The meeting was a body of experts, non-official as well as official, convened in order to save Government from making mistakes and to assure me that we were advancing upon right lines. Our programme was laid down in the published speech with which I opened the proceedings. We covered the whole field of educational activity in our researches, and we laid down the clear and definite principles which, so far from being concealed, were published at full length later on in the Education Resolution of March 1904, and which for years to come will guide the policy of the State. Then followed the appointment of a Director-General of

Address to Educational Conference.

Education, most fully justified by the devoted labours, the informed enthusiasm, and the unfailing tact of Mr. Orange. Next in order came the Universities Commission presided over by my former colleague, Sir Thomas Raleigh, in 1902. Then followed the Universities legislation of 1903-04, of which, looking back calmly upon it, I say that I do not regret the battle or the storm, since I am firmly convinced that out of them has been born a new life for Higher Education in India. Finally came the comprehensive Resolution of which I have spoken. Since then the policy of reform laid down by the Simla Conference has been carried into execution in every branch of educational effort; until at last the Directors of Public Instruction from every Province have been sitting here for a week in conference to compare notes as to what has already been accomplished, and to discuss fresh plans for the future. These are the main landmarks of the great enterprise upon which we have all been employed for so long; and a moment has arrived when it is not impossible to some extent to reckon up the results.

What was the state of affairs that we had to redress? I will try to summarise it. As regards Primary or Elementary Education, *i.e.*, education of the children of the masses in the vernaculars, the figures which appeared in the Resolution were sufficiently significant. Four out of every five Indian villages were found to be without a school; three out of every four Indian boys grow up without any education; only one Indian girl in every forty attends any kind of school. These figures are of course less appalling in a continent of the size, the vast population, the national characteristics, and the present state of advancement of India, than they would be in any Western country; but they are important as illustrating, if not the inadequacy of past efforts, at any rate the immensity of the field that remains to be conquered. We found Primary Education suffering from divergence of views as to its elementary functions and courses, and languishing nearly everywhere for want of

funds. In Secondary Education we found schools receiving the privilege of recognition upon most inadequate tests, and untrained and incompetent teachers imparting a course of instruction devoid of life to pupils subjected to a pressure of examinations that encroached upon their out-of-school hours, and was already beginning to sap the brain power as well as the physical strength of the rising generation. Inferior teaching in Secondary Schools further has this deleterious effect that it reacts upon College work, and affects the whole course of University instruction of which it is the basis and starting point. We found these schools in many cases accommodated in wretched buildings and possessing no provision for the boarding of the pupils. As regards the vernaculars, which must for long be the sole instrument for the diffusion of knowledge among all except a small minority of the Indian people, we found them in danger of being neglected and degraded in the pursuit of English, and in many cases very bad English, for the sake of its mercantile value. By all means let English be taught to those who are qualified to learn it; but let it rest upon a solid foundation of the indigenous languages: for no people will ever use another tongue with advantage that cannot first use its own with ease.

But in Higher Education the position was still worse: for here it was not a question so much of a blank sheet in the education of the community, as of a page scribbled over with all sorts of writing, some of it well-formed and good, but much of it distorted and wrong. We found in some of the affiliated Colleges a low standard of teaching, and a lower of learning; ill-paid and insufficient teachers, pupils crowded together in insanitary buildings, the cutting down of fees in the interests of an evil commercial competition, and management on unsound principles. Finally, coming to the Universities, we found courses of study and a system of tests which were lowering the quality, while steadily increasing the volume, of the human output, students driven like sheep

from lecture room to lecture room and examination to examination, text-books badly chosen, degrees pursued for their commercial value, the Senates with overswollen numbers, selected on almost every principle but that of educational fitness, the Syndicates devoid of statutory powers—a huge system of active but often misdirected effort over which, like some evil phantom, seemed to hover the monstrous and maleficent spirit of Cram.

Of course there were better and reassuring features in the picture, and there were parts of the country where the merits greatly exceeded the defects. But we had to correct the worst, even more than to stimulate the best, and like a doctor it was our duty to diagnose the unsound parts of the body rather than to busy ourselves with the sound. Moreover there were some faults that were equally patent everywhere. It is recorded of the Emperor Aurungzeb, after he had seized the throne of the Moghul Empire, that he publicly abused his old tutor for not having prepared him properly for these great responsibilities. "Thus," he said, "did you waste the precious hours of my youth in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words." That is exactly the fault that we found with every phase of Indian Education as we examined it. Everywhere it was words that were being studied, not ideas. The grain was being spilled and squandered, while the husks were being devoured. I remember a passage in the writings of Herbert Spencer in which he says that to prepare us for complete living is the true function of Education. That is a conception which is perhaps as yet beyond the reach of the majority of those whom we are trying to educate in this country. But in the rut into which it had sunk, I doubt if European Education in India, as we were conducting it, could be described as a preparation for living at all, except in the purely materialistic sense, where unhappily it was too true. But of real living, the life of the intellect, the character, the soul, I fear that the glimpses that were obtainable were rare and dim.

Address to Educational Conference.

Of course all these tendencies could not be corrected straight away. It would be a futile and arrogant boast to say that we have reformed Indian Education. There is equal scope for educational reformers, now, to-morrow, next-day, and always. Education is never reformed. It may advance or remain stationary or recede. It may also advance on right lines or on wrong lines. Our claim is merely to have rescued it from the wrong track, and given it a fresh start on the right one. If we have set up a few milestones on the path of true progress, we shall have done something for it, and perhaps made further advance easier for our successors.

What I think we may claim to have effected has been the following. In Primary Education we have realized that improvement means money; we have laid down that Primary Education must be a leading charge on Provincial revenues; and in order to supply the requisite impetus, we gave in our last budget a very large permanent annual grant of 35 lakhs to be devoted to that purpose alone. This will be the real starting point of an advance that ought never to be allowed henceforward to slacken. Most of the money will go in buildings to begin with, and a good deal in maintenance afterwards. Thousands of new Primary Schools are already opening their doors under these auspices, and in a few years' time the results should be very noteworthy. In building we lay stress upon the provision of suitable and airy school-houses in place of the dark rooms or squalid sheds in which the children had previously been taught. Training schools for teachers are similarly springing up or being multiplied in every direction. We have defined the nature of the object-lessons that ought to be taught to the children in Primary Schools, and the courses of study and the books that are required for the instruction of the cultivating classes. We have everywhere raised the pay of primary teachers where this was inadequate, and are teaching them that their duty is to train the faculties of their

Address to Educational Conference.

pupils and not to compel them to the listless repetition of phrases in which the poor children find no meaning. I look as the result of this policy to see a great development in Elementary Education in the near future. It is apt to be neglected in India in favour of the louder calls, and the more showy results, of Higher Education. Both are equally necessary; but in the structure of Indian society one is the foundation, and the other the coping stone; and we who are responsible must be careful not to forget the needs of the voiceless masses, while we provide for the interests of the more highly favoured minority who are better able to protect themselves.

In Secondary Education the faults were largely the same, and the remedies must be the same also. More teachers are the first desideratum, more competent teachers the second, more inspectors the third. The increase that we have everywhere effected in the inspecting staff is remarkable. Next comes reform in courses of study and buildings. All these necessities are summed up in the duty, which we have undertaken, of laying down sound tests for official recognition. From this we pass on to the development of the commercial and industrial sides of these schools as against the purely literary, since there are thousands of boys in them who must look to their education to provide them with a practical livelihood rather than to lead them to a degree; and above all to the reduction of examinations. That is the key-note everywhere. Have your tests, sift out the good from the bad, furnish the incentive of healthy competition. But remember that the Indian boy is a human being with a mind to be nurtured and a soul to be kept alive: and do not treat him as a mechanical drudge, or as a performing animal which has to go at stated intervals through the unnatural task to which its trainer has laboriously taught it to conform.

I hope that the Government of India will not be indifferent to the claims of Secondary Education in the

future. When the Universities and the Colleges have been put straight, we must look to the feeders, and these feeders are the High Schools. Indeed we cannot expect to have good Colleges without good Schools. I am not sure, if a vote were taken among the intelligent middle classes of this country, that they would not sooner see money devoted to Secondary Education than to any other educational object. The reason is that it is the basis of all industrial or professional occupation in India. There is just a danger that between the resonant calls of Higher Education, and the pathetic small voice of Elementary Education, the claims of Secondary Education may be overlooked : and I therefore venture to give it this parting testimonial.

When we come to Higher Education, our policy, though based on identical principles, assumes a wider scope, and has, I hope, already effected an even more drastic change. It is very difficult to carry out substantial reforms in Higher Education in India, because of the suspicion that we encounter among the educated classes that we really desire to restrict their opportunities and in some way or other to keep them down. There is of course no ground whatever for this suspicion. Not only does it run counter to the entire trend of British character, and to all the teachings of British history, but it would be a short-sighted and stupid policy, even if it were adopted. For Education, to whatever extent it may be directed or controlled, is essentially an organic, and not an artificial process ; and no people, particularly a highly intelligent and ambitious people, like the educated classes in India, could possibly be confined, so to speak, in a particular educational compartment or chamber, because the Government was foolish enough to try and turn the key upon them. What has been in our minds, though it has not always been easy to explain it to others, has been, firstly, the conviction that those who were getting Higher Education were getting the wrong sort of it, because they were merely training the memory at

the expense of all the other faculties of the mind, and that it could not be good for a nation that its intellect should be driven into these lifeless and soulless grooves; and, secondly, the belief that reform was to be sought by making educationalists more responsible for Education in every department, giving them power on Senates and Syndicates, improving the quality of the teaching staff, and providing for the expert inspection of Colleges and Schools. Let me put it in a sentence. Higher Education ought not to be run either by politicians or by amateurs. It is a science—the science of human life and conduct—in which we must give a fair hearing and a reasonable chance to the Professor.

If our reforms are looked at in this light, it will be seen that they are based upon a uniform and logical principle. We swept away the old overgrown Senates or bodies of Fellows, and reconstituted them on lines which should make educational interests predominate in the government of the Universities. Similarly we placed experts in the majority on the executive committees or Syndicates. It is these bodies who will draw up the new courses, prescribe the text-books, and frame the future standards of Education. Of course they may go wrong, and Government retains the indispensable power of putting them right if they do so. But the initial and principal responsibility is theirs: and if they cannot make a better thing of Higher Education in India, then no one can. Similarly we carry the expert into the *mofussil*. If we are to improve the affiliated institutions, we must first prescribe, as we have done, sound and definite conditions of affiliation, and then we must send round sympathetic inspecting officers to detect local shortcomings, to offer advice, and to see that the new conditions are observed. Simultaneously, if sustained efforts are made, as we are making them, to improve the quality of the teachers, and give them opportunities when on furlough of studying other systems; and if at the other end of the scale we provide for proper entertainment of the boys in well managed hostels or

boarding houses, then it seems to me that we have created both the constitutional and the academic machinery by which reform can be pursued, and that, if it be not accomplished, it must be for some reason which we have failed to discern. Anyhow I can see nothing in the objects or processes that I have described to which the most sensitive or critical of Indian intelligences need object; and the most hopeful guarantee of success is to be found, in my view, in the fact that the best and most experienced Indian authorities are entirely on our side.

Personally therefore I regard our University legislation and the reform that will spring from it as a decree of emancipation. It is the setting free for the service of Education, by placing them in authoritative control over Education, of the best intellects and agencies that can be enlisted in the task, and it is the casting off and throwing away of the miserable gyves and manacles that had been fastened upon the limbs of the youth of India, stunting their growth, crippling their faculties, and tying them down. In my view we are entitled to the hearty co-operation of all patriotic Indians in the task, for it is their people that we are working for and their future that we are trying to safeguard and enlarge. Already I think that this is very widely recognized. The old cries have to a large extent died away, and, among the valedictory messages and tributes which I have received in such numbers from native sources during the past few weeks, have been many which placed in the forefront the services which I am generously credited with having rendered to the cause of Indian Education. One of the most gratifying features in this Renascence in the history of Indian Education, as I hope it may in time deserve to be called, has been the stimulus that has been given to private liberality, showing that Indian Princes and noblemen are keenly alive to the needs of the people, and are in cordial sympathy with the movement that we have striven to inaugurate. The Raja of Nabha

called upon the Sikh community to rouse themselves and put the Khalsa College at Amritsar on a proper footing for the education of their sons, and they responded with contributions of 20 lakhs. In Bengal there have been handsome gifts for the proposed new College at Ranchi. The Aligarh Trustees continue to improve their magnificent College, and last year, I believe, achieved a record subscription list in their Conference at Lucknow. In the United Provinces, the enthusiasm of Sir J. LaTouche has kindled a corresponding zeal in others. The College at Bareilly is to be shifted from a corner of the High School buildings to a new building on a fine site given by the Nawab of Rampur. When I was at Lucknow in the spring I saw the site of the new residential College in the Badshah Bagh to which the Maharaja of Balrampur has given a donation of 3 lakhs. Government has not been behindhand in similar liberality; and apart from the 25 lakhs which we promised and are giving to assist the Universities in the work of reconstruction, we have assisted the purchase of sites for University Buildings in many places, and are prepared to help in other ways. It is a truism in Higher Education as elsewhere that the first condition of progress is money, and this is being provided both by Government and by private effort, in no stinted measure.

I might detain you, Gentlemen, much longer by discussing the various measures that we have taken with regard to other branches of Education in India, for it is to be confessed that the aspirations which I set before myself and before the Simla Conference were not confined to the sphere of Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education alone, but embraced the whole field of educational reform. There is no corner of it where we have not laboured and are not labouring. We have not in our zeal for Indian Education forgotten the cause of European and Eurasian Education in this country. We have revised the Code, we have made a most careful examination of the so-called Hill Schools and are

re-establishing the best among them on an assured basis, we are giving handsome grants-in-aid and scholarships, we are appointing separate inspectors for these institutions, and are starting a special Training College for teachers.

Then there is a class of Education which deserves and has attracted our particular attention, *viz.*, that which is intended to qualify its recipients for the professional occupations of Indian life. Here our Agricultural College at Pusa, which is intended to be the parent of similar institutions in every other province, each equipped with a skilled staff and adequate funds, has been specially devised to provide at the same time a thorough training in all branches of agricultural science and practical instruction in estate management and farm work. These institutions will, I hope, turn out a body of young men who will spread themselves throughout India, carrying into the management of states and estates, into private enterprise and into Government employ, the trained faculties with which their college courses will have supplied them. Agriculture in India is the first and capital interest of this huge continent, and agriculture, like every other money-earning interest, must rest upon Education.

Neither have we forgotten Female Education, conscious that man is to a large extent what woman makes him, and that an educated mother means educated children. Since the Simla Conference Bengal has already doubled the number of girls under instruction. The female inspecting staff has been overhauled in most provinces and some ladies possessing high qualifications have been sent out from England. Good model girls' schools and good training schools for the female teachers are a desideratum everywhere. It will take a long time to make substantial progress. But the forward movement has begun.

There remains the subject of Technical Education, which has occupied an immense amount of our attention both at the Simla Conference and ever since. We have had Commissions, and reports, and enquiries. We have addressed

Address to Educational Conference.

Local Governments and studied their replies. But we are only slowly evolving the principles under which Technical Instruction can be advantageously pursued in a country where the social and industrial conditions are what they are in India. Whether we look at the upper or at the lower end of the scale, this difficulty is equally apparent. People wonder why Mr. Tata's Institute of Science comes so slowly into being, and in a country where it is the custom to attribute anything that goes wrong to the Government, all sorts of charges have been brought against us of apathy or indifference or obstruction. No one would more readily acknowledge than Mr. Tata himself that so far from discouragement or opposition, he has met with nothing at the hands of Government but sympathy and support. But Mr. Tata wisely wants not merely to start the magnificent conception of his father, but to make it practical and to ensure its success, and I can assure you that the rival views that prevail as to the best method of accommodating this great idea to the necessities of India are extraordinary. We have experienced similar difficulties in our own smaller undertakings. As is generally known, we have instituted a number of technical scholarships of £150 each for Indian students in Europe and America; but, strange as it may seem, it has not invariably been easy at first to find the candidates qualified to fill them. However, we now have a number of Indian scholars from Bengal who are studying mining at Birmingham: and our latest step was to grant three scholarships for textile industries in Bombay. Other attempts will follow, and in a short time there will in my view be no lack either of candidates or subjects. Similarly with Industrial Schools, which we have been anxious to start on a large scale for the practical encouragement of local industries, there is the widest diversity of opinion as to the principles and the type. For it must be remembered that although India is a country with strong traditions of industrial skill and excellence, with clever artisans, and with an

extant machinery of trade-guilds and apprentices, these are constituted upon a caste basis which does not readily admit of expansion, while the industries themselves are as a rule localised and small, rendering co-ordination difficult. We are, however, about to make an experiment on a large scale in Bombay and Bengal, and I have every hope that upon the labours and researches of the past few years posterity will be able to build.

Upon these and many other subjects I might discourse to you at length. But you are better acquainted with them than I am, and I have addressed myself to-day not so much to details as to the principles that have underlain the great movement of educational activity upon which we have together been engaged. To you and to your successors I must now commit the task. It is a work which may well engage your best faculties and be the proud ambition of a life-time. On the stage where you are employed there is infinite scope for administrative energy, and, what is better, for personal influence: while in the background of all your labours, stands the eternal mystery of the East, with its calm and immutable traditions, but its eager and passionate eyes. What the future of Indian Education may be neither you nor I can tell. It is the future of the Indian race, in itself the most hazardous though absorbing of speculations. As I dream of what Education in India is to be or become, I recall the poet's lines:

> "Where lies the land to which the ship would go?
> Far far ahead is all her seamen know.
> And where the land she travels from? Away
> Far far behind is all that they can say."

In the little space of navigable water for which we are responsible between the mysterious past and the still more mysterious future, our duty has been to revise a chart that was obsolete and dangerous, to lay a new course for the vessel, and to set her helm upon the right tack.

FAREWELL DINNER AT THE UNITED SERVICE CLUB, SIMLA.

[On the 30th September 1905, the members of the United Service Club, Simla, entertained His Excellency the Viceroy at a farewell dinner. The audience comprised the largest and most representative collection of Civil and Military Officers which had ever gathered together in the Club, and the reception accorded to His Excellency was marked by the utmost enthusiasm. After dinner the Hon'ble Mr. Hewett, President of the Club, proposed the Viceroy's health in the following terms :— 30th Sept. 1905.

"*Your Excellency and Gentlemen,*—Ever since this building was renovated in the time of Lord Dufferin, it has been the privilege of the members of the United Service Club to welcome within their Club-house and to bid God-speed to each Viceroy within a short period of his retirement from his high office. It is almost exactly twelve years since Sir Arthur Fanshawe asked the members of the Club to honour the toast of Lord Lansdowne's health, and five years later he undertook the same office on the occasion of the dinner to Lord Elgin. He was able to speak of both of those Viceroys as being among the very few who had served for the full term of five years. We meet to-night on an even more memorable occasion. It is my privilege to propose the health of a Viceroy whom the Sovereign has honoured by an extension of the usual term of office and who arrived in India nearly seven years ago. We have to go back to that great man who was the last of the line of Governors-General who were not Viceroys before we find a head of the Government who has given so much of his life to India.

"Gentlemen, this is not the occasion, nor (were the occasion suitable) should I be the proper person, to attempt a review of even the principal acts of His Excellency's administration in India. This much I may be allowed to say, that we all realise that no question of any interest has escaped his scrutiny, that he has made himself familiar with every detail of the work of Government in the country, and that he has by his strenuous influence and personality quickened the energies of every branch of the administration. He has given the best of his life and the best of his health and strength to the service of this country. We all learned from the speech which he recently made regarding Education that the failure of his health which we all deplore resulted from the excessive work involved in presiding over the Education Conference of 1901. Having been behind the scenes at the time I can assert without fear of contradiction that the work which he then undertook was too much for any man, and that I have met no one in the country but Lord Curzon who would have attempted it. We all pray that

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

with rest and a change to England his health may be completely restored to him, and we trust that with the unexampled knowledge which he has gained during his experience as Viceroy of the system of administration in India and of the wants of the country, he may be able to inspire a more intelligent interest in this great dependency of the British Empire than has hitherto existed among those engaged in public life in England.

"In bidding Lord Lansdowne farewell, Sir Arthur Fanshawe assured him of the confident hopes of his audience that he would on his return to England take a prominent part in guiding the counsels of the British Empire. How splendidly those hopes have been fulfilled we all know, and it is only a day or two since we learned of the details of his greatest achievement, namely, the arrangement of the Anglo-Japanese treaty. We all look forward with equal confidence to our guest of this evening returning to England to resume his place in the Government of Greater Britain, and trust that he will enjoy as high a place in the regard and admiration of his countrymen as is now held by his distinguished predecessor.

"Gentlemen, the life of the Viceroy is one of splendid isolation. He can make no friends; he can share no intimacies: in the troubles and anxieties which necessarily at times accumulate around him he must turn for support to the members of his own family. We all know what a splendid comrade in arms Lady Curzon has been to our Viceroy. It is barely a year since she was hovering between life and death, and when every telegram from England was opened with apprehension we all of us can remember the anxiety that was felt at the return of the Viceroy to assume his second term of office by himself, and we can recall the relief with which we learnt that by a supreme effort Lady Curzon was coming back long before any of us had hoped it possible to stand by his side. It is our earnest hope that the Viceroy's health may be restored now as Lady Curzon's has been restored, and we wish long life, health and prosperity to them and to their children.

"Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of His Excellency Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India."

The toast having been drunk amidst prolonged and enthusiastic cheering, His Excellency rose and made the following reply:—]

Mr. Hewett, Your Honour, and Gentlemen,—I desire to thank the members of this Club for the distinguished compliment that they have paid to me in inviting me to be their guest at this dinner to-night, and also for the large and, as I believe, unexampled numbers that have

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

collected within this room to do me honour. (*Applause.*) I have listened with much gratitude, though not without a good deal of compunction, to the kind remarks that have fallen from the lips of the Chairman, Mr. Hewett. I feel it is my good fortune that the task of proposing my health on this parting occasion should have fallen to his hands. (*Applause.*) For in one capacity or another Mr. Hewett has been one of my foremost colleagues during the last seven years. (*Hear, hear.*) When I came out to India as Viceroy he was Home Secretary, one of the most important posts in our administration. Then he became head of a Local Government, proceeding to the Central Provinces, that well-known threshold to higher office. Finally, when it became necessary to appoint the new Member for Commerce and Industry, he was the one Civilian pre-eminently well qualified for the post. (*Applause, and hear, hear.*) Thus he has seen many sides of the work of Government during recent years, and if he can speak, as he has done, of that which has been attempted and in part accomplished, the compliment is all the greater because of the man who utters it. There was one remark in Mr. Hewett's speech by which I could not fail to be personally touched, and that was the sentence in which he spoke of Lady Curzon as my comrade. (*Applause.*) It is true that, in the arduous and, as he remarked, isolated position which the Viceroy of India is compelled to occupy, he is sustained by the solace of those who are nearest and dearest to him. In this way my work has been lightened by the influences that have always been at my side. The part which India fills in the memory and affections of Lady Curzon is not inferior to that which she occupies in my own; and when we have left this country my heart will not alone be left behind, but a considerable portion of hers will be here also. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, I do not stand here to-night to discuss controversial topics. They will work out to their appointed issue by processes which we cannot discern—or at any rate

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

cannot at present discern. (*Laughter.*) History will write its verdict upon them with unerring pen (*loud cheers*), and we need not to-night anticipate the sentence. I stand here rather as one who has laboured and wrought amongst you to the best of his ability through these long and stirring years, and who rises for the last time to address the comrades who have shared his toil, and, if he has anywhere conquered, have enabled him to conquer. (*Cheers.*) I cannot approach such a task without emotion, and I cannot feel sure of being able to discharge it with credit.

Mr. Hewett, as I have said, referred to the position of peculiar isolation in which the Viceroy stands. I prefer rather in what I have to say to-night to turn my attention to those aspects of his work which bring him into contact with others. The relation of the Viceroy to the services in India is one of a peculiar and unexampled description. He is over them, but not of them. He is not attached to them, as a party politician in England is to his party, by the ties of long fellow service in a common cause. His link with them is one of official rank, not of personal identity, and it is limited to a few years at the most, instead of being spread over a life-time. He is almost invariably, from the nature of the case, a stranger brought out from England, and placed for a short time in supreme charge. I have always thought it a remarkable thing in these circumstances, and a proof of the loyalty and devotion to duty which is the instinct of Englishmen—that the Indian services should extend to the Viceroy the fidelity and the support which they do. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

In my own case my feeling for the Indian services was formed and was stated many years before I came to this country as Viceroy, and I cannot be suspected therefore of any afterthought in declaring it now. When I brought out my book about Persia more than 13 years ago—having written it in the main in the interests of Indian defence—I dedicated it to the Civil and Military services in India, and on the title

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

page I spoke about them in language which represented my profound conviction then and represents it still. (*Cheers.*) You may imagine, therefore, with what pride I found myself placed at the head of these services seven years ago, and given the opportunity of co-operating for great ends with such strenuous and expert allies. It will always, I think, remain the greatest recollection of my public life that for this not inconsiderable period I was permitted to preside over the most efficient and the most high-minded public service which I believe to exist in the world. (*Loud applause.*)

Gentlemen, our official generations in India move so quickly, particularly in the higher ranks, that a Viceroy who has been here for seven years ends by finding himself the doyen of the official hierarchy, and feels that he is old almost before he has ceased to be young. (*Laughter.*) Such has been my own experience. Though the Viceroy has only 6 colleagues in his Cabinet or Council, lately raised to 7, the normal duration of whose office is 5 years, I have served with no fewer than 20 Councillors in my time. In the 10 Local Governments, I have co-operated with nearly 30 Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners. Perhaps, therefore, I may claim an exceptional right to speak. It does indeed seem to me a remarkable thing that work pursued under the conditions of pressure which have characterised our recent activities, and with responsible agents so varied, so important, and so numerous, should have been carried on with so much smoothness and good feeling, and, if I may speak for the treatment which I have personally received, with such generous consideration and warmth of personal regard. (*Applause.*) I venture to assert, not as a boast or as a compliment, but as a fact, that there has never been a time when the relations between the Supreme Government and the heads of the Local Governments have been so free from friction or so harmonious. (*Cheers.*) In old volumes of our Proceedings, which it has

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

been my duty to study at midnight hours, I have sometimes come across peppery letters or indignant remonstrances, and have seen the spectacle of infuriated proconsuls strutting up and down the stage. (*Laughter.*) We now live, not in the Iron or Stone age, when implements of this description were at any rate figuratively in constant use (*laughter*), but in the age of Milk and Honey (*laughter*), when we all sit down together to devour the grapes of Eshcol, by which I mean the surpluses that are provided for us by the Finance Department. (*Laughter.*) Even that Department has ceased to be a nightmare to the good as well as a terror to the evil, and has assumed an urbanity in harmony with the spirit of the time. (*Laughter.*) No doubt these results are partially due, as I have hinted, to the more prosperous circumstances through which we have been passing, and to the greater devolution of financial responsibility upon Local Governments that we have carried out. But they also reflect a positive desire on our part to be everywhere on the best of terms with the Local Governments and their heads, and to avoid nagging interference and petty overruling: and they have everywhere been met by a loyalty and a friendly co-operation on their part which I should like to take this opportunity to acknowledge, and which have made the relations between the Viceroy and the Governors and the Lieutenant-Governors with whom he has served one of the most agreeable episodes of my term of office. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

I am not one of those who hold the view that Local Governments are hampered in their administration by excessive centralisation or that any great measures of devolution would produce better results. In so far as there has been centralisation in the past it has been in the main because, under the quinquennial contract system, the Local Governments had not the means with which to extend themselves, and there cannot be much autonomy where there are not financial resources. Now that we have substituted permanent

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

agreements for the terminable financial agreements and have placed the Local Governments in funds, they can proceed with internal development with as much freedom as can be desired. I am not in favour of removing altogether or even of slackening the central control: for I believe that with due allowance for the astonishing diversity of local conditions, it is essential that there should be certain uniform principles running through our entire administration (*hear, hear*), and that nothing could be worse either for India or for British dominion in India than that the country should be split up into a number of separate and rival units, very much like the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Europe, where the independent factors are only held together by the nexus of a single Crown. (*Cheers.*) The various enquiries that have been conducted into administration in my time, notably into Education, Famine, Irrigation, and Police, have shown how easy it is for central principles to be forgotten and for indifference at head-quarters to breed apathy and want of system lower down. I believe therefore in a strong Government of India gathering into its own hand and controlling all the reins. (*Cheers.*) But I would ride the Local Governments on the snaffle, and not on the curb (*hear, hear, and laughter*); and I would do all in our power to consult their feelings, to enhance their dignity, and to stimulate their sense of responsibility and power. (*Hear, hear.*) The head of a Local Administration in India, and I speak in the presence of one to-night, possesses great initiative and an authority which is scarcely understood out of India. Sometimes in the past these prerogatives have been used to develope dissension, and the Supreme Government has, as I am told, scarcely been on speaking terms with some of its principal lieutenants. (*Laughter.*) I have been lucky in escaping all such experiences; and every Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Commissioner whom I have known has exerted himself with equal loyalty to conform to the general policy rather than to pursue his own. (*Cheers.*)

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

This, however, is rather a digression into which I have wandered, and I must get back to my subject at the point at which I left it. Even more than with the heads of Local Governments have I necessarily been brought into contact with my own colleagues in the Government of India. I speak primarily of the Members of Council and secondarily of the Secretaries to Government. Never let it be forgotten that the Government of India is governed not by an individual but by a Committee. No important act can be taken without the assent of a majority of that Committee. In practice this cuts both ways. It is the tendency in India as elsewhere, but much more in India than anywhere else that I have known, to identify the acts of Government with the head of the administration. The Viceroy is constantly spoken of as though he and he alone were the Government. This of course is unjust to his colleagues, who are equally responsible with himself, and very often deserve the credit which he unfairly obtains. On the other hand, it is sometimes unfair to him (*laughter*); for he may have to bear the entire responsibility for administrative acts or policies which were participated in and perhaps originated by them. In these rather difficult circumstances, which perhaps work out on the whole in a fair equation, it is a consolation to me to reflect—and this is the only Cabinet secret that I am going to divulge—that during my seven years of office, there has not been a single important question, whether of internal or external politics, in which the Government of India have not been absolutely unanimous, unless you except the last of all, where the unanimity was scarcely broken. (*Hear, hear, and prolonged applause.*) I believe this to be unexampled in the history of Indian administration. In the previous records of Indian Government I have often come across sparring matches between the illustrious combatants, and contentious Minutes used to be fired off like grape shot at the head of the Secretary of State. I can only recall three occasions on which a Minute dissenting from the

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

decision of the majority of the Council has been sent home in the whole of my time. I venture to think that with a Council representing so many different interests and points of view, this indicates a very remarkable and gratifying unity. (*Hear, hear.*) Certainly it has not been purchased by any sacrifice of independent judgment. The Viceroy has no more weight in his Council than any individual member of it. What it does show is that the Government of India, in approaching the work of reconstruction and reform with which we have charged ourselves, has been inspired by a single spirit and has pursued a common aim. (*Cheers.*) I recall with pride that in every considerable undertaking we have been an absolutely united body, united not merely in identity of opinion but in a common enthusiasm; and on this parting occasion it may be permissible for me to say, both of the distinguished civilians and the eminent soldiers with whom it has been my privilege to serve, that I thank them with a gratitude which it would be impossible to exaggerate for a co-operation that has converted the years of toil into years of honourable pleasure, and that will always remain one of the happiest recollections of my life. (*Loud cheers.*)

Then I turn to the Secretaries to Government, those faithful and monumental workers who dig in the mounds of the past and excavate the wisdom of our ancestors (*laughter*), who prepare our cases for us and write our official letters and despatches, and generally keep us all from going wrong. (*Laughter.*) I have served with many Secretaries to Government in my time, and I do not believe that in any administration in the world is the standard of trained intelligence or devotion to duty in the rank and class of service which they represent so uniformly high. (*Cheers.*) My consolation in thinking of them is that a better reward than my poor thanks lies before them. As they gradually blossom into Chief Commissioners and Lieutenant-Governors and Members of Council they will

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

earn the fuller recognition to which they are entitled, and in my retirement I shall for years to come have the pleasure of seeing the higher posts of Indian administration filled by men with whom I have been privileged to work, and of whose capacity for the most responsible office I have had such abundant opportunity to convince myself. (*Cheers.*) Some paper at home said the other day that I had not founded a school. There was no need to do that, for it was here already. But I have assisted to train one, and if the tests have sometimes been rather exacting, I may perhaps say in self-defence that I have never imposed upon others a burden which I was not willing to accept myself. (*Hear, hear, and continued applause.*)

What I have said of Members and Secretaries is not less true of the officers who have served under them in the Departments of Government. When I came to Simla I observed that I regarded this place as the workshop of the administration, and such indeed during the last few years I believe that it has truly been. It was Burke who remarked in one of his speeches that there is one sight that is never seen in India, and that is the grey head of an Englishman. As I look about me (*laughter*) I begin to think that we must live in a rather different and degenerate age, and I am not sure that a certain guilty consciousness does not steal over my mind. I must confess that I have heard it whispered that Simla has acquired in recent times an unenviable reputation for staidness and sobriety (*laughter*), and I believe that invidious epithets have even been applied to the hospitable and once light-hearted institution in which I am now privileged to be entertained. (*Loud laughter and applause.*) Gentlemen, must I offer an apology for this alleged falling off from the standards of the past? No, I do nothing of the sort. I do not allow for a moment that we have pursued duty at the cost of the amenities of life. I most certainly have not done so. We have all had our hours of gaiety and ease at Simla, and very pleasant the

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

have been. But we have certainly set work before play; we have spent more time in school than out of it; and for my own part I believe that an incalculable benefit has been conferred upon the entire service by the example of those public servants who used to be accused of idling away their time in the hills, but who now make up for the refreshing altitude at which they labour by the arduous and unremitting character of the labour itself. (*Cheers.*) We have finally killed the fallacy, perhaps never true at all and certainly least of all true now, that the summer capital of Government is a place where it is all summer and not much government: and if a Royal Commission were sent round to investigate the factories of the Empire, I should await with perfect equanimity the place that Simla would occupy in its report. (*Loud applause.*)

Gentlemen, there is one error against which I think that we ought very particularly to be on our guard. I should not like any of us, because we happen to be at the headquarters of Government, to delude ourselves into thinking that we are the only people or even the principal people who run the Indian machine. (*Hear, hear.*) It would be quite untrue. India may be governed from Simla or Calcutta; but it is administered from the plains. (*Cheers.*) We may issue the orders and correct the mistakes. But the rank and file of the Army are elsewhere, and if we make the plans of battle, they fight them. (*Hear, hear.*) Let me not forfeit this opportunity of expressing my feelings towards the entire Civil Service of India for the loyal co-operation that I have received from them. (*Cheers.*) At the beginning I believe that they thought me rather a disturbing element in the economy of Indian official existence. But when they saw that my interests were their interests and theirs mine,—because there is no one who is so much benefited by increased efficiency in administration as the administrator himself—they gave me every assistance in their power: and no one is more sincerely conscious than

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

myself that if success has anywhere been obtained it has not been in the Secretariat alone but in the District Office, in the Court, and I would even add in the fields. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, what is the secret of success in the Indian services, civil and military alike? It lies, not in systems or rules, not even exclusively in training or education. It consists in the man. If revenue assessments are to be fair and equitable to the people, it will not be because of the Resolutions which the Government of India have issued to regulate them, but because a sympathetic Settlement Officer has been sent to carry them out. (*Applause.*) If one division or district is discontented and another tranquil, it will usually be because one has the wrong man at the head and the other the right one. If one young chief degenerates into extravagance or dissipation, while another developes into a statesman and a ruler of men, it will probably be found that the former has had a weak political officer or an incompetent tutor, while the other has been in strong and capable hands. If one regiment is efficient, while another is soft or has a bad record, look to the Commanding Officer, and you will commonly find the clue. Therefore I say in India, as elsewhere, but most of all in India,—Give me the man, the best that England can produce, the best that India can train. To every head of an Indian Administration, to every chief of an office, I would say :—Pick out the best men—run them to the front —give them their chance. That is the whole secret of administration. (*Loud cheers.*) I have said a hundred times, and I say it again, that there is no service in the world where ability and character—and character quite as much as ability—are more sure of their reward than the Indian service. Nothing can keep them down: for they are the pivot and fulcrum of our rule. So long as we can continue to send to this country the pick of the youth of our own, so long as they are inspired by high standards of life and conduct, so long as each officer, civil or military, regards

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

himself in his own sphere as the local custodian of British honour and the local representative of the British name, we are safe and India is safe also. (*Loud applause.*) For the good man makes other men good, the efficient officer spreads efficiency about him, and the sympathetic officer diffuses an atmosphere of loyalty and contentment. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, perhaps I may be allowed to interpolate a word in this place about the particular branch of the service of which I have been more especially the head—I allude to the Political Department. The Viceroy, as taking the Foreign Office under his personal charge, has a greater responsibility for the officers of that Department than of any other. A good Political is a type of officer difficult to train. Indeed training by itself will never produce him. For there are required in addition qualities of tact and flexibility, of moral fibre and gentlemanly bearing, which are an instinct rather than an acquisition. The public at large hardly realises what the Political may be called upon to do. At one moment he may be grinding in the Foreign Office, at another he may be required to stiffen the administration of a backward Native State, at a third he may be presiding over a *jirga* of unruly tribesmen on the frontier, at a fourth he may be demarcating a boundary amid the wilds of Tibet or the sands of Seistan. (*Cheers.*) There is no more varied or responsible service in the world than the Political Department of the Government of India; and right well have I been served in it, from the mature and experienced officer who handles a Native Chief with velvet glove, to the young military Political who packs up his trunk at a moment's notice and goes off to Arabia or Kurdistan. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) I commend the Political Department of the Government of India to all who like to know the splendid and varied work of which Englishmen are capable: and I hope that the time may never arise when it will cease to draw to itself the best

abilities and the finest characters that the services in India can produce. (*Loud applause.*)

Gentlemen, I have been speaking so far of the agents with whom I have been permitted to work. Let me add, if I may, a few words about the work itself. If I were asked to sum it up in a single word, I would say "Efficiency." That has been our gospel, the key-note of our administration. I remember once reading in a native newspaper which was attacking me very bitterly the sentence—"As for Lord Curzon, he cares for nothing but efficiency." (*Laughter.*) Exactly, Gentlemen, but I hardly think that when I am gone this is an epitaph of which I need feel greatly ashamed. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) There were three respects in which a short experience taught me that a higher level of efficiency under our administration was demanded. The first was in the despatch of business. Our methods were very dignified, our procedure very elaborate and highly organised, but the pace was apt to be the reverse of speedy. I remember in my first year settling a case that had been pursuing the even tenour of its way without, as far as I could ascertain, exciting the surprise or ruffling the temper of an individual, for 61 years. (*Continued laughter.*) I drove my pen like a stiletto into its bosom. I buried it with exultation, and I almost danced upon the grave. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, I really think that not merely the new rules that we have adopted, but the new principles that are at work, have done a good deal to assist the despatch of business: and I hope that there may not be any backsliding or relapse in the future. (*Cheers.*) It was one of John Lawrence's sayings that procrastination is the thief of efficiency as well as of time: and though I would not say that an administration is good in proportion to its pace, I would certainly say that it cannot be good if it is habitually and needlessly slow. (*Applause.*)

Our second object was the overhauling of our existing

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

machinery, which had got rusty and had run down. There is scarcely a department of the Government or a branch of the service which we have not during the last few years explored from top to bottom, improving the conditions of service where they were obsolete or inadequate, formulating a definite programme of policy or action, and endeavouring to raise the standard and the tone. (*Cheers.*) And, thirdly, we had to provide new machinery to enable India to grapple with new needs. Perhaps there is nothing which the public has shown so general an inability to understand as the fact that a new world of industry and enterprise and social and economic advance is dawning upon India. New continents and islands leap above the horizon as they did before the navigators of the Elizabethan age. But if I am right, if agriculture and irrigation and commerce and industry have great and unknown futures before them, then Government, which in this country is nearly everything, must be ready with the appliances to enable it to shape and to direct these new forms of expansion. You cannot administer India according to modern standards, but on the old lines. (*Applause.*) Some people talk as though, when we create new departments and posts, we are merely adding to the burden of Government. No, we are doing nothing of the sort. The burden of Government is being added to by tendencies and forces outside of ourselves which we are powerless to resist, but not powerless to control. We are merely providing the mechanism to cope with it. Of course we must not be blind to the consideration that progress is not a mere matter of machinery alone—and that life and the organisation of life are very different things. There is always a danger of converting an efficient staff into a bureaucracy, and, while perfecting the instruments, of ignoring the free play of natural forces. Against that tendency I would implore all those who are engaged in work in India to be peculiarly on their guard. For it may be said of reforms everywhere, and here perhaps most of all, that that

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

which is contrary to nature is doomed to perish, and that which is organic will alone survive. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, I am afraid that I am becoming too philosophic for the dinner table, and I will revert to the concrete. Of the actual schemes that we have undertaken with the objects that I have attempted to describe, I will say nothing here. You know them as well as I do. You are the joint authors of many of them. Time alone will show whether they have been the offspring of a premature and feverish energy, or whether they have taken root and will endure. My colleagues and I desire no other or fairer test. In some cases it is already in operation, sifting the good from the bad, and giving glimpses of the possible verdict of the future. I will only take one instance, because it is familiar to you all, and because there may be officers here present who were originally doubtful about the wisdom or propriety of the change. I speak of the creation of the North-West Frontier Province, which was carved out of the Punjab more than four years ago. (*Cheers.*) You will all remember the outcries of the prophets of evil. It was going to inflict an irreparable wound upon the prestige of the Punjab Government. It was to overwhelm the Foreign Department with tiresome work. It was to encourage ambitious officers to gasconade upon the frontier. It was the symbol of a forward and Jingo policy, and would speedily plunge us in another Tirah campaign. We do not hear so much of these prophecies now. I venture to assert that there is not an officer here present, from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab downwards, who would go back upon the decision of 1901. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) It has given peace and contentment upon the border, and has substituted the prompt despatch of frontier cases for endless perambulations and delays. (*Cheers.*) But the creation of the Frontier Province did not stand by itself. It was merely one symptom of a Frontier policy which we have been pursuing quietly but firmly for seven years. I will

Farewell dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.

utter no prophecy to-night and will indulge in no boast. I am content with the simple facts that for seven years we have not had a single frontier expedition, the only seven years of which this can be said since the frontier passed into British hands; and that, whereas in the five years, 1894—1899, the Indian tax-payer had to find 4½ million pounds sterling for frontier warfare, the total cost of military operations on the entire North-West Frontier in the last seven years has only been £248,000, and that was for the semi-pacific operation of the Mahsud blockade. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

And now, Gentlemen, I must not detain you further. This is one of the last speeches that I shall be called upon to make in India, and I have made it through you who are present here to-night to the services which I have captained and which I have been privileged to lead. (*Cheers.*) We have worked together in good report and in evil report. India is in some respects a hard task-master. She takes her toll of health and spirits and endurance and strength. A man's love for the country is apt sometimes to be soured by calumny, his passion for work to be checked by the many obstacles to be encountered, his conception of duty to be chilled by disappointment or delay. Such have sometimes been my own feelings. Such, I daresay, have often been the feelings of those whom I am addressing. But this is only an ephemeral depression. When it comes upon us let us cast it off, for it is not the real sentiment of Indian service. As the time comes for us to go, we obtain a clearer perspective. It is like a sunset in the hills after the rains. The valleys are wrapped in sombre shadows, but the hill-tops stand out sharp and clear. (*Cheers*).

We look back upon our Indian career, be it long, as it has been or will be in the case of many who are here to-night, or relatively short as in mine, and we feel that we can never have such a life again, so crowded with opportunity, so instinct with duty, so touched with romance. We forget

the rebuffs and the mortification; we are indifferent to the slander and the pain. Perhaps if we forget these, others will equally forget our shortcomings and mistakes. We remember only the noble cause for which we have worked together, the principles of truth and justice and righteousness for which we have contended, and the good, be it ever so little, that we have done. India becomes the lodestar of our memories as she has hitherto been of our duty. For us she can never again be the "Land of Regrets." (*Prolonged cheering, again and again renewed.*)

FAREWELL BALL AT SIMLA.

9th Oct. 1905. [On the 9th October 1905 the residents at Simla entertained His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Curzon at a Farewell Ball at the Town Hall. After Supper Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, proposed the health of Their Excellencies in the following terms:—

"*Your Excellencies, Ladies, and Gentlemen,*—I am not going to inflict a long speech upon you. But I propose to say a few words, before discharging the pleasant duty which has been laid upon me, of asking you to drink the health of our guests of this evening.

"We are gathered together to-night to bid farewell—not so much to the Viceroy and his Consort, as to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon: to express to them our admiration and regard for them, and our regret at parting from them, and to wish them good fortune in the future. (*Applause.*)

"This is a purely social gathering, and I shall not attempt to trace Lord Curzon's career as Viceroy, and shall be careful to eschew high politics and to avoid all disputatious matters. But in the case of a position so exalted as that of Viceroy of India, it is impossible wholly to separate the man from the office; and there are certain points about which there will be no two opinions in this room. We shall all agree that in the long list of Governors-General, the name of Lord Curzon will stand conspicuous, as one of the two or three emphatically 'big' men whom England has sent from time to time to govern India. (*Cheers.*) We shall all agree that he has voluntarily taken upon his shoulders a burden of work such as probably no Viceroy has ever undertaken before, and that he has borne it strenuously and manfully, alike in sickness and in health (*cheers*), never sparing himself for one

Farewell Ball at Simla.

moment, never considering his own ease and comfort, often not considering his own health as much as his friends could wish. (*Applause.*) We shall all agree that in all that he has done since he first set foot in India, he has been animated by a single-minded and whole-hearted desire to do what was best for the country and the people over whose destinies he was called upon to preside, and by a hatred of imperfection, a hatred of injustice, a hatred of wrong-doing. (*Loud cheers.*)

"These are qualities of the Viceroy, which all men know. But those among us who, like myself, have been privileged to work in close personal relations with him, know more than this. We know the more intimate qualities of the *man*. We know how stimulating and invigorating a Chief he is to work under. We know his wonderful personal magnetism; his quick response to sympathy and comprehension; his generous appreciation of work well done. (*Cheers.*) We know how fully his confidence is given when it has once been won; how ready he is to receive and consider criticism of his opinions; and though, like all strong men, he is not easy to convince, how fully and frankly, when he *is* convinced, he accepts and acts upon the conviction. (*Cheers.*) And we have all of us had reason to be grateful to him for many acts of courtesy and consideration—the right word spoken or the right thing done, at the right time and in the right place: small things in themselves, perhaps, yet things which are pleasant to the recipients, and things which hard-worked men in high places are not often so mindful of as Lord Curzon has always been. (*Applause.*)

"But the Viceroy is not only the head of the Government: he is also the leader of society; and in India especially, with our small community, compacted by isolation and by ties of race, social matters loom larger than elsewhere. Lord Curzon has displayed the same stimulating and inspiring qualities in the one capacity as in the other. His strenuous personality is not a thing which can be laid aside as he passes from the study to the drawing room; and in the latter, as much as in the former, Lord Curzon has always been—Lord Curzon. (*Cheers.*) I think we have all of us felt that when the flag at Viceregal Lodge was down, there was less electricity, less ozone in the social, as well as in the official, atmosphere. (*Laughter.*) Early in the present season, a kind friend got up a concert for the benefit of the sufferers from the Dharmsala Earthquake. His Excellency was there; and I, who knew that he had been ill, congratulated him upon being able to come. 'Able!' said he: 'I would have got out of bed to come to this concert.' (*Loud cheers.*) That is the spirit in which Lord Curzon has always regarded his duties to society; and many of us know how often he has risen literally from a couch of pain, rather than disappoint us when his presence was expected. (*Cheers.*)

Farewell Ball at Simla.

"As for Her Excellency, with her queenly and gracious bearing, it has been a privilege and a delight simply to watch her moving amongst us. Hers is one of those beautiful presences which are among the gods' best gifts to men. (*Loud cheers.*) But she has been much more than a mere presence. Hers has been the woman's rôle; and right well has she fulfilled it. Always upon the watch for opportunities of doing good, no tale of distress has ever fallen upon a deaf ear, no work of charity has ever lacked her active sympathy and her generous support. (*Applause.*) She, too, has been conspicuous for gracious acts of consideration which have endeared her to so many of us; for that intuitive and sympathetic tact which is so essentially a woman's attribute. And, if I may venture upon ground, the privacy of which renders it in a manner sacred, she, as wife and mother, is the central figure of a family circle which has been to us a standing example of all that is best and most admirable in our English home life. (*Loud applause.*)

"Of the splendid hospitality which Their Excellencies have dispensed so generously, both here and elsewhere, I need say but little, for have we not all enjoyed it? In that, as in other things, they have been most truly regal. (*Cheers.*)

"I suppose that a certain aloofness is inseparable from a dwelling on a pinnacle (*laughter*); and a Viceroy and his Consort are seldom approached without a certain diffidence. But Lord and Lady Curzon are pre-eminently human. They have moved among us freely, and have shared and assisted in our pleasures and pursuits; they have made us feel that they belong to us, and we are proud in the possession; and their personalities are so vivid, that many even of those who have never met them, feel as though they knew them. The result was apparent when, just a year ago, that wonderful wave of sympathy swept over the country, and India waited with Lord Curzon at his sick wife's door. It was not only for the great servant of the State that the heart of a nation beat: it was with the man and the woman that we sympathised in that time of infinite anxiety; it was with the man and the woman that we rejoiced when the anxiety was overpast. (*Cheers.*) When Lord and Lady Curzon leave us, all of us will feel that we are losing two leaders of society who will be replaced with difficulty, and many of us will feel that we are losing two personal friends, who cannot be replaced at all. (*Loud applause.*)

"But they will not pass wholly out of our lives. Lord Curzon's light is not of the sort that can be hid under a bushel; his is not a nature which will be content to repose upon a past, however splendid. (*Cheers.*) He will return to England with that added knowledge of affairs and maturity of judgment which cannot but result from having,

Farewell Ball at Simla.

for six long years and more, confronted new conditions, and problems of unexampled magnitude; and we shall follow his future career with the keenest and most lively interest. Precisely what course that career will take, it is impossible for us to foresee. But we are sure that he will be conspicuous in the front rank, especially when fighting is to be done (*laughter*), and we hope that he may attain his heart's desire, whatever that may be. But whatever may be his future in England, his past in India is secure—

'Not Jove himself over the past hath power;
But what has been, has been, and I have had my hour.'

"His work in India is done, and awaits judgment. (*Cheers.*) And of one thing I am certain—that before a very few years are over, England will realise, as India is even now realising, that when Lord Curzon steps upon the vessel which is to bear him from her shores, this country will have lost her greatest Viceroy since Dalhousie. (*Loud cheers.*)

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I call upon you to drink the health of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon, to bid them *bon voyage*, and to wish them all happiness, good health and good fortune, and that they may long live to enjoy it. (*Loud applause.*)"

The toast having been drunk amid cheers and acclamations, the Viceroy replied:—]

Your Honour, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Sir Denzil Ibbetson commenced by saying that his speech would be short. Mine, I can assure you, will be even shorter. There are occasions when, to use a familiar phrase, the heart is too full for words, and when words seem but a feeble vehicle of the thoughts that we desire to utter. These are the occasions, I think, when all formality and officialism are swept aside, when people meet together in the intimacy of familiarity, and, if speech-making there is to be, say to each other the things that lie deep down in the heart, and express the inner emotions. (*Cheers.*)

I feel that the present is such an occasion. Simla, where we have lived so long, and worked so hard (*cheers*),—for there Sir Denzil was right—and been so happy, is giving to us its social farewell, and a page in our lives is being turned back for ever. No more balls in the Town Hall, which is always coming down but never quite does so (*laughter*), no more little plays in the bijou theatre where

Farewell Ball at Simla.

the Simla Amateur Dramatic Society vainly endeavours to conceal the genius of the professional (*loud laughter*) under the guise of the amateur, no more sports at Annandale, where cricket and football and polo and gymkhanas race each other across the miniature stage, no more week-ends at Mashobra with rides through the leafy woods, no more games of golf at Naldera, no more afternoon drives along the Mall, where a furtive breath of air is sought by constitutions enfeebled by long hours of Secretariat toil. (*Loud laughter.*) All of these will go on just the same. But they will not be for us but for others; and far away in our distant home Simla will soon float in our memories like some fairy dream.

Ladies and Gentlemen, on such an occasion what can be more pleasant or complimentary to the parting guests than that we should all enjoy ourselves together, as owing to your magnificent hospitality we are doing this evening (*applause*), and that the valedictory words should be spoken, as they have been, by the official head of local society, himself the most brilliant and helpful of colleagues (*cheers*), the most graceful of speakers (*cheers*), the most warm-hearted though modest of men. (*Cheers.*)

I derive a peculiar satisfaction from the fact that the health of Lady Curzon and myself has been proposed this evening by Sir Denzil Ibbetson; for though he said many things with which I, as well perhaps as many others, could not be expected to agree (*laughter*), and which raised so many points of possible difference that if his speech were entered upon an official file, I should have no alternative but to mark it for Council (*laughter*), and to ask a Secretary to Government to attend and explain it (*loud laughter*)—yet I would sooner that the parting words at Simla had been uttered by him than by any other speaker. (*Applause.*) For he knows better than any other could have done what has been in my heart and mind during these seven years of work, what I

Farewell Ball at Simla.

have striven for and sought to accomplish, what are the difficulties that have had to be overcome; and from no man in India have I received more sympathetic encouragement, more valuable counsel, or more loyal and generous aid. (*Loud applause.*)

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's speech has been divided into two parts. The first was devoted to Lady Curzon, and the second to myself. This suggests a very proper arrangement in reply. I will speak about her (*cheers*), and she might speak about me. (*Laughter*). But as, even in these advanced days, we have fortunately not reached the point at which official ladies in India are called upon to make speeches about their official husbands, that portion of the answer will remain for ever undelivered. (*Laughter.*)

As regards Lady Curzon, no one knows better than the Viceroy the part, not merely in private life but in public responsibilities, that is capable of being borne by the Viceroy's wife. (*Cheers.*) No Viceroy has ever had more cause to feel that woman is the better part of man than myself. (*Loud applause.*) Even the public has not been slow to appreciate this fact. (*Cheers.*) There has been nothing in Lady Curzon's work in India that has absorbed her more completely than the organisation which she started for providing nurses or *dhais* to Indian mothers, or the effort, to which she has devoted so much labour, for creating an Indian nursing service for Europeans, and which we still hope will be crowned with success. (*Cheers.*) From both these classes of the community, and indeed from every class, anything that she has done came back to her tenfold in sympathy and tenderness during her terrible illness last year (*cheers*) ; and I shall never forget the sight of Calcutta in March last, when the tens of thousands of a mighty capital poured out into the streets to welcome back to India, and I may say to life, a single woman, who they knew felt for them and whom they felt for in return. (*Loud applause.*)

Farewell Ball at Simla.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson alluded in charming terms to the hospitality of Viceregal Lodge. The doors of that place have never been opened without giving greater pleasure to the host and hostess than they can possibly have done to the guests. (*Cheers.*) In all entertainments there are two parties, the entertainers and the entertained. You have complimented the former. If justice is to be done, I should like to move a vote of thanks to the latter; for entertainments can never be happy or successful unless the guests are as keenly interested as the hosts: and I can certainly say of Simla that those who have favoured us by entering our house have been more responsible than we for any success that may have attended our efforts by their readiness to treat us not as the official host and hostess, but as personal friends. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I must not forget the part that has been played in the social side of our life by that indispensable galaxy of combined talent and charm, popularly known as the staff. (*Laughter.*) During my time in India I have had upon my staff more than 50 Officers, Civil and Military; and whether I reflect upon the tact and ability of the Private Secretaries by whom I have been served (*cheers*), the energy and popularity of my Military Secretaries (*cheers*), or the social and sporting accomplishments (*laughter*), and, may I not add, the decorative appearance (*loud laughter*) of my A.-D.-C.'s, I feel that they have all combined to invest Government House with an *éclat* which it could not otherwise have enjoyed, and that they deserve no small share of the compliment which you have offered to us to-night. (*Applause.*)

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, it only remains to bid you farewell, and to thank you for this most brilliant entertainment which you have given in our honour, and which reflects as much credit upon the skill and taste of those who have organised it, as it has caused pleasure to those for whom it is given. (*Cheers.*) In all farewells there is much

of sadness. But memories are more lasting than regrets; and in our recollections of India, this evening will always stand out sharp and clear as a joyous climax to our Simla experiences of seven long and happy years. (*Loud cheers.*)

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE CLERKS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

13th Oct. 1905.

[On Friday, the 13th October 1905, the Viceroy received a farewell address from the ministerial establishments of the Government of India at the new Secretariat buildings, Simla. Practically the whole body of clerks was present and the proceedings were marked by deep feeling and great enthusiasm. The following address was read by the Chairman of the Delegates:—

"We, the elected representatives of the ministerial services of the Government of India, venture most respectfully to approach Your Lordship, on the eve of your departure from India, with expressions of gratitude and high esteem, which are the spontaneous outpourings of the thankful hearts of hundreds of men who have had the privilege of serving in the honourable though humble capacity of ministerial servants of the State, during the tenure of Your Lordship's Viceroyalty.

"Years ago, when responding to a congratulatory address presented by your countrymen of Derbyshire on your appointment as Viceroy, Your Lordship was pleased to set up 'sympathy' as an ideal quality for a Ruler of India. We gratefully acknowledge that this sentiment has been predominant in all your dealings with subordinates in Government offices. While absorbed in the momentous problems of State policy, Your Lordship never lost an opportunity of ameliorating the condition of the very large body of public servants known by the general name of 'the Uncovenanted Service.' Their pensionary prospects have been improved in various ways, and the stringency of the leave and holiday regulations has been materially relaxed in their favour. In addition to these privileges conferred upon the service as a whole, the ministerial *employés* of the Imperial offices at Simla have been the recipients of special marks of favour at Your Lordship's hands. Amid the rejoicings that marked the accession to the throne of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, we, the humble servants of the State, were not forgotten; we were entertained by Your Lordship at a garden party with a cordiality which won our hearts. One of the

Farewell Address from the Clerks of the Government of India.

most recent incidents of your administration—the appointment of a Committee for improving the Simla Allowances—bespeaks the generosity and large-hearted sympathy which are the distinguishing traits of Your Lordship's character.

"In thus approaching Your Lordship we are aware that we are taking a course which is unprecedented in the annals of our service; but we cannot allow Your Lordship to leave the country without recording these expressions of gratefulness; and we earnestly desire Your Lordship to accept this act of ours in token thereof.

"In conclusion, we beg to express our confidence that Your Lordship has yet before you a still more distinguished career and that the great Empire of Britain will reap yet greater glory from the advice and deeds of Your Lordship, who is recognised as one of England's ablest statesmen. We humbly pray that an Almighty Providence may always guard and guide you and shower His choicest blessings on you and the Gracious Lady who is the partner of your life, and we would assure Your Lordship that among all the expressions of regretful farewell that are reaching you, none flow from truer and more loyal hearts than those of the community which we now represent."

His Excellency replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—Among the many hundreds of expressions of compliment and regard that have reached me from all classes of the community during the past few weeks, there is not one to which I attach a higher value than the tribute which is now offered to me by yourselves as the representatives of the ministerial establishments of Government, or what are often generically described as the European and Native clerks. The tribute is the more affecting and valuable in my eyes because, as you tell me in your address, it is unprecedented in the annals of your service and because I have the best of reasons for knowing that it springs spontaneously from the heart of those who tender it. Every man who vacates an office, however great, in which he has been placed above his fellow-creatures, likes to think that, if regret is anywhere felt at his departure, it is not confined to those in high place or station only, but is shared by the much larger number to whom fortune has assigned a lowlier though not necessarily a less responsible position in his surroundings.

Farewell Address from the Clerks of the Government of India.

Gentlemen, ever since I came to India my heart has been drawn towards the subordinate officers of our Government. In the first place it seemed to me that they were a most industrious and painstaking body of men, labouring for long hours at a task which, though it tends to become mechanical, is very far from being lifeless, but demands qualities of diligence and accuracy and honesty of no mean order. I have often remarked that the best Indian clerk is, in my opinion, the best clerk in the world, for he is very faithful to detail and very unsparing of himself. Secondly, I observed that many members of the class to which I am referring are obliged to serve the Government at a distance from their homes, sometimes in places that are uncongenial and expensive, and that their work is apt to be pursued amid rather monotonous and depressing surroundings. And thirdly, I found after a little experience, not merely that these classes were rather forlorn and friendless, but that there was a tendency, when they made mistakes or were guilty of offences, to be somewhat hard upon them, and on occasions to hustle them out of employment or pension upon hasty and inadequate grounds.

I set myself, therefore, to try to understand the position, and, if possible, to alleviate the lot, of the classes of whom I have been speaking; and the new rules which we have passed or systems that we have introduced about the abolition of fining in the Departments of Government, the observance of public holidays, the leave rules of the subordinate services, the rank and pay of the higher grades among them, and the allowances and pensionary prospects of all classes—have, I hope, done a good deal to mitigate some of the hardships that had been felt, and to place them in a more assured and comfortable position in the future. It was on similar grounds that I pressed for the appointment of the Committee to deal with Simla allowances; and although I do not know if it will be possible for me to pass final orders upon the subject before I go, yet the main thing

Farewell Address from the Clerks of the Government of India.

is that the question has been seriously investigated and cannot now be dropped.

Personally, I have taken, if possible, an even warmer interest in the opportunities that have presented themselves to me of investigating memorials and grievances, and now and then of rescuing individuals from excessive punishment or undeserved disgrace. You know, Gentlemen, for I have often stated it in public, the feelings that I hold about the standards of British rule in this country. We are here before everything else to give justice: and a single act of injustice is, in my view, a greater stain upon our rule than much larger errors of policy or judgment. I have sometimes thought that in dealing with subordinates, and particularly Native subordinates, there is a tendency to be rather peremptory in our methods and to visit transgression, or suspected transgression, with the maximum of severity. For flagrant misconduct, whether among high or low, European or Native, I have never felt a ray of sympathy. But I have always thought that a small man whose whole fortune and livelihood were at stake deserved just as much consideration for his case, if not more so, than a big man, and that we ought to be very slow to inflict a sentence of ruin unless the proof were very strong. The most striking case in the history of the world of mercy in high places is that of Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States who was assassinated. He was sometimes condemned for it at the time, but it is one of his glories in history. A Viceroy of India has no such opportunities as occur to the head of a great Government at a time of civil war. But yet as the final court of appeal on every case, great or small, amid the vast population of India, he has chances that occur to but few. I think that he ought to take them. I have tried to do so. I can recall long night hours spent in the effort to unravel some tangled case of alleged misconduct resulting in the dismissal of a poor unknown Native subordinate. Perhaps those hours have not been the worst

spent of my time in India, and the simple letters of gratitude from the score or more of humble individuals whom I have thus saved from ruin, have been equally precious in my eyes with the resolutions of public bodies or the compliments of princes.

Gentlemen, you may be sure that in bidding you farewell I do not forget the faithful though silent services that you have rendered to me. Far down below at the bottom of the pit you have striven and toiled, sending up to the surface the proceeds of your labour, which others then manipulate and convert to the public use.

I hope that Government will always be considerate to you and mindful of your services. For my own part it will remain one of my pleasantest recollections that I was able during my time in India to show you some practical sympathy, and that you came forward of your own accord at the end to testify your recognition.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE SIMLA MUNICIPALITY.

[On the 17th October 1905 the Members of the Simla Municipality presented a farewell address to the Viceroy in the Town Hall. A very large gathering of Europeans and Natives witnessed the proceedings. His Excellency made the following reply :—] 17th Oct. 1905.

Gentlemen,—It is just 6½ years ago since I drove up to Simla by the tonga road, and was received by the President and Members of the then Municipality upon my arrival at Viceregal Lodge. In a few days' time Lady Curzon and I will be driving down for the last time by the same road. Not that we are indifferent to the advantages of the railway, of which I have, on several occasions, availed myself. But as we came, so we like to go ; preferring that Simla should remain in our memories as a place a little detached from

Farewell Address from the Simla Municipality.

the bustle and hurry of modern life, which sweeps us all into its vortex as it rushes along.

When I came here I rather ignorantly defended the summer migration of Government to Simla. I say 'ignorantly,' because I do not now think that the movement required defence. Certainly the railway has taken away the last valid argument of aloofness, and anyone who is aware of the enormous rise in the population of this place in recent years cannot rightly accuse it of being any longer inaccessible to the outer world. The danger is entirely in the opposite direction, namely, that the rush of people to Simla will one day be too great and will be in excess of the capacities of the place, either as regards accommodation or health.

It is to these large questions of development that those who are responsible for the administration of Simla, both now and in the future, must turn their attention. A hill-station that requires in the summer to provide a habitation for 4,000 Europeans and 39,000 Natives, on the slender ledges of a number of hills that were certainly not intended by nature for any such purpose, necessarily suggests very difficult problems of housing, sanitation, water-supply, and lighting. These problems are, in my judgment, only in their initial stages, and they will need the application of very wide views and the introduction of corresponding changes before they are satisfactorily solved. I have often pictured to myself the Simla of the future, with its suburbs spread out over the surrounding hills, instead of huddled together on the central summits, connected with its outskirts by some mechanical means of traction, combining the amenities of town and country, and administered on bold and statesmanlike lines.

These schemes will be realised, if ever they are realised, at a later date. In the meantime the Government of India, during my time, has done what lay in its power to promote expansion on intelligent principles by the very large grant

of twenty lakhs that we made last year to the Local Government from Imperial Funds to extend your boundaries and improve your communications, and by insistence, whenever possible, upon the anticipation of future requirements not less than upon the satisfaction of existing needs.

For my own part, I can truly say that I have taken the keenest personal interest in the external appearance and the buildings of Simla. With the artistic assistance of that very talented architect, Sir Swinton Jacob, I have succeeded in bequeathing to Simla what I unhesitatingly describe as the finest public building at a hill-station in India. I allude to the new Secretariat on Gorton Hill, which may appropriately be contrasted with the painted card-board structures which the taste of an earlier generation thought an adequate setting for the labours of the Military authorities. (*Laughter.*) Our new building would not do discredit to the castle-crowned highlands of Bavaria or to the banks of the Rhine. I also did my best, in conjunction with the Bishop of Lahore, a few years ago, to provide Simla with a new Church more befitting the needs and the dignity of the capital of Government. But the forces against us were too strong, and we even encountered some persons who thought the existing fabric beautiful. (*Laughter.*) There is one public work that I bitterly regret never having had the opportunity of taking in hand, and that is a new Town Hall and public buildings. When the earthquake took place this year I looked fondly to its powerful co-operation to provide me with a legitimate excuse by levelling the structure in which I am now speaking, to the ground. But the earthquake failed lamentably at the critical moment (*laughter*), and the last sight of Simla that I shall catch from the tonga road as I turn the final corner will be the first that arrested my eye as I came up six years ago, *viz.*, the gaunt and graceless protuberance against the sky-line (*loud laughter*) within whose walls I have enjoyed so much pleasure, and where

Farewell Address from the Simla Municipality.

I am now receiving at your hands this final compliment, but whose external appearance is so unworthy both of the character of the station and of the purposes to which it is applied. Another considerable building that has been erected in my time has been the Walker Hospital. I wish that we had constructed an edifice more in harmony with the liberality of the donor. The hospital renders great service; but in a better locality and with finer buildings might, I think, render greater.

During our stay in Simla Lady Curzon and I have invariably been treated with the greatest courtesy and kindness by every class of the community. We have endeavoured to the best of our ability to identify ourselves with your interests, and wherever we go or whatever becomes of us, there are features and incidents in Simla life that can never be obliterated from our minds. The familiar drive round Jakko, the still more beautiful ride round Summer Hill, the sudden bursting of green on the hills after the first week of the rains, the undulating downs of Naldera, and the full moon riding at midnight above the deodar spires, the September sunsets over the weltering plains, and finally the first re-appearance of the long-lost snows in October, coming simultaneously with the crisp exultation of the autumn air—all of these are scenes or sensations that are a part of our life for ever. With them, just as much as with the toil and moil of administrative work and official routine, Simla will be associated in our memory. Associated too will it always be with acts of kindness received from great and small, from European and Native, and with the hundred happinesses that compose the serenity of domestic life. These are the things that we shall always remember and that are aptly summed up on this parting occasion in the graceful and sympathetic language with which you have attended here this morning to bid us farewell. Gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely, on Lady Curzon's behalf and on my

own, for the compliment, which is an official echo of the spontaneous reception accorded to us a week ago by the townspeople as we drove to the parting entertainment given to us in this building. Both of these tributes have touched us greatly. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

DURBAR AT JAMMU.

[His Excellency the Viceroy held a public Durbar in the Palace at Jammu on the 26th October 1905 for the purpose of bestowing enhanced powers of administration on His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. His Excellency, accompanied by the Maharaja and attended by the Foreign Secretary, the Resident and the full Staffs of His Excellency and the Maharaja, passed through the courtyard thronged with the retainers of the State and entered the Durbar Hall in procession. The Viceroy and the Maharaja then took their seats on the dais and His Excellency delivered an address. His Highness made a speech in reply, after which the Durbar was closed with the usual ceremonial. The following is the text of the Viceroy's speech :—] 26th Oct. 1905.

Three times since I came to India as Viceroy have I been privileged as representative of the Government to instal an Indian Prince. But I have never before enjoyed the pleasure of conferring an enhancement or restitution of powers upon a Ruling Chief; and in the annals of the Foreign Office we can discover no record of such a ceremony ever having taken place. The present occasion is therefore unique in its character, as well as agreeable in its relation both to the Prince who is the recipient of the compliment and to the people who share in the honour that is being conferred upon their ruler.

This ceremony may be looked upon from a three-fold point of view, either as typifying the policy of the Paramount Power, or as affecting the fortunes of the Maharaja or the destinies of his State. Let me say a word upon all these aspects of the case.

Durbar at Jammu.

The position which is occupied by the British Crown towards the Feudatory Princes of India is one of the greatest responsibilities that is anywhere enjoyed by a sovereign authority. Sometimes it may impose upon that authority unwelcome or distasteful obligations. But far more often it is the source of a relationship which is honourable and advantageous to both, and which associates them in the bonds of a political union without any parallel for its intimacy or confidence in the world. As one who has represented the Sovereign Power for an unusual length of time in India, I can speak with some right to be heard when I say that anything that enhances the security or adds to the dignity of the Indian Princes is, above all things, welcome to the British Government.

Titles and honours and salutes it is in the power of the supreme authority in many countries to bestow, and it is from no vain or childish instinct that the world in all ages has attached value to these emblems or rewards. But surely amongst them the most dignified distinction to offer and the proudest to receive must be the augmentation of governing powers bestowed upon a ruler to whom they are given, not as a matter of course, but because he has merited them by faithful devotion to the interests of his people and by loyal attachment to the Paramount Power. Such an act is even more congenial to the latter if it marks the rescision of an attitude that may have been called for in different circumstances, but that might be thought to carry with it the suspicion of distrust.

It gives me therefore the highest pleasure to be here to-day to confer this particular honour upon one of the foremost of the Indian Princes. But the pleasure is enhanced by the circumstances of the State and of the ruler to whom it is offered. I know not why it is—but the State of Kashmir, so fertile in all its resources, has always been more productive of strange rumours than any other Native State in India. Thus in Lord Lansdowne's day it was widely circulated that

Durbar at Jammu.

the State was about to be taken over by the Crown. Similarly, a few years ago, at the very time when I was first considering with Your Highness the restoration of your powers, it was actually spread abroad that I was discussing with you a territorial exchange by which the Kashmir Valley should pass into the hands of the Government of India, and that the British officials were even to come after the manner of the old Moghuls and spend their summers at Srinagar or Gulmarg. Only the other day a fresh crop of silly rumours had to be formally denied, namely, that in handing back to you the first place in the Government of your State we had imposed conditions as regards the tenure of property by Europeans in Kashmir for which there was not one word of foundation. Your Highness, is not the action which I am taking to-day the most eloquent commentary upon these absurd fictions? Does it not testify in the most emphatic manner to the rectitude and good faith of the British Government? If excuses for a different policy, for a policy of escheat or forfeiture in Native States, were required, history will supply cases in which they have sometimes not been lacking. But we have deliberately set ourselves to carry out the opposite political theory, namely, to retain the Native States of India intact, to prolong and fortify their separate existence, and to safeguard the prestige and authority of their rulers. Such has been our attitude towards Kashmir ever since the end of the first Sikh War, when we made over to your grandfather, already the ruler of the State of Jammu, the much more valuable possession of Kashmir. Since that day there has been no departure from this policy; and there has been no more striking evidence of it than the step which I am taking to-day, and which I consider it my good fortune that before I leave India I am in a position to take. It shows conclusively, if any further proof were required, that it is our desire to see Kashmir and Jammu a single and compact State in the hands of a ruler qualified to represent its dignity and authority before all India.

Durbar at Jammu.

Your Highness, there is a third reason why I have found this act so agreeable, and that is personal to yourself. Since I arrived in India, when you were the first Ruling Chief to greet me upon the steps of Government House at Calcutta, we have met on many occasions and have constantly corresponded. You have been my guest at Calcutta, and it is only by a series of accidents, first the flood in 1903, and then the delay in my return from England last year, and finally the circumstances attending my departure in the present autumn, that have prevented me from enjoying the princely hospitality that you have so frequently pressed upon me at Srinagar. However, though these opportunities have been wanting, there have not been lacking many others, not merely of acquiring Your Highness's friendship, but of forming a personal regard for yourself and a high opinion of those qualities of head and heart which will now find an even wider scope for their exercise. I feel that I am the indirect means of honouring a Prince, who will so conduct himself as to be worthy of honour, and who will never cause my successors to regret the step which I have taken.

The State of Kashmir is indeed a noble and enviable dominion of which to be the ruler. Its natural beauties have made it famous alike in history and romance, and they draw to it visitors from the most distant parts. It possesses a laborious and docile population. Its industrial resources are already growing rapidly and are capable of immense additional expansion. Its accounts have been placed in excellent order; its land settlement has been effected on equitable lines; its revenues are mounting by leaps and bounds. It is about to be connected with India by a railway, and will thus lose the land-locked condition, which has often been the source of economic suffering, without, I hope, sacrificing the picturesque detachment that renders it so attractive to visitors. Your Highness will remember that this railway was my first official suggestion to you at Calcutta in January 1899, and though nearly seven years have since

Durbar at Jammu.

elapsed, I am pleased to think that the alignment and gauge are now fixed, the shares to be borne in the undertaking by the Government of India and the Durbar are determined, the money is forthcoming, and there only remains to commence work. Finally, your State possesses a mountain frontier unequalled in diversity of race and character, of natural beauty, and political interest, and towards its protection you make the largest contribution of any State in India to Imperial defence. I allude to the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops of which Your Highness is so justly proud, and whose service to the Empire has already won for Your Highness the exalted rank of a British General.

Such are the features and the prospects of the State of which Your Highness is the ruler, and of which you are now given the supreme and responsible charge. Henceforward the State Council, which for the last sixteen years has administered the affairs of the State, will cease to exist, and its powers will be transferred under proper guarantees to yourself. You will be assisted in the discharge of these duties by your brother, Raja Sir Amar Singh, who has already occupied so prominent a position in the administration, and who will be your Chief Minister and right-hand man. I am convinced that he will devote his great natural abilities to your faithful service, and it will be your inclination as well as your duty to repose in him a full measure of your trust. In all important matters you will be able to rely upon the counsel and support of the British Resident, who, owing to the peculiar conditions of Kashmir, has played so important a part in the recent development of the country, and whose experience and authority will always be at your command and will assist to maintain the credit of the State. I feel convinced that Your Highness will exercise your powers in a manner that will justify the Government of India for their confidence, and that will be gratifying to your people and creditable to yourself. You rule a State in which the majority of your subjects are of

a different religion from the ruling caste, and in which they are deserving of just and liberal consideration. You rule a State in which the cultivating classes are poor and liable to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, so that there is frequently a call for leniency in treatment. You rule a State which is much before the eyes of the world, and is bound to maintain the highest standard of efficiency and self-respect. Finally, you rule a State which has a great and splendid future before it, and which should inspire you with no higher or no lower aim than to be worthy of the position of its ruler, and thus to add fresh lustre to the proud title of Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

[At the conclusion of his speech the Viceroy presented the Maharaja with a handsome sword of State, saying, "I hand to Your Highness this sword as a symbol of the enhanced powers of administration with which I now declare you to be duly invested."]

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE LAHORE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

27th Oct. 1905. [His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Her Excellency Lady Curzon and Staff, arrived at Lahore on the morning of the 27th October. On the way to Government House His Excellency received a farewell address from the Lahore Municipal Committee at the Town Hall. His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—I greatly appreciate the compliment that you have bestowed upon me in addressing me for a second time on the eve of my departure from India. It is pleasant to learn from your own lips that my term of office has coincided with a period of uninterrupted progress both for this city and for the whole province of the Punjab. I believe that a better service was never wrought to the province than when the tantalising and anxious burden of frontier management was taken from its shoulders, and it was left to pursue its own agricultural and commercial and industrial development

Farewell Address from the Lahore Municipal Committee.

on progressive and unhampered lines. The growth in prosperity and population that has followed in the main from the construction of new canals and the colonisation of the reclaimed areas, has no parallel in the history of modern India. Not even plague, which has smitten you with so heavy a hand, has managed to retard this advance; and it must be a source of gratification to your Lieutenant-Governor, Sir C. Rivaz, to find that his devotion to the province and his sympathetic rule of it have been rewarded by such remarkable symptoms of progress. The two great things in the Punjab are, in my view, to maintain the old class of yeoman, immemorially connected with the soil, and to keep alive that sturdy and martial spirit that has given us the pick of our armed forces.

I should think badly of any legislation or any administrative or political changes that tended to sap either of these sources of vitality and thereby to lower the reputation of the Punjab before the world. I believe that the Land Alienation Bill which I assisted to pass in the early part of my administration has already done a good deal and will do more to keep upon the soil the hereditary owners. As for the Army, I trust that increasing wealth and the higher standards of modern life will not in any degree diminish the military spirit of the races who dwell in these parts of India, or stop the flow of recruits to the Indian Army. That Army is required not merely to preserve internal order and to guard our frontiers, but also as a field of honourable employment for the masculine elements in the population. It would be the greatest misfortune to India if they became effeminate or if they were to desist from the hereditary and manly pursuit of arms.

Lately the province has suffered from another calamity, which has sufficed to show how well its citizens, official and private, could rise to the level of a great emergency, and also how much common feeling exists everywhere throughout the Indian continent. I speak of the earthquake in

Kangra. In the early days, when the subscriptions seemed to be coming in rather slowly, I was afraid that we might not obtain the sums we required. But the most sanguine estimates both of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Executive Committee and myself were finally exceeded; and I calculate that the total sums contributed both in this country and in England to the Civil and Military Funds must have amounted to over £110,000, which is, I think, both a very handsome and a very creditable total. The Government has helped the generosity of private donors; and so far as official and non-official patriotism in combination could avail to repair the disaster, this has certainly been done.

Gentlemen, I am glad to hear from you so good a record of Municipal progress in Lahore. Municipal training is the best form of education for public responsibilities, and Municipal administration, though not the most showy, is perhaps the most useful of the forms of government admitted in our constitution. I always rejoice to hear of Native gentlemen throwing themselves with energy into the service of their fellow-citizens, for although for scientific and sanitary knowledge the training of the European expert is frequently necessary, it is the inhabitants of the country who ought to be most thoroughly cognizant of the needs and desires of their countrymen. You speak of the harmony with which your own Municipal institutions are worked, and from this I conclude that both of these classes co-operate heartily for the common good.

Lady Curzon is very grateful to you for the paragraph in your Address which you have devoted to her labours on behalf of her own sex in India. She has realised throughout that an Englishwoman in this country, and particularly one in high official station, has a duty towards her fellow-women just as definite as a male official has towards his fellow-men. That duty is to leave them if possible a little better than she found them: and no higher reward could she have than the feeling that both the institution which she inherited from one

Foundation Stone, Daly College, Indore.

of her predecessors, Lady Dufferin, and that which she initiated herself in memory of the late Queen Victoria, for the provision of Indian midwives, have done something to alleviate the sufferings or add to the comforts of Indian women.

It only remains for us both to express our thanks to the Members of the Municipal Committee for their combined welcome and good-bye to us this morning, and for me to say that this city which I have four times visited as Viceroy has always held and will continue to hold a firm place in my affections, as the fitting capital of not the least splendid and vigorous among the provinces of the Indian Empire.

FOUNDATION STONE, DALY COLLEGE, INDORE.

[On the 4th November 1905, sixty-five Chiefs and Thakurs of Central India, with 10,000 followers, were assembled at Indore to bid farewell to the Viceroy and to be present at the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the new Daly Chiefs' College. His Excellency was prevented by illness from going to Indore to perform the ceremony. In his absence this duty was entrusted to the Honourable Major Daly, C.S.I., C.I.E., Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, and His Excellency also sent Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.I.E., lately Foreign Secretary, to read the speech which he was to have delivered. The terms of the address read by Mr. Fraser were as follows:— 4th Nov. 1905.

I have been asked to read the following speech by the Viceroy written in his own words:—]

I greatly regret that a sudden attack of illness has prevented me at the last moment from coming to Indore to fulfil my long-standing engagement with the Chiefs of Central India to lay the foundation stone of the new Daly College, and to bid you all good-bye. I regret this both for my own sake, and also on account of the great trouble and, I fear, disappointment caused to the Princes who have gathered in such numbers at Indore to do me honour. In these circumstances I have deputed my late Foreign

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Secretary, Mr. Fraser, to attend at Indore on my behalf and to read to you the remarks which I should otherwise have made myself. The following is what I had intended to say:—

This is the last occasion, I imagine, on which I shall ever address an assemblage of Indian Chiefs. But it is perhaps not the least important, since we are founding or refounding here to-day one of those institutions in whose welfare I have always taken the deepest interest, because in their success is bound up the success of the princely class whose sons will be educated within its walls, and who will stand or fall in the future according to the character that is in them from their birth, and the shape that is given to that character by education.

The old Daly College was founded here as long ago as 1881 in the time of that excellent and beloved Political Officer, Sir Henry Daly. It was a College for the scions of the princely and aristocratic classes of Central India. It did its work within certain limits fairly well. But its scope was too narrow; it was not sufficiently supported by those for whom it was intended; it gradually dwindled in numbers and utility; it became overshadowed by the Mayo College at Ajmer; and nearly four years ago, when I presided over the Conference on Chiefs' Colleges at Calcutta, we all felt that the best thing to do would be not exactly to merge the Daly College in the larger institution, but to maintain it as a feeder to the latter, and to encourage the Central India Chiefs to give their support and to send their sons for the finishing stages of their education to Ajmer.

Then two unforeseen things happened. In proportion as our interest and expenditure on the Mayo College began to strengthen and popularise that institution, turning it into a Chiefs' College worthy of the name, and drawing its recruits not from Rajputana only, but from the whole of Northern and even sometimes from Southern India—so did a spirit of emulation and pride begin to stir in the bosoms

Foundation Stone, Daly College, Indore.

of the Central India Chiefs, and they said to themselves—Are we merely to be the handmaid of Ajmer? Shall we not have a *pucca* Chiefs' College of our own? May we not revive the glories of the Daly College and prove to the world that in the modern pursuit of enlightenment and progress, Central India is not going to lag behind?

The second occurrence was this. I sent Major Daly as Agent to the Governor-General to Indore, and he speedily made the discovery that the Central India Chiefs were anxious, not indeed to withdraw their support from Ajmer, but to give it in independent and larger measure to a college of their own and to find the money and provide the guarantees that would raise the Daly College to a level of equal dignity and influence. Imbued with natural ardour and with the additional desire to resuscitate and vindicate his father's original aim, he pushed the matter forward, as did Mr. Bayley in the interval before he left Central India for Hyderabad,and pressed the claims of the new scheme upon the Government of India.

Thus in the energy of these two officers, and still more in the enthusiasm and liberality of the Central India Chiefs, notably those of the wealthier States of Gwalior, Indore, and Rewa, we have the origin of the movement which we are carrying forward to-day to a further stage, and the secret of the rejuvenated Daly College which, phœnix-like, is about to spring from the unexhausted ashes of its predecessor, and to start its new existence in the handsome and dignified setting of which I have just laid the first stone.

But what, it may be asked, Your Highnesses, is this College to do for your sons? I think I know what you want, and I am sure I know what the Government of India want, and I believe that we both want the same thing. We both desire to raise up a vigorous and intelligent race of young men who will be in touch with modern progress, but not out of touch with old traditions; who will be liberally educated, but not educated out of sympathy with their own

Foundation Stone, Daly College, Indore.

families and people; who will be manly and not effeminate, strong-minded but not strong-willed, acknowledging a duty to others instead of being a law unto themselves, and who will be fit to do something in the world instead of settling down into fops or spendthrifts or drones. How are we to accomplish this? The answer is simple. First, you must have the College properly built, properly equipped, and properly endowed. Then you must have a good staff of teachers, carefully selected for their aptitudes and adequately paid, and a Principal who has a heart as well as a head for his task. Then you must have a sound curriculum, a spirit of local patriotism, and a healthy tone. And, finally, you must have two other factors, the constant support and patronage of the Political Officers who live in this place and in the various Central India States; and, above all, the personal enthusiasm, the close supervision, and the vital interest of the Chiefs themselves. I say 'above all' because the lesson which the Chiefs of India have to learn, if they have not learned it already, is that these Colleges will depend in the last resort not upon Government support, but upon their support, and that the future is in their hands much more than in ours. Well, I have named rather a long list of requirements, and it contains a good many items. But there is not one of them that is not realisable by itself, and there is not the slightest reason why they should not all be realised in combination. You have a good model in the Mayo College not so far away; this meeting of to-day shows that the sympathies of the Chiefs are in the undertaking; and if only you adhere to your present spirit and temper, success should be assured. I look forward to the day as not far distant when each State, instead of having to come to the Government of India for any form of expert assistance that it may require, whether it be a Dewan, or a Councillor, or an Educational Officer, or an Estate Manager, or an Officer of Imperial Service Troops, or an Engineer, will have in its midst a body of young men, sprung from itself,

Foundation Stone, Daly College, Indore.

living on its soil, and devoted to its interest, who will help the Chief or the Durbar in the work of development or administration. The old-fashioned Sirdar or Thakor who has followed the ways of his ancestors, and is often unacquainted with English, will tend to disappear, and will be replaced by a younger generation with new ideals and a modern education. The change will sometimes have its drawbacks. But it is inevitable, and on the whole it will be for the good. You cannot have a number of these Colleges scattered about India—there will now be four principal ones, namely, those at Ajmer, Lahore, Rajkot, and Indore, as well as many subsidiary institutions—you cannot turn out annually some scores of highly educated young Indian gentlemen, brought up with the sort of training that is given in these institutions, without producing a far-reaching effect upon the aristocracy of India. People do not see it yet, because they hardly know what we are doing at these places, or the immense strides that are being made. But in India I am always looking ahead. I am thinking of what will happen fifty years hence, and I confidently assert that from these years of active labour and fermentation there must spring results that will alter the face of Native States and will convert the Indian nobility and land-owning classes into a much more powerful and progressive factor in the India of the future.

And now, Your Highnesses, in this my message of farewell to the Indian Princes what shall I say? They know that throughout my term of office one of my main objects has been to promote their welfare, to protect their interests, to stimulate their energies, and to earn their esteem. Nothing in this wonderful land, which has fired the impulses and drained the strength of the best years of my life, has appealed to me more than the privilege of co-operation with the Chiefs of India—men sprung from ancient lineage, endowed with no ordinary powers and responsibilities, and possessing nobility of character as well as of birth. It seemed to me from the start that one of the proudest objects which the

representative of the Sovereign in India could set before himself would be to draw these rulers to his side, to win their friendship, to learn their opinions and needs, and to share with them the burden of rule. That is why I called them my colleagues and partners in the speech that I made at Gwalior six years ago, why I bade them to Delhi and have frequently been honoured by their company at Calcutta, why I have personally installed this Chief, and enhanced the powers of that, have gone in and out among them, so that there is scarcely an accessible Native State in India that I have not visited, have corresponded with them and they with me, until at the end of it all I can truthfully speak of them not merely as colleagues and partners but as personal friends. For the same reason I am here to-day, so that almost my last official act in India may be one that brings me into contact with the princely class to whom I am so deeply attached, and who have shown me such repeated marks of their regard, never more so than during the past few weeks in connection with my approaching departure.

Your Highnesses, what is it that we have been doing together during the past seven years? What marks or symptoms can we point to of positive advance? To me the answer seems very clear. The Chiefs have been doing a great deal, and the Government have been trying to do a great deal also. When their States have been attacked by famine, the Chiefs have readily accepted the higher and more costly standards of modern administration, and the Durbars have courageously thrown themselves into the struggle. There has been a noticeable raising of the tone and quality of internal administration all round; many of the Chiefs have reformed their currency, and have devoted more funds to public works and to education. They have learned to husband instead of squandering their resources, and have set before themselves a high conception of duty. When we have had external wars, the Princes have freely

Foundation Stone, Daly College, Indore.

offered assistance in troops, horses, and supplies. I cannot readily forget the hospital-ship which that enlightened Prince, Maharaja Scindia, who is here to-day, equipped at his own expense and took out to China. Several of the Chiefs have volunteered their own services also. When I addressed them last year about Imperial Service Troops they replied to me in language of the utmost cordiality and encouragement. There have been other services that cannot be omitted. When we have internal calamity or distress, as in the case of the recent earthquake, the purses of the Chiefs are always open to help their suffering fellow-creatures in British India. Do we not all remember the princely benefaction of the Maharaja of Jaipur, who started the Indian People's Famine Trust with a gift of 21 lakhs, which was subsequently increased by the contributions of some of his brother Chiefs? There never was a more noble or magnanimous use of great riches. Finally, there were the splendid donations made by the Indian Princes to the Queen Victoria Memorial, from which is in course of being raised, at the capital of the Indian Empire, a building worthy to bear her illustrious name. When we began that great enterprise, there were plenty of critics to scoff and jeer, and not too many to help. Now the tide has turned. The foundation stone of the main building will be laid in Calcutta in a few weeks' time by the Prince of Wales, and he will see in the collection already assembled in the Indian Museum and afterwards to be transferred to the Hall, such an exhibition of interesting and valuable objects as will make the Victoria Hall not only a fitting memorial to a venerated Sovereign, but a National Gallery of which all India may well be proud. During the past summer I have, as you know, addressed the majority of the Indian Princes as regards the objects to be gathered for this exhibition, and from their treasuries and armouries and *toshakhanas* they have willingly produced, on gift or on loan, such a number of historical and valuable articles as will convert the Princes' Gallery of the

Foundation Stone, Daly College, Indore.

future into a microcosm of the romance and pageantry of the East. When the Victoria Hall has been raised and equipped the Princes will be proud of their handiwork, and there will perhaps be one other individual far away who will have no cause to feel ashamed.

I have described to you the work of the Princes in recent years. Let me say a word about the work of the Government. It has been our object to encourage and stimulate all those generous inclinations of which I have spoken. For this purpose we have lent to the Chiefs officers in famine times, officers for settlement, officers for irrigation programmes, officers as tutors and guardians. I would never force a European upon a Native State. But if a European is asked for or wanted, I would give the best. We have lent money on easy terms to such States as were impoverished, in order to finance them in adversity, and have remitted the interest on our loans. Then there are all the educational projects of which I have spoken, and of which this is one. When I look at the Chiefs' Colleges, as they are now, with increased staffs, with a revised curriculum, with enlarged buildings, with boys hurrying to join them, with the Chiefs eager to support—and contrast this with the old state of affairs, the contrast is great and gratifying indeed. Then there is that favourite of my own heart, the Imperial Cadet Corps, now in existence for over three years, turning out its quota of gentlemanly and well-educated young officers, four of whom have already received commissions in the army of the King-Emperor, already acquiring its own *esprit de corps* and traditions, assisted by the framework of beautiful buildings and surroundings at Dehra Dun, and about to send its past and present members down to Calcutta to escort the son of the Sovereign in the capital of India. With a full heart I commit to my successor, and to the Princes of India, the future of the Cadet Corps, trusting to them in combination to look after it, and to keep its reputation bright, and its efficiency unimpaired.

Foundation Stone, Daly College, Indore.

I am also glad to think of the encouragement that I have been able to give to the Imperial Service Troops in my time. It has fallen to me to be the first Viceroy to employ them outside of India; and though I would not have dreamed of such a step except at the earnest solicitation of the Chiefs to whom the contingents belonged, I yet regarded it as an honour to concede this fresh outlet when it was sought by their ardent patriotism. I have already mentioned the personal appeal that I addressed to all the Chiefs last year about their Imperial Service contributions, and their generous and gratifying response to it. When this matter has been settled, I hope that the Imperial Service Troops will have been placed on a firmer and broader basis than the present without departing one *iota* from the sound principles that were formulated in the first place by Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne more than 15 years ago. Those principles are essential to its vitality. The Imperial Service Troops must remain the forces of the Chiefs, controlled and managed by them under the supervision of the Viceroy. They must not be swept into the Indian Army, or treated as though they were the mercenaries of the Crown. They are nothing of the sort. They are the free and voluntary contributions of the Princes and the Princes' Troops they must remain.

During my term of office there are also a few stumbling-blocks that it has been a source of pride to me to assist to remove. Foremost among these was the time-honoured difficulty about Berar, which the sagacious intelligence and the sound sense of the Nizam enabled both of us to dispose of in a manner that neither has any reason to regret. I hope also to have facilitated the solution of the difficult and complex questions that have arisen out of the sea-customs in Kathiawar. There is only one other big measure that I had hoped to carry in the interest of the Chiefs in my time, but which, if it is permitted to bear fruit, I must now bequeath to my successor. I hope that he will love the Chiefs as I have done; and that they will extend to him, as I am

sure that they will do, the confidence and the support which they have been good enough to give in such generous measure to me.

As regards the particular audience whom I am now addressing, I had intended, as Major Daly knows, to make a somewhat extended tour in Central India this winter. The majority of the Central India Chiefs I have already visited, and the Maharajas of Gwalior, Orchha, and Datia, the Begum of Bhopal, and the Raja of Dhar have received me in their homes. The remainder I had met at Delhi or elsewhere, and had hoped to see some of them again in the course of my tour. Now that this has had to be abandoned in consequence of my approaching departure, it has been a great compensation to me to receive your pressing invitation to come here to-day and to meet you, on such an important occasion, for the last time. I may congratulate you also that in a few days' time you will all be able to welcome Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales in this place. It must be gratifying to you that they are paying a special visit to Central India, and that you will all have the honour of meeting and conversing with the heir to the Throne.

Your Highnesses, in a fortnight from now I shall be leaving this country, and the official tie that has united me for so long to the Princes and Chiefs of India will be snapped. No longer shall I have the official right to interest myself in their States, their administration, their people, their institutions, their families, themselves. But nothing can take away from me the recollection of the work that has been done with them. Nothing can efface the impression left upon me by their chivalry and regard. Long may they continue to hold their great positions, secure in the affection of their own subjects and assured of the support of the Paramount Power. May they present to the world the unique spectacle of a congeries of principalities, raised on ancient foundations, and cherishing the traditions of a

famous past, but imbued with the spirit of all that is best and most progressive in the modern world, recognizing that duty is not the invention of the schoolmaster but the law of life, and united in defence of a Throne which has guaranteed their stability and is strong in their allegiance.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

[On the 8th November 1905, His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce at Government House, Bombay. Mr. C. H. Armstrong, the Chairman of the Chamber, read the following farewell address :— 8th Nov. 1905.

"*May it please Your Excellency*,—On the eve of your departure for Europe, we, the Members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, desire most respectfully to approach you with an expression of our appreciation of the distinguished services you have rendered to this country during the years you have, with conspicuous ability, discharged the arduous and responsible duties of Viceroy and Governor-General.

"2. Coming to this high position with a great reputation as a statesman and a traveller in eastern lands, you have added to your fame by the energy and forethought with which you have directed India's foreign affairs, and we rejoice to think, that not only beyond our northern frontiers, but in the Persian Gulf, our rightful position has been asserted and our influence extended.

"3. Whilst thus maintaining our territorial position, Your Excellency has not been unmindful of our internal well-being and requirements, and for the very great interest you have shown in our commercial and industrial life we desire particularly to thank you. We feel that during Your Excellency's Viceroyalty India has taken a decided step forward in all that concerns her agriculture and her trade. The barrier, that seemed some years ago to divide Government from commerce, has been completely broken down, and relations are now on the most satisfactory footing, each being anxious to do all that is possible to develop the resources of the country. We acknowledge with gratitude your cordial reception of the delegates, assembled in Calcutta early this year, at the first meeting of the Indian and Ceylon Chambers of Commerce; and it is a matter for congratulation that so

Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

many of the questions then discussed have received the close attention of Government, and that much good is likely to result from the deliberations of that Conference, in which high officials of Government took great interest. Your speech to the delegates will long be remembered as evidence of a keen desire to help commerce and industry in every branch; and in the fiscal controversy now proceeding at home, on the issue of which so much depends, we recognise that India's right to the most careful consideration may be safely left in Your Excellency's hands, and that you will ever remember the magnitude and the great importance of our export trade with foreign countries.

"4. We have also to thank Your Excellency for your efforts to improve railway administration in this country. As the result of an exhaustive enquiry, instituted in the early days of your administration, you were led to the conclusion that a small committee of railway experts, with considerable powers of administration, would be advantageous; and in the Board that has lately been appointed we are confident that a step has been taken in the right direction, and that time will fully prove the wisdom of the course that has been adopted.

"5. The great interest you have taken in agricultural development must lead, we are sure, to the best results, if the work you have inaugurated be continued with energy. That there is much to be done in this direction in many parts of the country has been clearly shown, and in probably every district there are many outside the ranks of Government who are not only willing but anxious to advance this very important work.

"6. During Your Excellency's term of office the rate for telegrams to Europe has twice been reduced, and it now stands at just half what it was three years ago. Knowing the close attention Your Excellency gave to this matter, we desire to express our acknowledgments for this great boon to the commercial community, as also for increased postal facilities in the country and for improvements in the inland telegraphic service.

"7. The new Department for Industry and Commerce is very welcome to the commercial community, who fully appreciate the great advantages a Department so beneficial and ably administered must confer on the country. Your Excellency's administration will long be remembered for the active interest you have taken in all that concerns internal affairs, and for the confidence you have inspired in every branch of commercial life. None know better than those engaged in commerce the great worth of a Viceroy whose sole aim is to benefit the people under his care, to husband the resources of the country, and, by reductions of taxation and the outlay of capital in such directions as may be needed, to add to the wealth of the community.

Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

"8. Favoured by prosperous Budgets, Your Excellency has been able to reduce taxation and thereby lighten the burdens of the people; and we are glad to think that our currency is now on a sound basis, and that our reserves of gold, which have steadily accumulated in recent years, are likely to increase still further, thereby adding to the strength of our financial position.

"9. The circumstances that have led to Your Excellency's resignation we greatly deplore, as we cannot but view with regret your departure from our midst some months before you intended to leave us. But we believe that the many schemes you have inaugurated, although some are still in their infancy, are all on a sound footing, and that time alone is needed to prove their great value.

"10. In conclusion we would heartily thank you for the manner in which at all times you have upheld the authority and the diginity of the high position you are now vacating; and it is our earnest hope that Your Excellency's health may be preserved for many years, to fill other high offices of State, for which you are so well qualified. We shall ever watch Your Excellency's career with the greatest interest, feeling sure of this, that, whenever Indian interests are involved, you will do all in your power to promote the welfare of this country, which contains such a vast number of His Majesty's loyal subjects. The holiday to which, after so many years of arduous and conscientious work, you are right well entitled, will, we trust, be a pleasant one; and we earnestly hope the voyage home may be of great benefit to Your Lordship and to Her Excellency Lady Curzon, in whose renewed health we all greatly rejoice.

"Wishing you all happiness and prosperity, and with every assurance of our respect."

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—It is impossible for me to receive the address which you have just read without recognising that it is no ordinary or perfunctory document, but that it constitutes one of the most remarkable tributes emanating from an exceedingly representative body of public men, engaged in almost every walk of business, and representing one of the great commercial communities of the British Empire, that can ever have been offered to a departing Governor-General. When you say of that Governor-General that during his term of office the barrier that seemed some years ago to divide Government from commerce has been completely

broken down, and that his administration will be long remembered for the active interest that he has taken in all that concerns internal affairs and for the confidence that he has inspired in every branch of commercial life—while I cannot feel that I deserve these generous words, I yet should be made of dull clay if I were not proud to receive them. For I am conscious that in India commerce has not always opened its arms in this way to Government or the representatives of Government, while I am also aware that the sentiments which you express reflect a revulsion of feeling that is not confined to Bombay, but has spread from one end of India to another, inaugurating a happier era in which the development of this great country is regarded as the combined work and the equal duty of all those, official or unofficial, whose lot is cast within its borders. I propose to respond to your confidence by a few remarks upon the present commercial position of India, suggested by what you yourselves have said and summarising in a convenient form the situation as it now appears to me to be. The first condition of sound finance, and the first aim of our financial administration in India, has been the foundation of a sound monetary system. Here I profited by the wisdom of my predecessors in closing the Mints as far back as 1893, and by the advice of the London Committee that sat and reported during my first year of office. We were able in consequence to introduce the gold standard, and we have ever since maintained a stable exchange. But currency reform, however urgent in itself, was only the condition of wider improvements and larger aims, and the moment we had obtained it, it ceased to be an end in itself, and became the means by which the economic and industrial progress of the country might be pursued upon a score of parallel lines. Each of these lines might with equal truth be regarded as part of a great scheme of financial reorganisation or of economic development or of efficient administration. Thus we directed ourselves among other objects to a scheme of

Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

greatly accelerated railway construction, believing that there is no more provident employment of public funds. The highest total mileage hitherto recorded in any Viceroyalty has been 3,928; in mine we have laid 6,110 miles, bringing up the total mileage in India to 28,150, and I believe and hope that these figures will be exceeded by my successors. The highest capital outlay in any previous Viceroyalty has been 47¼ crores; we have expended nearly 60 crores, bringing up the total capital sunk in Indian Railways to 240 millions sterling. There has never before been a railway surplus; the aggregate railway surpluses of the past six years have amounted to 4½ millions sterling. One of the most pressing and severely felt of difficulties in Indian Railways has for long been the deficiency of rolling stock. Exclusive of large orders now under construction we have provided an increase of 28 per cent. in engines, 21 per cent. in passenger cars, and 33 per cent. in goods wagons. We have placed before the Secretary of State a railway expenditure programme for the next three years, under the Triennial Programme scheme which, as you know, is one of our achieved reforms, of no less than 15 crores in each year, or a total of 30 millions sterling. These results and these prospects, for which I must not be understood to claim the smallest personal credit, for had any one else been standing in my place, he would have been able to say the same, are I think of a thoroughly satisfactory nature. They show genuine progress made, and they are full of promise for the future. The net income of our railways has indeed been growing three times as fast as the interest on our capital liabilities. The railway property of the Government of India is in my view a magnificent asset, as fine as any in the world; and we may safely banish the nervous fears that have sometimes inspired the responsible authorities as to the risks of borrowing more freely for railway extension. Take our 4 crores loan of the past summer, raised in this country mainly for these purposes. It was covered nearly

five times over, and we could have raised nearly five crores on almost the same terms as we raised four. I hope that this experience will encourage the Government of India to a bolder policy in the future. When we had to pay a high price for our loans, when the Indian money market did not exhibit its present elasticity, and when our railways were themselves not a paying concern, there was a good excuse for timidity. But I think that a policy of greater confidence and courage is now required, and I have endeavoured to inaugurate it. You have been good enough to allude to the considerable administrative reform which has accompanied this history of progress and which will I trust be an efficient agency for guiding it—namely, the creation of the Railway Board. It would be absurd to pretend that this idea was mine or that of any one now in India. Years ago I remember reading all about it in Sir George Chesney's admirable book, and from the day that I laid down charge of the Public Works Department in the summer of 1899, having held it a few months in order to obtain a grasp of the business, I was bent upon getting a Board, as the indispensable condition of business-like management and quick and intelligent control. It only remained to seize the psychological moment and to work out a plan adapted to our present needs.

I might draw a similarly rosy picture of the prospects of Irrigation and the outlay upon it. But I dealt with this subject in my Budget speech of March last and will not repeat myself to-day.

Neither will I say anything about other features of our Commercial and Industrial policy, such as the imposition of countervailing duties on sugar, our pronouncement on preferential tariffs, our attitude towards local industries as instanced by the Tea Cess Act, the tea and indigo grants, and the encouragement to iron and steel works, our hitherto unsuccessful but still unabandoned attempts to re-adjust the machinery and to remove some of the restrictions of our existing banking system, our reform of the Customs Depart-

ment and creation of a single Imperial Customs Service, largely due to suggestions from Bombay, or even the creation of the new Commerce and Industry Department, which has already in so short a time been so gratifying a success, owing no doubt very greatly to the fact that we came prowling down to Bombay and took some of your best men to assist us in starting the venture.

I will not say more of any of these topics, because they would encroach too much upon my limited space, but I should like to add a word upon two subjects, the policy of the Government of India about which you have noticed with special satisfaction.

The first of them is the reduction of Telegraphic charges. This is a matter to which I attach the very highest importance, and of which I can truthfully say that I have assumed personal charge sometimes in the face of no small difficulty. I believe in the reduction of cable rates to Europe because a cheap tariff is the greatest instrument of Imperial unification that can be devised. It has been brought down from 4*s.* to 2*s.* a word in my time. But it must go lower still. If there were a cheap rate, say of 6*d.* a word—and of course Press messages would be cheaper—between England and India, the almost indescribable ignorance that prevails in each country about the other and which is often the despair of the friends of both, could no longer exist. I am not sure that the task of Government would be rendered easier—perhaps the reverse; but the relations of the two peoples, commercial, social, and sentimental, could not fail to become more intimate. On similar grounds I have been an earnest advocate of reduction of internal rates in India. Since the changes were made two years ago, there has been an increase of 30 per cent. in private messages in India, while the stimulus given to Press traffic may be shown by the fact that in a single year the total number of words jumped up from 7,680,000 to 14,000,000, or an increase of between 80 and 90 per cent. I believe in giving news to the people—some

persons, I know, do not; and I sometimes rub my eyes and wonder where my imaginary reactionary tendencies, in this respect at any rate, are supposed to come in.

The other subject to which I referred was Agriculture, in the development of which you were good enough to say that I had taken the greatest interest. I was pleased to read in an address from a Chamber of Commerce so frank a recognition of the momentous importance of this subject, because in the last resort the welfare of the agricultural population is just as vital to you as it is to the Government of India. What have we been doing for agriculture? I do not speak for the moment about Land Revenue assessments or collections, or remissions, or 'takavi' grants, or the many ways in which we have tried to make things easier for the Indian cultivator. Our real reform has been to endeavour for the first time to apply science on a large scale to the study and practice of Indian agriculture. It is quite true that the Indian peasant, perhaps the Guzerat peasant in particular, knows, as well as any peasant in the world, how to make the most of the soil, and of the fruits of tillage. In his way he is a hereditary expert. But his greatest admirer cannot pretend that he knows anything of scientific discovery or experiment, while not even the most hidebound conservative can give any good reason why India should be the only agricultural country in the world to which the lessons of research are incapable of being applied. Anyhow we are doing our best to apply them; and one of my last acts, in pursuit of the special grant of 20 lakhs per annum to provincial agriculture which we gave for the first time this year, and are going to continue and possibly to increase, has been to address the Secretary of State and propose to him a great scheme for establishing in every province an agricultural college, and research station, with a farm attached to it, where agriculture may be studied both in the laboratory and in the field. Each province will then have its own Director of Agriculture and its own expert staff: and in each

distinctive agricultural tract there will be an experimental farm under a trained agriculturist. Everywhere the object will be the same, namely to bring the staff in touch with the cultivator, so that knowledge may pass up and down between them. In this way we shall, I hope, provide a training for hundreds and thousands of the young men of the country. Indeed, we shall soon train our own experts, without having to import them; and we cannot fail to make discoveries and to introduce reforms that will quicken the entire future of Indian agriculture.

Gentlemen, the sum total of my own experience in the last seven years is to send me away a convinced optimist as to the economic and industrial prospects of this country. I suppose we shall never be free from the chantings of that dismal chorus who spend their time in lamenting the poverty and sufferings of India, without, so far as I can see, doing very much that is practical to remedy the evils of which they complain. Never let us shut our eyes to the poverty and the misery. But do not let us be so blind to the truth as not to see that there is an enormous improvement, that there is everywhere more money in the country, in circulation, in reserves, in investments, in deposits, and in the pockets of the people; that the wages of labour have risen, that the standards of living among the poorest have gone up, that they employ conveniences and even luxuries which a quarter of a century ago were undreamed of, thereby indicating an all-round increase of purchasing power, and that wherever taxation could be held to pinch, we have reduced it and may perhaps be able to do more. It is only fairness to acknowledge these facts, it is blind prejudice to ignore them. I can put the matter in a form which will appeal to you as business men by some figures which I have had prepared. I will not take the period of my own term of office because the whole point of my argument is that the improvement dates from the closing of the Mints by Lord Lansdowne and Sir David Barbour: and though it is in my

time that the fruits have been mainly reaped, the seeds were sown by them. I will contrast therefore in each case the figures of 1893-4 and those of 1904-5. The capital sunk by Government in railways and irrigation works has increased by 56 per cent. in that interval: that invested by joint-stock companies in industrial undertakings by 23 per cent. The Savings Banks deposits have gone up by 43 per cent., the private deposits in Presidency Banks by 71 per cent., the deposits in other joint-stock banks by 130 per cent., the deposits in Exchange Banks by 95 per cent., Government paper held in India by 29 per cent., the amount invested in Local Authorities' debentures by 90 per cent. The amount of income on which income tax is assessed—excluding at both periods the incomes now exempted—has increased by 29 per cent., the rupee circulation by 27 per cent., the note circulation in active use by 68 per cent. The net absorption of gold in the 10 years preceding the two dates of enquiry, namely 1893-4 and 1904-5, shows an increase of 120 per cent. in the later, of silver 136 per cent. The total value of Indian imports has gone up 35 per cent., of exports 48 per cent. The productive debt has increased in the same period by 69 crores, but the non-productive debt has decreased by 16 crores. Now these figures, which I have had specially prepared for you, are worth thinking over. From whatever point of view you regard them, bearing in mind that these considerable and in some cases amazing increases have occurred in a period in which the increase in the population has only been 4 per cent., it is impossible to deny their collective testimony to an advance in every test that can be applied to the progress of a nation, which is without example in the previous history of India and rare in the history of any people. It is indeed a magnificent property that I am handing over to my successor and may he faithfully and diligently guard it.

As regards Bombay in particular, I have been able to befriend your commercial interests in many ways. I never

Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

forgot the strong plea that you put in for the Nagda-Muttra Railway in my first year, and although I could not for a time succeed in squeezing it into the programme in the face of what were represented as more pressing claims, yet it is now there for good and all; 73 lakhs are being spent upon it in the current year, and the line will be finished by March, 1908. The construction of the Agra-Delhi Chord and the handing over of its working to the Great Indian Peninsula have I think been of similar advantage to the trade of Bombay. I incline to expect a similar result from the Bombay-Sind connection, although it is primarily on strategical grounds that it is to be taken in hand. If you divide the advantages with Karachi you will not, I am sure, grudge the benefit to the sister port. Sind, too, we have been able to help by the reform of the Sind Sadar Court, which has at last been sanctioned. Finally in a local matter concerning which you felt, I believe, strongly, we have decided to accept the Bombay views about the retention of the Commissioner of Police in Bombay under the Local Government with Local Superintendents under the Commissioner.

I will not swell this list, which has merely been drawn up to show that Bombay has had its full share in the commercial sympathies and interests of the Government of India; but will conclude by thanking you sincerely for the unaffected warmth of your address and for the most agreeable compliment of your farewell.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE AGRA MUNICIPALITY.

11th Nov. 1905. [On the 11th November the Viceroy arrived at Agra on his final visit to that place. In the afternoon His Excellency, accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady LaTouche, drove to the Metcalfe Hall when he received a farewell address from the Municipality. To this address His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—It is very good of you to address me a second time, and a reference to what passed between us on the previous occasion just six years ago is of interest as marking the distance that has been travelled by both of us since December 1899.

You have given to me this afternoon a record of your municipal progress in the interval. The central position of Agra and its greatly improved railway connections are a source of no small advantage which all your competitors do not equally enjoy. Successive Lieutenant-Governors, and notably in recent years Sir Antony MacDonnell and Sir James LaTouche, have devoted the closest personal attention to the city and its buildings. You can never fail to attract visitors, and in my judgment are certain to attract them in rapidly increasing numbers. With a Municipality therefore that is devoted, as yours appears to be, to the conscientious pursuit of its duties, which consist in making life here as healthy as possible for your residents and citizens, and with a reasonable immunity from the scourges of plague and famine by which you are liable to be and have been seriously afflicted, Agra is as certain as any place in India of a future of steadily advancing prosperity. It is a proud trust therefore that you have in your hands, and it must be rendered all the easier and more agreeable to you by the fact that Agra is one of those places which from its exquisite beauty and its many physical advantages cannot fail to excite in a peculiar degree the love and the local patriotism of its inhabitants.

Farewell Address from the Agra Municipality.

You will shortly have the honour of welcoming here Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and I have confidently assured them that there is no place in India where their stay will be more pleasant or which will leave a more abiding impression upon their memories.

My own connection with Agra has, as you know, been mainly archæological during the past six years. I think that in my numerous visits here and in the labours of renovation and repair that we have undertaken, I have learned to love this place more than any other spot in India. Here it is always peaceful and always beautiful, though sometimes, I must admit, a little warm; and with each successive visit I have felt the sense of something accomplished and of visible progress made. This has been due to the enthusiasm with which the Lieutenant-Governor, the local officials, the Public Works Engineers, and the Director-General of Archæology, Mr. Marshall, and his subordinates have all thrown themselves into the task. To every one of them it has, I am convinced, been a labour of love, and all of us have felt that we were not merely atoning for the errors of our predecessors, but leaving something that will recover or increase the fascinations of Agra for those who come after us.

It is just 18 years since I first drove up to the Taj through dusty lanes and a miserable bazar; since I first was conducted over the fort, where the Jahangir Mahal and the exquisite buildings anterior to the time of Shah Jehan were either in the occupation of the Military or were not shown to visitors at all, and since I visited Sikandra, then a deserted wilderness, and Fatehpur Sikri, glorious in its beauty, but crumbling to decay. As I visit all these places again, and note their renovated condition, their orderly approaches, and the spirit of reverence with which they are now preserved, I cannot help feeling that the work is one of which we may feel proud. There is this also to be said about the work of archæological restoration throughout India, that it is one in which European and Indian can and do

equally join. There is nothing to which the inhabitants of this country are more attached than their antiquities ; there is nothing by which they were more distressed than their desecration and decay ; and few things, I am convinced, have done more to bring the two peoples together than the consciousness that the English are devoting themselves with sincerity and ardour to the restoration of the monuments of a race and a religion which are not their own but for which they feel the most profound respect and veneration. No co-operation of this description is to be despised, for it has a value greatly in excess of its immediate or concrete results.

Gentlemen, Lady Curzon and I rejoice to be spending our last days in India in your midst, and we are grateful to you for joining in a farewell by the cordiality and unanimity of which we have been greatly impressed. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE DELHI MUNICIPALITY.

13th Nov. 1905. [The Viceroy had arranged to visit Delhi during the course of his last tour in India, but was obliged by ill health to abandon this intention. The Delhi Municipality had received permission to present an address to His Excellency on the day of his arrival in the city, but this being no longer possible they sent a deputation to Agra where His Excellency received the address on the 13th November. It was presented in a carved ebony casket ornamented with miniature paintings of the most famous buildings of the city and was couched in the following terms :—

" *May it please Your Excellencies,*—We, the members of the Delhi Municipality, speaking on behalf of this city, beg to offer you a hearty welcome to this city, and to express our regret that this address should be in the nature of a Farewell.

" Your Excellency, we beg leave to express our grateful appreciation of the additional honour and prestige which this city has gained during Your Excellency's Viceroyalty.

Farewell Address from the Delhi Municipality.

" Delhi has its prestige of the past gained under other dynasties as the Imperial seat of India, and no Viceroy has done more than Your Excellency to recall and emphasize this prestige at the present day, by the dignities and favours which you have bestowed on this city.

" We believe it may confidently be said that no Viceroy has paid so many visits to Delhi during his time of office as has Your Excellency, and it would be a commonplace to recall, while the event is still so recent, the brilliant Durbar with its attendant stately ceremonials, held and organised by Your Excellency on the occasion of the Coronation of our present Gracious King-Emperor, whom God preserve.

" Your Excellency, Delhi, as the birth-place and the graveyard of Imperial cities of which the different ruins lie around, teaches a lesson which is told in brick and stone. It teaches a story of glories bought and of havocs wrought by different dynasties, which have at different times held the rod of empire. We, who see the story of these things every day from our own doors, may well with thankful loyalty proclaim the vivid truth that blessed is that rule which has stability and brings in its train an universal peace. These blessings we profoundly enjoy and profoundly appreciate under the benign rule of our Gracious King-Emperor, Edward VII (Long may He reign !), and if there be any youths in this country who have not got this lesson by heart, we would say to them ' Come, stand on the City ramparts, and look at the ruins round Delhi !'

" It is of Your Excellency's frank admiration for all that has been great and regal in the past that we would now speak. Your Excellency has seen in Delhi a seat which Kings have delighted to honour, and in fine reverence for their memories, irrespective of race, from the time of Pritvi Raj, and Tamerlane, to the later days of Shah Jehan, you have reminded us that we have a city of whose traditions and monuments we may well be proud, and this in not mere words but in practical deeds.

" For in the matter of Archæological restoration Your Excellency has done great things, which, appreciated now, will be more and more appreciated as time goes by. It would not be too much to say that Your Excellency has bridged over the 500 years since the time of the Emperor Feroz Shah Tuglak, who was what would be called in modern parlance Delhi's first great Archæologist. Five hundred years ago he wrote in his diary :—

" ' By the guidance of God I was led to rebuild and repair the edifices and structures of former kings, which had fallen into decay.' And then he goes on to say how among many other works he furnished the tomb of the Sultan Muiz-ud-Din with doors of sandal wood, and restored to the precincts of the tomb of the Sultan Ala-ud-Din its mosaic pavements.

Farewell Address from the Delhi Municipality.

"Your Excellency, when we read these passages it seems that the pen was taken up where the Emperor Feroz Shah laid it down, and that the diary is being continued with a living hand once more; for the mosaic work in the pavements of the palaces of Shah Jehan and the sandal wood doors are being restored and the precincts of the tombs of the Emperor Humayun, of Safdar Jang, of Isa Khan, and of how many more, are all being restored at this day. Your Excellency has collaborated, in spite of time, with the Emperor in restorations at the shrine of Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, for, while you have made some beautiful renovations, he particularly records that he had repaired the marble lattice work and the sandal wood doors of this particular shrine. Perhaps Your Excellency will excuse us if we say that in the Archæological Department Your Excellency, in assuming office, seems to have taken over the Emperor Feroz Shah's pending file, for it is a matter of common knowledge that, until Your Excellency had them evicted, the interior of Isa Khan's tomb was built over by the huts and cabins of what the Emperor Feroz Shah called, when he made similar evictions, 'incorrigible men.' In the 500 years since his death incorrigible men had had time to return to such places.

"Apart from these purely local matters, may we beg leave to respectfully express our admiration of your strenuous administration during your long term of office, an administration to which we now pay, and to which history will pay, its full and proper tribute. Your Excellency has undertaken so much, has accomplished so much in every department of State during your time of office, that we have heard with more regret than surprise that your health has in some measure suffered from the strain so unsparingly undertaken.

"We trust, however, that Your Viceroyalty in India will have left no permanent effect upon your health and vigour, which, once restored by return to your native land, will demand fresh fields for those activities of mind and body which India now loses.

"Your Excellency, Lady Curzon, we, in recalling the circumstances under which we sent a telegram of enquiry to Walmer Castle a year ago, rejoice to see you in the enjoyment of restored health and present in this city once more. We trust that Your Excellency will always carry in your memory vivid and pleasing recollections of this city.

"In bidding Your Excellencies 'Farewell' we none the less cherish a hope that we shall see you here again at some future day. Many Viceroys have known India only during their terms of office, but His Excellency was out here before he became Viceroy, and we confidently reckon on seeing Your Excellencies again in the time after it. We do not believe that His Excellency will be able to resist visiting the land which has such a hold upon his affections, and which he will long, we

Farewell Address from the Delhi Municipality.

are sure, to revisit, if only to see the eventual result of the labours inaugurated by him in the Archæological Department.

"We now, on behalf of this city, regretfully bid Your Excellencies 'Farewell,' and wish you God-speed."

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—I am exceedingly sorry that I was not able to receive you at Delhi itself, where I had looked forward to spending three happy days, when my recent illness came on, and where there was some important work that I desired to complete. It is very good of you to have travelled down here to present me with your address in person, and I gratefully accept it at your hands.

When I paid my first official visit to Delhi as Viceroy six years ago I remember congratulating the members of the Delhi Municipality upon the model character of the address which they did me the honour of presenting. Then my work in India lay before me, and both the Municipality and I could only speak in the future tense. Now it is finished; and I cannot but feel a sense of pride that, from the representatives of that ancient city, the capital of Empire, and the possessor of an undying renown, I should have been thought worthy of such a tribute as that which you have just rendered.

Your remarks have related principally to archæology, and to the many occasions on which I have been drawn to Delhi during the past six years in connection with antiquarian or other work. You are right in saying that I have taken a great interest in the place because of its imperial traditions and the beauty of its remains. You have particularly alluded to the restorations and repairs that have been undertaken in the shrines and tombs outside the city, principally those of Humayun, Safdar Jung, Isa Khan, and Nizam-ud-Din. I like to think that these famous men of the past still have their last resting places properly tended, and further that buildings so noble and surroundings so gracious and fair are not allowed to fall into decay by the

apathy or slovenliness of later generations. In the Fort a great deal more remains to be done. A considerable portion of the garrison is to be moved outside the city; and I hope we shall thus gradually get rid of those monstrous barracks which are now such an eyesore and offence. We are at present engaged in restoring the Palace-gardens of the Moghul Emperors, of which the pavilions and water-courses still exist, or can be reproduced. I have, as you know, brought out a Florentine artificer in mosaics to replace the marble incrustations at the back of the Throne, and I hope that a few years hence the interior of the Fort may present some slight resemblance—it cannot, I fear, be more, for so much has perished irretrievably—to what it was, not in the later days of the Moghuls, when the moribund condition of the Empire was typified in the squalor and decay of the Court, but in the resplendent times of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb. When the interior of the Fort has been renovated, I have always hoped that the artificial glacis outside, which was thrown up for defensive purposes after the Mutiny, may be removed, and that the magnificent red walls may then be seen to their base as they were up till 50 years ago.

You have alluded to the great pageant of the Coronation Durbar that was held at Delhi nearly three years ago. We are now engaged in commemorating, with the assistance of Sir Aston Webb, one of the foremost of English architects, the common site of the two Durbars of 1877 and 1903, and when these works, which will combine architectural features with landscape gardening, have been completed, Delhi will possess a twentieth century monument that will, I hope, compare favourably in beauty and impressiveness with the relics of earlier ages. I often see in unfriendly papers and speeches a repetition of the old calumny that our Durbar in 1903 was a costly extravagance. The people who said it was going to cost 2 crores became so enamoured of the phrase that they have gone on ever since declaring that it did cost

2 crores, and one would almost imagine that some of them believe it, although the actual figures require to be multiplied no fewer than seven times in order to sustain the illusion. You, who are on the spot, are cognizant of the facts; and the view which you entertain is that which will permanently commend itself to the judgment of history, namely, that the Durbar was a just and befitting celebration of the great event which it was intended to commemorate.

I will not now allude to the generous terms in which you have spoken of the general character of my administration, but will merely thank you for the unsolicited compliment. You have concluded by expressing both a hope and a conviction that my affection for India will some time bring me out again. Who knows but what it may? Perhaps as a simple tourist I may one day wander in a *ticca gharry* among the buildings and monuments that I loved, and to which while responsible for them I endeavoured to devote so true and reverent a care. However that may be, I can never forget my seven happy visits to Delhi as Viceroy, or the courtesy and consideration which I have on so many occasions received from its inhabitants.

FAREWELL DINNER AT THE BYCULLA CLUB, BOMBAY.

[On the 16th November 1905, two days before the Viceroy left India, he was entertained at a farewell banquet by the members of the Byculla Club. Nearly 250 persons sat down to dinner, a much larger number than on any previous similar occasion. The Hon'ble Mr. Leslie Crawford, President of the Club, proposed the toast of the evening. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed and the Chairman's cordial references to the Viceroy's rule met with tumultuous applause. On rising to reply His Excellency received an ovation, and his speech was interrupted again and again with loud and protracted outbursts of 16th Nov. 1905.

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

applause. At its close the audience rose as by a common impulse and cheered the Viceroy again and again. The following is the text of the speech :—]

Three times have the Byculla Club honoured me with an invitation to dinner. The first occasion was when I was leaving India at the end of my first term of office in April 1904. The second was when I returned to India for my second term in December 1905 ; and this is the third, when I am finally departing. I have esteemed this triple compliment most highly. For ordinarily Bombay does not see or know much of the Viceroy except what it reads in the newspapers—which is not perhaps uniformly favourable ; and, with a Governor of your own, you cannot be expected to take as much interest in the head of the Supreme Government as other communities or places with which he is brought into more frequent contact. In respect of Bombay, however, I have been unusually fortunate in my time ; for apart from the four occasions of arrival or departure, I have been here once in Lord Sandhurst's, and once in Lord Northcote's time, and again a week ago, so that this is my seventh visit in seven years. Here I made my first speech on Indian shores, and here it is not unfitting that I should make my last. Calcutta did me the honour of inviting me to a parting banquet, and so did the Civil Service of Bengal ; and I was greatly touched by those compliments. But I felt that, having accepted your invitation, I owed a duty to you, and that I should only become a nuisance if I allowed myself either the luxury or the regret of too many farewells.

Gentlemen, it is no exaggeration to say that my several visits to this city have given me an unusual interest in its fortunes. I have seen it in prosperity and I have seen it in suffering ; and I have always been greatly struck by the spirit and patriotism of its citizens. There seems to me to be here an excellent feeling between the very different races and creeds. Bombay possesses an exceptional number of public-spirited citizens, and the sense of civic duty is as

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

highly developed as in any great city that I know. If there is a big movement afoot, you bend yourselves to it with a powerful and concentrated will, and a united Bombay is not a force to be gainsaid. Let me give as an illustration the magnificent success of your reception and entertainment of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. Moreover, you have the advantage of one of the best conducted and ablest newspapers in Asia. My recollections of Bombay are also those of uniform kindness towards myself, a kindness which has found active expression on each occasion that I have visited the city, and that has culminated to-night in this splendid entertainment and in the reception that you have just accorded to my health.

As to the speech of the Chairman, to which we listened just now, I hardly feel that I know what I ought to say. He seemed to me to be so familiar with all the details of my administration that I felt that, if I ever wanted a biographer, it is to Bombay and to the Byculla Club that I must come to find him. But his account of what I have done—or perhaps I should rather say endeavoured to do—was characterised by so generous an insistence on the best that I almost felt that a rival orator should be engaged to get up and paint the opposite side of the picture. I know of several who would have been prepared without a gratuity to undertake the congenial task—only in that case I should not perhaps have enjoyed the hospitality of this harmonious gathering. I must therefore leave things as they are, and content myself with thanking the Chairman for his great and undeserved leniency in his treatment of the subject of his toast. Gentlemen, I have thus endeavoured to express my acknowledgments of your kindness, and I must include in these acknowledgments those of Lady Curzon. Your gracious reference to her presence greatly touched my heart.

May I also take this opportunity through you of thanking all those communities and persons who, from all parts of India, have, during the past three months, showered

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

upon me expressions of esteem and regret. I think I am justified in assuming, both from the quarters from which they have emanated and also from the language employed, that these have not been merely conventional expressions. From a departing Viceroy no one in India has anything more to ask or to expect; his sun is setting and another orb is rising above the horizon. If in these circumstances he receives, unexpected and unsought, from representative bodies and associations, from the leaders of races and communities, from princes, and from unknown humble men, such messages, couched in such unaffected language as have crowded in upon me, while he cannot but feel very grateful for all this kindness, there may also steal into his mind the comforting reflection that he has not altogether laboured in vain, but has perhaps left some footprints that will not be washed out by the incoming tide.

Gentlemen, it is almost seven years ago that I stood upon the neighbouring quay on the morning that I landed to take up my new office. Well do I remember the occasion and the scene; the Bunder gay with bunting and brilliant with colour; the background of the acclaiming streets with their tens of thousands, and the setting of the stateliest panorama in Asia. I do not deny that to me it was a very solemn moment. For I was coming here to take up the dream of my life and to translate into fact my highest aspirations. In that spirit I endeavoured to respond to the address of the Corporation, and were I landing again to-morrow, I would use the same language again. Oceans seem now to roll between that day and this; oceans of incident and experience, of zest and achievement, of anxiety and suffering, of pleasure and pain. But as I stood there that morning and the vista spread out before me, I said that I came to India to hold the scales even: and as I stand here to-night seven years later, I dare to say in all humility that I have done it—have held the scales even between all classes and all creeds—sometimes to my detriment, often

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

at a cost that none but myself can tell, but with such truth and fidelity as in me lay. I further said that the time for judgment was not when a man puts on his armour but when he takes it off. Even now I am fast unbuckling mine; in a few hours the last piece will have been laid aside. But, Gentlemen, the test—can I survive my own test? The answer to that I must leave to you among many others, and by your verdict I am willing to abide.

Gentlemen, when I came here seven years ago I had some idea, but not perhaps a very complete idea, of what the post of Viceroy of India is. Now that I am in a position to give a more matured opinion on the subject, I may proceed to throw a little light upon it. There are, I believe, many people at home who cherish the idea that the Viceroy in India is the representative of the Sovereign in much the same way as Viceroys or Governors-General in other parts of the British Empire, except that, India being in the East, it is considered wise to surround him with peculiar state and ceremonial, while in a country which is not a constitutional colony but a dependency, it is of course necessary to invest him with certain administrative powers. No conception of the Viceroy's position and duties could well be wider of the mark. Certainly the proudest and most honourable of his functions is to act as representative of the Sovereign, and this act is invested with unusual solemnity and importance in a society organised like that of India upon the aristocratic basis, where the Throne is enveloped in an awe that is the offspring of centuries, and is supported by princely dynasties in many cases as old as itself. The consciousness of this responsibility should, I think, always operate both as a stimulus and as a check to the Viceroy—a stimulus to him to act in a manner worthy of the exalted station in which for a short time he is placed, and a check to keep him from inconsiderate or unworthy deeds. But that is of course only the beginning of the matter. The Viceroy very soon finds out that the purely

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

Viceregal aspect of his duties is the very least portion of them, and the Court-life, in which he is commonly depicted by ignorant people as revelling, occupies only the place of a compulsory background in his every-day existence. He soon discovers that he is the responsible head of what is by far the most perfected and considerable of highly organised Governments in the world; for the Government of China, which is supposed to rule over a larger number of human beings, can certainly not be accused of a high level of either organisation or perfection. So much is the Viceroy the head of that Government that almost every act of his subordinates is attributed to him by public opinion; and if he is of an active and enterprising nature, a sparrow can scarcely twitter its tail at Peshawar without a response being detected to masterful orders from Simla or Calcutta. This aspect of the Viceroy's position makes him the target of public criticism to a degree in excess, I think, of that known in any foreign country, except perhaps America. I think that in India this is sometimes carried too far. When the Viceroy speaks, he is supposed to remember only that he is the representative of the Sovereign. But when he is spoken or written about, it is commonly only as head of the administration; and then nothing is sometimes too bad for him. I only make these remarks because this seems to me rather a one-sided arrangement, and because I think anything is to be deprecated that might deter your Viceroys from taking the supreme and active part in administration which it seems to me to be their duty to do. You do not want them to be *fainéants* or figureheads. You want them to pull the stroke oar in the boat. You want English Ministries to send you their very best men, and then you want to get out of them, not the correct performance of ceremonial duties, but the very best work of which their energies or experiences or abilities may render them capable. Anything therefore that may deter them from such a conception of their duties or confine them to the

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

sterile pursuit of routine is, in my view, greatly to be deplored.

However, I am only yet at the beginning of my enumeration of the Viceroy's tale of bricks. He is the head, not merely of the whole Government, but also of the most arduous Department of Government, *viz.*, the Foreign Office. There he is in the exact position of an ordinary Member of Council, with the difference that the work of the Foreign Department is unusually responsible, and that it embraces three spheres of action so entirely different and requiring such an opposite equipment of principles and knowledge as the conduct of relations with the whole of the Native States of India, the management of the frontier provinces and handling of the frontier tribes, and the offering of advice to His Majesty's Government on practically the entire foreign policy of Asia, which mainly or wholly concerns Great Britain in its relation to India. But the Viceroy, though he is directly responsible for this one Department, is scarcely less responsible for the remainder. He exercises over them a control which is, in my judgment, the secret of efficient administration. It is the counterpart of what used to exist in England, but has died out since the days of Sir Robert Peel—with consequences which cannot be too greatly deplored. I earnestly hope that the Viceroy in India may never cease to be head of the Government in the fullest sense of the term. It is not one man rule, which may or may not be a good thing—that depends on the man. But it is one man supervision, which is the very best form of Government, presuming the man to be competent. The alternative in India is a bureaucracy, which is the most mechanical and lifeless of all forms of administration.

To continue, the Viceroy is also the President of the Legislative Council, where he has to defend the policy of Government in speeches which are apt to be denounced as empty if they indulge in platitudes, and as undignified if they do not. He must have a financial policy, an agricultural

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

policy, a famine policy, a plague policy, a railway policy, an educational policy, an industrial policy, a military policy. Everybody in the country who has a fad or a grievance—and how many are there without either—hunts him out. Every public servant who wants an increase of pay, allowances, or pension—a not inconsiderable band—appeals to him as the eye of justice; everyone who thinks he deserves recognition, appeals to him as the fountain of honour. When he goes on tour he has to try to know nearly as much about local needs as the people who have lived there all their lives, and he has to refuse vain requests in a manner to make the people who asked them feel happier than they were before. When he meets the merchants he must know all about tea, sugar, indigo, jute, cotton, salt and oil. He is not thought much of unless he can throw in some knowledge of shipping and customs. In some places electricity, steel and iron, and coal are required. For telegraphs he is supposed to have a special partiality; and he is liable to be attacked about the metric system. He must be equally prepared to discourse about labour in South Africa or labour in Assam. The connecting link between him and Municipalities is supplied by water and drains. He must be prepared to speak about everything and often about nothing. He is expected to preserve temples, to keep the currency steady, to satisfy 3rd class passengers, to patronise race meetings, to make Bombay and Calcutta each think that it is the capital city of India, and to purify the Police. He corresponds with all his Lieutenants in every province, and it is his duty to keep in touch with every Local Administration. If he does not reform everything that is wrong, he is told that he is doing too little, if he reforms anything at all that he is doing too much.

I am sure that I could occupy quite another five minutes of your time in depicting the duties which you require of the Viceroy in India, and to which I might have added the

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

agreeable *finale* of being entertained at complimentary banquets. But I have said enough perhaps to show that it is no light burden that I am now laying down, and that it is not perhaps surprising if seven years of it should prove enough for any average constitution. And yet I desire to say on this parting occasion that I regard the office of Viceroy of India, inconceivably laborious as it is, as the noblest office in the gift of the British Crown. I think the man who does not thrill upon receiving it with a sense not of foolish pride but of grave responsibility, is not fit to be an Englishman. I believe that the man who holds it with devotion, and knows how to wield the power wisely and well, as so many great men in India have done, can for a few years exercise a greater influence upon the destinies of a larger number of his fellow creatures than any head of an administration in the universe. I hold that England ought to send out to India to fill this great post the pick of her statesmen, and that it should be regarded as one of the supreme prizes of an Englishman's career. I deprecate any attempt, should it ever be made, to attenuate its influence, to diminish its privileges, or to lower its prestige. Should the day ever come when the Viceroy of India is treated as the mere puppet or mouthpiece of the Home Government, who is required only to carry out whatever orders it may be thought desirable to transmit, I think that the justification for the post would have ceased to exist. But I cannot believe that the administrative wisdom of my countrymen, which is very great, would ever tolerate so great a blunder.

And now, Gentlemen, after this little sketch of the duties of a Viceroy, you may expect to hear something of the manner of fulfilling them. I have been told that on the present occasion I am expected to give a sort of synopsis of the last seven years of administration. I am sure you will be intensely relieved to learn that I intend to disappoint those expectations. Lists of laws, or administrative acts, or executive policies, may properly figure in a budget speech ;

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

they may be recorded in an official Minute ; they may be grouped and weighed by the historian. But they are hardly the material for an after-dinner oration. Besides which I have been spared the necessity of any such review by the generous ability with which it has already been performed for me by the Press.

Inasmuch, however, as all policy that is deserving of the name must rest upon certain principles, perhaps you will permit me to point out what are the main principles that have underlain everything to which I have set my hand in India. They are four in number. The first may sound very elementary, but it is in reality cardinal. It is the recognition that for every department of the State, and for every branch of the administration, there must be *a* policy instead of *no* policy, *i.e.*, a method of treating the subject in question which is based upon accepted premises, either of reasoning or experience, and is laid down in clear language, understood by the officers who have to apply it, and intelligible to the people to whom it is to be applied. It is in fact the negation of a policy of drift.

Years ago I remember coming to India and commencing my studies of the Frontier Question. I enquired of every one I met what was the Frontier Policy of the Government of India. I even mounted as high as Members of Council. No one could tell me. I found one view at Calcutta, another at Lahore, another at Peshawar, and another at Quetta, and scores of intervening shades between. That is only an illustration ; but that absence of a policy cost India thousands of lives and crores of rupees. Of course in our attempt to fashion or to formulate policies my colleagues and I may not always have been successful—our policy need not have been uniformly right. We make no such claim. All that we say is that the policy is now there, not hidden away or enshrouded in hieroglyphics, but emphatically laid down, in most cases already given to the world, and in every case available for immediate use. There is not a

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

single branch of the administration, internal or external, of which I believe that this cannot truthfully be said. I will give you a few illustrations drawn from spheres as widely separated as possible.

Take Foreign Affairs. The Government of India can hardly be described as having a Foreign Policy of their own, because our foreign relations must necessarily be co-ordinated with those of the Empire. But we can have our views and can state them for what they are worth; and there are certain countries in the close neighbourhood of our frontiers where the conduct of affairs is necessarily in our hands. Thus, in respect of Tibet, the Government of India have throughout had a most definite policy which has not perhaps been fully understood, because it has never been fully stated in published correspondence, but which I have not the slightest doubt will vindicate itself, and that before long. Similarly, with regard to Afghanistan, our policy throughout my term of office has been directed to clearing up all the doubts or misunderstandings that had arisen out of our different agreements with the late Amir, and to a renewal of those agreements, freed from such ambiguity, with his successor. It was to clear up these doubts that the Mission was sent to Kabul, as the Amir found himself unable to carry out his first intention to come down to India; and for all the widespread tales that the Mission had been sent to press roads or railroads or telegraphs and all sorts of unacceptable conditions upon the Amir, from which the Government of India or myself was alleged to have been only with difficulty restrained by a cautious Home Government, there was never one shred of foundation.

Perhaps in Persia, a subject which is perhaps better appreciated, and is certainly better written about in Bombay than in any other city of the Empire, we have been able to do most in respect of a positive and intelligible policy. Resting upon Lord Lansdowne's statesmanlike and invaluable

dictum as to the Persian Gulf, from which I trust that no British Government will ever be so foolish as to recede, we have been able to pursue a definite course of action in defence of British interests at Muscat, Bahrein, Koweit, and throughout the Persian Gulf. The same applies to Mekran and Seistan, and I believe that I leave British interests in those quarters better safeguarded than they have ever before been. I will not trouble you further about foreign affairs to-night, though I might take you round the confines of the Indian Empire and show you an Aden Boundary determined, largely owing to the ability of the officers serving under my noble friend, our relations with Sikkim and Bhutan greatly strengthened, and the final settlement of the Chino-Burmese Boundary practically achieved.

Neither will I detain you about the tribal frontier of India, although the fact that I can dismiss this almost in a sentence is perhaps more eloquent than any speech could be. The point is that the Government of India, the local officers, and the tribesmen now know exactly what we are aiming at, namely, in so far as we are obliged to maintain order, to keep up communications, or to exert influence in the tribal area, to do it, not with British troops, but through the tribes themselves. The other day I saw the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, and asked him if he could sum up the position of the Frontier. 'Yes,' he replied, 'I can, in a single word, and that is "Confidence."' Confidence at Hunza, confidence at Chitral, which when I came out to India I was told by the pundits at home that I should have to evacuate in a year, but which is now as tranquil as the compound of the Byculla Club, confidence in the Khyber and the Kurram, confidence all down the frontier of Baluchistan. Gentlemen, that is no mean boast. I observe that all the people who have for years depicted me as a somewhat dangerous person, and who were kind enough to warn India 7 years ago of the terrible frontier convulsions that she was in for under my

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

rule, have found it a little difficult to account for the 7 years' peace that has settled down on the land. Two explanations have, however, lately been forthcoming. The first is that the tribes were so severely handled by my predecessor that they have not had a kick in them left for me. The second is that having concentrated all my unholy propensities in the direction of Tibet, where, however, for some unexplained reason I did not begin until I had been in India for four years, I had nothing left for the tribes. I do not think that I need be disturbed by either of these criticisms. I can hand over the frontier to my successor, with the happy assurance not only that matters are quiet, but that the principles determining our action, whether as regards tribal militia, or border military police, or frontier roads and railways, or tribal control, are all clearly laid down, and are understood. If these principles are departed from, if the Government of India were to go in for a policy of cupidity or adventure, then the confidence of which I have spoken would not last a month. Otherwise I do not see why it should not be enduring.

We have also for seven years pursued a very consistent military policy, not differing therein in the least from the distinguished men who preceded us, but using the much larger opportunities that have been presented to us by recurring surpluses to carry out measures of which they often dreamed, but which they had not the funds to realise. I am not one of those who think that the Indian Army is a bad one. I believe it to be by far the best portion of the forces of the British Crown: and certainly such work as it has been my duty to ask it to undertake, whether in South Africa or China or Somaliland or Tibet, has been as good as any in the history of the Empire. We have done a good deal to render the Indian Army, I will not say more efficient, but more effective. We have entirely re-armed every section of it. We have reorganised the horse and field artillery from top to bottom. We have created a new

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

transport organisation; we are now making our own gunpowder, rifles, gun-carriages and guns; we have added 500 British officers and are proposing to add 350 more, we are doubling the Native Army reserves; and all these measures are independent of the schemes of reorganisation and redistribution of which you have heard so much. If due attention continues to be paid to the idiosyncrasies of the Native Army, and if it is treated sympathetically, I believe that we shall continue to receive from it the splendid level of service which is its tradition and its glory.

In the sphere of internal politics we have adopted a slightly different method, though with the same end, for there we have as a rule not framed our policy without a most exhaustive preliminary examination of the data upon which it ought to rest, conducted by the most expert authorities whose services we could command. Thus we did not proceed to draw up a Plague Policy until the Plague Commission had reported. Our new Famine Codes and Manuals, the methods by which the Government of India will grapple with the next famine when it comes, and the preventive methods which we have been bringing into operation one by one, are the result of the Commission over which Sir Antony MacDonnell presided. The great programme of irrigation schemes for the whole of India to which we have committed ourselves, at a cost of 30 millions sterling in 20 years, was similarly not arrived at until Sir Colin Moncreiff's Commission had spent two winters in India. I did not undertake University reform until I had carefully sifted the facts of the case by a Commission upon which the highest authorities had seats. Nor did we charge ourselves with the reform of the Police until we had conducted a most searching enquiry into the facts of existing administration in every Province by Sir A. Fraser's Commission. Finally, we did not propose to create a Railway Board or to revolutionise our railway management until we had obtained the advice of an expert from home. Thus, wherever

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

possible, we have proceeded upon the same plan; firstly, the ascertainment from the information at our disposal, from the representations of the public, and from the known facts, that there was a case for reform; secondly, the appointment of an influential and representative body to go round the country and take evidence; thirdly, the critical examination of their report, accompanied by consultation of Local Governments and of public opinion; fourthly, the accomplished reform. I remember very well—I daresay you do also, Gentlemen—when the present administration was ridiculed as one of Commissions that were always sitting, but whose eggs never hatched out. I held my peace, but I sat all the harder. Time was all I wanted; and now I can say that not a single Commission has sat and reported in my time without its results having been embodied with the least possible delay in administrative measures or in legislative acts. If you want to know the Educational Policy of Government you can find it in the published Resolution of March 1904; I recapitulated it in a recent farewell speech at Simla. If you want to know our Land Revenue Policy, it is similarly enunciated in two published Resolutions dealing with the principles of assessment and collection, which will presently be followed by two others dealing with subsidiary branches of the question. These will then be a *corpus* or Code of Land Revenue law and policy, such as has never previously existed in India, and which will constitute a charter for the cultivating classes. If you want to know our Fiscal Policy it is contained in the published Despatch of October 1903. Thus, wherever you turn, I think you will find my claim justified—the case examined, the principles elucidated, the policy laid down, action taken and already bearing fruit.

The second principle that I have held in view has been this. Amid the numerous races and creeds of whom India is composed, while I have sought to understand the needs and to espouse the interests of each, to win the confidence

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

of the Princes, to encourage and strengthen the territorial aristocracy, to provide for the better education, and thus to increase the opportunities, of the educated classes, to stimulate the energies of Hindu, Mohammedan, Buddhist, and Sikh, and to befriend those classes like the Eurasians who are not so powerful as to have many friends of their own—my eye has always rested upon a larger canvas, crowded with untold numbers, the real people of India, as distinct from any class or section of the people.

> But thy poor endure
> And are with us yet;
> Be thy name a sure
> Refuge for thy poor,
> Whom men's eyes forget.

It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent. who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their own countrymen, too often forget—to whom I refer. He has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, of every surplus of which I have assisted in the disposition. We see him not in the splendour and opulence, nor even in the squalor, of great cities: he reads no newspapers, for, as a rule, he cannot read at all: he has no politics. But he is the bone and sinew of the country, by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled, from his labour comes one-fourth of the national income, he should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard.

It is for him in the main that we have twice reduced the salt-tax, that we remitted land revenue in two years amounting to nearly 2½ millions sterling: for him that we are assessing the land revenue at a progressively lower pitch and making its collection elastic. It is to improve his credit that we have created co-operative credit societies, so that he may acquire capital at easy rates and be saved from the usury of the moneylender. He is the man whom we desire

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

to lift in the world, to whose children we want to give education, to rescue whom from tyranny and oppression we have reformed the Indian Police, and from whose cabin we want to ward off penury and famine. Above all let us keep him on the soil and rescue him from bondage or expropriation. When I am vituperated by those who claim to speak for the Indian people, I feel no resentment and no pain. For I search my conscience and I ask myself who and what are the real Indian people; and I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot to do something to alleviate theirs, and that I leave them better than I found them. As for the educated classes, I regret if, because I have not extended to them political concessions—more places on councils and so on—, I have in any way incurred their hostility. For I certainly in no wise return it, and when I remember how impartially it is bestowed on every Viceroy in the latter part of his term of office I conclude that there must be something wrong about all of us which brings us under a common ban. I also remember that in a multitude of ways even as regards places and appointments I have consistently befriended and championed their cause. That I have not offered political concessions is because I did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself to do so; and if I have incurred odium for thus doing my duty I have no apology to advance.

And yet in one respect I venture to think that the classes of whom I am speaking have found in me their best friend. For I have endeavoured to pursue with them the third principle of action to which I before alluded, *viz.*, to be frank and outspoken, to take them into open confidence as to the views and intentions of Government, to profit by public opinion, instead of ignoring it, not to flatter or cozen, but never to mystify or deceive. I have always held that Governors are servants of the public, and that policies are not such high and holy things as not to admit of clear exposition and candid argument for all who care to hear.

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

I cannot say that I have everywhere been rewarded for this confidence. But I have pursued it as part of a definite policy, for there has not been an act or an aim of Government whose sincerity I have not been prepared to vindicate, and to me there is something manlier in treating your critics with respect than in pretending that you are unaware even of their existence. And my last principle, Gentlemen, has been everywhere to look ahead; to scrutinize not merely the passing requirements of the hour, but the abiding needs of the country; and to build not for the present but for the future. I should say that the one great fault of Englishmen in India is that we do not sufficiently look ahead. We are so much absorbed in the toil of the day that we leave the morrow to take care of itself. But it is not to-morrow only but 20 years hence, 50 years hence, and 100 years hence. That is the thought that has never left my mind. I have had no ambition to cut Gordian knots or to win ephemeral triumphs. I am content that all my work should go that is not fitted to last. Some of it will go of course. But I hope that a solid residuum may remain and take its place as a part of the organic growth of Indian politics and Indian society. To leave India permanently stronger and more prosperous, to have added to the elements of stability in the national existence, to have cut out some sources of impurity or corruption, to have made dispositions that will raise the level of administration not for a year or two but continuously, to have lifted the people a few grades in the scale of well-being, to have enabled the country or the Government better to confront the dangers or the vicissitudes of the future, that is the statesman's ambition. Whether he has attained it or not will perhaps not be known until long after he has disappeared.

I need say but few words about my resignation or the causes that led to it. I desire only to mention one cause that did not. It seems to have been thought in some quarters at home that this was a personal quarrel, and that

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

I resigned on personal grounds. No one who has the least acquaintance with the facts of the case,—and I would fain hope no one who has any acquaintance with myself,—could commit this error. The post of Viceroy of India is not one which any man fit to hold it would resign for any but the strongest reasons. When you remember that to me it was the dream of my childhood, the fulfilled ambition of my manhood, and my highest conception of duty to the State, when further you remember that I was filling it for the second time, a distinction which I valued much less for the compliment than for the opportunity afforded to me of completing the work to which I had given all the best of my life, you may judge whether I should be likely heedlessly or impulsively to lay it down. No, Sir, there is not a man in this room who does not know that I resigned for a great principle, or rather for two great principles, firstly, the hitherto uncontested, the essential, and in the long run the indestructible subordination of military to civil authority in the administration of all well-conducted States, and, secondly, the payment of due and becoming regard to Indian authority in determining India's need. I am making no vain boast when I say that in defending these principles as I have sought to do, and in sacrificing my position sooner than sacrifice them, I have behind me the whole of the Civil Services in India, the unanimous weight of non-official English opinion in this country, an overpowering preponderance of Indian opinion, and I will add, which is more significant still, the support of the greater part of the Indian Army. I have not one word to say in derogation of those who may hold opposite views; but speaking for the last time as Viceroy of India, I am entitled to say why in a few hours I shall cease to be Viceroy of India; and I am also entitled to point out that in speaking for the last time as Viceroy of the country which I have administered for nearly 7 years, I am speaking, as I believe that no single one of my predecessors has ever been able to do

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

to a similar extent, with the whole of that country behind me. And, Gentlemen, you may depend upon it, the principles have not vanished though they have momentarily disappeared. They will reappear, and that before very long.

It is a much pleasanter subject to turn from myself to the nobleman whose ship is hourly drawing nearer to these shores, and who the day after to-morrow will take over the task that I lay down. It is a pleasure to me to be succeeded by a lifelong friend. But it is a much greater pleasure to know that India will gain a Viceroy of ripe experience, of a strong sense of duty, of sound judgment, and of great personal charm. I hope that the rough seas through which I have sometimes ridden may leave smooth waters in which his keel may glide, and from the depth of my heart I wish him a tranquil and triumphant Viceroyalty.

And now, as the moment comes for me to utter the parting words, I am a little at a loss to know what they should be. A week ago a man said to me, 'Do you really love India?' I could not imagine if he was jesting. 'Love India,' I replied; 'why otherwise should I have cut myself adrift from my own country for the best seven years of my life, why should I have given to this country the best of my poor health and strength, why should I have come back in the awful circumstances of a year ago, why should I have resigned my office sooner than see injury done to her now?' 'Good,' he said, 'I was merely trying you—I knew it as well as every one else.'

Gentlemen, you all know it. There is not a man in this room, there is not an impartial man in India, there is not a Bengali patriot who now denounces me for giving him the boon for which he will one day bless my name, who does not know that no Englishman ever stepped on to the shores of India who had a more passionate devotion to the country than he who is now bidding it farewell.

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

Nor will any Englishman ever have left it more resolved, to the best of his humble abilities and strength, to continue to do justice in England to India—India who after 200 years still stands like some beautiful stranger before her captors, so defenceless, so forlorn, so little understood, so little known. She stands in need as much as ever—perhaps more than ever, when such strange experiments are made by many whose knowledge of her does not extend beyond the fringe of her garment—of being championed and spoken for and saved from insult or defamation. Perhaps my voice for India may not always be identical with that of all her sons, for some of them, as I have said, see or speak very differently from me. But it will be a voice raised on behalf not of a section or a faction, but, so far as the claim may be made, of all India. And in any case, it will be of an India whose development must continue to be a British duty, whose fair treatment is a test of British character, and whose destinies are bound up with those of the British race. So far as in me lies it will be a voice raised in the cause of imperial justice and fair dealing; and most of all of seeing that Indian interests are not bartered away or sacrificed or selfishly pawned in the financial or economic adjustments of Empire.

A hundred times in India have I said to myself, Oh that to every Englishman in this country, as he ends his work, might be truthfully applied the phrase "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity." No man has, I believe, ever served India faithfully of whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal. But let it be our ideal all the same. To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust, or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery or applause or odium or abuse—it is so easy to have any of them in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your

Farewell Dinner at the Byculla Club, Bombay.

courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of his ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist—that is enough, that is the Englishman's justification in India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, for his epitaph when he is gone. I have worked for no other aim. Let India be my judge.

INDEX TO VOLS. I TO IV.

A

Administrative Reform, General, II., 453-5, 466-8; III., 138, 157-9, 170, 280, 391, 408-9, 414; IV., 13, 90-1, 166-8, 230, 234-8.
Afghanistan, I., xii.; II., 456, 482; IV., 231.
Africa, Indian Emigrants in South, *vide* sub Emigration.
Africa, War in South, I., 209, 250-2, 321-2, 334; II., 75, 83, 89, 181-4, 469; III., 181-2.
Agra Municipality, Addresses from, I., 185-9; IV., 214-6.
Agricultural Banks, II., 464, 167-9; III., 369-375; IV., 94-5, 236.
Agricultural Indebtedness, I., 124; II., 28, 56, 283; III., 369, 395.
Agriculture, II., 289-291; III., 167, 394; IV., 93, 125-9, 150, 210-1.
Ahmed, Sir Syed, I., 26, 101; II., 296.
Aitchison College, Lahore, I., 88-94; II., 408, 413.
Ajmer, Mayo College, II., 408, 413; III., 50-6.
„ Municipality, Address from, III., 48-50.
Aligarh, Mahomedan College at, II., 292-8; IV., 149.
Allahabad Municipality, Address from, III., 174-7.
Alwar, *vide* sub Ulwar.
Amir Ali, Mr. Justice, III., 375-385.
Ampthill, Lord, III., 18; IV., 53.
Amritsar Municipality, Address from, I., 326-330.
Ancient Monuments, *vide* sub Archæology.
„ „ Bill, III., 342-352.
Anglo-Indian Association, *vide* sub Eurasians.
Archæology and Antiquities, Conservation of, I., 41, 183-4, 187-8, 214-223; II., 93-4, 284, 438; III., 48-9, 83-4, 108, 342-352; IV., 215-6, 217-220.
Army, Indian, II., 89; III., 31; IV., 191, 233-4. *Vide* also sub Military Policy and Expenditure.
„ Temperance Association, II., 299-308.
Arnold, Matthew, quoted, I., xiv.
Arts, Indian, *vide* sub Industries.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, I., 40-1, 214-228.
Assam, Address from People of, I., 271-9.
„ -Bengal Railway, I., 260-2, 265, 273; II., 339, 346; III., 287-291.
„ -Burma Railway, II., 383.
„ Colonisation in, I., 268-9.

Assam Labour Bill, II., 233-252.
" Tea Industry in, I., 259-263, 263-270; II., 233-252, 346, 349-351.
Austrian Warship, Visit of, II., 420-2.

B

Bahawalpur, Banquet at, III., 215-8.
" Installation of Nawab, III., 211-5.
Balfour, Mr. A. J., IV., 23, 41-2.
Baluchistan, *vide* sub Quetta.
Bangalore Hospital, II., 149-150.
" Municipalities, Address from, II., 142-5.
Banks, Presidency, and Banking system, I., 115-7, 311.
Barnes, Sir H., I., 341.
Barr, Sir D., I., 172; II., 475; III., 179.
Beck, Theodore, II., 292.
Behar Planters' Association, Address from, IV., 114-8.
Benares Municipality, Address from, I., 205-7.
Bengal, Partition of, III., 283-6, 293-307, 312-321; IV., 240.
Bentinck, Lord W., I., 222; III., 39.
Berar Agreement, III., 155-6; IV., 201.
Bhopal, Banquet at, I., 160-4.
Bhuj, Banquet at, II., 54-7.
Bijapur Municipality, Address from, II., 93-6.
Bikaner, Banquet at, III., 60-3.
Bishop Cotton School, Simla, III., 186-193.
Black Hole, Calcutta, Commemoration of, III., 80-2, 326.
" Watch, Presentation of Medals to, III., 180-3.
Bombay, Byculla Club, Farewell Dinner at, IV., 221-242.
" Chamber of Commerce, Addresses from, I., 7-9; IV., 203-213.
" Features of, I., 3; IV., 222.
" Improvement Trust, I., 139-143.
" Municipality, Addresses from, I., 1-6; II., 81-92; IV., 49-55.
" Plague Hospitals, I., 136-8.
Bright, John, IV., 33-6, 89.
Brindabun Municipality, Address from, I., 182-4.
British Empire, *vide* sub India.
" Officers in India, I., xv, xvi, 214; II., 6, 22, 83; III., 255.
Vide also sub Services in India.
" Rule in India, *vide* sub India.
Browne, Sir J., I., 331, 341.

Budget Speeches, 1899, I., 74-83; 1900, I., 307-325; 1901, II., 263-291; 1902, II., 448-471; 1903, III., 145-174; 1904, III., 385-414; 1905, IV., 84-114.
Bundelkhund, III., 39, 395.
Bunder Abbas, Address at, III., 230-3.
" " Dinner at, III., 234-5.
Bundi, Banquet at, III., 43-4.
Burdwan Municipality, Address from, III., 414-6.
Burke, Edmund, II., 89; IV., 33, 162.
Burma, II., 358-404. *Vide* also sub Kindat, Kalewa, Mandalay, Lashio, Rangoon, Moulmein.
" University, II., 388-395.
" -Yunnan Railway, II., 384-5.
Bushire, Address at, III., 235-9.

C

Cachar, Address from People of, II., 339-343.
" " " Planters of, II., 344-7.
" Dinner given by Planters of, II., 348-352.
Calcutta, I., 17; III., 126-132.
" Anglo-Indian Association, Address from, I., 45-6.
" Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Address from, I., 28-33.
" Black Hole, *vide* sub Black.
" British Indian Association, Address from, I., 19-22.
" Chamber of Commerce Banquet, III., 124-142; IV., 58-63.
" Government House, I., xx.
" Hastings House, III., 128.
" Imperial Library, II., 404-6; III., 118-124.
" Improvement Scheme, III., 130-1.
" Mahomedan Literary Society, Address from, I., 25-7.
" Municipality, Address from, I., 16-9.
" Smoke Prevention, III., 129.
" Trades Association, Address from, I., 33-6.
" University, Convocation of, I., 49-53, 239-249; II., 203-8, 424-435; III., 271-9; IV., 73-84.
" Volunteers, I., 66-8.
Canning, Earl, I., 14, 156, 198, 202, 226, 286; III., 190; IV., 51.
Cantonments Bill, II., 423-4.
Carlyle, T., quoted, I., iii; IV., 44.
Cawnpore Municipality, Address from, I., 191-2.

Centralisation, III., 391; IV., 103, 159.
Chalmers, Mr. M. D., Farewell Dinner to, I., 68-73.
Chenab Colony, I., 94-9.
Chesney, Sir G., quoted, I., xxv; IV., 208.
Chiefs, Indian, Duties and responsibilities of, I., 167-8; II., 65-6, 73, 372-3; III., 11-2, 21, 61-2, 66-70, 213-4, 246-9; IV., 198-203. *Vide* also sub Native States and Education.
" " Colleges for education of, I., 88-94, 175; II., 61-6, 406-420; III., 51-6; IV., 194-7.
Chin Hill Chiefs, II., 359-361.
Chittagong, Addresses at, III., 279-286.
Clerks of Government of India, Farewell Address from, IV., 177-181.
Cochin Ernakulam College, II., 104-6.
" Municipality, Address from, II., 100-3.
" State Luncheon, II., 107-8.
Collisions between British Soldiers and Natives, II., 285-6; III., 193-5.
Commerce, Attitude of Government towards, II., 349-350; III., 118, 133-141, 395-6; IV., 58-9.
Commerce, Chamber of, Bombay, I., 7-9; IV., 203-213.
" " Bengal National, I., 28-33.
" " Calcutta, III., 124-142; IV., 58-63.
" " Cochin, II., 100-3.
" " Karachi, II., 42-8.
" " Madras, II., 160-4.
" " Rangoon, II., 382-7
Commercial Department, Institution of new, II., 464; III., 139, 169, 396; IV., 60-3, 101-2, 209.
" Development of India, I., xxiii, 30-1, 194, 328; III., 132-142, 395-6; IV., 58-63. 205-213.
" Enterprise, Native, I., 30-2, 34; III., 117, 139-141; IV., 128.
Commissions of Enquiry, II., 466-8; III., 158-9, 264; IV., 234-5.
Connaught, Duke of, III., 102-5.
Convocation Addresses, *vide* sub Calcutta University.
Co-operative Credit Societies, *vide* sub Agricultural Banks.
Coorg, Address from People of, II., 135-6.
" Planters, Address from, III., 13-6.
Coronation in London, Indian Deputation to, III., 28, 70.
Cotton, Mr. (now Sir) H. S., I., 269-270, 278; II., 343.
Council, Legislative, Representation in, I., 276-7; II., 175.
" " Speech on taking Seat, I., 24.

Council, Legislative, Work of, II., 121.
Countervailing Duties upon Sugar, *vide* sub Sugar.
Cunningham, Sir A., I., 221, 226.
Currency Reform, I., xxiii, 29, 118-121, 304, 310; II., 275-6; III., 134-6, 156, 386; IV., 14, 206. *Vide* also sub Native States.
Curzon, Lady, I., 6, 59, 172, 255, 346; II., 57, 404, 474; III., 50; IV., 155, 175, 192, 216, 223.
Cutch, Rao of, II., 54-7.

D

Dacca, Addresses at, III., 291-307.
„ College at, III., 307-310.
Dalhousie, Marquis of, I., 114, 345; II., 186; III., 285; IV., 6.
Darjiling Municipality, Address from, II., 435-7.
Datia, Banquet at, III., 37-8.
Dawkins, Mr. (afterwards Sir) C., I., 116, 120, 300-6, 309-310.
Delhi Art Exhibition, III., 86-91, 154-5.
„ Durbar, III., 18-30, 70-1, 92-8, 150-4, 224; IV., 15, 220-1.
„ Municipality, Addresses from, I., 130-3; IV., 216-221.
„ State Banquet at, III., 99-105.
„ Unveiling of Mutiny Telegraph Memorial at, II., 476-480.
Departmental System in India, I., 305; II., 273-5; IV., 166.
Derby, Speech at, I., xviii-xx.
„ Presentation of Freedom of Borough, IV., 27-40.
Dibrugarh, Address from Planters of, I., 258-263.
Dubois, Abbé, quoted, II., 88.
Dufferin, Marquis of, I., vii, 325; II., 294, 423; III., 51, 204.
„ Fund, I., 54-60, 252-8.
Durbar at Delhi, III., 92-8. *Vide* also sub Delhi.
„ Jammu, IV., 185-190.
„ Kalewa, II., 359-361.
„ Lashio, II., 371-3.
„ Lucknow, I., 197-204.
„ Manipur, II., 353-8.
„ Muscat, III., 221-5.
„ Pasni, III., 240-4.
„ Quetta, I., 336-342.
„ Shargah, III., 226-230.
Duty in India, I., vi, xxiv; II., 305-6; IV., 52.

E

East India Company, Administration of, I., v, xiii; II., 160, 438.
Education, Agricultural, IV., 150. *Vide* also sub Native States, Sikhs, and Tata.
" Department, I., 53; II., 336-8, 463.
" Elementary or Primary, I., 42, 202; II., 328-330; IV., 141, 144-5.
" European and Eurasian, I., 296-7; III., 187-192; IV., 149.
" Female, II., 335; IV., 150.
" Higher or University, I., 49-53, 240-9; II., 316-326, 388-395; III., 162-164, 261-270, 271-8, 307-310, 357-369; IV., 142-3, 146-9.
" Mahomedan, I., 26, 37-8; II., 292-8.
" Moral, II., 336.
" of Indian Aristocracy, I., 43, 88-94; II., 61-6, 406-420; III., 51-6; IV., 194-7.
" Religious, II., 297.
" Secondary, II., 326-7; IV., 142, 145-6.
" Technical, I., 31, 86-7, 297-8, 329; II., 168, 211-2, 330-4; IV., 150-2.
Educational Policy of Government, II., 295, 309-338, 391, 463; III., 161-5, 266-270, 272-3, 357-369, 393; IV., 89, 137-152, 235.
Edward VII., King, III., 7, 20, 98, 99-101, 111.
" Message to Delhi Durbar, III., 95-6.
Elgin, Earl of, I., viii, xxvi, 6, 18, 109, 156, 209, 227; II., 78; III., 45, 51, 194.
Emigration, Indian, I., 318; IV., 107-110.
England, Speeches delivered in, upon Appointment, in 1899; I., i-xxvi.
" " after First Term of Office in 1904; IV., 1-46.
Enterprise, Encouragement of Indian, I., 29-31, 34-5, 191-2, 328; III., 114-8, 139-141. *Vide* also sub Commercial Enterprise.
Etonians, Speech to Old, I., ii-viii.
Eurasian Community, I., 45-6, 286-300; II., 145-8, 173-6.
" Regiments, I., 291-3.
Vide also sub Education.
Experts, Employment of, III., 138; IV., 38, 147, 167, 192, 211.

F

Famine and Famine Policy, I., 21, 125-9, 132, 157, 186-7, 208-214, 229-239, 312-320, 339-340; II., 1-27, 70-2, 462; III., 24, 159-161; IV., 12, 90-5, 234. *Vide* also sub Native States.
Famine Insurance Fund, I., 311; III., 170.
Financial Statement, Annual, *vide* sub Budget.
Fiscal Question, *vide* sub Preferential Tariffs.
Foreign Affairs, III., 170-3, 402-4; IV., 10, 231-2.
Fraser, Sir A., I., 159; IV., 119-120.
Frontier Crime, II., 489. *Vide* also sub Ghaza.
„ Militia, II., 459, 485-6; III., 400-2.
„ Policy, I., 85, 323, 336-340; II., 268-270, 455-6, 481, 483-490; III., 173, 396-402; IV., 10, 17, 169, 232-3.
„ Province, New, II., 271, 455, 488; III., 398; IV., 168, 190.
„ Railways, II., 481, 486-7; III., 399-400.
„ Tribes, I., xiii, xiv, 337; II., 359-361, 483-490.
Fryer, Sir F., II., 368, 378.

G

Game preservation, II., 396-400.
Gauhati, Address at, I., 271-9.
Gaur and Pandua, Ruins of, II., 438; III., 348.
Gaya Municipality, Address from, III., 104-8.
German Warship, Visit of, II., 420-2.
Ghaza (or fanatical outrages), I., 339; II., 488.
Goa, Banquet at, II., 96-100.
Gold Reserve Fund, II., 276; III., 136, 386.
Govindgarh (Rewa), Banquet at, III., 177-180.
Gwalior, Banquet at, I., 164-173.
„ College and Hospital, Opening of, I., 173-6.
„ Railways, I., 177-9.

H

Hardwar Municipality, Address from, III., 85-6.
Hart, Sir R., Presentation of K.C.B. to, I., 342-3.
Hastings, Marquis of (Lord Moira), I., 222; II., 438; III., 37, 69.
„ Warren, I., v; II., 15; III., 351; IV., 31, 33.
Hedin, Dr. Sven, I., xi.
Hewett, Mr. J. P., IV., 60, 62, 153-5.

Holwell Monument, Unveiling of, III., 78-84.
Hostels or Boarding Houses, II., 319; III., 110, 308-310; IV., 147.
Hyderabad, Banquet at, II., 471-5.
" Nizam of, II., 473-5; III., 155, 350; IV., 201. *Vide* also sub Berar.

I

Ibbetson, Sir D., I., 159; III., 167, 373; IV., 118, 122-5, 170-5.
Imperial Cadet Corps, II., 409, 459, 491; III., 58, 408; IV., 16, 200.
Imperial Service Troops, I., 162, 171; II., 74-5; III., 59, 204, 209, 217, 251-2, 408; IV., 201.
India, and Party Politics, *vide* sub Party.
" Place of in British Empire, I., xi, xxiv; II., 88-9, 468-471; IV., 8-10, 83-4, 107, 241.
" Spirit of British Rule in, I., v, vi, xix, 4, 158, 199-200; II., 89-92, 125, 305-6, 435; III., 113, 142, 188; IV., 8, 19-20, 37-8, 53, 242.
Indian Character, *vide* sub Native Character.
" Interests, Defence of in Imperial System, IV., 107, 241.
" People, the real, IV., 86-7, 236-7.
Indians, Employment of in Public Service, III., 410-4; IV., 104-7, 237.
Indigo Planters, IV., 115-7.
Indore, Daly College, II., 408, 414; IV., 193-203.
Industries, Indian, I., 328; II., 465; III., 22-3, 86-91.
Inoculation against Plague, I., 146-7; III., 175.
Irrigation in India, I., 30, 81-2, 94-9, 318-320; II., 25-6, 281-3, 369, 455, 464; III., 165, 406-7; IV., 96-101, 234.

J

Jacob, Sir Swinton, III., 68; IV., 183.
Jain Community, Address from, I., 22-3.
Jaipur, Banquet at, III., 63-71.
Jhansi Municipality, Address from, III., 38-40.
Jherria Coalfield, III., 114-8, 395.
Jind, Banquet at, III., 208-210.
Jodhpur, Banquet at, III., 58-60.
Jubbulpore Municipality, Address from, I., 156-9.
Judicial Administration, I., 44; II., 87.
" and Executive Functions, II., 342; III., 166-7.
Junagadh, Opening of College, II., 58-60.

K

Kalewa, Durbar at, II., 359-361.
Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Address from, II., 42-8.
„ Civil Hospital, II., 52-3.
„ Mahomedan Association, Address from, II., 48-52.
„ Municipality, Address from, II., 35-42.
Kashmir, Restitution of Powers to Maharaja of, IV., 185-190.
Kathiawar, *vide* sub Junagadh and Rajkot.
Kindat, Address from People of, II., 358-9.
Kohat Municipality, Address from, I., 343-6.
„ Pass and Road, I., 345 ; II., 456.
Kolar Gold Fields, II., 150-4.
Kota, Banquet at, III., 42-3.
Kushalgarh-Kohat Railway, I., 346.

L

Lahore, Aitchison College, *vide* sub Aitchison.
„ Anjuman-i-Islamia, Address from, I., 99-102.
„ Khalsa Diwan, Address from, I., 102-5. *Vide* also sub Sikhs.
„ Municipality, Addresses from, I., 83-7 ; IV., 190-3.
Lamington, Lord, IV., 54.
Land Alienation, Prevention of, I., 122-5, 200-1 ; II., 27-34, 50 ; III., 156.
Land Revenue, Remission of, II., 453 ; III., 146 ; IV, 89, 236.
„ „ Settlements and Collection, I., 278 ; II., 49, 130, 165-6, 340-1, 347, 462 ; III., 167, 395 ; IV., 95-6, 235.
Lansdowne, Marchioness of, III., 143-4.
„ Marquis of, I., vii ; II., 185-9, 363 ; III., 45, 51, 203, 336 ; IV., 85, 231.
Lashio, Durbar at, II., 371-3.
Latimer, Mr. F. W., III., 375-385.
Law, Sir E., II., 264 ; III., 136, 147, 169 ; IV., 63-7.
Lawrence, Sir J. (Lord), I., 114, 198 ; II., 49.
„ Sir W., III., 195-200.
Leave Rules, Reform of, II., 271-2.
Legislation in India, I., 123, 282, 308-9 ; II., 31.
Lockhart, Sir W., I., 285-6.
London, Presentation of Freedom of City of, IV., 3-22.
„ Speech at Mansion House, IV., 22-7.
Lucknow Municipality, Address from, I., 193-6.
„ Durbar at, I., 197-204.

Lumsden's Horse, I., 250-2 ; II., 181-4, 352, 446-7.
Lytton, Earl of, I., 227, 287 ; II., 294 ; III., 16, 20, 25, 203.

M

Macaulay, Lord, I., 244 ; II., 311, 431 ; III., 362 ; IV., 6, 22, 33-4, 113.
MacDonnell, Sir A., I., 184, 200, 227 ; II., 462 ; III., 347 ; IV., 92, 234.
Macnaghten, Mr. Chester, II., 61-2, 409.
Madras Chamber of Commerce, Address from, II., 160-4.
" Harbour, II., 162-3.
" Mahajana Sabha, II., 164-9.
" Mahomedan Community, II., 170-2.
" Municipality, Address from, II., 155-9.
Madura Municipality, Address from, II., 122-4.
Mahomedans, Indian, I., 25-7, 36-9, 99-102 ; II., 50-1, 170-2.
" " in Public Service, I., 38-9 ; II., 51, 171-2, 357 ; III., 312.
Mahsud Blockade, II., 457-9 ; III., 397 ; IV., 169.
Malda, Address from People of, II., 437-8.
Mandalay, Durbar at, II., 364-371.
" Municipality, Address from, II., 362-4.
" Palace, I., 225 ; III., 348.
Manipur, Durbar at, II., 353-8.
Mayo College, *vide* sub Ajmer.
" Earl of, I., 37, 114 ; II., 408.
Medical Science in India, I., 57.
Mekran, IV., 233. *Vide* also sub Pasni.
Merwara Battalion, Presentation of Colours to, I., 134-5.
Metcalfe, Sir C., IV., 45.
Military Administration, Proposed changes in, IV., 129-136, 239-240.
" Policy and Expenditure, I., 320-5 ; II., 265-8, 460-1 ; III., 34, 156, 404-6 ; IV., 111-3, 233-4.
Mines and Mining in India, I., 31 ; III., 114-8.
" Bill, II., 252-260.
Minto, Earl of, IV., 240.
Missionaries in India, II., 22.
Monghyr, Address at, III., 112-4.
Moulmein Municipality, Address from, II., 400-4.
Municipalities, Duties of, I., 85, 108, 131, 159, 181, 184, 186-7, 195, 206-7, 329, 333 ; II., 38, 79-80, 94-5, 123, 157, 363, 380-1, 482 ; III., 50, 415-6 ; IV., 192.
Murshidabad, Address from People of, II., 439-440.

Murshidabad, Banquet at, II., 441-2.
Muscat, Address from Traders of, III., 218-221.
„ Durbar at, III., 221-5.
Mussoorie Municipality, Address from, II., 490-2.
Mutiny, The, I., 204; II., 476-480.
Muttra Municipality, Address from, I., 179-182.
Mymensingh, Addresses at, III., 311-321.
Mysore, Banquet at, II., 138-141.
„ Eurasians, II., 145-8.
„ Family at Calcutta, Address from, I., 14-6.
„ Installation of Maharaja, III., 8-12.
„ Municipality, Address from, II., 132-4.
„ Unveiling of Statue of Maharaja, II., 136-7.

N

Nabha, Banquet at, III., 206-8.
Nagpur Municipality, Address from, I., 151-5.
Native Christians, II., 176-180.
„ Character, I., 245; II., 426-435; IV., 74-84.
„ Press, I., 280-4; II., 432-4.
„ States, Currency Reform in, I., 163, 170.
„ „ Education in, I., 175; II., 59, 105-6, 113-6; III., 254-5.
„ „ Employment of Europeans in, III., 67-8, 205; IV., 200. *Vide* also sub Chiefs.
„ „ Famine in, I., 213, 317; II., 8, 13, 16-9, 21, 56, 70-2; III., 46, 97.
„ „ Policy and Relations of British Government towards, I., 167-8; II., 72-5; III., 66-70, 96-7, 211-4, 245-6, 253; IV., 16, 185-7, 198-203.
Northbrook, Earl of, I., 226, 271; II., 344; IV., 56-8.
Northcote, Lord, I., 143; IV., 222.
Nushki (Seistan), Trade Route, I., 332; III., 238, 402.

O

Official Secrets Bill, III., 257-261, 331-342.
Ootacamund Municipality, Address from, III., 16-8.
Oudh, Address from Talukdars of, I., 13-4.
„ Durbar for Talukdars of, I., 197-204.

P

Palmer, Sir Power, III., 30-6.
Pamirs, The, I., xii.
Partition of Bengal, *vide* sub Bengal.
Party Politics and India, IV., 30-3, 42-6.
Pasni, Durbar at, III., 240-4.
Patiala, Banquet at, III., 203-5.
„ Unveiling of Statue at, III., 201-2.
Patna, Addresses at, III., 108-111.
Patriotism, Local, II., 370, 434-5; IV., 83-4.
Peninsular and Oriental Company, Speech to, I., xxi-xxvi.
Persia, I., xii.
„ Shah of, III., 234-5.
Persian Gulf, III., 226-239; IV., 232.
Pertab Singh, Sir, I., 189-190; III., 59.
Peshawar, Durbar at, II., 483-490.
„ Municipality, Address from, II., 480-2.
Phipps, Mr. H., III., 138; IV., 125.
Plague in India, I., 6, 21, 136-8, 144-9, 153-5, 196; II., 38, 85, 133-4, 159; III., 107, 175-6; IV., 12, 54-5.
Planters, *vide* sub Assam, Behar, Cachar, Coorg, Dibrugarh, Gauhati, Pusa, Tezpur.
Police Reform, II., 287, 465; III., 166, 407-8; IV., 103-4, 237.
Political Department, IV., 165.
Poona Plague-workers, I., 144-9.
Poverty of India, II., 288-290; III., 149; IV., 36.
Preferential Tariffs, IV., 111, 236.
Prince and Princess of Wales, Visit of, to India, III., 95; IV., 54.
Princes, Indian, *vide* sub Chiefs.
Prinsep, Sir T., III., 375-385.
Private Secretary, Functions of, III., 197-8.
Progress and Prosperity in India, Evidences of, II., 288-291, 450; III., 98, 386-9; IV., 14, 36-7, 211-3.
Provincial Settlements, New System of, III., 390.
Public Opinion in India, II., 91-2; III., 162-3, 265; IV., 81-6, 237.
„ Service Commission, I., 295.
Punchayats, I., 44.
Punjab Land Alienation Bill, I., 122-5; II., 27-34; III., 156, 370; IV., 191.
„ The, I., 84; IV., 190-1.
Pusa, III., 394.
„ Agricultural College at, III., 394; IV., 114-129, 150.

Q

Quetta, Durbar at, I., 336-342.
" Municipality, Address from, I., 330-4.

R

Railway Board, Institution of, IV., 102-3, 208.
Railways, Government Policy toward, I., 113-4; II., 345; III., 14, 139; IV., 207-8.
" in India, I., xxvi, 81, 109-114, 177-8, 202, 260-2, 265, 273-6, 294; II., 44-6, 70, 162, 276-281, 383-5, 450, 481, 487, 491; III., 14-5, 60, 166, 287-291, 292, 311, 388, 406; IV., 188, 207, 213.
" Light, Constructed by District Boards, I., 276; II., 131-2; III., 110.
Rajkot, Durbar at, II., 67-75.
" Rajkumar College, II., 61-6, 407, 414.
" Unveiling Statue of Queen Victoria, II., 76-7.
Raleigh, Sir T., II., 205; III., 273, 358, 375-385.
Rangoon, Address from People of, II., 374-9.
" Chamber of Commerce, Address from, II., 382-7.
" Chief Court, II., 386-7.
" Municipality, Address from, II., 380-1.
Religious Non-interference, Policy of, II., 129-130, 370.
Report-writing in India, II., 119, 273-5; III., 157, 392.
Rewa, IV., 195. *Vide* sub Govindgarh.
Ripon, Marquis of, I., 131, 184, 199, 227.
River Navigation, II., 402, 440; III., 282-3, 290, 292.
Roberts, Earl, II., 187, 303.
Robertson, Sir D., II., 141; III., 179.
Robertson, Mr. T. (Railway Commissioner), III., 166, 406; IV., 234.
Royal Societies Club, Dinner at, I., ix-xviii.

S

Salt Tax, Reduction of, II., 168, 452; III., 147-8, 281, 387; IV., 87, 236.
Sandeman, Sir R., I., 331, 340-1.
Sandhurst, Lord, I., 6, 137, 142; IV., 222.
Savings Banks, III., 338; IV., 212.
Sea Route to India, I., xxiii.

Services in India, The, IV., 24-7, 120, 156-170.
„ Subordinate, *vide* sub Clerks.
Shooting Rules for British Soldiers, II., 286.
Siam, I., xii; III., 403.
Sikhs, I., 102-5, 327.
„ Education of, III., 210; IV., 149.
Simla, Bishop Cotton School, *vide* sub Bishop.
„ Educational Conferences at, II., 309-338; III., 263-4, 393; IV., 137-152.
„ Farewell Ball, IV., 170-7.
„ Life at, I., 106-8; IV., 173-4, 184.
„ Municipality, Addresses from, I., 105-8; IV., 181-5.
„ United Service Club, Dinner at, IV., 153-170.
Srirangam Municipality, Address from, II., 126-8.
Staff, Viceregal, IV., 176.
Stephen, Sir J. Fitz-J., I., iv, v.
Strachey, Sir J., I., 226; II., 294.
„ Sir R., III., 290.
Sugar, Countervailing Duties upon, I., 60-5; II., 163, 461; III., 1-6; IV., 117.
Surat Municipality, Address from, II., 77-80.
Surma Valley Tea Association, II., 344-7.

T

Tanjore, Address at, II., 128-132.
Tata Institute, I., 8-12, 246; III., 164; IV., 151.
Taxation, Reduction of, I., 76-8; II., 451-2; III., 145-9, 177; IV., 85, 87-8, 236.
Tea Industry, *vide* sub Assam and Planters.
Telegaphic Press Messages Bill, I., 280-4.
„ Rates, Reduction of, I., 80; II., 283-4, 461; III., 392; IV., 209-210.
Temperance in Army, II., 299-308.
Terminal Charges, II., 39, 158.
Tezpur, Address from Planters of, I., 264-270.
Tibetan Expedition, III., 403; IV., 18-9, 233.
Tinnevelly, Addresses at, II., 117-121.
Trade at Muscat, III., 218-221.
„ in Persian Gulf, III., 230-3, 235-9.
„ with India, I., xxv.
„ *Vide* also sub Commerce.

Transfers, Official, II., 271-2, 342.
Travancore, Banquet at Trevandrum, II., 109-113.
„ Maharaja's College, II., 113-6.
Trichinopoly Municipality, Address from, II., 124-6.

U

Udaipur, Banquet at, III., 44-7.
Ulwar, Banquet at, III., 250-6.
„ Installation of Maharaja, III., 244-9.
United Provinces, Title of, II., 447.
Universities Bill, III., 261-270, 352-369.
„ Conception of, III., 274-8.
„ Indian, *vide* sub Calcutta University, Education, Burma.
„ Validation Bill, IV., 67-72.

V

Viceroy of India, Conception of Duties of, I., vi, vii, xix, 3-5, 18, 107-8, 140, 198; II., 68, 343; III., 17, 29; IV., 39-40, 225-9.
„ Position of, IV., 156, 160-1, 225-229.
„ Resignation of, IV., 238-240.
„ Resumption of Office by, IV., 54-8.
„ Term of Office of, I., xvii; III., 183-5.
„ Tours of, I., 140, 167, 198; II., 353; III., 17, 132, 231-3.
Victoria, Queen, I., 3, 4, 16, 20, 101, 133, 184, 196, 233; II., 76-7, 128, 297.
„ Death of, II., 189-192.
„ Memorial to (Victoria Memorial Hall), II., 192-203, 208-233, 441; III., 128, 321-331; IV., 199.
„ Unveiling Statues of, II., 442-6; III., 231-2.
Volunteers, I., 66-8. *Vide* also sub Lumsden's Horse.

W

Welldon, Bishop, I., iii, iv.
Wellesley, Marquis, I., 244, 305; III., 69.
Wellington, Duke of, I., 232; II., 303.

Welsh Regiment, Presentation of Colours to, I., 149-151.
Westland, Sir J., I., 74-5.
" Farewell Dinner to, I., 68-73.
Woodburn, Sir J., III., 71-7, 107, 119, 348.

Y

Yunnan, I., xiii; II., 384-5.

Z

Zemindari Punchayat, Address from, I., 42-4.

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